Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies
ISSN 0118-8534
Vol. 14, No. 2 (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.

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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 2 (July 2011)

BOOK REVIEWS

[*AJPS* 14:2 (2011), pp. 185-186]

"TRANSITIONS"

Transitions are a major part of life. In 2001, 2006 and forthcoming in 2014, major milestones of Pentecostalism in the centennials of the Topeka outbreak, the Azusa Street Mission revival, and the forthcoming celebration of the formation of the Assemblies of God, respectively, are considerable in their significance. Each represents the original and ongoing transitions to which these reminders bear witness. Transitions form who we are, and how we respond will likewise inform what we will be. This issue will also mark a set of transitions for the journal. First, William W. Menzies, a founding editor of the *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, who also was the President Emeritus and Chancellor of the Asia Pacific Theological Seminary among many other accomplishments, went to be with the Lord in August 15, 2011. His legacy was and is extensive. A future issue will be dedicated to his memory. Second, this will be the last issue for both the chief editor (Paul W. Lewis) and book review editor (Roli dela Cruz) as both will be moving on and pursuing other things.

In this issue, we are privileged to have the four lectures of William W. Menzies that he delivered at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary as part of the Occasional Pentecostal Lectureship Series. These lectures were on the topic of the non-Wesleyan influences on Pentecostalism. The first lecture is on William Durham and the 'Finished Work' position. The second is on the influence that Fundamentalism had on the beginning of the Pentecostal movement. The third lecture is on the Keswick 'Higher Life' movement, and the fourth is on the impact of the Christian and Missionary Alliance and A.B. Simpson on the Pentecostal movement especially the Assemblies of God. These four essays together give a broad perspective on the significance of the non-Wesleyan components within the formative years of Pentecostalism (at least for certain branches).

The following article by David Jull looks at George Whitefield's theological transition through the course of his ministry during the Great Awakening. The author purports not only to map out this

transition, but also to note some important implications for the Pentecostal. The next article is by Chung YouJin. The author looks at the Cain and Abel story of Gen. 4, and looks at the conflict and similarity/dissimilarity tension within the story to further grapple with the implications. The final essay by Paul W. Lewis is on the formation of values by means of the Holy Spirit in the writings of J. Rodman Williams. Williams is a noted Charismatic theologian, so his life is summarized, prior to looking at salient elements noted in his theology.

In as much, as this is the last issue that both of us as editors will participate in for this journal, let us say that it has been a privilege and honor to serve the church through this endeavor. To God be the Glory!

The Editors

[*AJPS* 14:2 (2011), pp. 187-198]

NON-WESLEYAN PENTECOSTALISM: A TRADITION "THE FINISHED WORK"

William W. Menzies

Introduction

In June, 1995, a remarkable outpouring of the Holy Spirit began at the Brownsville Assembly of God, Pensacola, Florida. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, have visited Pensacola. Many have come away with a renewed spiritual experience and a revitalized ministry. What is happening in Pensacola is evidently happening in many other localities as well. Some of the local outpourings are a direct result of contact with Pensacola; some are not. Significantly, a common thread in the testimonies of those impacted by the current flow of revival is that it is essentially a renewal of holiness, of concern for the sanctified life. Some would see in the Pensacola revival a call to Pentecostals to recover their holiness roots. Evidently, somewhere along the way, the Pentecostal movement (or at least part of it), generally pictured as a direct outgrowth of the nineteenth-century Holiness Movement, drifted away from the emphasis on sanctification. With this new focus of attention on personal holiness, it is timely that we attempt to reconstruct the story of the roots of the modern Pentecostal movement, giving particular attention to the streams of influence regarding the doctrine of sanctification. The practical implications of this for today's Pentecostals may be significant. The Pentecostal revival has featured effectively the empowering of the Spirit for evangelistic and missionary service. Somehow, through the years an earlier priority on the interior development of a holy life has apparently been muted. Is God calling Pentecostals to take a fresh look at the importance of Holy living?

The story is not as simple as it might appear, however. Today, the Pentecostal movement is divided along the line of teaching about sanctification. Some adopt a Wesleyan understanding of sanctification as a "second blessing;" a crisis experience that cleanses the soul from inbred sin, preparing one for a third work of grace, called baptism in

the spirit. Most Pentecostals today adopt a different view of sanctification, seeing sanctification as a continuing process flowing from the point of regeneration. For these non-Wesleyans, baptism in the Spirit is a second experience, not a third one. The series of lectures for this week centers on the retracting of the story of how the Pentecostal revival divided along two differing views of the doctrine of sanctification. It is hoped that by addressing this story, young Pentecostals of today will be able to relate constructively and congenially with others whose theological understanding may differ from their own. And, beyond this, it is hoped that all will be challenged to ponder what God is saying to us about living lives separated unto God.

In studying the origins of the modern Pentecostal revival, it is clearly evident that virtually all of the initial leaders and participants held to a Wesleyan view of sanctification. In truth, scholars such as Vinson Synan rightly report that the modern Pentecostal movement is a direct descendant of the nineteenth-century Holiness movement.[1] Certainly, from the beginnings of a connected history, reaching back to Charles F. Parham's Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, where the Spirit was poured out in 1901, and on to the great Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles that flowered in 1906, there is a solid phalanx of leaders who uniformly advocated the Wesleyan doctrine. For Parham, Seymour, and others with whom they worked in the first decade, baptism in the Spirit was perceived to be a "third work of grace," conditional upon receiving the second, and prior, work of the Holy Spirit, which rooted out the sin principle in the believer. The logic was that one must be cleansed before one could be filled. So up to a point, Holiness Pentecostal scholars are right--that is, if one limits the field of view to events of that first decade, up to 1910. However, the story is not so simple after that. One must explain what transpired so that virtually all Pentecostal bodies that came into being after 1911 adopted a non-Wesleyan view of sanctification. In fact, very quickly the centers of growth and influence shifted to those bodies that espoused the non-Wesleyan sanctification theology. Holiness (Wesleyan) Pentecostalism became largely a provincial view found principally in the American southeast states, in pockets in the Midwest, and among the West Coast descendants of the Azusa Street revival, principally the followers of Florence Crawford in Oregon. The broader, more representative,

[1] Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans., 1997), x.

Pentecostal bodies, such as the Assemblies of God, adopted a non-Wesleyan Theology of Sanctification. For most Pentecostals, within a short time following the close of the Azusa Street phase of the revival, sanctification was understood to be a quality of life maintained by faith and diligence, a condition that normally is expected to grow throughout one's Christian life. The notion that a crisis experience of sanctification is a necessary prerequisite to baptism in the spirit was rejected. Today, most Pentecostals around the world identify themselves as non-Wesleyan in their understanding of sanctification. The lectures of this week are intended to shed light on how this major change took place, so we can better understand the complex history of the Pentecostal revival. Our first endeavor will be to visit the story of William H. Durham and his teaching of "the Finished Work." Without question, the influence of Durham on the shaping of emerging groups like the Assemblies of God is strategic.

William H. Durham: Early Years

William H. Durham was born in 1873 in Kentucky. At the age of 18 he joined a Baptist Church but did not have a genuine experience of salvation. This came some years later, In 1898, while he was in Minnesota, Durham experience a vision of the crucified Christ. He points to this moment as the time when he was born again. Early in his experience, he encountered issues related to the teaching of sanctification. For some months Durham enjoyed a wonderful sense of victory in his Christian experience, but then there were times when he felt he had "lost the victory."

> I was told that sanctification was what I needed, and I sought this blessing the best I knew how for a long time. Sometimes I would think the work was done, then again would realize that it was not, till finally, some three years after my conversion, God gave me light and grace to definitely trust the blood of Christ and rest my faith on His finished works.[2]

He felt at that time that he had experienced sanctification. At once he launched into full-time Christian service, preaching what was

[2] William H. Durham, "Pentecostal Testimony of Pastor Durham, " The Pentecostal Testimony (1909), 6

essentially a Wesleyan message of entire sanctification. In 1901, Durham became a pastor of a humble fellowship in Chicago called the North Avenue Mission, where his ministry flourished. Like many Holiness advocates of the time, he felt he had received the fullness of the spirit, but doubts continued to plague him. He had to acknowledge in honesty with himself that his experience did not match what he read of the apostolic church in the Book of Acts. In April, 1906, word spread of a Pentecostal outpouring in Los Angeles. Durham was convinced that God was at work in Los Angeles but was offended at the teaching that speaking in tongues is the accompanying evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit, and preached against the doctrine. Yet, he did believe that those who spoke in tongues had something he did not have. In January, 1907, the Holy Spirit began to fall on people in Chicago. Among the first to receive was Elder J. C. Sinclair, a man with whom Durham had labored, one that Durham felt had the Holy Spirit before this experience, if anyone did. The powerful, radiant experience of Elder Sinclair was a challenge to Durham, for he now felt that Sinclair indeed had something he himself did not have. He was particularly impressed with Sinclair's singing in the spirit, since he knew that the man could not sing! At this point, Durham began to seek God for the baptism in the Spirit in great earnest. His pastoral duties in Chicago limited his ability to wait on the Lord; so Durham made a trip to Los Angeles, visiting the Azusa Street Mission. After several days of earnest seeking, on March 2, 1907, Durham received the Pentecostal experience with the accompanying sign of speaking in tongues. In the weeks that Durham was at Azusa Street, he had ample opportunity to observe the revival. Here is a sample of his comments:

> I shall ever cherish the memory of that place; for as soon as I entered the place I became conscious that God was there. I knew I was in his Holy presence. There were hundreds of people present. God seemed to be controlling everything so far as I could see. No man had anything whatever to do with what was happening. The Holy Ghost seemed to have full control, and yet the order seemed perfect. My soul was melted down before the Lord; but to me the wonderful thing was yet to happen. After some hymns had been sung a wave of power and glory seemed to sweep over the place, and a large number began to sing in the spirit, what is called in this work the "Heavenly Anthem." I had never heard anything in my life so sweet. It was the Spirit of God Himself, and I knew it. I would have given much to be able to sing in that choir, but had my

> life depended upon it could not have sung a word; for I had not yet received Him who was doing the singing. And there I saw, more plainly than ever before, the difference between having the presence of the Spirit of God with us and having Him living within us in person, and I resolved then there that I would never cease seeking, till I had received Him in Pentecostal fullness, and by the grace of God I kept that resolve.[3]

On Feb. 26, 1907, at an afternoon meeting at the Azusa Street Mission, with about thirty people present, the Holy Spirit fell on Durham, an experience repeated on subsequent occasions, as well, over the next several days. Here is how he describes the event:

> I was at the end of everything and the Lord knew it, and as three of His dear children stood over me and told me just to surrender all to God and not to try to do anything I did so, when, O joy! A thrill of power went through me followed by another. And then it appeared as if every one of my pores were suddenly opened and a mighty current was turned on to me from every side, and so great was the infilling that it seemed at the time as if the physical life would be crowded out of my body. I literally gasped for breath and fell in a heap on the floor. My strength was gone but I was perfectly conscious of everything, so lifted my heart to God and earnestly entreated Him to finish the work at this time, and so intense was my longing to have the work finished that I was reaching heavenward with one hand all the time.[4]

Such powerful visitations of the Spirit continued for several more days before Durham received the fullness of the Spirit. Seymour was present on the evening of March 2, 1907, when Durham was baptized in the Spirit. He prophesied that "where I should preach the Holy Spirit would fall on the people." Indeed, when Durham returned to his Chicago pulpit, the Pentecostal message spread quickly throughout the American Midwest. His meetings were crowded, sometimes lasting far into the night. It was reported that a "thick haze…like blue smoke" often rested on the building. When this occurred, those who entered the mission would fall down in the aisles.

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[3] Ibid

[4] Ibid., 7

Not only did Durham have an impact on ordinary believers, but his ministry attracted the attention of many other ministers of the gospel. Sometimes as many as 25 ministers from out of town would be in a meeting, seeking the baptism in the Holy Spirit. His preaching was acclaimed by thousands. The litany of leaders who later became prominent pioneers of the burgeoning Pentecostal revival who came to hear him is impressive. They included A.H. Argue of Winnepeg, E. N. Bell, a Baptist minister who became an early leader of the Assemblies of God, Howard Goss, Daniel Berg, the founder of the Assemblies of God in Brazil, and Luigi Francescon, a pioneer of the Pentecostal movement in Italy. Aimee Semple (before she married Harold McPherson) was instantly healed of a broken ankle through Durham's ministry in 1910. Certainly the ministry of Durham in Chicago in these years was one of the important factors in the spread of the Pentecostal message in the Midwest.[5]

Durham's Teaching on Sanctification

Durham emphasized a Christological view of sanctification. For him, the focus is on the believer's position in Christ. The victory of the believer centers in the cross and the "finished work of Christ."

> When one really comes into Christ he is much in Christ as he will ever be. He is in state of holiness and righteousness. He is under the precious Blood of Jesus Christ and is clean. Every sin has been washed away. This is the state one enters on conversion. If he keeps there he will continue to be holy and righteous. There is no reason why should not remain in the state he is brought into in conversion. The Scripture clearly teaches that a converted person is to reckon himself dead, Rom. 6:11. Such a one is exhorted to present himself to God as alive from the dead, Rom. 6:13, not to seek for a second work of grace. In fact all the teaching of Scripture on the subject is that all in conversion we become identified with Christ and come into a state of sanctification, and we are continually exhorted to live the sanctified life in the Holy Spirit. Living faith brings us into Christ, and the same living faith

[5] See Richard Riss, "William H. Durham." In *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds, S.M. Burgess and G.B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 255-256.

> enables us to reckon ourselves to be 'dead indeed' and to abide in Christ. It is a sad mistake to believe that any one, or even two experiences, as such, can ever remove the necessity of maintaining a helpless continual dependence on Jesus Christ, and bearing our daily cross, and living the overcoming life.[6]

Durham sees Paul's teaching in Galatians as a significant reinforcement of this view.

> In the days of Paul, when a man or church backslid, they were called to repentance. They were classed as backsliders, and exhorted to return to their first state of grace. His letter to the Galatians was written for the express purpose of pointing out their mistake in departing from the blessed place of grace into which faith in Christ had brought them. What a mistake holiness teachers have made in teaching that the Galatians were justified and not sanctified. No such thing is even hinted at in the epistle. They were turning from the faith of Jesus Christ to the works of the law. They were in danger in falling from grace entirely. They had begun in the Spirit and were ending in the flesh, and as a result were losing their justification, and of course their sanctification. They had come into Christ, the Sanctifier, when they believed on Him, and they had receive the Holy Spirit.[7]

Of people like Demas, whom Paul admonished, Durham says, "It was not a second work of grace they needed, but to repent and get back into the grace they had once been in"[8] It is clear that Durham understood the baptism in the Holy Spirit to be a profound experience with God that can be described as the "fullness of the spirit," but is not conditional on a particular quality of sanctification. There is an underlying assumption that being overwhelmed by the Spirit, as occurs in Spirit baptism, is inconceivable without a sensitivity to one's personal condition of holiness. However, for Durham, personal holiness is an on-going discipline of life that centers in renewing one's place in Christ. Sanctification is the victory of the Christian over sin as one continually reckons oneself dead to sin and alive to Christ (Rom 6).

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[6] Durham, "Sanctification." *The Pentecostal Testimony* 1:8 (1911), 2.

[7] Ibid

[8] Ibid

It is clear that Durham did not want to confuse the interior work of the Spirit in the moral domain of sanctification with the overflow of the Spirit that engulfs the individual in Spirit baptism. The believer was admonished to appropriate the benefits of the finished work of Christ, not a second crisis experience subsequent to conversion. Durham objected to the teaching of entire sanctification because he understood it to be a circumvention of the need for an ongoing sanctification process in the life of the Christian believer.

Durham: From Chicago to Los Angeles

Durham first aired his views on sanctification at a large Pentecostal convention held in Chicago in 1910. This opened up considerable controversy, since many of the Pentecostal leaders held to the Wesleyan position. In the months that followed, Durham was able to persuade a significant number of these leaders of the Biblical soundness of the "finished work" doctrine.

Early in 1911, Durham virtually abandoned the work in Chicago, and moved his operations to Los Angeles, including his occasional periodical, *The Pentecostal Testimony*. He had a sense of mission to communicate his "finished work" message. He went first to Elmer Fisher's Upper Room Mission with his message, but was turned out. From there, he attempted to minister in the Azusa Street Mission. He reports,

> On February14th, we began meetings in Azusa Mission. From the first day the power of God rested upon the meetings in a wonderful way… The work in Los Angeles was in a sad condition. Those who had been the leaders, in most cases, had proven so incompetent that the saints had lost all confidence in them, and this had resulted in state of confusion that was sad indeed to see. Scores were really in a backslidden state, and yet in their hearts they longed to follow Jesus. Scores of others were, and for months had been, crying to God to send some one who would preach the truth and lead his people on.[9]

[9] Durham, "The Great Revival at Azusa Street Mission—How it Began and How it ended," *The Pentecostal Testimony* 1:8 (1911), 3.

Frank Bartleman, an eyewitness to the events in Los Angeles, reported that at once there was a wonderful flow of the power of God at the place where the great revival had flourished earlier.

> I had gotten back just in time to see it. God had gathered many of the Old Azusa workers back, from many parts of the world, to Los Angeles again evidently for this. It was called by many the shower of the Latter Rain. On Sunday the place was crowded and five hundred were turned away. The people would not leave their seats between meetings for fear of losing them.[10]

Bitter controversy followed Durham's Los Angeles ministry. On the one hand, he was obviously received with joy by many, and was instrumental in bringing fresh life back to the old Azusa Street Mission. His teaching on sanctification evidently set many free from bondage. On the other hand, some of the early leaders fought back, repudiating Durham's teaching as a serious departure from orthodoxy. Brother Fisher had already denounced him and was doing all in his power to oppose him. Even so, many from the Upper Room Mission left Fisher's work to follow Durham. For some time, Durham was welcomed at the Azusa Street Mission. What evidently had been a dwindling group was immediately revitalized. William Seymour, the Azusa Street Mission pastor, was away at this time. Upon his return to Los Angeles, Seymour opposed Durham, and even locked the door of the mission to prevent the popular preacher from having access. Durham had taken a vote among the hundreds of people now attending the Azusa Street Mission to see which leader they wanted—whether it would be the Wesleyan Seymour or the non-Wesleyan Durham. Durham reports that only about 10 out of the several hundred wished to stay with Seymour as a leader.[11]

For the next several months Durham preached in Los Angeles in a hall that had been leased for a year. On Sundays, a thousand people attended the meetings. On Weekdays, as many as four hundred came to hear Durham. It is apparent that the original Azusa Street Mission and Fisher's Upper Room Mission were in decline but that Durham's ministry was flourishing.

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[10] Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street* (reprint, Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1980), 150.

[11] Durham, op.cit., 4.

In February, 1912, Durham returned to preach in Chicago at the invitation of a friend. He conducted a strenuous two-week meeting that was evidently greatly blessed by the Lord. However, the physical exertions of these stressful days exacted a great toll on his body. He returned to Los Angeles in a weakened condition. He died of pneumonia on July 7, 1912, not yet forty years of age.

Concluding Thoughts

By 1914, when the Assemblies of God came into being, many of the leaders emerging among the isolated and scattered missions and meeting halls, had adopted the sanctification teaching of William Durham. Certainly this is true to M.M. Pinson, Howard Goss and E. N. Bell, the first chairman of the General Council. The teaching of Durham from 1910 onward had opened up acrimonious attacks and counter-attacks among Pentecostals. It is noteworthy that M.M. Pinson, who preached in the opening session of the first council in Hot Springs, Arkansas, in April, 1914, used the occasion to call for harmony among the people on this very point, titling his message, "Entire Sanctification"[12] During the first years of this broad fellowship of local assemblies, a strong anti-creedal sentiment prevailed. It was assumed that a common belief in the authority of the Bible, and in a shared set of values, largely unwritten, was all that was necessary. In 1916, out of the crisis occasioned by the so-called "Jesus Only" teaching, it became apparent that no longer was it possible to function as a fellowship of believers and churches without a written statement of faith, not intended to be a comprehensive theology, but at least articulating a common point of view on critical matters. In the statement of Fundamental truths, one of the 16 points listed to clarify the position of the Assemblies of God was a paragraph on sanctification. The language of that statement clearly expresses a Reformed point of view that sanctification begins with regeneration and is progressive through the Christian life. Surprisingly, however, the term employed to describe this was "entire sanctification." It seems that a term dear to Wesleyans was consciously employed to avoid giving offense to those in the fellowship (including J. Roswell Flower) who continued to advocate the Wesleyan second-blessing teaching about sanctification. The ambiguity lay, of course, in defining that

[12] General Council Minutes, 1914, 3.

term to mean quite the opposite! In 1961, by vote of the General Council, that point in the Statement of Fundamental Truths was amended so that no longer was the term "entire sanctification" used.[13]

Pentecostal denominations that grew out of the Assemblies of God, including the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel and the Open Bible Standard Churches, hold the same view of sanctification as the Assemblies of God. Many autonomous national church bodies, some certainly influenced by the American Assemblies of God, hold the doctrine of sanctification taught by that group. Most Pentecostals in the world today identify themselves with the non-Wesleyan view of sanctification. In this paper, I have attempted to demonstrate that the teaching of William Durham at a critical formative phase in the history of the young revival movement had a powerful impact on shaping the view that prevailed.

A final note should be added at this point. In 1947, with the formation of the World Pentecostal Fellowship, and a year later, the formation of the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America, Pentecostals who had grown up in virtual isolation from the larger church world—and even in isolation from one another—were now thrust into the unfamiliar territory of having to engage in conversation with one another. It was immediately evident that a major dividing line appeared along the different doctrines regarding sanctification, with a large number of Pentecostals adhering to the traditional Wesleyan holiness view of a second blessing, and an even larger number advocating the Reformed view of progressive sanctification. Over the years, it has become apparent that at least part of the theological differences are to some degree semantic, rather than substantive. Our Wesleyan Pentecostal friends want to give emphasis to the need for cultivating a holy life, and usually allow for a principle of growth within the life of the believer, not unlike that taught by non-Wesleyans. And, pressed on the point, many Wesleyans will qualify the term "entire-sanctification" in such a way that it defuses the judgment that they are teaching a species of "perfectionism."

What is really called for is not an exercise in name-calling, but a common search for what God is saying to the Pentecostal movement a century after its birth. If, in fact, God in his matchless grace pours out His Spirit in powerful ways to empower believers to be bold witnesses in a dark world, and if, in fact, He does not wait until hungry believers are entirely sanctified to use them, is there not a humbling challenge for

[13] General Council Minutes, 1961, 92.

all Spirit-anointed believers to invite the Holy Spirit—the Spirit of holiness—to search our hearts and to cleanse us from every evil way?

[*AJPS* 14:2 (2011), pp. 199-211]

NON-WESLEYAN PENTECOSTALISM: A TRADITION THE INFLUENCE OF FUNDAMENTALISM

William W. Menzies

Introduction

In examining the roots of the modern Pentecostal movement, it is important to acknowledge that although it is obvious that virtually all of the earliest Pentecostal leaders were a direct product of the Wesleyan Holiness movement, other influences had a profound impact on the shaping of the values of what came to be the main stream of Pentecostalism. Among these non-Wesleyan streams of influence is fundamentalism. In the United States, Fundamentalism emerged about 1875, reaching a zenith of influence in the early 1920's. It grew out of a shared concern by Evangelical leaders, both church leaders and scholars, for a means of responding to the alarming erosion of basic Christian beliefs, beliefs that were under heavy assault from liberal theological scholarship. That form of liberalism that emerged in the late-nineteenth century came to be known as Modernism. A great struggle ensued for many years in the American denominations between the forces of Modernism and Fundamentalism. Although Modernism made a powerful impact on the main line denominations of the United States, by 1935 these errant, influential, orthodox Christian values were virtually dead. Following the infamous Scopes trial over the teaching of evolution in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925, in which Fundamentalism was publicly humiliated, the movement retreated into a defensive posture. For the next two decades, Fundamentalism languished in the throes of internal turmoil. Denominations split and split again. Its image was defensive and divisive. Fundamentalism resurfaced with a vigorous image in the 1940s under the banner of the New Evangelicalism. There still exists a remnant of the older form of fundamentalism, but this wing of conservative Christianity has never recovered the position of great influence it had in the earlier part of the century. It is important to observe that the true home of the modern

Pentecostal movement is within the folds of the New Evangelicalism.[1] The lingering remnant of earlier fundamentalism is strongly opposed to Pentecostalism. This lecture is designed to trace the contours of the fundamentalist movement, and especially to point out ways in which the earlier phase of this movement influenced the shape of modern Pentecostal values.

As an explanatory note, it should be observed that although the contour of the struggle between orthodox Evangelical Christianity and the encroachments of nineteenth century liberal theology are sharply defined in the American experience, this same struggle also occupied the attention of Christian leaders and scholars elsewhere, particularly in Europe, howbeit in less dramatic forms. This paper views the Fundamentalist/modernist struggle from an American perspective. Let the reader assume that the basic issues in the American scene are emblematic of a world-wide engagement of core values during the period under consideration.

The Fundamentalist/Modernist Controversy

A major feature on the theological landscape of the nineteenth century was the struggle for the hearts and minds of Christians in the western world between liberals and conservatives. In the United States, this great struggle came to be known as the Fundamentalist/Modernist controversy. The Pentecostal revival began at the beginning of the twentieth century, right at the peak of the struggle. Pentecostals had their own agenda for establishing a self-identity, and did not participate in a larger struggle being fought in the mainline denominations; but it is clearly evident that Pentecostals adopted wholesale the values espoused by the Fundamentalist movement. Only when it became apparent that the fundamentalists were militantly opposed to Pentecostal teaching did the Pentecostals resign themselves to the rejection they experienced at the hands of scornful Fundamentalists. Being spurned by

[1]Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, is the primary institutional expression of the New Evangelicalism. *Christianity Today*, perhaps the most widely read journal of contemporary Christian thought, is the leading literary forum for the new Evangelism. The first editor, Carl F.H. Henry, and Billy Graham, the evangelist , are sometimes called the "inside man" and "outside man" of the New Evangelical Movement. L. Nelson Bell, the father-in-law of Billy Graham , was the founder of *Christianity Today*.

Fundamentalists did not diminish the enthusiasm with which Pentecostals adopted the fruits of the Fundamentalist labors.

The Shape of Modernism

Modernism took shape over a period of at least a century. It is primarily to be seen as a product of Enlightenment thinking, in which the rational and imperial superseded recourse to the more subjective realm of faith, revelation and miracle. The assaults on the authority of the Bible were already well-developed before the end of the eighteenth century. Rationalist religion reduced Christianity to a code of ethics, stripping away from the Scriptures reports of the miraculous. This assault centered in the attempt to discredit the biblical accounts of the resurrection of Christ, the pre-eminent miracle. The deity of Christ and the substitutionary atonement were challenged as insupportable by rational and empirical tests, therefore, rendered unbelievable. Hegel contrived a speculative philosophical theology, a view of history that rested not on revelation but on human reflection. Built into his rational worldview was optimism about the perfectibility of humanity and history. He conceived of the inevitability of progress. Hegel was an articulate spokesman for a hallmark of Modernist thought: optimism about humanity and history.

Another facet of emerging Modernism was the influence of the Romantic age. A contemporary of Hegel's in Berlin at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Friedrich Schleiermacher, emerged as an influential thinker and writer. Schleiermacher was a product of the Pietist movement in Germany. But, somewhere along the way, he lost his orthodox faith. He came to accept the notion that the Bible is not a trustworthy book, and that one must devise a different way to develop religious values. Schleiermacher, perhaps yearning for the experience of the new birth he had been taught in German Pietism, developed a novel way of speaking about Christian faith. He reached into the subjective, into the realm of feeling (very much in the tradition of Romanticism) where he felt lay the possibility of connecting with something beyond oneself. What he called "the feeling of dependence" was his starting point for the erection of a system of theology. Not founded on revelation, and not limited to the merely rational, Schleiermacher's theology rested on the shaky ground of subjective feeling. For him, Christ was a good model, but not a savior. An important component in Modernism, as it unfolded, was

sentimentalism. It is interesting to observe that Schleiermacher is considered by many to be the father of Modernist theology.

Another component in the edifice erected by Modernism was the place given to ethics. If Christianity was not the story of a God-man, Christ Jesus, who came to deal with sin at Calvary, what was left for Modernists was little more than a code of acceptable behavior, a system of ethics. Emmanuel Kant's *The Categorical Imperative and Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* is the attempt to contrive a system of religion out of the common awareness of guilt and responsibility, a well-nigh universal human consciousness. Kant felt he could argue for eternal life, for a power or being beyond humans to whom we owe allegiance, of an intelligence in the cosmos that speaks of order and justice--all put together without conscious recourse to the revelation of God in Scripture. What is significant for later Modernist thought is Kant's attention to the priority of ethics. Late Modernism, indeed, was marked by concern for society structured in an orderly way, and sin was largely defined in terms of whatever hindered the proper ordering of society. Sin, for the Modernist, became largely a matter of corporate evil, the unjust arrangements in society. One can see why, as Modernism gained in influence, liberal Christians aligned themselves increasingly with socialist political movements worldwide.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the influences of rationalism, romanticism, and the ethical concerns of Kant had flowered in what came to be known as the classical expression of Modernism. In Germany, Adolf Harnack wrote *What is Christianity?*[2]

The core ideas of Modernism can be summarized as follows:

1) A view of the Bible as a collection of interesting stories that provide an evolutionary view of the development of religion;
2) A view of an immanent God who is somehow intimately part of the universe and who chooses to operate by natural law rather than the miraculous;
3) Christ is the archetypal man, preeminent model of human goodness, but merely a man;
4) Sin is defined for the individual as primarily a matter of ignorance and corporately as society not structured for the best interest of humanity;

[2] Adolf Harnack, *What is Christianity?* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957). The original edition of this volume was published in 1900.

5) The concept of atonement is the notion that as one gazes at the self-giving sacrifice of Jesus, one is impressed to live a more noble life; and
6) Humanity and history are perfectible, with the motion toward progress inevitable.

These ideas exhibit a severe reduction of classical orthodox Christian theology, essentially stripping the supernatural from Christianity and changing the focus from God to humans. This radical reassessment of the Christian message impacted the Christian West, moving relentlessly from Germany to Britain and on to America. American seminary professors often studied in Germany. In essentially one generation, from about 1875 to 1990, the great Christian denominations in the United States were overcome with Modernism. Seminary teaching posts, influential pulpits, denominational executive offices, and publishing houses were engulfed. A great disaster had overtaken the churches, the full extent of which would not be fully understood for years to come.

The Emergence of Fundamentalism

Into this crisis, a coalition of concerned church leaders and scholars pressed their efforts to stem the erosion of orthodox Christian values. A growing sense of crisis emerged among earnest Christian believers in the face of the meteoric rise of modernism. Fundamentalism was the gathering together, in the face of a common enemy, of two unlikely clusters of Christian leaders.

1. Princeton Orthodox Scholarship

One of the key forces in the coalition was orthodox scholarship, chiefly centered in Princeton Seminary. Princeton (at least until 1929) was a rare exception to the capitulation to the blandishments of Modernism of theological seminaries in the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Princeton had a long and steady reputation for faithfulness to the core values of orthodox Calvinistic Christianity. Theology was shaped along the lines of classical Calvinism, deeply influenced by the Protestant orthodoxy of Francois Turretin from Europe. Into this mold came Charles Hodge, A. A. Hodge, and later Green and Warfield. The great volumes on Christian

apologetics of these scholars still rank among the finest defenses for the deity of Christ and the truth of the resurrection of Jesus. B.B. Warfield is noted, not only for his Christological apologetics, but for his rationale for the authority of the Bible. His advocacy of the "inerrancy of the autograph" became a hallmark of the Fundamentalist doctrine of Scripture, a definition of biblical authority that is still the test of faith for membership in the American Evangelical Theological Society. The theory, known as the "citadel defense," was to withdraw within a defensible perimeter, arguing for the faith from what was perceived to be the least assailable position.

Pentecostals, of course, remember Warfield for another of his "citadel" defenses of the Christian faith, his famous work *The Cessation of the Charismata*. Warfield, who argued persuasively for the validity of *biblical* miracles, such as the resurrection of Christ, chose to distance himself from arguments about the possibility of miracles in the contemporary world. He did not wish to confuse these points, so he reacted by consigning the manifestations of gifts of the Spirit to the Apostolic church alone, concluding that with the advent of the New Testament, there was no further need of these extraordinary gifts in the Church. The Warfieldian contribution, therefore, for Pentecostals is a two-edged sword. In some respects, Pentecostals readily identify with the support of orthodox theology, but in adopting the narrow defense respecting biblical miracles, this line of reasoning undercut Pentecostal values. When Fundamentalism had to make decisions about the Pentecostal movement following the great outpouring of the Spirit at the beginning of the twentieth century, sadly virtually the entire Fundamentalist movement rejected Pentecostals and their claim to the restoration of gifts of the Spirit.

On balance, however, it is evident that the key ideas of Fundamentalism were readily adopted by Pentecostals, whether the Fundamentalists were willing to accept the Pentecostals or not.

2. Evangelical Revivalism

The other leg of the Fundamentalist coalition was Evangelical Revivalism. From the days of Charles G. Finney in the mid-nineteenth century onward, a pattern of public Christian evangelistic crusades emerged, featuring many of the patterns still evident today in the public meetings of Billy Graham, now 150 years later. Concerted, well-organized citywide crusades, usually crossing denominational lines marked this era. Great meetings were instrumental in challenging

many people, especially in the rapidly-urbanizing world of that day, to make commitments to Christ as personal savior. Great crusades were conducted on both sides of the Atlantic. Great names like Dwight L. Moody, Reuben A. Torrey, and A.J. Gordon were conspicuous evangelistic leaders. Their message was clearly in line with the scholarly work of the Princeton theologians. One might say that the evangelists were the "heart" of the movement; the scholars were the "head."

Largely through the initiative of the evangelists, concerned Christians gathered in various forums to strengthen the support base of conservative Christianity. Bible conferences abounded from the 1870s onward. Across the platforms of these conferences paraded a steady flow of popular evangelists, but also scholars who supplied armament for the defense of the faith. Gradually the Bible conferences focused increased attention to eschatological themes. A sense of urgency gripped the people; Jesus was coming soon; these were the last days of a dying age; the need for the empowering of the Spirit to equip people to be effective witnesses was sorely needed.

Among the institutional expressions of Fundamentalism that had an abiding influence was the creation of a new kind of preparatory school for entering Christian ministry, the Bible institute. Observing that the seminaries of the day were not producing either enough graduates for the task of world evangelization, nor the kind of graduates who knew how to lead people to Christ, a "crash program" was devised. D. L. Moody and A. B. Simpson were the first to develop such schools. So, respectively, Moody Bible Institute of Chicago and Nyack Missionary Training Institute in Nyack, New York, were formed in the 1870s. Their goal was quite simple: to take young people directly out of high schools, without necessarily having the classical preparation required for a seminary admission, but who had a call of God on their lives. These young people were to be put into an intense training program that combined three things: 1) study of the Bible, 2) practical, hands on ministry in real-life situations in the neighborhood of the school, and 3) exposure to various means of spiritual formation, chiefly times of prayer. The Bible institute movement proved to be an effective alternative to the prevailing—and decaying—
divinity schools of the day. No, they were not intended to replace centers of scholarship that could nourish thoughtful scholars in the production of useful textbooks, but they were intended to place people in the field—around the world—with a clear, simple message that would change people's lives. It is little wonder that the Fundamentalist

innovation of the Bible school was swiftly adopted by Pentecostals as a useful mechanism for harnessing the energies of Spirit-filled young people in many countries for effective ministries. Today the Assemblies of God operates more Bible schools around the world than any other denomination.

By 1895, the coalition of Princeton scholarship with Evangelical Revivalism was virtually complete. An important catalyst in this alliance was the hermeneutical system of C. I. Scofield. Drawn largely from the writings of J.N. Darby, the teaching of C. I. Scofield, and especially his famous Reference Bible, had a widespread influence over the entire Fundamentalist movement. The annual Bible conference that punctuated the Fundamentalist calendar was largely geared to themes centered on the Second Coming of Christ, the urgency of the hour, and the need for deeper commitment. Not all the Princeton theologians adopted pre-millennial, Scofieldian, eschatological views, but there was a substantial consensus about central values by the turn of the century. This consensus found expression in various ways in the first years of the twentieth century. The following is a brief summary of what came to be known as "the fundamentals."

The Fundamentals

There was fairly widespread agreement about the core message of Fundamentalism. In various forms and in different settings, lists of what constituted the "fundamentals" appeared. Perhaps the most comprehensive statement of Fundamentalist convictions to appear was the publication between 1910 and 1915 of twelve paper-back volumes, collectively called *The Fundamentals*. Two wealthy laymen, Lyman and Milton Stewart, funded the free distribution of this series to three million pastors and Sunday school teachers throughout the United States. This publishing enterprise represents Fundamentalism in its finest hour—sixty four writers united in a common purpose, articulating persuasively a positive proclamation of core Christian truths.[3]

1. Pre-millennial Eschatology

[3] Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (reprint, Grand Rapids:, 1978), 189.

In the wake of the French Revolution, some English Christians saw in the overthrow of long-established social order a portent of the end of the age. They sought answers for their questions about uncertain future in the study of Bible prophecy. Among those who pursued the unlocking of the mysteries of biblical prophecy was the Scottish Presbyterian, Edward Irving, who was instrumental in the establishing of an ill-fated charismatic association, The Catholic Apostolic Church. Edward Irving believed that the Second Coming was imminent, and in preparation for this great event, God was going to pour out his Holy Spirit. They were to expect not only the recovery of the charismatic gifts of the Spirit, including baptism in the Spirit with the "standing sign" of speaking in tongues, but Irving and his followers taught that there was to be a restoration of the offices of prophet and apostle. The extremes to which the Catholic Apostolic Church went quickly shunted this abortive movement into obscurity and irrelevance. However, another spokesman arose in England who was destined to have far-reaching influence, not only in England but especially in the United States. His name was John Nelson Darby.

Darby, the founder of the Plymouth Brethren, taught a view of world history that featured a pre-millennial return of Jesus Christ. He propounded a view of the Second Coming of Christ as the cataclysmic end of the present world order, a world order that was seen to be sinking into darkness. The Second Coming of Christ was pictured by Darby as a sudden, unexpected event, a dramatic moment for which earnest Christians should be preparing themselves. Important to understanding the biblical teaching about the unfolding of God's dealings with humanity was the contriving of a system of dispensations. These dispensations were an important key to understanding the flow of biblical and world history. The Church age, the current period, was conceived to be a parenthesis in this series of epochs, an era of uncertain limits which would be terminated by the sudden, unexpected, return of Jesus. The Millennium, a literal 1000 years reign of Christ on earth, would follow the Second Coming. Crucial to Darby's eschatology was a literalistic hermeneutic, predicated on a high view of the inspiration of the Bible. These themes—the authority of an infallible Bible, pessimism about the current world order, and a strong commitment to the imminent Second Coming of Jesus Christ—all of these were themes that eventually were adopted by Fundamentalism. It is significant at this juncture to remind ourselves that Wesley, along with most other conservative, Evangelical Christians of that era, was a post-millennialist. Not until the time of

Irving and Darby, about 1830, was there a change in the ideas about eschatology commonly held by earnest Christian believers. Wesleyan post-millennial eschatology continued to inform Holiness thinking and only quite late in the race were the pre-millennial views of Fundamentalism adopted by some of the younger Wesleyan bodies. Pre-millennialism was clearly a Fundamentalist theme. Jesus Christ was coming again, bodily and personally. This was the strong hope of the Fundamentalist movement.

2. The Inerrancy of Scripture.

A common thread running through the Fundamentalist/Modernist debate was the issue of the nature of Scripture. Liberals had largely adopted a humanistic view of the Bible, conceding much to the opinions of destructive critics who had rejected supernaturalism for a century. For Modernists in the late-nineteenth century, the Bible was perceived to be nothing but the collected history of a primitive people describing the evolution of their religious beliefs. To combat this radical concession, scholars like B. B. Warfield argued for not only the *authority* of the Bible as the very Word of God, but within that circle he drew another circle, the *infallibility* of the Bible. And to insure that the infallibility of the Bible was secured, he drew within that circle yet another circle, what he called *the inerrancy of the autograph*.[4] This definition of the nature of Scripture made no claim for the accuracy of the transmission of the text, but relied solely on a logical defense of the original documents, documents not available for inspection. Since the documents, the autographs, were not available, it was not possible for the Modernist to assail this citadel of belief, other than to complain that it was an argument from silence.

Coupled with this high view of Scripture, Fundamentalists leaned far in the direction of advocating a literalist interpretation of Scripture. For example, the Scofieldian dispensational system was erected on a very literal interpretation of prophetic passages. The Bible institutes of the day taught the students to see the Bible through the lenses of literalism. This resulted in a generation of students able to confront the spiritual needs of the world, unencumbered with the tortured and complex debates and arguments that troubled scholars on both sides of the great debate.

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[4] B. B. Warfield, *Inspiration and Authority*, 211, quoted in Sandeen, op.cit., 127

3. The Deity of Christ

Critical to the debate was the understanding of the person of Jesus Christ. If He were indeed the divine Son of God, and not merely another man, the implications would be enormous. Fundamentalists rightly assessed the significance of the issue and addressed in persuasive ways the truth of the full deity of Jesus Christ. An example of the importance attached to this aspect of theology is that the very first volume of *The Fundamentals* begins with two articles on the person of Christ.[5]

4. The Bodily Resurrection of Christ

The Fundamentalist rightly understood that the resurrection of Christ from the dead is the touchstone of Christianity. Whether or not Jesus Christ rose again makes all the difference. Apologetic material that is still unsurpassed today was produced by astute Fundamentalist scholars.[6]

5. The Vicarious Atonement.

Modernists had reduced the concept of atonement to nothing more than "moral influence." This is, when a person pondered the willingness of Jesus to suffer and to die as a martyr for a noble, if misguided cause, the observer would be ennobled to do better in the decisions of daily life. For the Modernist, nothing really happened at Calvary. All that happens is in the mind of the beholder. This is a subjective understanding of the atonement. For Fundamentalists, this view was a reduction of a central truth of Christianity—the truth that the death of Jesus Christ was truly an objective act of atonement for the sins of humankind. The concept of the substitutionary atonement,

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[5] See *The Fundamentals*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Testimony Publishing, 1910). James Orr wrote the first article, titled "The Virgin Birth of Christ," 7-20, and B. B. Warfield wrote the second, The Deity of Christ," 21-28.

[6] R. A. Torrey, "The Certainty and Importance of the Bodily Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead," in *The Fundamentals*, vol. V, 81-105. This is a sample of the argumentation employed by Fundamentals to support belief in the resurrection of Christ.

vicarious ("in our place"), was consistently taught by the Fundamentalists in sharp contrast to the views of the Modernists.[7]

Fundamentalism and the Pentecostal Movement

In 1919, the various entities comprising the amorphous Fundamentalist cause came together to form the World Christian Fundamentals Association. In their convention in 1928, a resolution was adopted that disavowed any connection or endorsement of the "tongues movement."[8] For a variety of reasons, Fundamentalism rejected the Pentecostals. Certainly one reason for this was the strong commitment of most Fundamentalists to the hermeneutic of Scofieldian dispensationalism, which made little place for the manifestation of gifts of the Spirit in the contemporary church. Stanley Frodsham, editor of the *Pentecostal Evangel*, responded with an editorial expressing disappointment at the decision of the Fundamentalists, but appealed for a loving response, trusting that the day would come when Fellowship could be restored.[9]

In spite of being totally rebuffed by Fundamentalism, nonetheless the theological affirmations of Fundamentalism (except for their rejection of the availability of the charismata in the church) were uniformly accepted and promulgated. At the height of the Fundamentalist/Modernist controversy, more than 200 titles of books by Fundamentalist/ Dispensationalist authors were sold through the Gospel Publishing House in Springfield, Missouri.[10]

Even more significant is the shaping of Pentecostal eschatology. The classical Holiness movement was grounded in Wesleyan postmillennialism. Pre-millennialism, adopted tardily by most Holiness-Pentecostal bodies which emerged from the Pentecostal revival, was almost an afterthought. For groups like the Assemblies of

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[7] For a sample of the Fundamentalist support for the vicarious atonement, see Franklin Johnson, "The Atonement," in *The Fundamentals*, vol. VI, 50-63,.

[8] William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve* (Springfield, Mo: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 180.

[9] William W. Menzies, "Non-Wesleyan Origins of the Pentecostal Movement," In *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, ed. Vinson Synan (Plainfield, N.J., Logos, 1975), 85.

[10] Ibid.

God that were formed around shared Pentecostal experience and values but whose constituents came from a variety of backgrounds, the articulating of a theology that expressed the beliefs of the group required some creativity. Assemblies of God spokespersons clearly expressed identity with the teachings promulgated by the Fundamentalists, in nearly, every detail. When it came to eschatology, Frank Boyd and Ralph Riggs, respected Assemblies of God Theologians, accepted Fundamentalist dispensationalism wholesale, making it fit the needs of Pentecostalism by standing Scofieldian eschatology on its head. Instead of the church age being a hiatus in which the gifts of the Spirit are not to be expected, Boyd, for example, makes the church age the age of the Spirit! The promises of Charismatic activity that are consigned to the Millennium are brought right into the contemporary world.[11]

There is no question about the strong influence of Fundamentalism in the shaping of the values of the modern Pentecostal movement. This factor must be taken into account by those who wish to truly understand the origins of the Pentecostal movement.

[11]See William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve*, 39 for a discussion of giving a "Pentecostal baptism" to Scofieldian dispensationalism.

[*AJPS* 14:2 (2011), pp. 213-225]

NON-WESLEYAN PENTECOSTALISM: A TRADITION KESWICK AND THE HIGHER LIFE

William W. Menzies

Introduction

The nineteenth-century Holiness movement was composed of two major sub-groupings. One is the cluster of denominations and associations that flow directly out of the Wesleyan revival. In various ways they are the descendants of Methodism. When the term "Holiness movement" is used, this is the first thing that comes to the minds of most people. However, in addition to the Wesleyan tradition, there was a significant quest for holiness of life among earnest believers who were not part of Methodist-related Christianity. This wing of the holiness quest is often considered to be part of the larger Holiness movement, but it differed significantly in its understanding of sanctification. Unlike the Wesleyans who wished to recover his teaching on a second crisis experience of eradication of inbred sin, "higher life" advocates adopted views that were largely built on the Reformed teaching of positional holiness. Positional holiness was defined in the Reformed traditions as the declaration of God that at New Birth the believer is credited with the righteousness of Jesus Christ (see Phil 3:9). The righteousness of Christ is imputed to the believer; actual righteousness in practical life is developed through consecration. A variety of emphases on how the believer could cultivate a holy life appeared, but these teachings were erected on the concept of positional righteousness, the birthright of the believer from the moment of regeneration. This quest for holiness outside Wesleyanism is referred to as the "deeper life" or the "higher life." Advocates of the "higher life" (a term I prefer) came from Anglican, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, and other Christian orientations that tend to be Calvinistic rather than Arminian. Non-Wesleyan "higher life" teaching emphasized the suppression of sinful desires rather than the eradication of the sin principle, the kind of

perfectionism taught in the Wesleyan Holiness wing of the larger movement. The fruit of the sanctified life for the non-Wesleyan was defined more in terms of power for service than in the refinement of interior qualities of life. After the concept of baptism in the Spirit was articulated in the nineteenth century, it is easy to see how this was quickly imported into the "higher life" vocabulary. It is my contention that influences from this strand of the larger Holiness movement had a considerable impact on the shaping of the modern Pentecostal movement. Hence, it is a bit simplistic to say that the modern Pentecostal movement is merely an extension of the Holiness movement—particularly if one defines the Holiness movement narrowly to mean the Wesleyan strand of theology. We must first sketch the contours of the Wesleyan component of the Holiness movement.

The Starting Point: The Wesleyan Revival

John Wesley (1703-1791) is one of the remarkable revivalists of the Christian church. He arrived on the scene in eighteenth-century England at a time of discouraging apostasy. Crime and violence abounded. Some observers felt that apart from the Evangelical Awakening that Wesley triggered, England would have suffered a revolution not unlike that which France experienced at the end of the century. Wesley had a profound impact on English society, far beyond the confines of the Methodist churches he founded and led.[1]

In eighteenth century England, John Wesley and his Methodist revival movement cast a long shadow, spreading an influence that reached far into the future. In the United States, by 1850, the Methodist church had become the largest Protestant denomination. The distinguishing feature of Wesley's theology was that the individual Christian, experiencing at conversion only an "imperfect regeneration," required a special work of the Holy Spirit to complete the salvific process. This special work he described in various ways, preferring to call this "perfect love." Pressed by those who wanted to know how this experience affected the ability of the believer to sin, in later years Wesley used the term "eradication of inbred sin" to express his belief that the normal state of the sanctified believer is to live above

[1] A. Skevington Wood, *The Inextinguishable Blaze* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960), 235-246.

"conscious sin." He was careful to clothe his teaching within a view that avoided extreme perfectionism by indicating that the believer, in the ordinary course of events, would develop an enlarged capacity for God. Thus, he was able to talk at the same time of a state one entered into of "perfect love," but nonetheless this state was subject to the possibility of further moral and spiritual growth. By redefining sin to mean those actions for which a person is consciously responsible, it brought the possibility of at least a limited kind of perfection within reach.[2] In studying Wesley's ideas, it is important to understand how he redefined sin. Without this understanding, one is likely to make unfair comparisons with the sanctification teaching in other traditions. For the reformers, sin was any transgression, whether it be done consciously or unconsciously, and included sins of ignorance and omission, as well. Wesley sought to bring the sin problem into a specific field of view with which one could deal more readily. Victory over conscious sin is not quite the same as calling for triumph over all that is part of human finiteness, something that is clearly not attainable.

The American Methodist Church, beginning as a revival movement among the poor and the outcast, rose rapidly in upward social mobility. By mid-century, Methodism had become a prominent component of the fashionable, urban churches in the main stream of American Christianity. In inverse relationship to the social success of Methodism, however, came the muting of the sanctification teaching in Wesley. Evidently this radical teaching had become something of an embarrassment to the sophisticated of society. The rapid decline in the character of Methodism has been studied by many over the years. One is tempted to speculate about the reason for this decline, since the Assemblies of God has been likened in its institutional trajectory to the pattern of Methodism. It is quite likely that the retreat from emphases dear to Wesley's heart, including his call for holiness of life, may be understood, in part at least, by the *experiential* character of Methodist revivalism. The appeal for people to seek a deep experience with God seems to have come at the expense of attention to the *intellectual* support for such experience. Wesleyanism did not produce the same quality of theologians as did the various components of the Reformed

[2] John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (Chicago: Christian Witness, reprinted, n.d.), 103, 104 for a brief summary of his teaching. He uses the term "perfect love" as a positive description of this experience, an experience that follows justification. He shies away from the assertion that a sanctified believer cannot sin, although he speaks of "salvation from sin."

tradition, such as the Princeton Presbyterians. Comparing the standard Wesleyan theologies of the nineteenth century with Calvinistic counterparts reveals a departure from strong attention to the meaning of biblical texts to the more nebulous ether of philosophical discussion. The character of the Methodist Church changed rapidly during the middle part of the nineteenth century.

Although the Methodist Church had pretty well discarded the promotion of entire sanctification by mid-nineteenth century, an increasing number of individuals and groups who identified with Wesley's teaching abounded. In the course of the next fifty years, numerous Holiness denominations were spawned. Of particular interest was the role the camp meeting played in this resurgence of Wesleyan teaching. In 1867, at Vineland, New Jersey, a camp meeting to promote Holiness teaching was convened. It was so successful that similar camp meetings were held in various parts of the country each summer, a practice that continued in some places for another century, at least. Within the holds of Methodist-oriented tradition, while a great surge of interest in the recovery of teaching about entire sanctification was building in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, a similar marked interest in cultivating holiness of life was evident in the broader stream of Evangelical church life, as well.

The Higher Life Movement

As early as the 1830's Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874), the wife of a New York physician, began to attract considerable attention to the doctrine of sanctification. She and her husband were of Quaker Presbyterian background, respectively. Her sphere of influence was largely outside the Wesleyan orbit. Her Tuesday meetings for the Promotion of Holiness were attended by a variety of seeking believers. She advocated a deeper experience with God obtained by conscious commitment. Somewhere along the way, Palmer began to employ the term "baptism in the Holy Spirit" to convey to her followers what she felt this experience should be called.[3] By the 1850's, further stimulus toward rethinking the importance of seeking for a holy life came from

[3] See, for example, Phoebe Palmer, *Baptism in the Spirit Full Salvation* (reprint, Salem, Oh: Schmul Publisher, 1979). The terminology in her devotional-style material is drawn largely from Wesleyan sources, but her audience was far broader.

the pen of William Arthur. *The Tongue of Fire*, published in 1856,[4] appealed to Christians to seek for the filling of the Holy Spirit, what he termed "a baptism of fire." On the American scene, a book of enormous influence was W. E. Boardman's *The Higher Christian Life*, which appeared in 1858, during the height of the great "Fulton Street Prayer Meeting" revival. Boardman, a Presbyterian, spoke of the "Pentecostal baptism" to describe his conception of "Full salvation," or the overcoming life, the Spirit-filled life.[5] But, it was Charles G. Finney, who more than any other, influenced the adoption among Holiness people, both in England and America, of the term baptism in the Spirit to describe the concept of sanctification.[6] Finney and his colleague, Asa Mahan, together produced by 1875 what came to be known as "Oberlin theology," a unique understanding of sanctification that properly should be classified within the Holiness tradition.

An important contribution of the development of Non-Wesleyan motifs regarding sanctification was the contribution of Robert Pearsall Smith and his wife, Hannah Whitall-Smith, whose writings became even better known. Hannah Whitall-Smith's book, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life,* which appeared first in 1875, has been reprinted many times and continues to be a popular devotional guide. With the advent of the Smith's, it is appropriate to turn our attention now to the formation of the Keswick movement.

Keswick

By 1870, there was not only a rising tide of interest in the doctrine of sanctification among revitalized Methodists but across a broad spectrum of Evangelical Christianity far beyond the Wesleyan tradition there was a profound hunger for a deeper knowledge and experience of

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[4] William Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1856), esp.45-58 for a surprising treatment of speaking in tongues. Arthur saw in tongues not only an attention of God's supernatural intervention in human life, but linked this "baptism of fire" with the missionary mandate.

[5] W. E. Boardman, *The Higher Christian Life* (Boston: Henry Hoyt, 1858; reprint (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987), 65.

[6] John L. Gresham, Jr., *Charles G. Finney's Doctrine of Baptism of the Holy Spirit* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987), 65.

God. This is true in the United States and Britain. A similar movement existed on the European continent, as well. It seems that at the very time that destructive liberal forces were wrecking havoc in the soul of the great denominations through the influences of Modernism, God was generating among the many earnest Bible-believing Christians a deeper hunger for greater spiritual life and power. Much of this energy seems to have concentrated, at least for the English-speaking world, in the happening at Keswick.

Keswick is the name of a resort area in the northwest of England in the Lake District that was the venue of an historic "higher life" conference in 1875. Throughout the English-speaking world, ever since, there have been annual Keswick conferences, featuring the special "higher life" emphasis with which Keswick became identified. It has become common practice to speak of the sanctification theology of this movement as Keswick teaching. Frequently, Keswick teaching is included within the nineteenth century Holiness movement, even though Keswick sanctification teaching is a clear departure from Wesleyan Methodist understanding. Certainly the impact of Keswick thought had a substantial influence on the shaping of Pentecostal theology, not only in the English-speaking world, but elsewhere, particularly in continental Europe. We will want to uncover how Keswick theology differs from classical Methodist theology, and why Keswick theology was accepted so readily by Pentecostals. If this, in fact, is the case, then it serves as an important qualification to the conventional wisdom that Pentecostalism is merely a direct descendant of the Wesleyan Holiness movement. Certainly it can be documented that virtually all of the earliest leaders of the Modern Pentecostal movement were Wesleyan in their theology, but within only a few years, most Pentecostals had abandoned the Wesleyan view of sanctification and opted rather for a non-Wesleyan view, a view strikingly like that taught by the Keswick leaders. Keswick influence quickly gained currency in the young Pentecostal movement. Only those Pentecostal bodies that came into existence prior to 1911 continued to hold to Wesleyan Holiness views. Virtually all Pentecostal bodies that had origins after 1911 adopted non-Wesleyan sanctification views. Our purpose is to sketch the origins of Keswick teaching, to highlight its chief emphases, and to show how these views impacted the Pentecostal revival.

Across the platforms of the conventions paraded the great names of Evangelical Revivalism. It is important to note that the stream of people who comprised an important component of Fundamentalism

were the same people, by and large, who identified with the message of Keswick. Evan Hopkins, Asa Mahan, W.E. Boardman, A.T. Pierson, Theodore Monod, T. D. Harford-Battersby, Prebendary Webb-Peploe, J. Elder Cumming and Robert Wilson are among the names of the speakers at the annual conventions. Outstanding Evangelical scholars participated as well. Among these were G. Campbell Morgan, Handley C. G. Moule, Andrew Murray, F. B. Meyer, Graham Scroggie, and W. H. Griffith Thomas. J. Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission participated, along with other missionaries and evangelists. The leadership of Keswick over the years was principally British, but a lasting impact was left not only in the English-speaking world, but on the European continent, too. Keswick had an important influence on the German Holiness movement (*Heilsbewegung*). Jonathan Paul, the founder of the German Pentecostal movement, came out of the German Holiness movement, a group whose theology was marked by Keswickan influence. Alexander Boddy, an important early leader in the formation of British Pentecostalism, through his periodical *Confidence*, brought the Keswick understanding of "baptism in the Spirit" as an enduement of power into the British Pentecostal movement.[7]

Keswick teaching is not primarily a doctrinal system but rather it has a focus, a message, or what might be termed a special approach.[8] In spite of the fact that a large number of scholars and Christian leaders participated in the Keswick conventions, year after year, none claimed to be the theological spokesman for the movement. A great service has been provided by Steven Barabas, whose book *So Great Salvation* is perhaps the single best interpretation of the message of Keswick.[9]

A unique feature of the Keswick enterprise is the schedule followed for the annual conventions, called the "The Keswick week." During the typical "Keswick week," each day has a special focus. The first day attention is focused on sin. The purpose of this is to cultivate a sense of conviction and contrition. The second day addresses the

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[7] David Bundy, "Keswick Higher Life Movement," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal/Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley Burgess and Gary McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 518, 519; See also Steven Barabas, *So Great Salvation* (Westwood, N. J.; Fleming H. Revell, n.d.), 157-167.

[8] J. Robertson McQuilkin, "The Keswick Perspective" in *Five Views on Sanctification* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987), 153.

[9] Steven Barabas, *So Great Salvation* (Westwood, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell, n.d.).

provisions of God for victory over sin. The finished work of Christ provides, not just justification, but identification with the risen Christ. Union with Christ is seen as the centerpiece of Pauline theology. Victory over sin is linked not only to the victory of Christ at Calvary, but to the inner working of the Holy Spirit in the believer. The third day features consecration. This is the place where the participants are urged to make a complete surrender, to respond to the convicting work of the Holy Spirit. The fourth, and last day, features "life in the Spirit." What it means to walk in the Spirit, to be filled with the Spirit, to be controlled by the Spirit are topics commonly developed to fit the theme for the day.[10]

Because the Keswick teachers came from various theological traditions, it is not surprising that it is not easy to identify a precise Keswick theology. McQuilkin, a leading American Keswick exponent, speaks of "marginal ambiguities," of core values commonly held, but falling short of precise definitions.[11] He disagrees with those who have charged Keswick with teaching a form of perfectionism. Here, McQuilkin recognizes that the problem centers in how one chooses to define sin. If, as the Keswick exponents did, speak of sin as a "conscious violation of a known law," using the language of Wesley, the victory over sin that is taught is more digestible than if one uses a standard Reformed definition of sin.

McQuilkin sees some ambiguity, as well, in the various Keswick messages over the years on the meaning of sanctification. However, he believes that a summary of commonly-held teaching is possible to state. McQuilkin, expressing what he believes Keswick teaching to be, sees sanctification in three ways. First, at justification and regeneration, the believer is declared to have the righteousness of Jesus Christ. This is understood in Reformed circles to be "positional righteousness." Second, is what McQuilkin calls "experimental sanctification." This is the outworking of one's place in Christ in practical daily life. The believer is called upon to participate with the Holy Spirit in this process. This is the primary focus of the Keswick emphasis, as we shall see. Then, the third aspect of sanctification is complete, or permanent, sanctification. This comes only at the end of this life (I John 3:2). This is usually understood to be the "glorification" of the believer. One can readily see in this outline the shape of standard

[10] McQuilkin, op. cit., 154, 155.

[11] McQuilkin, op, cit., 156, 158.

Reformed theology. The major difference lies in the definition of sin and the challenge to live victoriously, a theme that does not have much emphasis in traditional Reformed theologies.[12]

It is Steven Barabas who provides for us what I think is the clearest expression of Keswick teaching on the dynamics of the overcoming life. Keswick teaching makes it abundantly clear that sanctification, as well as justification, is centered in the work of Christ redeeming humanity from sin through death and resurrection. "Man cannot become holy without the cross."[13] But, he goes on to say, "If the cross is the ground, the Holy Spirit is the agent of our Sanctification."[14] It is precisely at this point that Keswick teaching is most clearly seen.

> It is enough for us just to know that by our union with Christ in his death upon the Cross we have been freed from the dominion of sin. That freedom is only potential. It must be progressively realized in our daily experience, and this is done by walking in the Spirit. Christ is our sanctification (1 Cor 1:30), and all sanctification is dependent primarily upon His work. The Holy Spirit is our sanctifier.[15]

Crucial to understanding how "experimental sanctification," or "actual sanctification" works is the Keswick use of the term "counteraction." Keswick leaders often say that God's method of sanctification is not *suppression or eradication*, but *counteraction.* The "law of sin" (Rom 7), understood to be the latent potential for the old nature to express itself, is not totally destroyed in this life and is perceived to be a constant threat to the well-being of the believer. How does the believer keep this potential to evil in subjection? "Only," answers Keswick, "by the counteracting influence of the Holy Spirit as He is permitted to work out in us the death of the cross to sin"[16]

Typical Keswick teaching acknowledges that the law of sin and death is operative all the time. The Christian life will be victorious over sin in the degree to which the individual is giving place to the

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[12] Ibid., 154-160

[13] Steven Barabas, Op cit., 94.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

counteracting work of the Holy Spirit. Gal 5:16-18 is a key Scriptural passage Keswick speakers have employed in their discussion of the counteracting work of the Spirit in this theme of internal conflict in the believer. "The conflict here," it is pointed out, "is not between the two natures, flesh and spirit, as is so often thought, but between the flesh and the Holy Spirit."[17] Achieving victory over conscious sin, the "normal Christian life," was considered not to be a state entered into, but a tenuously held "maintained condition." This language was employed to distance themselves from the "second blessing" Wesleyan teaching.

Keswick teaching on the challenge to the believer to make room for the Holy Spirit in one's life for victory over sin led inexorably to an emphasis on the Spirit-filled life. "Keswick tells us that the reception of the fullness of the Spirit is by a definite act of faith separable from regeneration, but not necessarily separated from it."[18] Often linked with the interior ministry of sanctification, the fullness of the Spirit, in Keswick Literature, this tends to be linked to power for service. The themes of interior holiness as a necessary condition for power in service abound in Keswick teaching. That the teaching about the Spirit-filled life is crucial to understanding the thrust of the Keswick movement is evident. "Keswick is undoubtedly correct in making the Spirit-filled life the central, dominating theme of the Convention, and in making it the climax of the sequence of teaching during the week."[19]

In time, Friday, the concluding day of the Keswick week, was devoted to missions, the Friday morning meeting, the longest of all the week's sessions, often lasting over two hours, was considered to be the climax of the week. The earlier years of Keswick focused on the formation of Christian character, but in later years, attention shifted to fruitful service. Eventually, this led to the collecting of funds for the support of individual missionaries. The first missionary sent out by Keswick was Amy Carmichael, who first went to Japan, and then spent the rest of her life at Dohnavur, South India.[20] By the end of the nineteenth century, baptism in the Spirit, defined as an empowering for service, was a frequent theme in the Keswick repertoire. That the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer should result in evangelism

[17] Ibid..

[18] Ibid., 134.

[19] Ibid., 146.

[20] Ibid., 151.

and missions is clearly an understanding that Pentecostals borrowed eagerly, after the advent of the Pentecostal era.

Conclusion

The influence of the Keswick movement, as perhaps the single most conspicuous expression of the "higher life" movement of the nineteenth century, was far-reaching. Mrs. William Booth, widow of the founder of the Salvation Army, acknowledged that the Keswick movement had been a principal means for the founding of the Army. Hudson Taylor judged that two-thirds of the missionaries in the China Inland Mission were there as a result of Keswick.[21]

D.L. Moody, R. A. Torrey, A. J. Gordon, A. B. Simpson, J. Wilbur Chapman and others who participated in the Keswick conventions brought back to the United States the Keswick teaching about a baptism in the Holy Spirit, understood to be an enduement of power for service. The concept of "second blessing" sanctification, revised by the Keswickan adaption of a Reformed model of progressive "counteraction" by the Spirit, as we have seen, led to a new emphasis on being filled with the Spirit (some used the term baptism in the Spirit), as empowering for Christian service. Here one can see the contours of Pentecostal teaching, particularly the Non-Wesleyan strand of Pentecostalism.[22] All that remained was the sign of being filled with the Spirit, speaking in other tongues, what Pentecostals understood to be the biblical norm.

One of the principal early figures who had a direct impact on the Pentecostal movement was Alexander Dowie. Dowie, an Australian Congregational pastor, had emigrated to the United States in 1888. After conducting a series of healing missions, he felt constrained to establish a headquarters for his operations near Chicago, a place he called Zion. There he founded the Christian Catholic Church. The articles of faith on his new denomination send an uncertain message about the doctrine of sanctification, but the terminology is clearly non-

[21] Ibid., 151, 152.

[22] See, for example, A. J. Gordon, *The Ministry of the Spirit* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, reprint, 1949), a book continuously sold through the Gospel Publishing House Catalog for many years. Reading this volume, the only thing a Pentecostal might miss, is the connection of speaking in tongues to the baptism in the Spirit.

Wesleyan. Donald Gee classified Dowie as an exponent of Keswick holiness views.[23] Dowie resisted attempts by Pentecostals to penetrate his movement, and never identified with Pentecostalism. However in the wake of turmoil surrounding his mental collapse, many of Dowie's followers left Zion to join the Pentecostal fellowships. Key early Pentecostal leaders came from Dowie's organization. They included Fred Vogler, Harry Bowley, F. F. Bosworth, F. A. Graves, and Marie Burgess (later better known as the wife of Robert Brown, pastor of Glad Tidings Tabernacle, New York City).[24]

Although the specific links between the Keswick movement and the Pentecostal movement are not abundant, it is clearly evident that the teaching about the doctrine of sanctification and about the fullness of the Spirit as an enduement of power for service are compatible with the views held by Pentecostals of the non-Wesleyan variety. For years a standard Assemblies of God theology was Myer Pearlman's work, *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible*. What Pearlman taught about sanctification is right in line with Keswick ideas.[25] This is also true of the teaching of Ernest S. Williams, for twenty years the general superintendent of the Assemblies of God.[26] More recently, the pre-eminent theologian in the American Assemblies of God has been Stanley Horton. His teaching fits well with that of his earlier colleagues.[27] The Assemblies of God is not unique in the Pentecostal movement in its tight correlation with Keswick views. Representative of the Foursquare Church is the standard theology written by Duffield and Van Cleave. In this one can see the same patterns as are found in Keswick, too.[28] There is no question that the Keswick movement had

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[23] Donald Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, enlarged ed. (London: Elim Publishing House, 1971), 65, 66.

[24] William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve* (Springfield, Mo: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 65, 66

[25] Myer Pearlman, *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible* (Springfield, Mo: Gospel Publishing House, rev. ed., 1981), .305-320

[26] Ernest S. Williams, *Systematic Theology*, vol. 111 (Springfield, Mo: Gospel Publishing House, 1953), 31-61.

[27]Stanley M. Horton, *What the Bible Says About the Holy Spirit* (Springfield, Mo: Gospel Publishing House, 1976), 167-196

[28] Guy P. Duffield and Nathaniel M. Van Cleave, *Foundations of Pentecostal Theology* (Los Angeles: L.I.F.E. Bible College, 1983), 291-324.

an important role in the shaping of the theology of much of the Pentecostal world.

[*AJPS* 14:2 (2011), pp. 226-238]

NON-WESLEYAN PENTECOSTALISM: A TRADITION THE CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE AND THE ASSEMBLIES OF GOD

William W. Menzies

Introduction

More than any other single institution, the Christian and Missionary Alliance denomination profoundly impacted the shaping of the Assemblies of God. For our purposes in this lecture series, it is important to note that the Christian and Missionary Alliance was strongly allied to the "higher life" movement previously discussed. A.B. Simpson, the founder of the Alliance, advocated a theology of sanctification that fits into the Keswick pattern rather than the classical Wesleyan Holiness theology. That the Assemblies of God adopted many of the values of the Alliance is important for understanding the complexity of Pentecostal origins.

To be sure, virtually all of the earliest Pentecostal pioneers came directly from the nineteenth century Wesleyan Holiness movement. One can readily understand why scholars are inclined to say that the modern Pentecostal movement is a direct descendant of the Holiness movement.[1] Until 1910, the modern Pentecostal movement was distinctly a Holiness-Pentecostal phenomenon. However, if one broadens the scope of inquiry to include the next several years of Pentecostal history, the story becomes markedly different. It is useful to inquire into why virtually all Pentecostal bodies that came into existence after 1911 adopted non-Wesleyan views about sanctification.

In this pursuit, the Assemblies of God is a useful focus of inquiry. Certainly, the Assemblies of God is but one of many Pentecostal denominations. However, the Assemblies of God has occupied a unique role of influence in the Pentecostal world. It has been deemed

[1] Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), x.

to be a legitimate microcosm of patterns generally observed throughout the Pentecostal world.[2] It is the assumption of the author, therefore, that what happened in the formative years of the Assemblies of God will be helpful in understanding what happened in the Pentecostal movement at large, causing it to divide along the lines of sanctification theology.

We have previously sketched the story of William Durham and his "finished work" theology and how this impacted the Assemblies of God. And we have pointed out that the Fundamentalist movement also had an important formative influence on groups like the Assemblies of God. Fundamentalism, of course, was a movement contemporary to the Holiness movement but quite distinct from it. It flowered at the time of the birth of the Pentecostal movement and although it decisively rejected Pentecostalism, Pentecostals readily identified with the major themes of Fundamentalism. Then, too, we examined the development of the Keswick movement and attempted to show how this "higher life" movement influenced the values of the Pentecostals. The lecture at hand takes a look at one specific component of the "higher life" movement, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, with a view to examining the fascinating link between this group and the Assemblies of God. Much of the theology, as well as the polity, of the Assemblies of God was borrowed directly from the Christian and Missionary alliance. No single denomination had as important an influence on the formation of the contours of the Assemblies of God as did the Christian and Missionary Alliance. It is significant for our thesis that this body, having such great influence on the Assemblies of God is properly classified as a "higher life" movement, rather than being identified with the classical Wesleyan Holiness movement.

A.B. Simpson and the Formation of the Christian and Missionary Alliance

The story of Albert B. Simpson (1843-1919), a Canadian-born into a Scottish Covenanter Presbyterian home, is instructive in the attempt to understand the struggle earnest Christian believers experienced in coming to terms with the Pentecostal revival. Simpson was the founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance and its chief spokesperson for

[2] William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve* (Springfield, Mo: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 10

many years. Throughout the formative years of the Pentecostal revival, Simpson, more than any other, expressed the prevailing views within the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

Simpson, following preparation for the Christian ministry at Knox College, Toronto, pastored the Presbyterian Knox Church in Hamilton, Ontario, with good success from 1865-1873. Simpson had attracted considerable attention as an outstanding preacher. At the end of 1873, Simpson was invited to consider the pastorate of the Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church in Louisville, Kentucky. He and his family moved to Louisville, where Simpson served with outstanding success in that church from 1874 to 1879. During his time in Louisville, Simpson developed great interest in urban evangelism, leading him to encourage interdenominational ministry among his colleagues in Louisville. In 1879, Simpson was extended a unanimous invitation to pastor the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church of New York City.

Strenuous service in his pastoral duties in New York were too much for Simpson's frail health. On an extended vacation in Maine, along the seashore, in the summer of 1881, Simpson had a remarkable encounter with the Lord. Charles Cullis, a Boston physician who had come to believe in divine healing, was the speaker at Old Orchard, a Christian retreat center in Maine. Through his influence, Simpson put his trust in Christ for his healing. He had a great sense of the presence of the Lord as he sat on the beach one day. He believed that God had healed him. That weekend, he went to speak in a Congregational church in the mountains of New Hampshire, not far from their Maine summer residence. The day following his speaking engagement, he was invited to climb 3,000-foot Mt Kearsarge. This, for Simpson, was a true test of his healing. As he climbed, he sensed another Presence helping him. In his words, "When I reached the mountain top, I seemed to be at the gate of heaven, and the world of weakness and fear was lying at my feet."[3] It is said that Simpson, who previously had suffered from a bad heart that severely limited his ability to sustain strenuous activity, now was able to do the work of three men.[4] Considering the range and magnitude of his activities until his death nearly forty years later, it certainly appears that he indeed did experience a remarkable divine healing. This personal experience

[3] Robert Niklaus, John Sawin, and Samuel Stoesz, *All for Jesus* (New York: Christian and Missionary alliance, 1986), 41.

[4] A. W. Tozer, *Wingspread* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publishing House,1925), 38, 39.

reinforced for him the reality and the importance of the teaching of divine healing, a teaching which became a cornerstone of his subsequent ministry.

By the seashore in Maine, that summer in 1881, not only did Simpson receive a remarkable healing, but he reckoned that moment as the point where he experienced a mighty encounter with Christ, an event he would term a crisis experience, a filling with the Holy Spirit, or sanctification, what he later describes as "the personal indwelling of Christ."[5] He described his experience as a crisis of sanctification, yet he so qualified what he meant by this that it is clear he wanted to distinguish his understanding of this crisis experience from the teaching of Wesleyan Holiness Advocates.

Simpson was moving rapidly away from his Presbyterian roots. Not long after his remarkable healing, Simpson began to find new ways of reaching the lost, both in New York City among the downtrodden and disenfranchised, and in exploring ways to mobilize people for overseas mission endeavor. His evangelistic work among immigrants led to a strain with the local presbytery of his church. It was evident that his congregation did not share his enthusiasm for reaching those whose life styles were quite different from their own. About this time, as well, Simpson felt constrained, from a diligent searching of the Scriptures, that he should be rebaptized by immersion. This, of course, was a serious breach of ministerial behavior within the Presbyterian Church. To avoid controversy, and quite aware that his interests had diverged from the current prevailing views in his church, Simpson startled the church session by his decision to resign, not only from the church, but from the presbytery.[6] Suddenly, from having a comfortable salary and a secure position, Simpson was thrust out into a life of faith with no tangible source of support, other than trusting the Lord.

Dramatic events followed Simpson's launching out in faith. Two weeks after his resignation from the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church, in November 1881, he conducted a meeting designed to promote evangelistic work in the City of New York. Only seven people showed up on that first occasion. From a humble beginning, this little group developed an aggressive, ambitious program of ministry, ministry that included not only evangelistic endeavors, but systematic training of converts for Christian service. Simpson was able

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[5] A. B. Simpson, *The Four-fold Gospel* (New York: Christian Alliance Publishing House, 1925), 38, 39

[6] Niklaus, Sawin, Stoez, op. cit., 44.

to enlist the aid of capable leaders who shared with him in the work. God blessed his labors with rapid growth. This work became known as the Gospel Tabernacle.[7]

In the years that followed, Simpson launched a veritable cascade of ministries from the Gospel Tabernacle base in New York City. In 1884, he initiated the opening of a faith home for providing a supportive environment for those seeking divine healing. This facility, called "Berachah Home," sheltered more than 700 guests in the course of the next year and a half, until the home was moved elsewhere.[8]

To promote the cause of world missions, Simpson launched in 1883 "The Missionary Union for the Evangelization of the World," an organization formed within his Gospel Tabernacle. Simpson was a prolific writer. He launched a periodical, *The Word, the Work, and the World*, as an instrument for giving visibility to the cause of World Missions. Yet another momentous achievement that came into being in that year was the opening of a Missionary Training School for Christian Evangelists. Simpson enlisted the help of some of the ablest Evangelical scholars of the day to teach the classes in his new school. Some of these were A. T. Pierson, George F. Pentecost, A. J. Gordon, and James Brooks.[9] Eventually the school required more spacious accommodation and moved up the Hudson River from New York City to Nyack.

The next year, 1884, Simpson launched a great missions convention at the Gospel Tabernacle. It was so successful that he joined forces with other key leaders and conducted similar conventions in various cities, including Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and as far away as Detroit and Chicago. Over the next several years, a series of associations of local churches to promote the cause of missions evolved under the leadership of A. B. Simpson. Actually two associations evolved, one centering on the mobilization for missions, the other an association of local churches. Eventually, the Christian Alliance and the Missionary Alliance merged to form the present-day denomination, the Christian and Missionary Alliance. The denomination evolved, as well, resulting in a permanent constitution

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[7] It should be noted that a favorite name for Assemblies of God churches for many years was borrowed from the Christian and Missionary Alliance, who from its beginning, favored that name for local churches.

[8] Niklaus, Sawin, Stoesz, op. cit., 57.

[9] Ibid., 59

which was adopted in 1912, in Boone, Iowa, outlining the character and the form of the denomination. By this time, there were already 250 missionaries serving overseas under the banner of the Alliance.[10] It is of interest to note that only two years later, with the formation of the Assemblies of God, much of the character, form and theology of the younger group would be borrowed wholesale from the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

The Christian and Missionary Alliance: Key Concepts

A. B. Simpson certainly diverged from his Calvinistic roots. The theological concepts he articulated that gave shape to the belief structure of the Alliance were thoroughly Evangelical and strongly supportive of classical orthodox theology, but were clearly marked by American revivalist emphases. High priority is given to individual choice rather than divine election.[11] Simpson was primarily a preacher, not a careful theologian. Hence, his writings have a devotional style, and some of his teachings are a bit blurred, especially as he addresses the subject of sanctification. One has to filter through his language to capture the essence of his thought.

Simpson popularized with great effectiveness an organizing principle borrowed from A. J. Gordon, the "four-fold gospel." This device enabled his followers to express their beliefs in clear and simple form. For Simpson, the center is Jesus Christ, from whom all blessings flow. He is our Savior, our Sanctifier, our Healer and our Coming King. When the Assemblies of God came into being, the "four-fold gospel" was readily adopted, with a slight Pentecostal revision. For the Assemblies of God, the "four cardinal doctrines" became Jesus Christ as Savior, Baptizer in the Holy Spirit, Healer, and Coming King.

1. Jesus Christ our Savior

Simpson anchored his teaching on salvation on the substitutionary atonement of Christ.[12] The outline of steps for receiving Christ as

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[10] Ibid., 116.

[11] A. B. Simpson, *The Four-fold Gospel* (New York: Christian Alliance Publishing Co., 1925), 22, 23.

[12] Ibid., 17.

savior are familiar to Evangelicals. Simpson placed a strong emphasis on "whosoever will," making it abundantly clear that salvation, offered freely by Christ, is effective only when one chooses to exercise his free will.

2. Jesus Christ Our Sanctifier

Simpson's teaching on sanctification is instructive. He said, "You cannot sanctify yourselves. The only thing to do is to give yourself wholly to God, a voluntary sacrifice. This is intensely important. It is but a light thing to do for Him. But he must do the work of cleansing and filling."[13] Simpson made it clear that there is an active role for the believer in the process of Sanctification. Consecration, dedication, surrender—these are terms that lace his writing. In effect, he is saying that there is a divine-human cooperation required, the human side of the equation is commitment and submission, but this is merely establishing the condition required for Christ, the Sanctifier, to do his work. It is Christ who sanctifies. The language of emptying conveys the idea that one is preparing himself for Christ's sanctifying work. The result of one earnestly seeking God, consciously pressing in for His sanctifying work, is experiencing "love, supreme love to God and all mankind."[14] For Simpson, sanctification is not only emptying, but also filling.[15] In May 1906, the Alliance called a special pre-conference meeting that met just prior to the annual Council, at which time a statement was prepared to spell out agreed-upon Alliance teaching on sanctification. Sanctification was described as:

a. A definite second blessing, *distinct in nature*, though not necessarily far removed in time, from the experience of conversion;
b. The baptism of the Holy Ghost as a *distinct experience*, not merely for power for service, but for power for personal holiness and victory over the world and sin;
c. The indwelling of Christ in the heart of the consecrated believer as a *distinct experience*;

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[13] Ibid., 30

[14] Simpson, *The Four-fold Gospel*, 36.

[15] Simpson, *Wholly Sanctified*, (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, 1925), 21.

d. Sanctification by faith as a *distinct gift* of God's grace to every open and surrendered soul; and
e. Growth in grace and the deeper filling of the Holy Spirit as *distinct from* and the result of the definite experience of sanctification.[16]

What is evident here is that the continuing work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer came to be understood in the Alliance in a two-fold way: by a definite act of consecration one could expect to enter upon a tenuous condition of "entire sanctification," a condition subject to development, which in no way was understood to be sinless perfection. The alliance view was certainly interchangeable with Keswick teaching. Further, the believer was expected to be "filled with the Holy Spirit." Or to use the language that was current by the turn of century, to be 'baptized in the Spirit." Examining the definition of this experience, one discovers that this baptism in the Spirit is primarily an enduement of power for service, but is not entirely bereft of a heightening in one's personal holiness of life.

3. Jesus Christ Our Healer

Flowing from his own remarkable experience in 1881, Simpson built into his theology a solid place for the doctrine of divine healing. He courageously held to this conviction, even though this cost him support from many who did not accept this controversial teaching. Divine healing became one of the four pillars in his theology. He expressed eloquently the importance of centering this message in the work of Christ. Healing, for Simpson, was not to be confused with mental gymnastics; it was a gift to be received by those believers who would reach out in faith to receive the birthright. Important to note, as well, is the teaching of Simpson about the place of the ministry of healing for the missionary outreach of the church and the significance of the recovery of this biblical message for understanding our place in history. "Divine healing is one of the signs of the age. It is the

[16] Extracted from "Conference for Prayer and counsel, Respecting Uniformity in the Testimony and Testing of the Alliance, May 25-28, 1906," quoted by John Sawin in "The Response and Attitude of Dr. A. B. Simpson and the Christian and Missionary Alliance to the Tongues movement of 1906-1920," in *Papers of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting, Society for Pentecostal Studies*, November 13-15, 1986, Costa Mesa, CA Mesa, 51.

forerunner of Christ's coming. It is God's answer to the infidelity of to-day. Many may try to reason it down with the force of his intellect. God meets it with this unanswerable proof of His power."[17]

4. Jesus Christ Our Coming King

Simpson taught that Jesus Christ would return to earth in a sudden, pre-millennial rapture, to be followed by His earthly reign for a millennium. This teaching, clearly in harmony with Scofieldian dispensationalism, was held by a wide range of Evangelicals by the end of the nineteenth century. There is nothing particularly unusual about Simpson's eschatology. What made this an emphasis, the Second Coming one of his four major theological anchors, is that it gave a sense of urgency and significance to the cause of world evangelization.[18]

One can see in the Four-fold Gospel how closely these views were followed in the formation of the Assemblies of God. Even the language about sanctification and baptism in the Holy Spirit is pretty well in line with what Assemblies of God people came to believe. To be sure, the Alliance emphasis on a crisis experience of sanctification can be seen as a different nuance. But, when one examines the qualifications that define what is meant by sanctification, it appears that the differences are largely semantic, rather than substantive. The only thing of great significance that was truly different was the matter of speaking in other tongues as the biblical accompanying sign of baptism in the Holy Spirit. Let us look in on the story of the Alliance response to the Pentecostal revival.

The Pentecostal Revival and the Christian and Missionary Alliance

Simpson was faced with the issue of speaking in tongues long before the advent of the Pentecostal revival. In 1883, upon Simpson's advocacy of divine healing, critics complained that if he allowed for a restoration of divine healing in the church, he would also have to accept other manifestations of the Spirit, including speaking in other tongues. To this he responded,

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[17]Simpson, *The Four-fold Gospel*, 64.

[18] Ibid, 92, 93

> We cheerfully accept the severe logic. We cannot afford to give up one of the promises— We believe the gift of tongues was only withdrawn from the early church as it was abused for vain display or as it became unnecessary for practical use. It will be repeated as soon as the Church will humbly claim it for the universal diffusion of the Gospel.[19]

Nine years later, in 1892, when returning missionaries from China inquired into Simpson's insights respecting seeking the gift of tongues to be able to communicate the gospel in other cultures, Simpson cautioned the missionaries that he doubted that scripture warranted as a rule the availability of tongues for this purpose, but he was reluctant to discourage the faith of earnest people.[20] In 1898, in a sermon he preached, Simpson said he understood tongues as,

> … a Divine influence which elevated the soul to a state of ecstasy and found expression in utterance of an elevated character, impressing the hearer with the manifest presence and power of the Holy Spirit in the subject of this influence.[21]

In February, 1906, in response to a call for a conference to discuss uniformity of doctrine within the Alliance, Simpson wrote,

> The greatest thought that God is projecting upon the hearts of Christians these days of increasing revival is the baptism of the Holy Spirit. It is a matter of deep thankfulness that the attention of Christians is being directed so forcibly to the person and work of the Holy Spirit.[22]

In response to news that a great revival was taking place in Los Angeles in 1905, even before the Azusa Street outpouring, Simpson evaluated what God was doing in an editorial. He stated, "We do not believe that these special enduements are really essential to the baptism

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[19] Simpson, *The Gospel of Healing* (1888 edition), 83, 84, quoted in Sawin, op. cit., 30.

[20] Sawin, op. cit., 4.

[21] Sawin, op. cit., 5, 6.

[22] Sawin, op. cit., 7.

of the Holy Spirit. We may have that without any of the supernatural gifts… Have we received and are we using all that the Holy Spirit has for us today for the ministry of Christ in the crisis time in which we live?"[23]

When Simpson learned of the great outpouring at Azusa Street in Los Angeles, he acknowledged that this was "a remarkable manifestation of spiritual power among earnest Christians in the West; that these manifestations have taken the form chiefly of the gift of tongues." To this he added a cautionary note to avoid extremes and fanaticism, but said, "… guard against the extreme of refusing to recognize any added blessing the Holy Spirit is bringing to His people in these last days."[24]

Within weeks of the blossoming of the Azusa Street revival, Alliance people in many parts of the country began to seek God earnestly for the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Frank Bartleman, an early leader in the Los Angeles revival, received a number of invitations to minister in Alliance fellowships, including several engagements at Nyack, New York.[25] By 1907, the Pentecostal revival had spread widely. In Indianapolis, there was a remarkable outpouring in the Christian and Missionary Alliance Gospel Tabernacle in January of that year. The pastor, G. N. Eldridge, at first opposed the revival, but later received the Pentecostal experience. The Reynolds family were charter members of the Alliance Gospel Tabernacle. On Easter Sunday, 1907, the younger daughter in that family received the baptism in the Spirit. Alice Reynolds later married a young law student, J. Roswell Flower, who himself received the baptism in 1911 in Indianapolis.[26]

But, it was at Nyack that the most significant events transpired. In May, 1907, at the annual Council of the Alliance that met in Nyack, New York, a remarkable Pentecostal awakening swept through the student body of the Missionary Training Institute as well as the ministers and delegates who had come to the conference. Even before this event, a number of prominent Alliance pastors had received the

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[23]A. B. Simpson, "Christian Alliance," Dec., 1905, 817, quoted in Sawin, op.cit., 8, 9.

[24] A. B. Simpson, "Christian Alliance," Sep., 1906, 177, quoted in Sawin, op. cit., 10.

[25] Bartleman, op. cit.,. 84.

[26] William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 66.

Pentecostal experience. During the summer months, at least two Alliance camp meetings were scenes of Pentecostal blessing. It seemed that the Alliance was well on its way to accepting the new experience. But, then, it was learned that the Pentecostals were teaching that tongues always accompanies a full biblical baptism in the Spirit. Controversy followed. Simpson appointed Henry Wilson to visit churches in the Ohio district where there were known to be strong Pentecostal groups functioning. He was delegated to study the meetings and to bring back a report to New York with his findings. A. W. Tozer, prominent pastor and editor, later stated that the report Wilson brought was adopted by Simpson and the entire Alliance family as their official position. He reported that "there is something of God in it," but felt that the alliance should encourage a posture of "seek not, forbid not."[27] John Sawin, noted Alliance scholar, in a conversation with the author, disclosed that A. W. Tozer, who had written Simpson's official biography, just before his death, admitted to Sawin that the "seek not, forbid not" view of Wilson, the view that was widely adopted in Alliance circles, was not, in fact, held by Simpson. As a matter of fact, Simpson, Sawin stated, sought the Pentecostal experience until his death, although he never did speak in tongues, and never acknowledged that tongues is the necessary accompanying biblical sign of Spirit baptism.[28] Regardless of the personal feelings of Simpson, who seems to have been more favorable to the Pentecostal revival than the official Alliance position, this was the parting of the ways. When the dust had settled, a number of able leaders had abandoned the Alliance and joined the Pentecostal movement. Nearly all of those who defected identified with the Assemblies of God upon its formation in 1914. Among these early leaders were some of the important architects of the Assemblies of God, principally D. W. Kerr of Cleveland, Ohio, Frank M. Boyd, William I. Evans, D. W. Myland, Noel Perkin, Louis Turnbull, A. G. Ward, and J. W. Welch.[29]

Conclusion

Observing the structure of the Assemblies of God as it evolved in its early formative years, one sees overwhelming evidence of wholesale

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[27] Ibid., 71

[28] Interview with John Sawin, Nov. 14, 1986, Costa Mesa, CA.

[29] Menzies, op. cit., 72

borrowing from the Christian and Missionary Alliance. From the beginning of the Assemblies of God, the very strong emphasis on missions certainly is a further reflection of the character of the Alliance. The architects of the Bible schools that the Assemblies of God developed from early years were in large measure the product of Alliance teaching and influence.

Even more importantly, the doctrines adopted by the Assemblies of God, drafted in 1916 to meet the crisis of the Oneness phenomenon, disclose the hand of D. W. Kerr, former Alliance pastor from Ohio. With the exception of the clear statement regarding the important connection of speaking in tongues as the initial physical evidence of the baptism in the Spirit, the entire "Statement of Fundamental truths" could fit easily within the framework of the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

The Pentecostal movement, and especially the Assemblies of God, owes a great debt to our Evangelical colleagues, our Alliance friends, from whom we have gained so very much. More than any other institution, the Christian and Missionary Alliance shaped the values and the form of the Assemblies of God.

I would like to add a final note to this lecture series. We began with the observation that there is a current wave of revival sweeping through the Pentecostal movement. Although it is too soon to make a thorough evaluation of the present era, the story unfolding in Pensacola, Florida, a major revival center, indicates that the focus of the revival lies in a renewal of concern for rediscovering the theme of holiness—the holiness of God and the appropriate response of a people who yearn to be holy. In an era that has featured the wonderful blessings that a gracious God dispenses, perhaps the attraction of blessing has outweighed the more subtle and quiet call of God for a people wiling to examine themselves, a people who will lay aside the weights and hindrances that corrode the spiritual life. After all, the gifts and blessing of God are all a matter of grace—they are not evidences of a superior quality of Christian character. If, indeed, God is speaking to us about revisiting the theme of sanctification, let us each propose that we shall give the Holy Spirit fresh opportunity to work in our lives.

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Paper bound
ISBN: 91-8942-08-4 APTS Press with Hansei University Press, 2004
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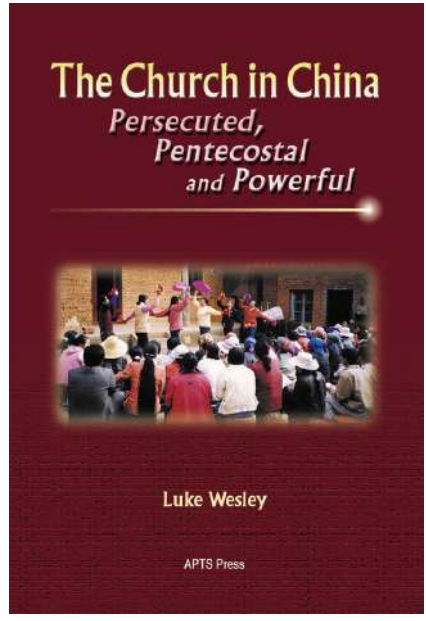

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AJPS Books
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[*AJPS* 14:2 (2011), pp. 241-254]

CONFLICTING READINGS IN THE NARRATIVE OF CAIN AND ABEL (GEN. 4:1-26)

Youjin Chung

I. INTRODUCTION

The reading of the Genesis narrative is challenging. It gives a double-burden to modern readers in terms of similarity and dissimilarity. At first, modern readers may be shocked by its huge amount of similarity with Ancient Near Eastern Literature. But soon they are even embarrassed with its stark dissimilarity with contemporary modern thought. This discomfort may force modern readers to the place of a theological vacuum; they might be overwhelmed and thus neutralized by these double-betrayals.

Careful readers will not be defeated, however. They rather seek a reverse-drama by reconstructing both the similarity and dissimilarity. On the other side of the coin, the Genesis narrative underlines that there is a radical dissimilarity behind the parallels with oriental theology. Indeed, the author of Genesis is much closer to a revolutionary than a compromiser who is against the dominant worldview of his time. Also, the overriding concerns of Genesis imply that there are significant convergent points between ancient and contemporary worldviews. In this sense, the clash between similarity and dissimilarity is cast in a new light. Such a conflict leads the purpose of this paper to the forefront; not only does it distinguish the dissimilarity of the Genesis narrative from the Ancient Near Eastern Literature, but it also highlights the similarity with the modern culture.

In this respect, Genesis, especially the narrative of chapter 4, is quintessential; the story of Cain and Abel is a hotbed of conflicting readings, which include both similarity and dissimilarity. Conflicting readings of Cain and Abel, thus, are significant because the place where the clash begins becomes the very place where the transformation takes place. In paradox, ambiguity speaks louder than assurance; in other

words, the disagreement of conflicting readings may become a prelude to bring a new mode of solid agreement.

II. THE CONFLICTING READINGS OF CAIN AND ABEL

Eve's Words (4:1)

The conflicting readings in the narrative of Cain and Abel start with the controversial words of Eve, the mother of two brothers. hw")hy>-ta, vyaiÞ ytiynIïq' ("with the help of the Lord, I have gained a man," v.1). It surely describes the birth of Cain, but, as von Rad notes, "every word of this little sentence is difficult."[1] Eve's expression thus embraces two opposite interpretations: an expression of thanksgiving or self-arrogance.

First, some commentators see it in the positive sense; Eve thanks God for allowing her an offspring as the promise of a seed who will crush the head of the serpent. Eve's words thus reflect her joyful gratitude. Eve agrees that although she is a mother, Cain's birth is entirely attributed to God's blessing. As Eve understands God not as a mere instrument, but as the general cause, the interpretation as 'from God' (παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ) seems to be more compelling rather than that of 'through God' (διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ).[2] In this verse, God is represented as the surrogate father so to speak. [3]

With the same impression, Martin Luther comments that Eve intentionally calls her offspring a *man*, not a *son* because Eve posits Cain as the one who brings to an end the misery of sin.[4] Here Eve is so sure that Cain, her first son, is the sign of God's promise in 3:15.

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[1] Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Westminster Press, 1972), 103.

[2] A.C. Geljon, "Philonic Elements in Didymus the Blind's Exegesis of the Story of Cain and Abel," *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007), 286.

[3] T. A. Perry, "Cain's Sin in Gen. 4:1-7: Oracular Ambiguity and How to Avoid It," *Prooftexts*, 25, no. 3 (2005), 259.

[4] Martin Luther, *Luther's Commentary on Genesis*, vol. 1, trans. J. Theodore Mueller (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1958), 91.

However, it is an awful blunder that Eve confuses her own conviction with the divine approval. Ironically such a blind faith has been grafted to Abraham, the father of *faith,* who believes Ishmael is a seed of God's promise.

Second, others interpret Eve's remark in a less positive fashion. Since tinIïq' more commonly refers to 'create' rather than 'acquire' or, 'buy,' they wish to translate it as "I have created a *man* equally with the Lord," implying "I stand together with [God] in the rank of creator." [5] Owing to this sense, some of them even go further that here *man* even refers to *Adam*, so that it can be translated as; "behold, my husband is now in my possession!"[6] The crux behind this voice highlights Eve's remark as "a shout of triumph at putting [Eve] on a par with Yahweh as creator."[7] However, it is instructive to note Eve's last words in 4:25;

"God has *granted* me another child in place of Abel, since Cain killed him" (NIV, italics mine). If it represents Eve's humble confession –note the word *granted* –the nuance of her previous words are less doubtful. By showing the stark contrast between the two, Eve's arrogant declaration at the beginning serves to maximize her humble confession at the end.[8]

As such, Eve's words open the door for conflicting readings in the narrative of Cain and Abel; the mother of two brothers has become the mother of two interpretations. Eve's remarks can diverge into two extremes: either an expression of thanksgiving or boastful self-respect. Nonetheless, Eve's faith in promised redemption by her seed is illuminating. Although Eve puts her hope in the wrong place, she might have acknowledged God's blessing over her own effort and dignity. Therefore, it is quite plausible that Eve's words in this narrative denote a joyful fanfare for God's help and blessing: "With a

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[5] U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the book of Genesis*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1989), 201.

[6] Andre LaCocque, *Onslaught against Innocence: Cain, Abel, and the Yahwist* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2008), 47.

[7] Gordon J. Wenham, *Word Biblical Commentary: Genesis 1-15*, vol. 1 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1987), 101.

[8] John H. Sailhamer, *The Expositor's Bible Commentary: Genesis-Numbers*, vol. 2 ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990), 61.

help of the Lord, I have gained a man!"

The Offering of Cain and Abel (4:2-7)

The second conflicting reading is one of the most famous, but enigmatic narratives in the Old Testament: the offering of Cain and Abel. Such a problematic question is mainly attributed to the silence of the narrative. The narrator simply states that the offering of Abel is chosen by God, but that of Cain is not; succinctly, God's response is so clear, but His reason is quite ambiguous. The various conjectures, as a result, are to be suggested.

First, H. Gunkel presumes that God may prefer a shepherd to a tiller.[9] Since the text does not indicate, it is arbitrary for Gunkel as to whether God might consider the nature of the offering of the two brothers.[10] Rather Gunkel calls attention to the occupation of the two brothers; Cain is a tiller of the ground who offers fruits of the field, whereas Abel is a keeper of sheep who offers an animal sacrifice. In this context, Gunkel regards the response of God as His preference of a shepherd to a tiller. For this reason, God accepts Abel's offering, but scolds Cain's. The previous chapter, moreover, reminds that the earth has already been cursed in consequence of Adam's sin (Gen. 3:17). Gunkel's hypothesis, however, seems quite naive because of the following questions: "Does God really have favouritism?" "Why, then, does God appoint Adam and Noah as tillers/men of the soil?" (Gen. 2:15, 9:20)

Second, the theory of sacrifice has been proposed. John Skinner, in particular, emphasizes the significance of animal sacrifice. In the primitive Semitic society, Skinner adds, it is commonly accepted that the animal offerings are always superior to the vegetable offerings[11] with a belief that "living beings differ from soulless beings by nature."[12] The ancient worshippers especially had believed that the fellowship with the gods could be declared and sealed by eating and

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[9] Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis,* trans. Mark E. Biddle (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1997), 43.

[10] Ibid., 43.

[11] John Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T&T Clark, 1994), 106.

[12] Geljon, 290.

drinking of the sacrificial meal together.[13] In this connection, Skinner concludes that while Cain's vegetable offering may not be appropriate to God, "animal sacrifice alone is acceptable to Yahweh."[14] In fact, if the earth was already cursed due to man's sin, so was the offering of the fruit of the ground.

The weakness of this assumption, however, is that the narrative justifies both offerings by describing them as "offerings" (*minhah)*, not as "sacrifices" (*tsebah*).[15] This indicates that Cain and Abel's offerings are both acceptable to God as an appropriate product of their work; both would have equally selected the best of what they can offer.[16] So, it is no longer compelling that God puts animal sacrifice over vegetable offerings. God, needless to say, is not fanatical about blood.

Third, some scholars find the thrust of this episode as the soul of the sacrificer. If the matter is not one of the ingredients of the sacrifices, it is to be replaced by the spirit which determines its value in the sight of God.[17] So, they suggest that, as Hebrews 4:11 justly infers, Abel is able to get divine approval by faith, not by fancy.[18] God's question in verse 7 also alludes that Cain has already sinned before God[19]; "Is there not forgiveness if you do well?" The grounds for difference thus become a matter of respect on the basis of the different motivation between Cain and Abel, only known to God.

Fourth, many commentators try to connect the soul of the sacrificer with the quality of the sacrifices. The LXX, unlike the Hebrew Bible, supports this interpretation by differently rendering Cain's offering as a

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[13] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites: The Fundamental Institutions* (New York: The Meridian Library, 1956), 271.

[14] Skinner, 105.

[15] Silhamer, 61.

[16] Gunkel, 43.

[17] S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis* (London: Methuem & Co. Ltd, 1922), 65.

[18] Arthur W. Pink, *Gleanings in Genesis* (Chicago, Illinois: Moody Press, 1981), 57

[19] Tom Thatcher, "Cain and Abel in Early Christian Memory: A Case Study in The Use of the Old Testament in the New," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Oct, 2010, Vol. 72 Issue 4, 732-751.

θυσία (sacrifice), but Abel's offering as a δῶρον (gift)[20]; it, as a result, brings an impression that Cain's sacrifice is inherently insufficient and divinely rejected.[21] Specifically speaking, Cain's offering is simply described as 'some of the fruits of the soil,' but Abel's case is significantly emphasized in two expressions, 'from the firstlings and their fat portions.' Such a double-emphasis –the firstlings and fat portions –seems to successfully highlight Abel's sincere desire for Yahweh.[22] To put it differently, "While Abel was concerned to choose the finest thing in his possession, Cain was indifferent. In other words: Abel endeavored to perform his religious duty ideally, whereas Cain was content merely to discharge this duty."[23] In consequence, each sacrificer's different attitude makes the different quality of the offerings and it eventually brings in God's different response to their offerings. This suggestion –Cain's offering is rejected because of his hypocritical heart –soon meets with a great challenge, however.

Fifth, there has been a new group of scholars who elevate the mystery of divine election as an alternative interpretation. Since the text says nothing, it is misleading to believe that Abel is better than Cain in attitude as well as in quality of offering.[24] Furthermore, they urge that such an interpretation is a modern intrusion apart from the event described in the episode.[25] A series of scholars thus no longer seek the difference of God's favor in Cain's attitude, nor in the ritual. Rather they take a close look at the capricious freedom of Yahweh as the crucial key point; they even contend that it is Yahweh Himself who

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[20] Joel N. Lohr, "Righteous Abel, Wicked Cain: Genesis 4:1-16 in the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, and the New Testament," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 71, 2009, 486.

[21] Thatcher, 732.

[22] Kenneth M. Craig Jr.," Questions Outside Eden (Genesis 4.1-16): Yahweh, Cain, and Their Rhetorical Interchange," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament,* no 86 D 1999, 111.

[23] Cassuto, 205.

[24] Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984), 296.

[25] Westermann, 297.

brings the trouble, not Cain himself.[26] In their eyes, Cain is even a victim whom God has created. God poses the crisis to Cain, so "[he] is envious not because Abel is more successful, but because YHWH looks at a blunderer like Abel while ignoring Cain."[27] God's inscrutable motive is to be epitomized in various terms. Westermann defines it as 'something immutable,'[28] while von Rad and Karl Rahner respectively delineate it as 'God's free will'[29] and 'the mysterious ways of God.'[30]

Recently, T. A. Perry (259) explains it with the concept of 'oracular ambiguity.' According to Perry, the problem is that God's language is too ambiguous for Cain to get the message correctly[31];

> If you act correctly, you will benefit from the preeminence of birth.
> If you do not, sin, [= he, Abel] lies at the door
> and his desire is towards you;
> but you must rule over him.[32]

Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the heart of Perry's suggestion lies not on God's deceptiveness, but on Cain's mind which is distorted by its own passion.[33] Therefore, Perry conversely shows that oracular ambiguity is not attributed to God's inscrutable preference, but to Cain's dishonest desire.

The story of the offerings of Cain and Abel, by definition, is enigmatic. It contains so many layers of meaning that it is as if its original intention is to hide, not to reveal. But, special attention should be paid to the following. First, the narrative itself is neutral. There is no indication in the text that the offering of Abel is better than Cain's,

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[26] Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Atlanta, Georgia: John Knox Press, 1982), 56.

[27] Ellen Van Wolde, *Words Become Worlds: Semantic Studies of Genesis 1-11* (Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1994), 52.

[28] Westermann, 296.

[29] von Rad, 104.

[30] Karl Rahner, "Mystery," *Encyclopedia of Theology: Sacramentum Mundi*, vol. 4 *(*New York: Header and Header, 1969), 133-136.

[31] Perry, 266.

[32] Perry, 266

[33] Ibid., 270.

nor vice-versa. Rather, both brothers bring their best in an appropriate way. Second, God Himself is neutral. There is, in other words, no hint that God discriminates or prefers one to the other. Third, God Himself is free. As such His freedom sometimes goes beyond logical comprehensions, so it creates even disruption, tension and a shadowy side of reality.[34] Fourth, Cain himself is volitional. Without a doubt, "God tells Cain that he can do better. Not in using a better technique of sacrifice, but in not taking God for granted."[35] Therefore, it is Cain's own choice to agree or disagree with God's word.

Cain's Words (4:8-14)

Cain's response to God's punishment is also problematic. The words of Cain in verse 13 in particular have been questioned as to whether they represent his complaint or repentance. With respect to this, the interpretation of !wO[" (*avon*) is decisive. Some translate it as 'punishment,' but others as 'iniquity' or 'sin.'[36] Thus, while some read this verse as 'my *punishment* is too great to bear', others read it as 'my *iniquity* of sin is too great to be forgiven.'[37]

At first glance, the so-called 'punishment-interpreters' consider Cain's words as a "cry of horror at the prospect of such a life of unrest and harassment without peace."[38] Here Cain's interest merely focuses on suffering inflicted on himself, rather than the sin committed by himself; the cry of the murderer ironically swallows up the cry of the murdered. In his rapid grasp of the situation, Cain immediately seeks for the mitigation of his punishment.[39] Since Cain, by intuition, comes to realize that the human life without God's protection is cheap as well as lawless,[40] his bitter crying in verse 14 can be rendered as a sort of self-defense to appeal to how God's punishment on him is harsh and intolerable.

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[34] Brueggemann, 57.

[35] LaCocque, 25.

[36] Wenham, 108.

[37] Ibid., 108.

[38] von Rad, 107.

[39] Skinner, 109.

[40] Ibid., 110.

U. Cassuto, however, refuses this interpretation. Rather he takes notice of the possibility that !wO[" (*avon*) is used with af'n" (*nasa*), in another sense, to forgive iniquity.[41] Such an idea of forgiveness brings to Cain's words a different outlook: from a song of lamentation to a song of repentance. At most, not only does Cain recognize his iniquity, but also accepts his consequences.[42] Verse 15 gives another clue to this view. As God regards Cain's words as sincere remorse in despair, He does Cain a favor, saying, "Very well[43]; if anyone kills Cain, he will suffer vengeance seven times over." Besides, Westermann's interpretation goes further. In his very detailed study, Westermann finds out that the word !wO[" (*avon*) includes both 'sin' and 'punishment' in the Hebrew characteristics.[44] This dual connotation, Westermann adds, implies that "God has to do with the criminal and that the criminal has to do with God."[45] In this complexity, verse 13 is to be understood as a confession of Cain to the consequences of his iniquity.[46]

Cain's response to God's punishment, by definition, is speculative; there is a thin line between the interpretation of remorse and complaint. However, Matthew Henry's comment may give a clue to this riddle. Both of them, as Matthew Henry notes, are not intolerable to God; Cain's complaint is against the justice of God, whereas Cain's remorse is against the mercy of God.[47] So, the purpose of the narrative may not be to prefer one interpretation to the other. Rather it wishes to portray a hopeless and lifeless human condition apart from God's protection; without God's help, either Cain's remorse or complaint is by nature pointless. In essence, it thus may be given to highlight one main purpose: Cain is desperate for God's mercy.

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[41] Cassuto, 222.

[42] Cassuto, 222.

[43] Septuagint, Vulgate and Syriac version of translation.

[44] Westermann, 309.

[45] Ibid., 309.

[46] Ibid., 309.

[47] Matthew Henry, *Commentary on the Whole Bible: Genesis to Deuteronomy*, vol. 1 (Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company), 42.

Cain's Mark (4:15-16)

The narrative continues to take readers to enigmatic situations. Cain's mitigation of his punishment –or repentance –leaves him another kind of riddle: the so-called mark of Cain. Although most recent scholarship posits Cain's mark as a sign of God's protection, not as a disgraceful stigma, the bare hint of the text still makes its original intention uncertain and speculative. Nonetheless, there are some suggestions to consider.

First, some recognize Cain's mark as divine protection against would-be attackers[48]; it is *God* who puts a mark on Cain. A sign thus represents Yahweh's mysterious protective relationship with Cain beyond mere disgrace.[49] Indeed, God gives Cain a sign not to condemn him as a murderer, but to protect him from murderers.[50] It furthermore brings an assumption that Yahweh obviously places a visible sign on Cain's body,[51] such as a tattoo mark, an incision on the face, special hairstyle, or circumcision etc.[52] Rabbinic suggestion even infers that God may have given Cain a dog as his companion to assure God's strict protection.[53]

Second, others, in contrast, assume that Cain's mark is no other than his name.[54] Drawing attention to the similar sound between *qayin*;) ('Cain') and *yuqqam* ('shall be punished'), they suppose that Cain's name itself is such a sign of warning against attackers by automatically reminding them of divine retribution.[55] This hypothesis, however, seems less persuasive because the original meaning of the name of Cain (*qayin*) displays a different connotation as 'smith', 'metal worker', or even 'a creature.'[56]

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[48] Wenham, 109.

[49] von Rad, 107.

[50] Westermann, 311.

[51] Gunkel, 47.

[52] Wenham, 109.

[53] Westermann, 314.

[54] Wenham, 109.

[55] Ibid., 109.

[56] Cassuto, 198.

Third, there has been long debate whether Cain's mark is meant for a single person or for a group. While some prefer to connect such a sign with tribal markings, others give favor to individual intention. The former see the strong bond between Cain and the tribe of the Kenites. They even urge that "Cain is the embodiment of the tribe of Kenites."[57] In consequence, the identity of Cain with the nomadic tribe justifies that the mark of Cain has parallels in tribal marking.[58] Especially, in some pre-Israelite setting, as these Kenites were the first worshipers of Yahweh, such an assumption as tribal marking may even serve the precursors of the religion of Israel.[59] In short, "they mark the bearer as the property of the god and place him under his protection."[60]

The latter, however, underline the individual fashion of the mark; the sign is originally intended for an individual, specifically, Cain alone, not for his offspring. As such, the text gives a hint about why the sign is given, "Whoever found *him* would not attack *him*" (v.15) (Atao-tAKh;i yTil.biil.). In this emphasis on Cain, "tAa (*oth*) serves not only as a general warning to others, but also as a specific promise to Cain."[61] Therefore, the sign (*oth*) clearly designates Cain's solid position which cannot be replaced; "Cain remains under the condemnation of God and that no one may intervene in carrying out."[62]

In fact, the explanation of the mark of Cain is conjectural. Despite Martin Luther's description of it as "a token of divine wrath and punishment,"[63] recent scholarship seems to agree on the predominance of the view of a protecting mark over the mark of authentication. It, however, needs a balance, "as a protective device against potential enemies it may stay death; in that sense, the anticipated punishment is softened. But at the same time it serves as a constant reminder of

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[57] von Rad, 107.

[58] Skinner, 112.

[59] von Rad, 107.

[60] Gunkel, 47.

[61] Cassuto, 227.

[62] Westermann, 313.

[63] Luther, 109.

Cain's banishment, his isolation from other people."[64] Therefore, the final-cut is that "as the clothing given to Adam and Eve after the fall served to remind them of their sin and God's mercy, so does the mark placed on Cain."[65]

Lamech's Words (4:23-24)

In a way, the enigmatic reading of Cain and Abel is genetic; it has been handed down to Lamech, the last genealogy of Cain. The so-called 'song of Lamech' –Lamech's words to his two wives –has been interpreted in varied ways. At first, under the name of 'Song of Sword,' it is commonly accepted that Lamech's words are the expression of boasting, arrogance, and rebellion. The text itself allows this interpretation by providing Lamech's boastful figure returning from the blood-revenge and brandishing his weapon before his wives as an Arab chief; "…truly I have killed a man for bruising me, a youth for hitting me" (v 23).

From this point, Lamech's 'Song of Sword' becomes a 'Song of bravado' because "I have killed a man"[66] may connote "I want to kill a man."[67] In one sense, it resembles Eve's arrogant shout at the beginning; "I have created a *man* equally with the Lord!" What is worse, however, is that Lamech even puts himself in the extreme position of cutting off the life of a *man;* "the earlier vaunt was *with the Lord*; the later, *against the Lord*."[68] In Lamech's eyes, it seems too passive and insufficient to satisfy the way of God's protection of Cain. So, here Lamech wants to become the direct execution of vengeance by refusing any hurt without a sevenfold and dire revenge.[69]

In contrast, Lamech's advocates have emerged. They suggest that Lamech's words are an appeal to a system of legal justice, especially

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[64] George W. Coats, *Genesis with an Introduction to Narrative Literature* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983), 65.

[65] Wenham, 110.

[66] Drive, 70.

[67] Cassuto, 241.

[68] Ibid., 243.

[69] von Rad, 111.

the Mosaic Law.[70] Taking a close look at both form-critical and lexical correspondence,[71] they assume that "this verse (v 24) is a later addition which links the old song with the Cain and Abel narrative."[72] In this connection, they also find the reason why Lamech's viewpoint has been changed from the first person to the third between verse 23 and 24.[73]

In light of this, Lamech's song echoes in a different code. Lamech justifies his violent action by appealing to the principle of *lex talionis* which is provided in the Mosaic Law.[74] In this principle, Lamech has not shed innocent blood, but he just has killed a man *for bruising him*, and *for hitting him* only (v 23).[75] Since Lamech does not hate his neighbours illegally, such an action is to be understood not as a boastful and cruel blood-revenge, but as a necessary and inevitable self-defense. His deed thus can be vindicated as a necessary evil to prevent the escalation of blood vengeance. In consequence, if Cain could be avenged from his committing fratricide, Lamech must be avenged from his killing in self-defense.[76]

Like many other episodes, Lamech's words still remain an open question. Nonetheless, one substantive fact is that the narrative portrays the development of human potential in a pessimistic perspective. The Song of Lamech indeed is the epitome of a dark portrait of human history which is intoxicated by the increase of sin; "First the Fall, then fratricide, and now the execution of vengeance."[77] The Song of Lamech expressly exhibits the cycle of fortune between human progress and the spirit of brutality; the more progress increases by human desire, the more the possibility of mutual destruction[78]

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[70] Silhamer, 67.

[71] Ibid., 68.

[72] Westermann, 335.

[73] Silhamer, 68.

[74] Ibid., 67.

[75] Ibid., 67.

[76] Ibid., 67.

[77] von Rad, 112.

[78] Westermann, 337.

increases. Lamech's song, in this sense, reminds us of God's warning against 'desire' in verse 7; "…sin is crouching at your door; it *desires* to have you, but you must master it." As Cain failed to master his desire, so did the family of Cain by becoming the servant of the same *desire*.

IV. CONCLUSION

Reading the narrative of Cain and Abel is painful. It needs readers to accept conflicting readings in patience. Indeed, such a discomfort is the hall mark of this short story; not only does the whole narrative consist of every enigmatic episode –from Eve's words to Lamech's words, but also each episode serves to provide a big riddle as a whole. Careful reading, however, finds a thrust passing through the whole story. As every enigma has its own answer, the narrative of Cain and Abel includes the crux under the name of mystery.

The conflicting readings in the narrative of Cain and Abel thus are two-fold; they are both centrifugal and centripetal. In the one sense, it is centrifugal, in that every human desire begins to come out from the inside: humanity's self-arrogance, hypocrisy, complaint, and self-defense, etc. It repudiates God's sovereign position. In the other sense, it is centripetal because all such human dimensions are to be convergent into one crucial point: the unfailing divine mercy. It brings us back to the heart of the human condition. The narrative thus is cast in a new light. As the balance of centrifugal and centripetal force is a precondition for the on-going revolution, so are the conflicting readings of Cain and Abel: human's condition needs God's mercy.

The significance is that such a tension by nature is creative rather than destructive. Every step of conflict –such as Eve's praising vs. arrogance, Cain's offering vs. Abel's, Cain's repentance vs. complaint, Cain's protection vs. stigma, and Lamech's pride vs. self-defense – ultimately serves to build a new horizon of reading. Indeed, the pain of conflicting readings in the narrative of Cain and Abel is a prelude to the opening of a womb. As a new life is to be born in pain, the narrative delivers sheer hope out of the hopelessness; humanity's condition is hopeless without divine mercy.

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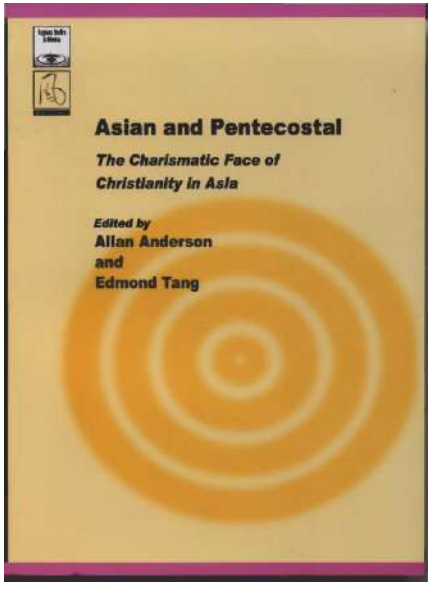

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Paper
ISBN: 1-870345-43-6
Regnum Books (Regnum Studies in Mission), APTS Press (AJPSS 3)
2005
xiv+596 pp. (See the order form.)

[*AJPS* 14:2 (2011), pp. 256-271]

GEORGE WHITFIELD AND THE GREAT AWAKENING: A PENTECOSTAL PERSPECTIVE

David Jull

As a Pentecostal student of Church History, one of the important questions I wrestle with is how the Holy Spirit worked in the Historic Church – not *if* the Holy Spirit worked, but *how* did the Holy Spirit guide, enliven and reform the Church? This article is an examination of one man's theological journey which fit him for a pivotal role in one the renewal movements of the English speaking church - the British evangelical movement and the North American colonies' Great Awakening. While I am not trying to say that the Great Awakening was a Pentecostal revival, I would like to look at one moment in time through Pentecostal eyes to see how that theological perspective might shed light on the spiritual development of the forerunner of modern itinerant evangelists.

George Whitefield was an Anglican minister who re-popularized itinerant evangelistic sermons, even when preached outside the bounds of a church structure. Arguably he was John Wesley's forerunner (though also Wesley's student) - breaking ground and planting seeds that Wesley would harvest and gather into the Methodist Church. Yet Whitefield had a different theology than Wesley and, arguably a different theological understanding than many other Anglican ministers of his day. Was it always different? And if Whitefield changed, how and why?

While the theology found in Whitefield's published sermons is broadly consistent, it does demonstrate a noticeable change over time. That is, the sermons from Whitefield's two years of publishing and the sermons written prior to his American experience have at least three common themes with his later sermons: the need for conversion, the importance of sanctification, and the expectation of persecution. Conversion remains a necessary experience, enacted by God, and associated with an inward transformation. Sanctification is demonstrated by the holy actions that proceed from a convert's life. All

true converts, because their lives are governed by heavenly principles, will suffer persecution at the hands of those people who are committed to wickedness. While these themes are present in both Whitefield's early sermons and his Great Awakening sermons, they do show signs of development. Scholars such as Tyerman and Smith note that during Whitefield's 1738 English ministry, aspects of his theology change.[1] The early sermons printed prior to 1738 include "Nature and Necessity of Our New Birth in Christ Jesus, in Order to Salvation," "The Nature and Necessity of Society in General, and of Religious Societies in Particular," "The Almost Christian," "The Benefits of Early Piety," "The Great Duty of Family Religion," "The Nature and Necessity of Self-Denial," "Of Justification by Christ," "The Heinous Sin of Profane Cursing and Swearing," "Intercession Every Christian's Duty," "The Eternity of Hell-Torments," and "Ship Farewell."[2]

Selecting sermons generated by, or representative of, Whitefield's American ministry from 1738-1742 has been done by Whitefield himself. In his work, *Twelve Sermons on Various Important Subjects*, Whitefield claimed that the sermons included were representational of the sermons he preached during the Great Awakening.[3] These twelve sermons are "The Lord our Righteousness," "The Seed of the Woman and the Seed of the Serpent," "Persecution Every Christian's Lot," "Abraham's offering up his Son," "Saul's Conversion," "Christ the Believer's Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, and Redemption," "The Holy Spirit Convincing the World of Sin, Righteousness, and Judgment," "The Conversion of Zaccheus," "The Power of Christ 's Resurrection," "The Indwelling of the Spirit, The Common Privilege of

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[1] David A. Smith, "George Whitefield as Inter-Confessional Evangelist, 1714-1770" (Thesis D.Phil., University of Oxford, 1992), 28-31; the author has not had direct access to David Smith's thesis (the Oxford library system would not sell or loan a copy to an American and I was ignorant of the work when I was there) and depended on a series of notes taken from the work, provided by Dr. Lineham. Luke Tyerman, *The Life of Rev. George Whitefield, Vol. 1* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1876), 273-75.

[2] "Ship Farewell" is also known as "Thankfulness for Mercies Received, a Necessary Duty." These lists are derived from Tyerman *The Life of Rev. George Whitefield, Vol. 1,* 79, 95-101, 294-296.

[3] George Whitefield, *Twelve Sermons on Various Important Subjects*, 3rd ed. (London: W. Phorson, B. Ian and Son, 1792), 21.

All Believers," and "The Eternity of Hell-Torments."[4]

In the pre-1738 sermons, Whitefield defined conversion as the process whereby the individual experienced,

> a thorough, real, inward change of nature, wrought in us by the powerful operations of the Holy Ghost, conveyed to, and nourished in, our hearts, by a constant use of all the means of grace, evidenced by a good life, and bringing forth the fruits of the Spirit.[5]

Whitefield's understanding of conversion reflects several sources, including Thomas á Kempis and John Wesley. Whitefield read á Kempis and thus Whitefield's lifelong assertion that the experience of conversion was necessary and perceptible could be attributed to this theologian.[6] However, Whitefield was also trained by Wesley, who was himself influenced by á Kempis.[7] According to Kenneth Collins in *John Wesley: A Theological Journey*, "What á Kempis, the medieval monk, had taught Wesley, then, was that vital religion ever begins with the transformation of the heart, with the alteration of the tempers of the deepest recesses of our being."[8] This message is clear in Whitefield's sermons, even if his source is not.

As the quotation defining conversion ("a thorough, real, inward change … bringing forth the fruits of the Spirit") indicated, Whitefield's early sermons linked the work of the Holy Spirit with active participation in "the means of grace."[9] Whitefield insisted that penitent people must strive to be new creatures.[10] Further, in several

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[4] This sermon from 1738 was included in the twelve sermons Whitefield selected.

[5] "Early Piety" (1737), George Whitefield, *The Works of George Whitefield: Volume 5, Sermons* ([CD Rom] Meadow View, Shropshire, England: Quinta Press, 2000)., 174[abbreviated to WGW]; see also "On Regeneration" (1737), W*GW Vol. 6*, 264.

[6] ———, *The Works of George Whitefield: Journals* ([CD Rom] Meadow View, Shropshire, England: Quinta Press, 2000), 45.

[7] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals*,(1740), 61.

[8] Kenneth Collins, *John Wesley: A Theological Journey* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2003), 33.

[9] See above.

[10] "On Regeneration" (1737), W*GW Vol. 6*, 273.

sermons Whitefield identified "striving" as fasting, watching, and praying. [11] In addition to fasting, watching, and praying, Whitefield said that conversion required self-denial. The person seeking to be more than a nominal Christian must forgo his or her appetites for sensual amusements, innocent or otherwise, that detract from holy living.[12] These instructions imply that human efforts can influence God's freedom in selecting whom he would bestow conversion upon. In "The Nature and Necessity of Self-Denial," Whitefield did link the regenerative activity of the Holy Spirit to the prior human act of self-denial. He said, "Let us up and be doing; … [l]et us but once thus show ourselves men, and then the Spirit of GOD will move on the face of our souls."[13]

He admitted that this practice of self-denial may not require a person to actually give all their money to the poor, but it certainly required them to recognize that they were to be stewards of what wealth God gave them and they must be willing to give up material items for spiritual blessedness.[14] Whitefield asserted,

> every degree of holiness you neglect ... is a jewel taken out of your crown, a degree of blessedness lost ... on the contrary, be daily endeavouring to give up yourselves more and more into him. [15]

In taking this position, Whitefield was both reiterating the circumstances of his own conversion and also reflecting the teachings of William Law and, again, John Wesley. As with á Kempis, Whitefield both read Law's works and also received instruction in piety from John Wesley, whose spiritual formation was shaped by Law.[16]

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[11] "Religious Society" (1737), W*GW Vol. 5,* 128, "On Regeneration" (1737), W*GW Vol. 6,* 273.

[12] "Almost Christian" (1737), W*GW Vol. 6,* 191-192; "On Regeneration" (1737), W*GW Vol. 6,* 274.

[13] "Self-denial" (1737), W*GW Vol. 5,* 456.

[14] "Self-denial" (1737), W*GW Vol. 5,* 450.

[15] "Almost Christian" (1737), W*GW Vol. 6,* 197.

[16] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals,*(1740), 50, 51, 69; see also Collins, *John Wesley: A Theological Journey*, p 33; compare to William Law, "A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life," in *William Law: A Serious Call to a Devout*

According to Collins, Law's works taught Wesley the importance of the moral law, suggested sanctification was the grounds of justification, identified the need for a whole hearted dedication to Christianity, and presented the need for "acts of renunciation and mortification" in the area of otherwise innocent amusements. [17] Whitefield himself wrote that Law's work, *The Absolute Unlawfulness of the Stage Entertainment*, convinced him that the theatre was an inappropriate form of entertainment.[18]

Whitefield balanced his endorsement of striving with the role of faith by asserting that fasting and praying, in either public venues or private venues, are only useful if they "make us inwardly better." [19] Whitefield taught that faithful belief in Christ and his crucifixion was the basis of any hope of forgiveness. He said,

> And can any poor truly-convinced sinner, after this, despair of mercy? … No, only believe in him, and then, though you have crucified him afresh, yet will he abundantly pardon you. [20]

There is a noticeable change in Whitefield's theology when the early sermons are compared with those found in *Twelve Sermons on Various Subjects*. The role of striving for conversion is reduced and the role of faith in Christ is increased. Whitefield's sermon, "The Holy Spirit Convincing the World of Sin, Righteousness, and Judgment," is a reasonably concise statement of Whitefield's position on conversion from among the twelve sermons he selected. His understanding of conversion as a path that God often, though not always, follows is similar to some reformed theologians of his era.[21] . The three stages he

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and Holy Life [&] the Spirit of Love, ed. Paul G. Stanwood (London: SPCK, 1978), on compete devotion, 72, and on stewardship of wealth, 143.

[17] Collins, *John Wesley: A Theological Journey*, 41.

[18] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals*,(1740), 69.

[19] "On Regeneration" (1737), W*GW Vol. 6,* 270.

[20] "Justification" (1737), W*GW Vol. 6,* 234 –235.

[21] See Jonathan Edwards, "A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls, in Northampton, and the Neighbouring Towns and Villages of Newhampshire [Sic], in New England," in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Vol. 1*, ed. Edward Hickman (London: Ball, Arnold and Co., 1840).

identifies are first a conviction of sin, second awareness that conversion is possible, and third an awareness that conversion has taken place. He stated that the steps in this sermon were only representational and that the Holy Spirit could choose to convert a person in some other order. Nevertheless, these were the steps Whitefield usually observed.[22]

Conversion, according to "The Holy Spirit Convincing," had three stages. First, the Holy Spirit convinced and convicted a person of sin. This was a personal action – the Holy Spirit helped the person recognize and identify the presence and significance of some obvious sin.[23] Elsewhere, Whitefield referred to this personal attention as God calling a person by name. Thus, Adam and Paul were addressed by name as God made them aware of their sin.[24] After the person was aware of their most significant sin, the Holy Spirit identified other specific sins.[25] After the person was aware that he was responsible for a range of specific sins, the Holy Spirit made him aware that he had an unavoidable tendency to sin. Whitefield identified this with the doctrine of original sin. He insisted that the Anglican doctrine on sin, as articulated in the Thirty-Nine Articles, was an adequate and accurate assessment of the human condition.[26] In "The Pharisee and the Publican," Whitefield identified the Publican as being a participant of original sin by calling him "half a devil and half a beast."[27] Benjamin Franklin, when reflecting on Whitefield's effect on the people of

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[22] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), George Whitefield, *Sermons on Important Subjects ; with a Memoir of the Author, by Samuel Drew ; and a Dissertation on His Character, Preaching, &C. By Joseph Smith* (London: H. Fisher and P. Jackson 1829). [abbreviated WS], 459.

[23] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 460.

[24] "Seed of the Woman" (1740) in George Whitefield, *Select Sermons of George Whitefield, with an Account of His Life by J.C. Ryle and a Summary of His Doctrine by R. Elliot* (London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1958), 89-90; "Saul's Conversion" (1740), WS, 472.

[25] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 460.

[26] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 461; compare Article nine, *Articles Agreed Upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of Both Provinces and the Whole Clergy in the Convocation Holden at London in the Year 1562 for the Avoiding of Diversities of Opinions and for the Establishing of Consent Touching True Religion.* [Webpage] (Lynda M. Howell, 1662 [cited May 26 2004]); available from www.eskimo.com/~lhowell/bcp1662/download/rtf/bcp-1662-r.zip.

[27] "The Pharisee And The Publican" (1739), WS, 397.

Philadelphia, commented that the phrase "half a devil and half a beast" was typical of Whitefield's sermons; it was also more readily received by the general public than Franklin had thought likely.[28]

Following the awareness of original sin, the Holy Spirit helped the person become aware of the sin of attempting to earn righteousness.[29] Whitefield taught that acts of charity and piety are good and necessary Christian actions. However, as a means to secure conversion, they were futile.[30] Such acts, prior to conversion, were either self-serving – intended to preserve the person's reputation – or a heretical attempt to earn righteousness.[31] Thus, fasting and tithing were good, but they did not give a person the right to think they had earned salvation.[32]

Once personal efforts to achieve righteousness were excluded, the Holy Spirit convinced the person that unbelief in itself was a sin. Whitefield did not intend the sin of unbelief to be connected with the act of not acknowledging the historicity of Christ's actions. He assumed his listeners acknowledged the eternal nature of the soul, the historical events of the incarnation, and the reality of future judgment.[33] Unbelief, rather, was the inability to depend on Christ for righteousness. This, according to Whitefield, was impossible to overcome alone. [34]

After this full acknowledgment of sin, the person often entered a period of despair, called "soul trouble" in which he recognized the complete gulf between mandated righteousness and their own state. Whitefield called this being "burdened with sin," "wounded with sin,"[35] or "broken hearted."[36] Whitefield warned ministers to refrain from offering comfort to a person in obvious agitation over impending

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[28] Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, 175.

[29] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 461, that we are conceived in sin, "Christ's Resurrection" (1739), WS, 582.

[30] "The Pharisee And The Publican" (1739), WS, 396; "Christ's Resurrection" (1739), WS, 582.

[31] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 461.

[32] "The Pharisee And The Publican" (1739), WS, 396.

[33] "Hell-Torments" (1738), WS, 310.

[34] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 463.

[35] "Hell-Torments" (1738), WS, 310.

[36] "Zacchaeus" (1739), WS, 410.

damnation until the person had fully acknowledged the depths of their sin.[37]

In the second stage of conversion, the Holy Spirit made people aware that they could obtain salvation. [38] They now knew that they needed Jesus' righteousness. While they were now aware that Christ's righteousness could make them happy, at the same time they recognized that they could not obtain it through any action on their part. [39]

In the third stage, the Holy Spirit applied the righteousness of Christ to them. They now knew that they were converted. Their knowledge and peace were "well grounded."[40] This righteousness was imputed to them through the free act of Christ. By this Whitefield meant both that Christ was free to give this righteousness to whom he chose and also that people could not induce Christ to give his righteousness to them. [41] Whitefield said the story of Christ directly addressing the tree-climbing Zaccheus demonstrated that Zaccheus was selected by a sovereign act of Christ.[42] The proper response to this knowledge of God's sovereignty was not fatalistic resignation (based on a belief that they are either reprobate or elect), but rather a diligent improvement of the work God was doing.[43] Whitefield urged people to follow the example of the Publican in the sermon, "The Publican and The Pharisee" – they should humble themselves and believe in Christ Jesus.[44] Christ completed the work of salvation on the cross, but it must be applied to the individual's heart to inwardly transform the person. [45] Since only God could do this work, it was appropriate for Whitefield to end the lesson with a prayer.[46]

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[37] Whitefield, *Select Sermons*, 91.

[38] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 465.

[39] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 465.

[40] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 465.

[41] "The Pharisee And The Publican" (1739), WS, 401.

[42] "Zacchaeus" (1739), WS, 404-405.

[43] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 467-468.

[44] "The Pharisee And The Publican" (1739), WS, 400.

[45] "Christ's Resurrection" (1739), WS, 583.

[46] "Holy Spirit Convincing" (1743), WS, 468.

While both Whitefield's early and later positions concerning conversion assert that conversion is a transformation enacted by God, Whitefield's early sermons emphasize striving for holiness and thus working towards conversion. This element of human effort is muted, though not entirely removed (e.g. the call to improve God's work) in later sermons.

What accounts for the change in Whitefield's theology? First, it is unlikely that Whitefield made a radical change in his theology. Nowhere in his journals does he indicate that he regretted earlier sermons or theological positions. Further, one of his sermons from 1738, "Eternity of Hell-Torments," was included in his collection of twelve sermons. Thus, he had not rejected all of his previous theological convictions. What is under examination is a shift in emphasis rather than either a radical new insight or a conviction of heretical doctrine.

Some scholars have suggested that correspondence with the Erskine brothers influenced Whitefield's shift in theology.[47] David Smith, while recognizing the influence of the Erskine brothers' moderate Calvinism on Whitefield's theology, suggested that the shift in theology might be a consequence, in part, of Whitefield's reading of Matthew Henry's commentaries.[48] Yet this is negated to the degree that Justification by Faith is central to a Calvinist theology. In his Journals Whitefield comments that a member of the Oxford Holiness club came to him "lately [and] confessed he did not like me so well at Oxford, as the rest of his brethren, because I held justification by faith *only*."[49]

Smith suggests that Whitefield exaggerated his early Calvinistic understanding in the *Accounts*. However, this suggestion does not seem to account for the way this comment, made presumably near 1740 (the year Whitefield wrote the *Accounts*) by one of Whitefield's old acquaintances, implies that Whitefield was known for subscribing to justification by faith alone.[50] Similarly, the suggestion that reading Matthew Henry's commentary taught Calvinism does not account for

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[47] William Reginald Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 314. Tyerman, *The Life of Rev. George Whitefield, Vol. 1*, 273-75.

[48] Smith, "George Whitefield as Inter-Confessional Evangelist, 1714-1770", 34-37.

[49] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals*,(1740), 68.

[50] Smith, "George Whitefield as Inter-Confessional Evangelist, 1714-1770", 29.

Crump's observation that Whitefield's 1737 (pre-Calvinist) sermons were already based on Matthew Henry's work.[51]

Crump had a different suggestion as to why Whitefield's sermons demonstrate a shift in theology: the audience changed in 1739. Prior to 1739, most of Whitefield's published sermons were originally presented to religious societies or to churches that had an active religious society. Thus, Whitefield's validation of the practices of fasting, watching, and praying in "On Regeneration" was made to people who were using these spiritual disciplines to enhance their faith. Whitefield cautioned them that such religious exercises were only beneficial if they "make us inwardly better." That is, spiritual exercises are useful as spiritual exercises but not as hypocritical outward rites.[52] "The Benefits of Early Piety," with its call to young people to fervently seek God while they are young was delivered to the religious society that met at London's Bow Church.[53] Similarly, Whitefield's comments about the usefulness of religious societies in "The Nature and Necessity of Religious Societies" are clearer when it is realized that, though the sermon was delivered on the Sunday after Whitefield's Deaconal ordination to the congregation at St. Mary de Crypt, in Gloucester, Whitefield had originally written it for "a small Christian society."[54]

Crump notes that in 1739 Whitefield began field-preaching.[55] Rather than addressing people who had some experience in religious disciplines such as fasting and dedicated periods of prayer, Whitefield was addressing people who seldom, if ever, attended church and had little or no acquaintance with the religious practices popular in religious societies. Their religious experience began with hearing Whitefield tell them God loved them and would provide the necessary faith to convert them. In this light, Whitefield's repeated assertions that good works – improvements in morality and increases in piety – do not form the basis of God's acceptance of the sinner are clearer: these people were starting their faith journey without the benefit of any religious training. To ask

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[51] Crump, "The Preaching of George Whitefield," 22.

[52] "On Regeneration" (1737), W*GW Vol. 6,* 270.

[53] "Early Piety" (1737), W*GW Vol. 5,* 172.

[54] James Patterson Gledstone, *The Life and Travels of George Whitefield, M.A.*, vol. 2004 ([CD Rom] Meadow View, Shropshire, England: Quinta Press, 2000), 40; compare Whitefield, *WGW: Journals,*(1744), 85.

[55] Crump, "The Preaching of George Whitefield," 22.

them to practice any form of spiritual discipline before encountering God through faith would effectively bar them from ever encountering God.[56]

There were other circumstances, not mentioned by Crump that might have contributed to Whitefield's change in approach to conversion. First, Whitefield stopped writing out specific sermons to be read before each specific audience. Rather, he began preaching *extempore*. In defending his practice to the faculty of Harvard, he stated that his *extempore* sermons were not random discourses, but rather carefully prepared sermons.[57] His introduction to *Twelve Sermons on Various Important Subjects* states that particulars of each delivery of the included sermons varied, but the main content remained consistent.[58] It is then reasonable to conclude that Whitefield's practice of *extempore* preaching entailed memorizing a sermon outline and doctrine while trusting God to provide illustrations that were appropriate to the specific occasion.[59] The act of memorizing Matthew Henry's outlines and doctrines might have caused him to consider Henry's Calvinistic theology more carefully. This suggestion is supported by Whitefield's observation, made shortly after he had begun preaching *extempore*, "I find I gain greater light and knowledge by preaching *extempore*, so that I fear I should quench the Spirit, did I not go on to speak as He gives me utterance."[60]

Second, Whitefield had the experience of seeing many people rapidly converted; they had not been struggling with conversion for months as he had during his time at Oxford. These examples of God's free and relatively instant grace may have convinced Whitefield that God's actions were more significant than the human action of fasting, watching and praying. He may have alluded to this insight in "Christians, Temple of the Living God" where he noted that he thought

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[56] see "The Potter" (1771), W*GW Vol. 5*, 228.

[57] George Whitefield, "A Letter to the Reverend the President, and Professors, Tutors, and Hebrew Instructors, of Harvard College in Cambridge; in Answer to a Testimony Published by Them against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, and His Conduct," in *The Works of George Whitefield: Volume IV, Controversial Writings and Tracts* ([CD Rom] Meadow View, Shropshire, England: Quinta Press, 2000), 232.

[58] Whitefield, *Twelve Sermons*, 21.

[59] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals* (1738), 154.

[60] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals* (1739), 230.

willful sinners – those who have rejected their baptismal vows to seek God – could logically only expect divine retribution; in spite of this logic, he was aware of thousands of cases where God graciously intervened in the lives of willful sinners.[61]

Third, the opposition of Whitefield's fellow clergy to his innovations in ministry techniques may have caused Whitefield to study the Thirty-Nine Articles to see if he was preaching heresy. Article ten precludes the ability of free will actions to make a person acceptable to God. Article eleven teaches that the only acceptable source of justification is Jesus Christ. Article twelve states that good works are only possible if they proceed from faith and are only acceptable if they follow justification (which only comes through Christ). Article seventeen, dealing with predestination, claims that God has chosen some "to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation."[62] Any careful examination of the Thirty-Nine Articles will reveal the Calvinist framework of this foundational document of the Anglican Church. While Whitefield did not mention such a doctrinal search in 1739, he did mention that, in January of 1739 he had engaged in three lengthy debates concerning his doctrinal position and his ministry choices.[63] Whitefield also mentioned meditating on the Thirty-Nine Articles a few years earlier as a spiritual exercise and part of his personal preparation for his ordination as a deacon. Possibly the time of persecution caused him to do so again.[64] Further, he had examined the Articles in such a manner that he was able to say that all those Anglican ministers who did not preach justification by faith alone were unfaithful to the Articles and were causing schisms within the church by forcing lay Christians who accepted the Articles to join the Dissenters.[65] By associating his opponents with Christ's opponents, it appears that he wanted his audiences (both his readers and his hearers) to mentally shift the center of religious authority away from wrong minded preachers and onto evangelical ministers. He did this when he called these opponents, "Letter learned masters of Israel," "Letter learned scribes

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[61] "Temples Of The Living God" (1771), WS, 561.

[62] *Thirty-Nine Articles* (webpage).

[63] 17th, 26th, and 29th of January, Whitefield, *WGW: Journals*, (1739), 224, 227, 228.

[64] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals* (1740), 74.

[65] "Indwelling Of The Spirit" (1739), WS, 434-435.

and Pharisees," and "A late, letter learned rabbi of our church."[66] This is not a position Whitefield was likely to take unless he had examined both his doctrine and the doctrine of his opponents in light of the official doctrines of the Church of England.

While these suggestions are supported by Whitefield's comments in his journals or his sermons, they are, to some degree, speculations. Did Whitefield claim to have had some spiritual experience that changed his theology or his approach to preaching? He did. On 14 January, 1739 Whitefield was ordained as Priest. He approached this ceremony expecting a spiritual experience, or at least that is implied by his prayer, "Oh, that I may be prepared for receiving the Holy Ghost tomorrow by the imposition of hands. Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen."[67] After the ceremony of ordination, with the act of the laying on of the Bishop's hands, Whitefield wrote, "I received grace in the Holy Sacrament."[68]

Over the next three weeks, Whitefield noted instances that demonstrated the manner of the spiritual experience he had at ordination. He indicated that he preached with the power of the Holy Spirit ten times.[69] In addition to preaching with power, he claimed that God had altered his ministry style. On 28 January he said,

> I offered Jesus Christ freely to sinners, and many, I believe, were truly pricked to the heart. Now, my friends, your prayers are heard, God has given me a double portion of His Spirit indeed.[70]

On 4 February he identified what manner the spiritual experience took. He said,

> How has He filled and satisfied my soul! Now know I, that I did receive the Holy Ghost at imposition of hands, for I feel it as much as Elisha did when Elijah dropped his

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[66] "Christ's Resurrection" (1739), *WS*, 583; "Christ The Only Preservative" (1740), *WS*, 567-568; "Persecution" (1741), *WS*, 604.

[67] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals* (1739), 223.

[68] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals* (1739), 223.

[69] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals* (1739), 224-228. That Whitefield felt God had assisted his sermon was not unique to his post ordination ministry; see Whitefield, *WGW: Journals* (1739), 220, 221.

[70] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals* (1739), 228.

> mantle. Nay, others see it also, and my opposers, would they but speak, cannot but confess that God is with me of a truth.[71]

Following this testimony from the *Journals*, it appears that at Whitefield's ordination he had a spiritual experience. In the opinion of Whitefield and his friends, this experience changed his preaching ability and content. According to Edwards' insights into the nature of spiritual experiences, Whitefield's spiritual experience (which Edwards would have called a religious affection) would have given him the perception of greater confidence and effectiveness if he and the worshipping community had the expectation that that would happen.[72]

What does the ceremony of ordination to priesthood in the Anglican Church entail? Besides eliciting a promise to teach Scripture, adhere to the doctrines of the church, and care for whatever parish the priest is appointed to, the ceremony makes a rather bold claim. When the Bishop places his hands on the head of the person, he says,

> **RECEIVE** the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God, and of his holy Sacraments; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The Bishop follows this with

> **MOST** merciful Father, we beseech thee to send upon these thy servants thy heavenly blessing; that they may be clothed with righteousness, and that thy Word spoken by their mouths may have such success, that it may never be spoken in vain. Grant also, that we may have grace to hear and receive what they shall deliver out of thy most holy Word, or agreeable to the same, as the means of our salvation; that in all our words and deeds we may seek thy glory, and the increase of thy kingdom; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*[73]

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[71] Whitefield, *WGW: Journals*,(1739), 231.

[72] See Chapter Five, 5.2.4, 265, 268-272.

[73] *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, According to the Order of the Church of*

While this might have been treated as a relatively empty ceremonial pronouncement by some priests, the double mention of divine assistance in ministry – first the Bishop promising that the priest would receive the Holy Spirit so that he could minister more effectively and second the Bishop requesting that the Father bless the priest so "thy Word, spoken by their mouths may have such success, that it never be spoken in vain" – describes a ceremony that expects a spiritual blessing to be imparted that would assist the minister to preach more effectively. A reasonable interpretation of Whitefield's comments and the nature of the ceremony is that, in accordance with Edwards' insight, the expressed expectations of the words of the ordaining Bishop, found in the ordination ceremony, shaped Whitefield's expectations and thus his spiritual experience.

What then can we say? First and foremost, I think it is a good practice for Pentecostal scholars to look at the important moments of Church history from our own perspective (or reading through our own theological glasses) to see the work of the Holy Spirit in history.

Second, I think at least two of the theories I do not adopt have very relevant points. First, I think David Smith raises a very good point when he suggests Whitefield's sermon theology was influenced by Matthew Henry and the other Reformed thinkers he was exposed to. Our understanding of who God is and how He works ought to be influenced (but not dominated) by the great minds of the Church. Also, Crump is correct to point out that Whitefield's audience changed. Our presentation of the Gospel message ought to be influenced by the people who are gathered to hear us. Surely the point of preaching is taking the unchanging truths of the Gospel and presenting them in a manner that is understandable to the people we are addressing. Yet if either of these two men is correct, it highlights a danger – we cannot let the winds of circumstance or shifting "hot new doctrines" change our theology. Yet, as theologians we must listen to the voice of the people of God – both in the form of the historic voice of former theologians and also in the form of the contemporary body of Christ; listen to the voice, and let it motivate us to search the scriptures for a deeper understanding of God.

England. Lynda M. Howell, www.eskimo.com/~lhowell/bcp1662/download/rtf/bcp-1662-r.zip.

The theory I endorse – that Whitefield's theology changed as a direct result of the work of the Holy Spirit during his Ordination – embraces a great truth of the Pentecostal movement and has one great warning for us. The truth I refer to is that the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, or in this case, a significant empowering of the Holy Spirit, results in an equipping for a more powerful witness to Christ. Pentecostals have gotten caught up in looking for glossolalia (and I find no evidence of this in Whitefield's journals nor in the accounts of his ministry) or healing, or being slain in the spirit. All these are legitimate work of the Holy Spirit, but they are sideshows to what I believe are the two main works of the Holy Spirit in the Christian's life: firstly, transforming us into the image of God, and secondly, equipping us to share the Gospel.

The uncomfortable warning is in Edward's theory, used to understand Whitefield's experience. If Edwards is correct and the "secret expectations of the worshipping community" shape the experience of the infilling of the Holy Spirit, then Pentecostal ministers, as leaders of worshipping communities have the responsibility of leading the expectations of our congregations. We must provide a correct understanding so their expectations are in line with the outcomes that enhance the Kingdom of God; else our revivals will take on improper characteristics that will be a disgrace to the Kingdom of God.

[*AJPS* 14:2 (2011), pp. 272-309]

VALUE FORMATION AND THE ROLE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE WRITINGS OF J. RODMAN WILLIAMS

Paul W. Lewis

Introduction

One of the important dynamics within the discussion of pneumatology is the development of person in term of ethics and values. Yet frequently this focus within theological treatises is not always noted. The purpose of this paper is to look at the work of one such Charismatic theologian, J. (John) Rodman Williams, through the lens of the Holy Spirit's working in the formation of values.

There will be five sections in this discussion of value formation and the Holy Spirit after a brief background of J. Rodman Williams. The first section will delineate Williams' theological locus of authority. The following three sections will be based upon the three avenues of the Spirit's activity in the formation of the person: the self, the community, and the Bible. Then, there will be a consolidation of the material and a discussion of Williams' salient points for this essay. [1]

Background on J. Rodman Williams

[1] An earlier version of this essay is found in Paul W. Lewis, "Value Formation and the Holy Spirit in the Theologies of Thomas C. Oden, Jürgen Moltmann and J. Rodman Williams " (Ph.D. diss: Baylor Univeristy, 1995); see also Paul W. Lewis, "Value Formation and the Holy Spirit in the Pneumatologies of Thomas C. Oden, Jürgen Moltmann and J. Rodman Williams," Paper of the Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies (Nov. 1994).

One of the most prominent theologians within the Charismatic movement is John Rodman Williams. Williams started his theological training at Emory University and later received his A.B. from Davidson College in 1939. In 1943 he received his B.D. and a year later his Th.M. at Union Theological Seminary in Virginia. In 1943 he was ordained by the Presbyterian church of the United States. From 1944 to 1946 Williams served as a chaplain in the United States Naval Reserves among the Marine Corps in New York. From 1949 to 1952 he was the associate Professor of Philosophy at Beloit College in Wisconsin. From 1952 to 1959 he was pastor of the First Presbyterian church of Rockford, Illinois. While in Illinois he completed his Ph.D. in Philosophy of Religion and Ethics at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary (New York). In 1959 he was appointed as the Professor of Systematic Theology and Philosophy of Religion at Austin Presbyterian Seminary in Austin, Texas where he remained until 1972. It was at Austin Presbyterian Seminary in 1965 that he became an active member of the Charismatic renewal in the United States. In this capacity, he became an early President of the International Presbyterian Charismatic Communion, and was a leader of several Charismatic conferences in Europe. He demonstrated his ecumenical perspective by participating in several years of Vatican-Pentecostal dialogues and by being a member of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches.[2] In 1972 Williams became the founding President and Professor of Christian Doctrine at Melodyland School of Theology in Anaheim, California. This graduate and undergraduate school was set up to promote Charismatic

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[2]Stanley Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," in *Handbook of Evangelical Theologians*, ed. Walter Elwell (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1993), 307; Kilian McDonnell, *Charismatic Renewal and the Churches* (New York: Seabury Press, 1976), 52; Richard Quebedeaux, *The New Charismatics* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1976), 122; idem., *The New Charismatics II* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983), 93-4; Robeck, Jr., Cecil M., "Williams, John Rodman," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley Burgess and Gary McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), 887-8, hereafter *DPCM*; and J. Rodman Williams, *Spirit of Glory*, Third International Presbyterian Conference of the Holy Spirit, Feb. 1974 in St. Louis, MO., Presbyterian Charismatic Communion Tape Ministry, SI74JRW.

and ecumenical principles within an evangelical setting.[3] Ten years later he left Anaheim to become the Professor of Theology at CBN University (now Regent University) in Virginia, and he has filled this position up until the present. In 1985 he became the President of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, and has continued to support this organization as an active member. His most influential work, the three volume *Renewal Theology*, was published from 1988 to 1992. It was written specifically from a Charismatic perspective. His impact as an evangelical theologian was noted inasmuch as he has been included in the *Handbook of Evangelical Theologians*.[4] Williams continued to teach at Regent University until 2001 and was named 'Professor of Renewal Theology Emeritus' in 2002. On October 18, 2008, J. Rodman Williams passed away in Virginia.[5]

Williams' theological career fits into three chronological periods: the pre-Charismatic period (up until 1965), the early Charismatic period (1965-82), and the later Charismatic period (1982-present). From his completion of his formal theological education until 1965, his major articles were for Presbyterian publications such as *Thy Will, My Will*, or *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition*. During this period of time, his works tended to be devotional and non-

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[3]On Melodyland see Quebedeaux, *The New Charismatics*, 122-3; J. Rodman Williams, "Melodyland Christian Center," In *DPCM*, 600; and idem., "Wilkerson, Ralph A. (1927-)," in *DPCM*, 885-6.

[4]Stanley Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," in *Handbook of Evangelical Theologians*, ed. Walter Elwell (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1993), 307-20; J. Rodman Williams, *Renewal Theology 1: God, the World and Redemption* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988); idem., *Renewal Theology 2: Salvation, the Holy Spirit and the Christian Living* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990); and idem., *Renewal Theology 3: The Church, The Kingdom and Last Things* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992); on J. Rodman Williams biography see Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," 307, Robeck, Jr., "Williams, John Rodman," 887-8; and "Williams, John Rodman," in *Who's Who in American Religion*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1985), 425.

[5] Noted previously, and reaccessed April 24, 2012. http://www.regent.edu/acad/schdiv/faculty_staff/williams_r.shtml

Charismatic.[6] Williams' most important work of this period, *Contemporary Existentialism and Christian Faith*, was strongly influenced by Williams' background under the teaching of Paul Tillich of Union Theological Seminary (New York). In this work, he discusses the existential issues of truth, humanity, God, death, anxiety and existence, while also evaluating them from the perspective of his Reformed tradition.[7] Williams was truly a theological child of his age. His dissertation, "The Doctrine of the '*Imago Dei*' in Contemporary Theology: A Study in Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Reinhard Niebuhr, and Paul Tillich," and his book, *Contemporary Existentialism and Christian Faith*,discuss the *imago dei* and existential concepts by analyzing and critiquing the prominent

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[6]Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," 308; J. Rodman Williams, "A Fellowship of Confessors," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 4 (1949): 40-3; idem., "Can Protestants and Catholics get Together?" *Presbyterian Survey* 52 (Oct. 1962): 10-3; idem., "Christian Faith and Contemporary Existentialism," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 77 (Sept. 1961): 1-25; idem., "The Concerns of Frankfurt," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 80 (Nov. 1964): 5-15; idem., "The Covenant in Reformed Theology," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 78 (March 1963): 24-38; and idem., "A Theological Critique of Some Contemporary Trends in Worship," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 75 (June 1960): 48-57; idem., "What is Your Vocation?" *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 77 (May 1962): 9-19; see also J. Rodman Williams, "The Holy Spirit," *Thy Will, My Will*, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States (April-June 1956): 61-74; and idem., "The Messiah," *Thy Will, My Will*, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States (Jan.-March 1961): 88-95; both are cited in Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," 308; and Mark Wilson, "A Select Bibliography of J. Rodman Williams," in *Spirit and Renewal: Essays in Honor of J. Rodman Williams*, ed. Mark Wilson, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplemental 5 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 205-8.

[7]J. Rodman Williams, *Contemporary Existentialism and Christian Faith* (Englewood, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965); see also J. Rodman Williams, "Christian Faith and Contemporary Existentialism," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 77 (Sept. 1961): 1-25.

contemporary philosophical and theological thinkers from earlier in this century.[8]

The great watershed event of Williams' theological career was his entrance into the Charismatic movement in November of 1965. Williams, in the first semester of 1965, was the visiting theologian in Tainan Theological College in Taiwan. He was also writing a book on systematic theology, in which he hesitated before writing the chapter on the Holy Spirit. Through these events Williams had a growing feeling of spiritual emptiness and impotence, which led to months of prayer, soul searching, and seeking after God. After much prayer, during the week of Thanksgiving in 1965 he sensed the overwhelming reality of the Holy Spirit in his life.[9] He started to speak in tongues, which was both unexpected and shocking. He had previously not given any value to *glossolalia* or speaking in tongues, and earlier had even rewritten some of his lectures to counter the Charismatic movement at Austin Presbyterian Seminary. Through this experience, he received a new awareness of the reality of God and considered this experience a powerful revelation from God.[10] Since that time, he has

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[8]J. Rodman Williams, "The Doctrine of the '*Imago Dei*' in Contemporary Theology: A Study in Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Reinhard Niebuhr, and Paul Tillich," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1954); and idem., *Contemporary Existentialism and Christian Faith*; see also J. Rodman Williams, "A New Theological Era," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 82 (Nov. 1966): 37-47; and idem., "Theology in Transition and the 'Death of God'," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 82 (April 1966): 22-46.

[9]Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," 308; J. Rodman Williams, "He Studies the Creator of the Stars," *Ministries Today* (Jan.-Feb. 1990), 80, idem., "Have You Recieved the Baptism in the Holy Spirit?" Open Letter in *Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers* (Jan. 1972); and idem., "The Language of Heaven," in *The Acts of the Holy Spirit among the Presbyterian Today* (Los Angeles: Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, 1972), 7-11; Note that one year earlier in 1964, Williams was advocating a "deeper and fuller realization of the place and work of the Holy Spirit." J. Rodman Williams, "The Concerns of Frankfurt," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 80 (Nov. 1964): 5; see also Williams, "The Language of Heaven," 8-9; and idem., *Spirit of Glory*.

[10]Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," 308-9; J. Rodman Williams, "The Language of Heaven," 9; idem., *Renewal Theology 2*, 11-2; idem., "Why

provided leadership for the Charismatic movement from Austin Presbyterian Seminary until 1972, and from 1972 to 1982 he served as President and Professor at Melodyland Theological Seminary. His works in this period focused on the theological and historical precedent for the activity of the Holy Spirit, and on what was called in Charismatic circles the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit." His discussions frequently included the *charismata*, or gifts of the Spirit, and in particular, the volatile issue of speaking in tongues.[11] During this period (1965-82), Williams wrote several articles and essays on the Charismatic movement for the non-Charismatic populace, while also writing several significant works for the Charismatic audience.[12]

Speak in Tongues?" *New Covenant* 7 (Jan. 1978): 14; and idem., *Spirit of Glory*.

[11]General: J. Rodman Williams, *The Gift of the Holy Spirit Today* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1980); and idem., *10 Teachings* (Carol Stream, IL: Creation House, 1974): 64-75; On the historical aspects: J. Rodman, Williams, "The Holy Spirit in the Early Church and in Calvin's Theology," Paper written for the Permanent Theological Committee of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1969; and idem., "A New Era in History," in *The Pentecostal Reality* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1972), 29-55; On the Baptism of the Holy Spirit: J. Rodman Williams, "The Event of the Holy Spirit," in *Pentecostal Reality*, 11-27; idem, *The Gift of the Holy Spirit Today* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1980), hereafter *Gift*, 11-26; and idem., "Pentecostal Spirituality," in *Pentecostal Reality*, 57-84; On Speaking in Tongues: J. Rodman Williams, *Era of the Spirit*, 30-3; idem., *Gift*, 27-42; idem., "The Language of Heaven," 7-11; and idem., "Why Speak in Tongues?" 14-6; On the gifts of the Spirit: J. Rodman Williams, *Era of the Spirit* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1971), 21-35; and idem., *Gift*, 50-72.

[12]To the non-Charismatic audience see J. Rodman Williams, "Door Interview," *Wittenburg Door* 57 (Oct.-Nov. 1980): 11-4, 19-20, 22; idem., "A Profile of the Charismatic Movement," *Christianity Today* 19 (Feb. 28, 1975): 9-13; idem., "A New Theological Era," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 82 (Nov. 1966): 37-47; idem., "The Plan of Union," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 86 (April 1970): 20-37; idem., "Theology in Transition and the 'Death of God'," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 82 (April 1966): 22-46; and idem., "The Upsurge of Pentecostalism: Some Presbyterian/Reformed Comment," *The Reformed World* 31 (1971): 339-48; To the Charismatic audience see J. Rodman Williams, "The Authority of Scripture and the Charismatic Movement," *Logos Journal* 7 (May-June 1977):

His major books of this period all related to the Holy Spirit. The first, *The Era of the Spirit*, was published in 1971. It discussed the contemporary activity of the Holy Spirit, while also delineating the pneumatological positions of some major theologians, namely, Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Paul Tillich and Rudolf Bultmann.[13] His second book of this period was *The Pentecostal Reality*, published in 1972. It was a series of essays written over the previous few years on various Charismatic and pneumatological topics.[14] Williams also published his third work, *10 Teachings*, in 1974. This book, privately printed earlier in 1957, Williams revised for general publication. It is, essentially, short summations of his teachings on ten theological topics (e.g. sin, the Holy Spirit).[15] The fourth book, *The Gift of the Holy Spirit Today*, published in 1980, was intended to look at the form and expression of the Holy Spirit found in the early church, and then to compare it to the contemporary Christian experience of the Spirit. From this analysis Williams articulated an in-depth discussion of the role of the Holy Spirit within the world and, in particular, in humanity.[16]

35; idem., "Brief Reply to Professor Mühlen's Paper," *One in Christ* 12 (1976): 351-3; idem., "The Coming of the Holy Spirit," *Theology, News and Notes* [Fuller Theological Seminary] (March 1974): 14-6; idem., "Filled with New Wine," *New Catholic World* 217 (Nov.-Dec. 1974): 281-3; idem., "The God Encounter," *Logos Journal* 4 (Jan.-Feb. 1974): 6-8; idem., "The Holy Spirit and Eschatology," *Pneuma* 3 (Fall 1981): 54-8; idem., "Pentecostal Spirituality," *One in Christ* 10 (1974): 180-92; idem., "Prayer and Worship in Eucharistic and Charismatic Mode," *One in Christ* 13 (1977): 39-42; and idem., "Why Speak in Tongues," *New Covenant* 8 (Jan. 1978): 14-6.

[13]J. Rodman Williams, *The Era of the Spirit* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1971), hereafter *ES*.

[14]J. Rodman Williams, *The Pentecostal Reality* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1972), hereafter *PR*.

[15]J. Rodman Williams, *10 Teachings* (Carol Stream, IL: Creation House, 1974); see also Williams, *Renewal Theology 1*, 12.

[16]J. Rodman Williams, *The Gift of the Holy Spirit Today* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1980).

The third phase of his theological career started with his move to CBN University in Virginia Beach, Virginia (now Regent University) as Professor of Theology. His most significant theological contribution from this period is his three volume systematic theology entitled *Renewal Theology*, which was published from 1988 to 1992. In these books he covered the traditional topics of systematic theology. The topic of the Holy Spirit covered nine chapters of his second volume. He wrote his systematic theology from a combined Charismatic and Reformed Perspective.[17]

Another feature of this period was Williams' discussion on the role of the Holy Spirit in understanding eschatology. Williams emphasizes that without the Holy Spirit and the scripture, the interpretation and the comprehension of eschatology is impossible.[18] During this period Williams has been a leading contributor to the Society for Pentecostal Studies and Charismatic periodicals, as well as to the *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* and the *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*.[19] Williams has continued to

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[17]J. Rodman Williams, *Renewal Theology 1: God, the World and Redemption* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), hereafter *RT1*; idem., *Renewal Theology 2: Salvation, the Holy Spirit and the Christian Living* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990), hereafter *RT2*; idem., *Renewal Theology 3: The Church, The Kingdom and Last Things* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992), hereafter *RT3*.

[18]J. Rodman Williams, "Interpreting Prophetic Timing," *Charisma and Christian Life* 17 (Aug. 1991): 46-8, 51; and idem., *RT III*, 289-508; see also a year prior to this period, J. Rodman Williams, "The Holy Spirit and Eschatology," *Pneuma* 3 (Fall 1981): 54-8.

[19]Society for Pentecostal Studies: J. Rodman Williams, "Baptism in the Holy Spirit," in *Toward a Pentecostal/Charismatic Theology*, Paper of the 14th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies (Nov. 1984), hereafter *SPS14*; idem., "The Greater Gifts," in *Charismatic Experiences in History*, ed. C. M. Robeck, Jr. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishing, 1985), 44-65 [Paper of the 12th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies]; and idem., "A Pentecostal Theology," in *The Distinctiveness of Pentecostal/Charismatic Theology*, Paper of the 15th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies (Nov. 1985); Charismatic Periodicals: J. Rodman Williams, "Biblical Truth and Experience: A Reply to *Charismatic Chaos* by John F. MacArthur, Jr.," *Paraclete* 27 (Summer 1993): 15-30;

discuss many of the same concerns that he did in the earlier Charismatic period, such as the basics in Pentecostal/Charismatic theology, and the various aspects of the Holy Spirit.[20]

There are three general features which have been present in Williams' works throughout all three periods. First, Williams is a self-proclaimed Reformed theologian.[21] From his earliest writings, Williams was strongly bound to Reformed subjects and sources, especially John Calvin.[22] Even in his works from the Charismatic period, including his *Renewal Theology*, he is very supportive of Calvinistic interpretations, and only on rare occasions does he disagree

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idem., "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit," *Charisma* 18 (Nov. 1992): 25-9; and idem., "Interpreting Prophetic Timing," *Charisma* 17 (Aug. 1991): 46-8, 51; For Williams' essays in Stanley Burgess and Gary McGee, eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988): J. Rodman Williams, "Baptism in the Holy Spirit," 40-8; idem., "James H. Brown," 99; idem., "Laying on of Hands," 535-7; idem., "Melodyland Christian Center," 600; idem., "Marion Gordan Robertson ("Pat")," 761-2; and idem., "Ralph A. Wilkerson," 885-6; For Williams essays in W. A. Elwell, ed., *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984): J. Rodman Williams, "Charismatic Movement," 205-9; and idem., "Holiness," 514-6.

[20]General: Williams, "Interpreting Prophetic Timing," 46-8, 51; idem., "Laying on of Hands," in *DPCM*, 535-7; idem., "A Pentecostal Theology"; and idem., *RT2*, 137-80, 237-322; On the Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Williams, "Baptism in the Holy Spirit," in *DPCM*, 40-8; idem., "Baptism in the Holy Spirit," in *SPS14*; and idem., *RT2*, 181-209; On speaking in tongues: Williams, *RT2*, 209-36; On the gifts of the Spirit: Williams, "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit," 25-9; idem., "The Greater Gifts," 44-65; and idem., *RT2*, 323-40.

[21]J. Rodman Williams, "He Studies the Creator of the Stars," 81; idem., "The Plan of Union," 24; and idem., *Spirit of Glory*; Although Williams tried to maintain his Reformed traditional past, his collegues at Austin Presbyterian Seminary thought he had left the Reformed tradition due to his new found Charismatic life-style, Williams, "He Studies the Creator of the Stars," 80.

[22]J. Rodman Williams, "The Covenant in Reformed Theology," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 78 (March 1963): 24-38; idem., "Can Protestants and Roman Catholics get Together?" *Presbyterian Survey* 52 (Oct. 1962): 10-13; and idem., "The Holy Spirit in the Early Church and in Calvin's Theology."

with Calvin.[23] A second feature found in Williams is his continuous ecumenical concern. In the pre-Charismatic period he demonstrates this concern through numerous articles as he discusses various implementations of ecumenicism.[24] After 1965 he maintained his ecumenical stance, but he refocused his emphasis. For Williams, the renewal movement was ecumenical in its divinely inspired essence, and the Holy Spirit was the unifying force for this ecumenism.[25] The

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[23]Terry Cross, "Toward a Theology of the Word and Spirit: A Review of J. Rodman Williams' *Renewal Theology*," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 3 (1993): 116; and Frank Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories: A Classical Pentecostal Response to J. Rodman Williams' *Renewal Theology*," *Pneuma* 16 (1994): 293-304; see also J. Rodman Williams, "Theological Implications," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 84 (Nov. 1968): 5-27; One notable statement of disagreement is found where Williams argues that Calvin's interpretation that it is impossible for a Christian to subsequently become apostate is "*eis*egesis, not *ex*egesis . . ." Williams, *RT2*, 134 n. 58.

[24]J. Rodman Williams, "The Concerns of Frankfurt," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 80 (Nov. 1964): 5-15; idem., "Can Protestants and Roman Catholics Get Together?" *Presbyterian Survey* 52 (Oct. 1962): 10-3; idem., *ES*, 14-5; and idem., "A Theological Critique of Some Contemporary Trends in Worship," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 75 (June 1960): 48-57.

[25] J. Rodman Williams, "Charismatic Movement," in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, 206; idem., "The Cost of Unity: From a Protestant," *Catholic Charismatic* (June-July 1979): 8; idem., "Door Interview," 19; idem., *ES*, 14, 58; idem., "In the Holy Spirit: A Theological Brief," in *Christian Theology: A Case Method Approach* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976), 186; idem., "A Profile of the Charismatic Movement," *Christianity Today* 19 (Feb. 28, 1975): 9-13, and idem., *RT3*, 43-8; Ecumenism is based upon the unity of the *source*, not of the *expression* (e.g. a common sacrament, a common doctrine). see Williams, "The Cost of Unity," 8; see also Williams journeys in Europe for the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers to meet with leaders of other denominational groups both Charismatic and non-Charismatic, J. Rodman Williams, "Charismatic Journey I," *Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers*, supplement, 14 (Sept. 1971); idem., "Charismatic Journey II," *Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers*, supplement, 15 (Nov. 1971); idem., "Charismatic Journey III," *Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers* 18 (Sept. 1972); and idem., "European Charismatic

third emphasis that Williams has maintained is a focus upon practicality and lay accessibility to theological reflection. He has made a point of making his works conversational so that the lay person, the pastor, or the student can benefit from them. In fact, the primary theological task for Williams is pedagogical by nature.[26] In his delineation of the functions of theology he states that theology should produce the clarification of truth, the integration of beliefs, the correction of falsehoods, it should be a public declaration, and it should challenge areas of confession. Throughout his discussion on the function of theology, the need for theology to be communally accessible is implied.[27] It is from his Charismatic works that Williams' position on value formation and the Holy Spirit will be delineated.

Locus of Authority

Williams has articulated a strong position on the locus of authority in theology. He assumes from the start that the truth of Christianity and the depths of faith can only be discernible and appropriated through the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The theological task starts with the recognition and openness of the Spirit's direction. There are many difficulties in the interpretation of the Bible, yet it is only through the Holy Spirit that these can be overcome. Further, the Spirit can only guide those who belong to the Spirit (i.e. believers) to understand those who wrote by the Spirit (i.e. Biblical authors). So, only Christians can understand and follow the Spirit's leading and

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Leaders Conference at Craheim, June 26-30," *Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers* 17 (May 1972).

[26]Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 294-5, 298-9; see also J. Rodman Williams, "Barriers to Evangelism: A Theological Reflection," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 76 (1960): 38-44; idem., *RT1*, 11; and idem., *10 Teachings*, 7.

[27]J. Rodman Williams, *RT1*, 19-21.

guidance.[28] Williams sees that the person of the theologian is intrinsic to the theological task. In the activity of the theological task, the theologian must have a consistent attitude of prayer, a deepening sense of reverence, a purity of heart, a spirit of growing love, and a focus to do all for the glory of God. For Williams, without these attributes a theologian can be misguided and may fall into error or may not be able to follow the Spirit's guidance. The theologian, or any Christian, must be guided by the Holy Spirit and must be open to the Spirit's guidance.[29]

Primary to Williams' locus of authority is that theology must be based upon strong Biblical content. The scriptures are the foundation for all Christian doctrine. The scriptures "set forth in writing the declaration of divine truth and thus are the objective source and measure of all theological work."[30] Critics of Williams and the Charismatic movement, such as John F. MacArthur Jr., have proposed that Charismatics are predominantly experience oriented, and that experience takes priority over the Bible in theological reflection.[31] In light of this criticism, Williams strongly advocates that the Bible, and not experience, Christian tradition, nor creeds, sets the precedents for truth.[32] The Bible is always the primary locus of authority. It is the

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[28]Williams, "The Holy Spirit and Eschatology," 55; idem., *RT1*, 21-2; and idem., *RT2*, 240-1.

[29]Williams, *RT1*, 27-8; see also Williams, "He Studies the Creator of the Stars," 81; and idem., *RT3*, 186-91.

[30]Williams, *RT1*, 22; see also Williams, *RT3*, 184.

[31]John F. MacArthur, Jr., *Charismatic Chaos* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992); see especially his discussions on Williams, 19, 45-6, 50-6.

[32]J. Rodman Williams, "The Authority of Scripture and the Charismatic Movement," 35; idem., "Biblical Truth and Experience: A Reply to *Charismatic Chaos* by John F. MacArthur, Jr.," *Paraclete* 27 (1993): 16-30; idem., *Gift*, xi; idem., "The Plan of Union," 31-2, 34; idem., "Theological Implications," 17-8; and idem., "Door Interview," 11-2; Unfortunately, MacArthur, to promote his attack against Williams and Charismatics as a whole, has grossly misinterpreted and in some cases blatantly misquoted Williams. MacArthur, *Charismatic Chaos*, 18, 45-6, 50-6; and Williams,

authoritative guide for the Christian life, and the Bible is "the source from which a (or, possibly, "the") system of doctrine must be taken."[33] In fact, Williams argues not only for the primacy of the scripture in every regard, he also proposes that the Charismatic movement generally has a higher regard for scripture since they try to espouse and follow every aspect of the Bible. This is due to the "activity of the Holy Spirit in moving so forcefully in people's lives--the same Holy Spirit who inspired [the scripture]--they have found the scriptures to take on new life, meaning, and authority."[34] The Bible's authority has an outward acceptance, but also an inward confirmation: "the Holy Spirit vividly [confirms] the words and deeds of Holy Scripture in contemporary experience."[35]

Although experience is second to the primacy of scripture, it is still important within theological discussions. Experience is not a test for truth but it "does serve to *confirm* the teachings of the Bible."[36] Furthermore, through the guidance of the Spirit, the experience of the *charismata*, or gifts of the Spirit, can facilitate a deeper awareness and understanding of the Bible, and thereby of God. Both experience and participation are important for the vital understanding of Biblical

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"Biblical Truth and Experience," 16-30, especially 27-9; It is interesting to note that where MacArthur proposes that Williams suggests that experience takes priority over the Bible, other authors see that Williams clearly gives the Bible primacy over experience. Arden Aurty, review of *Renewal Theology 2: Salvation, The Holy Spirit and the Christian Living*, by J. Rodman Williams, In *Themelios* 17 (1992): 30; Cross, "Toward a Theology of the Word and the Spirit," 115, 118; and Robert Culpepper, review of *Renewal Theology 1: God, the World and Redemption*, by J. Rodman Williams, In *Faith and Mission* 7 (1989): 105.

[33]Williams, "Theological Implications," 19.

[34]J. Rodman Williams, "The Authority of Scripture and the Charismatic Movement," *Logos Journal* 7 (May/June 1977): 35; see also Williams, "Charismatic Movement," 206.

[35]Williams, "The Authority of Scripture and the Charismatic Movement," 35; see also idem., "Charismatic Movement," 206; and idem., *RT2*, 242.

[36]Williams, "Biblical Truth and Experience," 26; see also Williams, "He Studies the Creator of the Stars," 81.

truth.[37] The spiritual gifts, especially prophecy, can speak today, but they do not take priority over the Bible. However, to deny the living God a contemporary voice is self-destructive, "as the living God who spoke in the Bible still speaks--He is not silent."[38] In fact, Williams invented the term "subordinate revelation" to place them as secondary to the Biblical text.[39] Evangelicals frequently give high place to preaching, which is not declared infallible, authoritative or normative truth; the spiritual gifts are viewed the same way. The revelation given through the gifts can build up the church and give a deeper awareness, but it is subordinate to the Word of God.[40]

The theologian must always be aware of church history, and of the relevant theologians, creeds, confessions, and ecumenical councils. Church history, although important, is secondary to the scriptures. Among the creeds, the universal ones--the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Chalcedonian Creeds--are more important than the non-ecumenical confessions such as the council of Trent and the Westminster Confession.[41] Williams is adamant on the secondary position of confessions and creeds, since they are historically situated and are open to error. Hence, the study of the creeds, confessions, and Christian tradition in general is helpful and should not be neglected in theological reflection, but tradition and church history are secondary to the Bible.[42]

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[37]Williams, "Biblical Truth and Experience," 26; and idem., "Door Interview," 12; see also Williams, "The Pentecostal Reality," 1-9; and idem., "Pentecostal Spirituality," 59-60.

[38]Williams, "Biblical Truth and Experience," 28; see also Quebedeaux, *The New Charismatics II*, 133.

[39]Williams, *RT1*, 43-4.

[40]Williams, "The Authority of Scripture and the Charismatic Movement," 35; idem., "Biblical Truth and Experience," 28-9; idem., *RT1*, 42-4; and idem., *RT2*, 332-9.

[41]Williams, *RT1*, 25; and idem., "Theological Implications," 6.

[42]Williams, "The Plan of Union," 32-4; idem., *Spirit of Glory*; and idem., "Theological Implications," 7, 11.

A theologian must be well acquainted with the contemporary situation. Theology is presented with the task of bringing Christian theology into our twenty first century world. The more informed a theologian is of her contemporary surroundings, the more relevant and timely her theological treatise can be. Further, it takes a good understanding of the current situation to properly translate the Biblical principles from the Biblical setting to the present. A theologian or pastor who has an awareness of the moods of the present is able to discern and to address more adequately the modern audience from the Bible.[43]

The Self

In the late 1960's Williams noted that theology had left the era of the dominant theologians, namely Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Rudolf Bultmann, H. Richard and Reinhold Niebuhr, and Paul Tillich. For a short interim in the early 1960's, these theologians' work had been eclipsed by some of their students, William Hamilton, Thomas Altizer, and Paul Van Buren with their American-based "death of God" movement. This movement, for Williams, did not signify the end but, rather, the beginning of a new theological era. From the late 1960's onward he proposed that theology has entered the era of the Holy Spirit. This was to be both a theological and an ecclesiastical development.[44] This is not to say that theology in general, and Pentecostal theology in particular, is centered completely on the Holy Spirit. However, there is a strong awareness of the neglect of the Holy Spirit as a person of the Trinity. Historically, Western Christianity has operated with a *functional subordination*, with the Spirit as an instrument, and thereby functionally subordinated to Christ and the Father. However, a true Pentecostal theology is Christocentric and

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[43]Williams, *RT1*, 26-7.

[44]J. Rodman Williams, "A New Theological Era," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition* 82 (Nov. 1966): 37-47; idem., *Spirit of Glory*; and idem., "Theology in Transition--and the 'Death of God'," *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty* Edition 81 (April 1966): 22-45.

Trinitarian, but without subordination and without the *filioque*.[45] Williams sees that there are essentially three major areas of the Spirit's activity: creation of the world, redemption of mankind (i.e. regeneration, sanctification, and conversion), and the energizing of the people of God.[46]

Williams emphasizes that the Holy Spirit comes into both the individual and the community. There are both individual and corporate fillings of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit in the past enabled the judges, rulers, prophets and artisans of the Old Testament, and also operated in and through the messianic vocations of Jesus Christ. This culminated with the teaching by Jesus of the *paraclete* to come, the gift of the Holy Spirit.[47] When the Spirit came at Pentecost, it was the divine mode of the Spirit, which persists today. The Triune God now is relating to humanity through the third member of the Trinity--the Holy Spirit.[48] Through this mediation, we are aware of the

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[45]Williams, "Coming of the Spirit," 15; idem., *ES*, 51-4; idem., "The Event of the Spirit," 14-5; idem., *Gift*, 4-9; idem., "Gifts of the Spirit," 25; idem., "A New Era in History," in *PR*, 34-5; and idem., *RT1*, 83-94; Williams quotes Hendrikus Berkhof to substantiate the instrumental view of the Holy Spirit, Hendrikus Berkhof, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1964), 23; see Williams, *Gift*, 80-2; and idem., *RT2*, 206-7; Williams rejects the *filioque* because John 15:26 states that the Spirit "proceeds" for the Father only. Williams, *RT2*, 135 n. 76; c.f. Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 299.

[46]J. Rodman Williams, "Theological Perspective of the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit" Paper given at Conference on Person and Work of the Holy Spirit, Princeton Theological Seminary, April 3-5, 1974; and idem., *10 Teachings*, 71.

[47]Williams, "Pentecostal Reality," 2-4; idem., "The Plan of Union," 20-1; and idem., *RT2*, 155-79.

[48]Williams, *RT1*, 83-94; idem., *RT2*, 181-207; Note that many in the west, although they espouse the Trinity, they operate with a *functional* subordination, J. Rodman Williams, "The Coming of the Holy Spirit," *Theology, News and Notes* [Fuller Theological Seminary] (March 1974): 14-6; and idem., *RT2*, 206-7; Williams notes that no model is completely adequate, but the social model is a better model than the psychological model. J.

Triunity, not through the scripture or church dogma, "but as the summons to a life of Triune existence--life lived in the reality of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."[49]

For Williams, regeneration is being born again or a spiritual rebirth--creating the person into a new being through the work of the Holy Spirit. It is the Holy Spirit "who goes forth in the proclamation of the Word, moves upon human beings who are in darkness and death and brings them into life again."[50] Regeneration is through the agency of the Holy Spirit, and water baptism is symbolic of the inward cleansing and the renewal of the Spirit. However, this does not suggest that there is a Biblical basis for "baptismal regeneration." Baptism does not bring regeneration, because the Holy Spirit is the only mediating agent who does the regenerative work.[51] Regeneration occurs through the implanted Word--the gospel proclaimed. There is an assurance that, as the Word is sown in the heart and is activated by the Holy Spirit, salvation will certainly result.

The Spirit's work is partially found in the illumination of the Word to the mind darkened by sin. The Spirit first convinces the person of his or her lostness. Then the Spirit brings a conviction of the sin and evilness of the human heart. In response to the Spirit's work, the person repents and wills to move from sin to God--turning from the old to the new. The repentance of the person is made in the mind, the heart, and the will, yet the will is primary in repentance.[52] In fact, the person's will takes priority over the influence of the community within a person's Christian life and following of God's will.[53] However, the conversion or regeneration of a person has both divine and human aspects. The Holy Spirit brings about the gracious

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Rodman Williams, interview with author, 21 December 1993, Virginia Beach, VA.

[49]J. Rodman Williams, "The Holy Trinity," in *PR*, 108.

[50]Williams, *RT2*, 37; see also Williams, *RT2*, 35-6.

[51]Williams, *RT2*, 38.

[52]Williams, *RT2*, 40-9.

[53]Williams, *RT2*, 416.

conditions, while the human must respond positively through his/her own decision expressed in faith. The individual is, ultimately, responsible for his/her own decisions.[54]

In regeneration, the Holy Spirit takes residence in the believer's life, an act or process that results in the believer's becoming a new being. First, this new being has a changed heart that is cleansed, inscribed with God's law, and unified in its essence. Second, this new being with Jesus Christ as the source has a renewed mind, which produces a different attitude and a new mental outlook. Third, the new being has a liberated will, which is delivered from the bondage of sin, from everything which binds humanity, and from the power of Satan in order to obey the will of God. The regenerated person also has a new nature, which rejects sin, since sin is no longer a part of the divine nature which dwells within the Christian. With this new nature based on God's nature, the regenerated person shows faith, holiness, love, and truth. The regenerated person enters into a new life which, first, has an aliveness and awareness to God's presence. Second, the new life of the believer brings true happiness through the abundant life in Jesus Christ. Third, this new life is the birth into a life eternal. This regenerative work is the Holy Spirit's enablement of the new life in Jesus Christ.[55]

Sanctification is the process by which the believer is set apart or made holy. This separation or apartness is "grounded essentially in the reality of God Himself."[56] This holiness is seen by an inward purity, a purity of both the body and the soul. This purity will also develop into moral perfection. Sanctification has three aspects: it begins with conversion, it is continuous, and it has a goal. In the initial stage of sanctification, those who are the people of God are separated from sin. The source of this separation is the reality accomplished by Jesus Christ on the cross. Sanctification is also a

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[54]Williams, "The Plan of Union," 30; idem., *RT1*, 215-9; and idem., *RT2*, 37-50, 100-17; Faith is the only requirement for receiving God's regenerative grace. Williams, *Gift*, 105-21.

[55]Williams, *ES*, 39-40; and idem., *RT2*, 50-9.

[56]Williams, *RT2*, 83; see also Williams, "Holiness," in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, 514-5.

progressive formation as it relates to the continuing life of the people of God. There is an increasing transformation which occurs, "the call is for non-conformity to the world and an ongoing transformation. Although . . . . [t]his is *not* a movement *toward* sanctification (for believers are already holy) but a growth *in* it, a gradual process of transformation."[57] Sanctification is also concerned with the goal of entire sanctification. This goal is ever present, yet it will occur only in the return of Jesus Christ.[58]

Sanctification is the renewal of the person into the likeness of God which involves the whole person--the spirit, the soul (mind, feelings, and will), and the body.[59] This process is the conformity into the likeness of Jesus Christ. Although human beings have a role to play within the sanctification process (e.g. obedience), sanctification is the work of God. God is the *source*, Jesus Christ is the *agent* and the Holy Spirit is the *energizer* of sanctification.[60] The Holy Spirit works within and indwells the community of believers as well as the individuals. The person must completely die to sin and self by the empowerment of the Holy Spirit. This progressively sanctified person must also live for righteousness by the means of obeying God's Word, looking toward, following after, abiding in Christ, and walking in the Spirit.[61] Unfortunately, there is frequently a confusion about the distinction between sanctification and regeneration. Regeneration is a

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[57]Williams, *RT2*, 89; see also Williams, *RT2*, 86-93; see also Williams, "Holiness," 515-6.

[58]Williams, *ES*, 43; idem., *RT2*, 90-3; and idem., *10 Teaching*, 82-4; Williams suggests that "entire sanctification" (Wesleyan Christian perfection) is not possible in this life, but a "relative perfection" is possible. Williams, *RT2*, 91-2; c.f. Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 297-8.

[59]Williams, *RT2*, 83-117; note that Williams emphasizes a trichotomy view of the self--body, soul and spirit, Williams, *RT1*, 213-4; c.f. Bruce Demarest, review of *Renewal Theology 1: God, the World and Redemption*, by J. Rodman Williams, In *Themelios* 16 (1991): 31.

[60]Williams, *RT2*, 101; see also Williams, *ES*, 40-3; and idem., "The Event of the Holy Spirit," 21-6.

[61]Williams, *RT2*, 100-17; see also Williams, *10 Teachings*, 81-2.

new beginning, while sanctification is an ongoing process. For Williams, "sanctification is a process of working out what was there in the beginning and not the second thing following upon regeneration."[62]

Williams has emphasized that the contemporary move of the Spirit does not fit into traditional theological categories. The contemporary movement of the Spirit demonstrates the dynamism involved in the person. For "what is at stake in this dynamic movement of the Spirit is the *release* of the sanctifying Spirit, the *breaking* through into the totality of the self; hence . . . it is the making operational of sanctification."[63] Sanctification, regeneration, and other theological categories demonstrate the work of the Holy Spirit, but it is only through the ongoing dynamism of the Holy Spirit that these are made operational. It is this dynamism that is important in the Holy Spirit's activity, not just the form of theological categories and doctrines.[64] It is through this dynamism of the Holy Spirit, as experienced in the baptism of the Holy Spirit, that the dual aspects of God are demonstrated. The transcendent God becomes real and immanent in humanity through the activity of the Spirit.[65]

As a proponent of the Charismatic movement Williams has developed a position on the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Since 1969 he has maintained that the role of the baptism of the Holy Spirit is separate and subsequent to salvation.[66] The baptism in the Holy Spirit is a new reality of God. It is the empowerment to be a witness.

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[62]Williams, *ES*, 42.

[63]Williams, *ES*, 42-3.

[64]Williams, *ES*, 40-3; see also some aspects of Williams attempt at an 'operational' theology, Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 293-304.

[65]Williams, *ES*, 57-8; idem., Gift, 32-3; idem., "A New Era in History," 32-3; idem., "A New Theological Era," 40; and idem., "A Pentecostal Theology,";

[66]Williams, "Pentecostal Spirituality," in *PR*, 61-5; idem., *RT2*, 186-90; and idem., *RT3*, 143; subsequence can also be communal, Williams, *ES*, 54-5; For a good discussion on Williams' view of subsequence see Henry Lederle, *Treasures Old and New* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishing, 1988), 90-4.

Yet it is not "instant sanctification."[67] In his earlier work Williams did not espouse the standard Pentecostal view that *glossolalia,* or speaking in tongues, was the initial evidence of the Spirit baptism; rather, he stated that speaking in tongues could accompany the baptism in the Holy Spirit. It was important, but speaking in tongues was not always the initial evidence.[68] Williams realized that "we can draw no conclusion that speaking in tongues invariably followed the reception of the Spirit; however, the texts do incline in that direction."[69] Later, upon reflection on the passages in Acts and the contemporary Charismatic movement in regard to the baptism in the Holy Spirit, he came to the conclusion that *glossolalia* is the primary evidence of Spirit baptism. In spite of its significance, it is important to remember that the gift is the Holy Spirit, of which tongues is just a sign.[70]

Williams also discusses the gifts of the Spirit, *charismata*, which are available to all believers. It is due to the renewal movement's emphasis on the embracing of these gifts today that this movement has been called the Charismatic movement. When delineating the *charismata* Williams mainly deals with the nine gifts listed in I Cor. 12:8-10. He has divided these nine gifts as follows: the *logos* or mental gifts (word of wisdom and word of knowledge), the extramental gifts (faith, gifts of healing, miracles, prophecy, and discerning of spirits), and the tongues or the supramental gifts (tongues and interpretation of tongues).[71] Inasmuch as Williams emphasizes the need for the Spirit baptism and *charismata* today, he does not equate the gifts with the

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[67]J. Rodman Williams, *ES*, 18-21; idem., "The Event of the Holy Spirit," 11-5; idem., *Gift*, 72; idem., "The Holy Spirit and Evangelism," in *PR*, 85-97; idem., "The Pentecostal Reality," 1-9; and idem., "A Pentecostal Theology."

[68]Williams, "A Profile of the Charismatic Movement," 9, 11.

[69]Williams, "A Pentecostal Theology."

[70]Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," 316; Williams, "Baptism in the Holy Spirit," 44-5; idem., *Gift*, 36-41; and idem., *RT2*, 211-2.

[71]Burgess "J. Rodman Williams," 311-6; Williams, *Gift*, 29-72; idem., "Gifts of the Spirit," 28-9; and idem., *RT2*, 347-410.

fruit of the Spirit or the virtues. The *charismata* are gifts from the Holy Spirit, but they have no fundamental connection with the fruit of the Spirit, which is the effect of the Holy Spirit's inner presence.[72]

Due to the new life in God, the Christian is clothed by the virtues and becomes a bearer of the virtues. The source of all virtue is God, and humanity is endowed with the virtues as they are a reflection of God.[73] First, the foundation of all righteous living and participation in the virtues comes from following Christ. This calls for self-renunciation, daily cross-bearing, the priority of Christ in one's life, and the constant return to scripture. Second, believers are to *seek after the highest.* This means that Christians set their minds on the things of good report and so forth, as these things are a representation of the things above. The Holy Spirit is the true guide into putting on the virtues. For to "put on [the virtues] is to set one's mind on Christ . . . for in doing so there is vision and motive power. Without this mindset any attempt at putting on such virtues as compassion, humility, and patience would be entirely artificial and empty."[74] The highest is exemplified and demonstrated by its source, Jesus Christ. Setting the mind on the highest is needed for the internalizing of the virtues, for without it the virtues become artificial. The Holy Spirit also helps the person to bear fruit (i.e. the virtues). "Guided by the Spirit of freedom, believers may express these virtues in a great variety of ways so that they increasingly flourish in the believer's lives."[75] The bearing of fruit also implies the need for the maturation process--time to grow and develop.[76] Through the Spirit's enablement the law is fulfilled, since the virtues are the heart of the law. The epitome of walking in

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[72]Williams, "Charismatic Movement," 208; idem., "The Greater Gift," 46-7; and idem., *RT2*, 330-1, 342-5, 423, 429; nor are the gifts to be equated with salvation, Williams, *RT2*, 413.

[73]The virtues are based on God. Williams, *RT1*, 59-70; Humanity reflects the virtues as they abide in God and reflect God. Williams, *RT1*, 201-8.

[74]Williams, *RT2*, 113; see also Williams, "Holiness," 515-6.

[75]Williams, *RT2*, 115; see also Williams, *RT2*, 110-7.

[76]Williams, *RT2*, 431.

the Spirit is walking in love. Walking in love is based upon the example of Christ Himself. In following His loving example, Christians become more and more like Him.[77] Hence, the virtues are not only derived from the conforming to Christ's image, but also from the imitation of Him.

One of the more instructive chapters in Williams' *Renewal Theology* is the chapter on "Christian Living."[78] Here he attempts to articulate the ethical life-style of the Christian. The primary calling of the Christian is to do God's will. A person knows His will as one who is a seeker, given to much prayer, constantly studying the scriptures, constantly helping others, and progressively renewing his mind. For the "more we surrender ourselves totally to God the more we will know his will."[79] God's will must be conducted with energetic action, endurance, and the supernatural strength which is grounded in God. God's will is not just cognitive or revelatory, it also demands an active response. Within the Christian life, a Christian also walks in the light. This walk is a progression into goodness, truth and righteousness. These Godly character traits should not be equated with the *charismata*, nor can a community with these traits allow sin within their midst.[80] The motivation for this walk is based upon the premise of what is pleasing to God. Furthermore, what is pleasing to the Lord "is both the motivation and goal for the Christian walk."[81] Christians are the light, and are to shine the light and walk in the light. The walk in which the Christian finds himself is strongly opposed to and surrounded by the evil darkness. Indicative of walking in the light, Christians are to speak out against public evils and personal corruption. This walking in the light also assures the ongoing cleansing of Jesus and the genuine fellowship together with

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[77]Williams, *RT2*, 115-7, 430-1; see also Williams, *10 Teachings*, 82.

[78]Williams, *RT2*, 411-45.

[79]Williams, *RT2*, 417.

[80]Williams, *RT2*, 420-3.

[81]Williams, *RT2*, 424.

fellow believers.[82] The Christian lifestyle is also shown in the way of love. This love is exercised through patience and kindness. The primary example of love is Jesus Christ, and it is best articulated by Paul in I Corinthians 13.[83]

The Community

The church is the primary community for Christian development of the person. The church is the *ekklesia*, the "called out" ones, who are called out from evil, called together for assembly, and called for obedience. The church also has two intrinsic characteristics: the spiritual and the social. The spiritual aspect is evident in the understanding of the divine origin and the destination of the church. The church is also social, in that it is an assembly of those following the Lord. For "there is no genuine Christian life outside the church."[84] The spiritual and the social aspects of the church historically have been seen in terms of the invisible and visible features of the church, respectively. For Williams, this latter terminology is not used since its derivation is outside the Biblical texts.[85] The church also has universal features which are seen in its unity based on Christ. The church is also holy or separated from the world by Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit. The church's catholic nature is demonstrated in its worldwide wholeness, wherever Christ is. Its apostolic feature is seen as it is founded on and faithful to the teachings and instructions of the original apostles.[86]

The church by nature is also locally contingent in that the expression of the universal church of Christ is demonstrated to the

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[82]Williams, *RT2*, 424-7.

[83]Williams, *RT2*, 427-45; see also Williams, *RT2*, 56-7; see also on the relationship of the spiritual gifts and love, Williams, *RT2*, 339-45.

[84]Williams, *RT3*, 19; see also Williams, *RT3*, 20-3.

[85]Williams, *RT3*, 23.

[86]Williams, *RT3*, 25-38.

local person within a local body. The church in the Bible was a local community in three senses: a household, a city-wide church, and the church of a larger region.[87] The church is transcendent in that it also includes the saints in heaven. This transcendent church is a spotless church which has finished the perfecting process. This is the goal and yet the reality of both the universal and local church. The Holy Spirit likewise provides the communion of the saints both past and present.[88] In the present it is obvious that there are problems within the church, but "the Holy Spirit [is] active even in these faulty ministrations."[89] The church can be described as the people of God who are new people--redeemed, purified, and changed. These people are the people with whom God resides. The people of God are grounded by the internal witness of the Spirit.[90] The church is also described with the terms of the building, the body, and the bride of Christ, each term describing differing aspects of the relationship between the church and Christ. The building shows the structure, the body the organism and the bride the love of Christ for the church.[91] The church is also the community of the Holy Spirit. It is enlivened by the very breath of the Holy Spirit. This community is a pneumatic community, as it "is not a community of natural but of spiritual togetherness. It is the only place in the world where true fellowship can be found."[92] This fellowship is with God by the work of reconciliation of Jesus Christ and through the presence of the Spirit. Fellowship can take place with God; "it can be an ongoing reality . . . . the church is both the actuality of and the occasion for fellowship with God."[93] Through the Holy Spirit there is also fellowship with one

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[87]Williams, *RT3*, 38-41.

[88]Williams, *RT3*, 41-3, 77-83.

[89]Williams, "In the Holy Spirit," 184.

[90]Williams, *RT3*, 49-58.

[91]Williams, *RT3*, 59-71.

[92]Williams, *RT3*, 79.

[93]Williams, *RT3*, 80.

another, *koinonia*. The Holy Spirit unifies believers in a way qualitatively different from that found in human societies. The Holy Spirit "can bring people together in a self-transcending unity."[94]

For Williams, the kingdom of God is set purely within the parameters of eschatology. From creation to Christ is the preparation for the kingdom of God. Christ established the kingdom of God with those who were transformed and brought into His kingdom. The kingdom of God will be consummated in the *eschaton*. In the *eschaton*, the hidden aspects of the kingdom will be revealed, and those who do not actually belong to the kingdom of God will be separated from those who do. The church is not the same as the kingdom, but only in the *eschaton* will the distinction become clear.[95]

There are some fundamental aspects of the community which Williams espouses. First, the community can play an important role in a person's walk in Christ and in seeking God's will. However, it is not a substitute for the personal seeking of God's will.[96] Although the community is influential in individual development, it does not replace individual responsiblity. Yet the Christian life cannot happen apart from the community. So much of the Christian life, such as fellowship with God and each other, is intrinsic to the Christian community, and cannot be grasped without the Christian community.[97] Further, the baptism in or the event of the Holy Spirit is essentially tied to the community. The event of the Holy Spirit, typified by the *charismata*, takes place in gatherings of fellowship and worship.[98]

The three functions of the church are the worship of God, the building up of the church, and the outreach to the world. The worship and praise given to God is a primary function of the church. This is

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[94]Williams, *RT3*, 82; see also Williams, *RT3*, 79-85.

[95]Williams, *RT3*, 289-95.

[96]Williams, *RT2*, 416; see also Williams, *RT1*, 215-9.

[97]Williams, *RT3*, 19-23, 80.

[98]Williams, "The Event of the Holy Spirit," 16-7; idem., *Gift*, 34-5; idem., "Gifts of the Spirit," 27-8; idem., "Pentecostal Spirituality," 60; and idem., "A Profile of the Charismatic Movement," 10.

seen throughout the Biblical texts. The true worship of God is suffused with the characteristics of reverence and awe, praise and thanksgiving, humility and contrition, supplication and intercession, and consecration and dedication.[99] The worship of God should take place in three ways. First, our worship should be Trinitarian; "it involves the worship of one God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit."[100] The baptism of the Holy Spirit is the foundation for the rich worship of God. For Williams, "the Holy Spirit inspires . . . worship, and the more that inspiration is present, the more fully God is glorified."[101] Second, the worship of God also involves a constant tension between freedom and order, for both are needed for the true worship of God. Without freedom, worship becomes form without content and devoid of the life in the Spirit; without order, worship becomes chaos with a loss of meaning.[102] Third, worship must be participatory, because the true worship of God must include the whole person and the whole assembly.[103]

The second function of the church is the building up or the edification of the Church. The first way in which this is done is through the imparting of the Word to the church body. The Word must be proclaimed by the church, but the hearers must be open to hear the Word in order to mature and grow. Both the proclaimer and the hearer have a responsibility. The methods of Bible training can be

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[99]Williams, *Gift*, 28-31; and idem., *RT3*, 87-101.

[100]Williams, *RT3*, 101; The act of celebration in worship must be centered on God Himself. Williams, "The Plan of Union," 22-3.

[101]Williams, *RT3*, 103; see also Williams, *RT3*, 101-4.

[102]Williams, "A Theological Critique of Some Contemporary Trends in Worship," 53; and idem., *RT3*, 104-7.

[103]Williams, *RT3*, 107-109; and idem., "A Theological Critique of Some Contemporary Trends in Worship," 53; This participation can also be with singing in tongues and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Williams, "Baptism in the Holy Spirit," in *DPCM*, 44-5; idem., "The Coming of the Holy Spirit," 16; idem., *ES*, 12-3, 30-5; idem., *Gift*, 27-42; idem., "Gifts of the Spirit," 26; idem., "A Profile of the Charismatic Movement," 10-1; and idem., "Why Speak in Tongues?" 16.

through mutual teaching and small groups. The Word alone can satisfy the deep spiritual hunger of the person, can counteract false teaching, and can guide a Christian's daily life.[104] The church also edifies the body of Christ by its deeds, which maintains unity, shows love, exercises discipline, and serves each other.[105] The church can also be edified through the combination of the Word and deed which would be by an expression of the *charismata*.[106]

The third function of the church is outreach to the world. The church is responsible for this outreach because of Christ's declaration of the Great Commission, which told believers to make disciples of Jesus, teach them the teachings of Jesus and baptize them into the church. The outreach can only take place through the powerful, directed and supernatural enablement of the Holy Spirit.[107] This outreach is for the whole human condition. There "is *no* human need that should be outside the concern of the church."[108] This outreach must incorporate social action and evangelism. Both are necessary within the Christian message of good news.[109]

Since 1965 Williams has been a dominant voice within the Charismatic renewal movement. Williams has noted that the current renewal movement is, in fact, "a recurrence of the primordial power of the New Testament church."[110] Williams says that there is a need to

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[104]Williams, *RT3*, 109-17.

[105]Williams, *RT3*, 117-25.

[106]Williams, *RT3*, 125-33.

[107]Williams, *RT3*, 141-51.

[108]Williams, *RT3*, 152; see also Williams, *ES*, 56-7; and idem., "A Profile of the Charismatic Movement," 12.

[109]Williams, *RT3*, 151-4; see also Williams, "The Plan for Union," 35; and idem., "A Profile of the Charismatic Movements," 12.

[110]J. Rodman Williams, "A New Era in History," in *PR*, 29; see also Williams, "The Pentecostal Reality," in *PR*, 1-9; and idem., *RT1*, 27; this is a major premise of two of Williams' works, Williams, *The Gift of the Holy Spirit Today*; and idem., *The Era of the Spirit*.

study and accept this movement. He has noted that other theologians such as Hendrikus Berkhof, John MacKay, Leslie Newbigin and others have likewise emphasized the need to study and to positively respond to the Charismatic movement.[111] While Williams notes the importance of being open to the Charismatic movement, he is quick to say that

> I have not intended to suggest . . . that the only hope for our future rests in simply adopting everything in Pentecostal theology and practice. Such of course would be quite unwise and surely impossible. Indeed, even if it were possible, we in the Reformed tradition (and Christendom in general) would only come off the losers, since there is doubtless much in Pentecostalism that is unessential, perhaps even misleading. Moreover, I would insist that we are called upon to give as well as to receive, and that it is in the manifold witness of the great traditions of Eastern Orthodoxy, Western Catholicism, and Protestantism-- and possibly others-- that richness of truth is to be found. Nonetheless . . . I am convinced that *what Pentecostalism represents* -- which is far more than a particular tradition of the twentieth century-- remains utterly essential for all of our churches: the renewed experience of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit.[112]

Williams sees the Pentecostal experience of the Holy Spirit as fundamental to Christianity, but not to the exclusion of other positive influences.

Williams originally accepted the classical Pentecostal position that the Spirit has only been actively present in the church in the first and twentieth centuries. This absence of the dynamic Spirit in church history was due to the officialism and the institutionalism of the church; he did, however, make note of some of the seemingly Spirit-lead revivalist groups.[113] Williams read Eddie Ensley's *Sounds of*

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[111]J. Rodman Williams, "A Profile of the Charismatic Movement," 11-2; idem., "Theological Perspectives of the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit,"; and idem., "The Upsurge of Pentecostalism: Some Presbyterian/Reformed Comment," 339-49.

[112]Williams, "The Upsurge of Pentecostalism," 348 n. 21.

[113]Williams, "A New Era in History," 29-55.

Wonder, which states that within the Roman Catholic Church from the second century until the sixteenth century there was an accepted practice of "jubilation" which was speaking and praying in the realm of the Spirit (*glossolalia*). From the sixteenth century on, however, formalism within the church helped exclude jubilation from catholic worship. Jubilation became neglected within mainstream Christianity, and was found in fringe groups only. Williams, following Ensley, has became convinced that there has been an ongoing dynamic work of the Holy Spirit throughout church history.[114]

Williams has strongly endorsed the theological position that emphasizes the continuity of the Spirit's work within the church in the early church and today. Therefore, he has opposed the theological school of thought of dispensationalism, and in particular, the cessationists doctrine, which believes that miracles, tongues, healings, prophecies, and so on, cannot take place today since the ability to do them died with the apostles. Two of the dominant figures whom Williams specifically addresses on this issue are John F. MacArthur Jr. and Benjamin Warfield.[115] For Williams, the cessationists doctrine cannot be substantiated Biblically, and the evidence for the Charismatic perspective Biblically, historically and in contemporary society is easier to substantiate. Throughout Williams' charismatic career, he has been adamant that what is happening today is the same

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[114]Eddie Ensley, *Sounds of Wonder*, Preface by J. Rodman Williams (New York: Paulist Press, 1977); Williams, *Gift*, 43-4; idem., "Preface," in *Sounds of Wonder*, ix-xii; idem., *RT2*, 228-9; and idem., "Why Speak in Tongues?" 14-6; On Williams change toward seeing the Spirit's ongoing work see Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," 317-8.

[115]John F. MacArthur, Jr., *Charismatic Chaos* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992); and Benjamin B. Warfield, *Miracles: Yesterday and Today, True and False* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmann's Publishing House, 1953); on Williams responses to MacArthur and Warfield, respectively see J. Rodman Williams, "Biblical Truth and Experince: A Reply to *Charismatic Chaos* by John F. MacArthur Jr." *Paraclete* 27 (Summer 1993): 16-30; and idem., *RT2*, 162-7.

work of the Holy Spirit which is found in the early church as noted in Acts.[116]

Williams also discusses the relationship of the church to the state. The function of the government is to establish justice in society and to punish wrongdoers. The civil government is also to promote the public good, make a provision for the exercise of religious faith, and promote moral standards. It is in some sense a moral entity that "can encourage and stimulate its citizens to moral activity."[117] As citizens, members of the church are to submit themselves to the authority of the civil government. Christian citizens are also to intercede for those who are in authority over them, to pay taxes, and to participate in the public and civic affairs.[118] The church's responsibilities to the civil government are to provide and demonstrate a higher ethic and a higher loyalty, which are based upon Christ. Christian citizens are not subject to civic authorities who "either demand worship or seek to prevent the proclamation of the gospel . . ."[119] Ultimately, within all aspects of political life, Christ must be and is the Lord over all.[120]

Williams also expresses the importance of the ordinances of the church, an ordinance being a prescribed practice or ceremony. There are only two visible ordinances of the church, namely, baptism in water and the Lord's supper. These two ordinances were both given by Jesus Christ. They are related in that baptism in water demonstrates the Christian's beginning life in Christ, and the Lord's supper shows the Christian's ongoing life in Christ.[121]

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[116]Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," 317-8; idem., "A New Era in History," 29-55; idem., "The Pentecostal Reality," 1-9; idem., "A Profile of the Charismatic Movement," 10; and J. Rodman Williams, "Charismatic Movement," in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, 208; see also Quebedeaux, *The New Charismatics II*, 181.

[117]Williams, *RT3*, 272; see also Williams, *RT3*, 265-72.

[118]Williams, *RT3*, 272-8.

[119]Williams, *RT3*, 282.

[120]Williams, *RT3*, 278-85.

[121]Williams, *RT3*, 221.

Baptism in water is the initiation into the Christian faith. Baptism has a close connection with the forgiveness of sins, regeneration, and the union with Christ, which includes His burial and resurrection, and our irrevocable commitment to Jesus Christ. Baptism is a sign and a seal of God's grace, but it is also a means of that grace.[122] The role of the sacraments, in particular of water baptism, in relation to Spirit baptism, has changed. In 1970, Williams suggested that water baptism and the laying on of hands may be the sacramental aspects of the baptism of the Spirit.[123] In 1972, Williams stated that regeneration/conversion is not necessarily bound to sacramental action, but he does attempt a possible synthesis.[124] However, from the 1980's onward he has noted that water baptism is not connected with the baptism in the Spirit. Thus, Williams has gradually endorsed the classical Pentecostal perspective that there is no connection between the sacraments and Spirit baptism.[125]

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[122]Williams, *RT3*, 222-5.

[123]J. Rodman Williams, "Have You Recieved the Baptism in the Holy Spirit?" Open Letter in *Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers* (Jan. 1970) cited in Burgess, "J. Rodman Williams," 308.

[124]1971, Williams,"Pentecostal Spirituality," 74-8; 1972, J. Rodman Williams, "Pentecostal Theology: A Neo-Pentecostal Perspective," in *Perpectives on the New Pentecost*, ed. Russell Spittler (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1976), 77-85; idem., "Prayer and Worship in Eucharistic and Charismatic Mode," *One in Christ* 13 (1977): 39-42; c.f. Lederle, *Treasures Old and New*, 92-4.

[125]Russell Spittler, "Theological Style among Pentecostals and Charismatics," in *Doing Theology in Today's World*, ed. John Woodbridge and Thomas McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Company, 1991), 305-6; J. Rodman Williams, "The Baptism in the Holy Spirit," in *DPCM*, 47; idem., "Baptism in the Holy Spirit," in *SPS14*; idem., *Gift*, 85-103; and idem., *RT2*, 278-91; nor is there a connection between Spirit baptism and confirmation, J. Rodman Williams, "Brief Reply to Professor Mühlen's Paper," *One in Christ* 12 (1976): 351-3; see also Quebedeaux, *The New Charismatics II*, 161; Yet, just a few years earlier he saw a possible connection between Spirit baptism and confirmation, J. Rodman Williams,

Although the mode of the baptism is not important (i.e. sprinkling, pouring, and immersion), baptism must be a baptism of believers. Therefore, it is not to be implemented for infants.[126]

The Lord's supper is the "perpetual memorial to the sacrificial death of Christ."[127] The Lord's supper demonstrates divine forgiveness and is itself a "means of receiving and appropriating God's ever-present grace."[128] The Lord's supper is an enhancement to spiritual communion, which supersedes the spiritual communion experienced by prayer and worship. This is due to the physical presence of the bread and wine in the Lord's supper. The Lord's supper is a communion between Christ and His church and within the church community. The participants of the Lord's supper must be believers who have spiritually examined themselves. It is to be a communion open to all believers. There should also be the proper attitude, setting, and presentation for the Lord's supper. Further, the Lord's supper prefigures the messianic supper in the future kingdom with Christ.[129]

The Bible

According to Williams, there is a mutual relationship between the Word of God and the Holy Spirit. The Spirit provides the dynamism, while the Word provides the form. The interplay between the Holy Spirit and the Word is crucial to understanding both the Spirit and the

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review of *Pentecostalism: A Theological Viewpoint*, by Donald Gelpi, In *Worship* 46 (1972): 514-6.

[126]Williams, *RT3*, 225-37; Williams endorses the "Jesus only" baptism formula from the book of Acts, and not the Matthean Trinitarian formula. He is apparently unaware of the doctrinal problems that this has caused in the "Jesus only" debate in Pentecostalism. Williams, *RT3*, 139; c.f. Cross," Toward a Theology of Word and Spirit," 125.

[127]Williams, *RT3*, 245.

[128]Williams, *RT3*, 246.

[129]Williams, *ES*, 44-5; and idem., *RT3*, 241-63.

Word. The Word without the Spirit becomes empty tradition, and the Spirit without the Word becomes enthusiasm without wisdom or direction. This interaction between the Word and the Spirit is needed for the proper Christian life and growth.[130]

Williams strongly contends that the Bible is primary in all theological reflection and must be the source of all Christian doctrine. The Bible takes precedence over experience, the creeds and Christian tradition. The Bible is the primary written or oral source of all Christian theological reflection.[131] This primacy is also felt within the daily life of the Christian, spiritually, morally, and existentially. For Williams, the Bible demonstrates the unfolding history of God's involvement with man. Righteous living constitutes obeying the Word, which is the will of God. This obedience is dependent upon the immersion in the Word, and the responsive action. The Bible is also used to edify or build up the church. This is done through the communal study and proclamation of the Word, which can take place in small groups, one-on-one personal interaction, and within the congregational worship service.[132] Further, Williams suggests that the will of God can be followed only if a Christian constantly hears the Word of God in scriptures, through corporate study and through the teaching/hearing of the Word.[133] Within the framework of his work, Williams places a strong emphasis upon the Biblical texts not only for theological reflection, but also for the whole of Christian living. Williams' usage of the Biblical texts in his *Renewal Theology* suggests that he is trying to espouse a Biblical theology, and it has been

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[130]Williams, interview by author, 21 December 1993, Virginia Beach, VA.

[131]Williams, "The Authority of Scripture and the Charismatic Movement," 35; idem., "Biblical Truth and Experience," 16-30; idem., "Door Interview," 11-2; idem., "The Plan of Union," 31-2, 34; idem., *RT1*, 22; idem., *RT3*, 184; and idem., "Theological Implications," 17-8.

[132]Williams, "Gifts of the Spirit," 28; idem., "The Holy Trinity," 101; idem., *RT1*, 122-5; idem., *RT2*, 109, 415-6; idem., *RT3*, 109-17; and idem., interview by author, 21 December 1993, Virginia Beach, VA.

[133]Williams, *RT2*, 109-10, 415-6.

suggested that this work is not a systematic theology as much as a Biblical theology.[134]

Although Williams has a very limited discussion on hermeneutical principles, he does emphasize some important points. For Williams, the first step in proper hermeneutics is to have a knowledge of the Biblical languages in order to read the texts in the original languages. It is likewise beneficial to use various translations of the Bible for comparative study. Through Biblical languages and various translations of the Bible the original meaning of the text can be more readily comprehended. Second, the Christian needs an understanding of the background, composition, and literary forms of the Bible in order to properly interpret the Bible. The Biblical texts were written within a historical setting using differing literary styles and forms. A knowledge of these is necessary for properly understanding the Bible. Third, by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, interpretation of the Bible must be done with a continuous awareness of the whole counsel of God as noted in scripture. There is an awareness that the whole interpretation process is dependent upon the Holy Spirit, and thereby, will not contradict the known revelation of God (i.e. the whole Bible).[135] However, in his actual hermeneutical approach to scripture Williams uses a non-technical approach, often allowing the Biblical text to speak for itself. He frequently does some exegesis of the text, but with little attention to textual Biblical exegesis. His usage of the Bible is precritical. The advantage is that he has organized the Biblical texts systematically, and has let the Bible speak for itself. However, within his *Renewal Theology*, there is little theological reflection or interpretation of the Biblical texts which

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[134]Cross,"Toward a Theology of Word and Spirit," 118, 122; c.f. Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 301; and Russell Spittler, "Theological Style among Pentecostals and Charismatics," in *Doing Theology in Today's World*, eds. John Woodbridge and Thomas McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991), 306-7.

[135]Williams, "Interpreting Prophetic Timing," 47-8, 51; and idem., *RT1*, 23-4.

demonstrates an in-depth and ongoing interaction with modern exegetes and theologians.[136]

God's call to salvation comes through the proclamation of the gospel. Preaching is the proclamation of the gospel, but it is different from teaching or prophecy. Preaching can include elements of the teaching or prophetic ministries, but preaching focuses upon the proclamation of Jesus Christ to the world.[137] Salvation can only take place through the proclamation by a person *hearing* the Word. The means of the proclamation is most frequently the sermon monologue, but can also take the forms of story, dialogues, and dramatic presentations. No matter what form, this proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ must take place within the context of the worship of God. The proclamation should be accompanied by signs and wonders to confirm the gospel which is proclaimed. Thus, the proclamation is set within the context of worshipping, and is accompanied by the manifestation of God's presence.[138] The proclaimer of the gospel can be anyone, not just the professional or gifted (*charismata*). The proclamation should be from the laity as much as from the professional clergy, for all are called as believers to proclaim the gospel. The proclaimer must be sent as a witness with the focus on Jesus Christ. Williams emphasizes that "*everyone is sent.* However, this *does not necessarily mean that a person is sent to everyone*."[139] There is also a special calling to a ministry of the Word. This is a unique calling accompanied by God's sending, yet it is not a superior

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[136]Culpepper, review of *Renewal Theology 1: God, the World, and Redemption*, 105-6; Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 298-9, 301; and Spittler, "Theological Style among Pentecostals and Charismatics," 306-7; Cross suggests that Williams' *Renewal Theology* is not a systematic theology, but a biblical theology, Cross, "Toward a Theology of Word and Spirit," 118; While Macchia does not feel that *Renewal Theology* could be adequately called a biblical theology either, Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 302.

[137]Williams, *ES*, 28-9.

[138]Williams, *RT2*, 23-4.

[139]Williams, *RT2*, 26.

calling.[140] The effective application of the proclamation must be anointed from above for no salvation is attained through proclamation without the powerful and efficacious work of the Holy Spirit.[141]

Analysis and Conclusion

In his *Renewal Theology* Williams has articulated the first comprehensive Charismatic or Pentecostal systematic theology. He has written a very involved work, which has opened many doors for future Charismatic and Pentecostal scholars to use as a starting point for their own theological proposals. He has also greatly enhanced the analysis of the vastly neglected field of pneumatology. As the first attempt at such an endeavor it is noteworthy, yet there are also some apparent shortcomings.

One of the greatest strengths of Williams is his strong adherence to the authority of the Bible. He makes it clear that the Bible is foundational for theological reflection. This is especially important in light of the common criticism made against Charismatic and Pentecostal movements that the Bible is secondary to experience and/or the gifts of the Spirit. Williams obviously is very adamant on this point that the Bible must be primary as the locus of authority. His style also reflects a strong advocacy of the Biblical texts. His *Renewal Theology* is so full of Biblical examples and exegesis that one writer saw it as a dramatic example of his Biblical linguistic expertise.[142] In spite of this strong emphasis upon the Bible, Williams does not articulate clearly his locus of authority. The first real weakness is that he does not discuss the creeds and traditions as they relate to the

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[140]Williams, "A Theological Critique of Some Contemporary Trends in Worship," 53, 56; idem., *RT2*, 23-6; and idem., *RT3*, 159-64; see also Williams, "What is Your Vocation?" 9-19.

[141]Williams, *RT2*, 26-8.

[142]Cross, "Toward a Theology of the Word and Spirit," 118, 122; c.f. Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 301; Cross suggests that Williams' linguistic expertise is very rare for a systematic theologian. Karl Barth was the only noted superior. Cross, "Toward a Theology of the Word and Spirit," 118 n. 18.

church or Christian theology. He suggests that a Christian should be aware of the them for theological reflection, but he does not discuss their usage. The creeds, for Williams, have little importance in actual formulation of systematic theology.[143] The second weakness, related to this, is that Williams does not adequately interact with the contemporary figures of theology from Protestant or Catholic traditions. Williams rarely engages with theologians, such as Wolfhart Pannenberg and Jürgen Moltmann, and spends more time on the Greek and a few exegetes (e.g. F. F. Bruce, Robert Mounce) than on those theologians.[144] For instance, it would have been helpful to have a more detailed discussion of John Wesley and the Wesleyan tradition in the chapters on regeneration and sanctification.[145] Further, Williams does not discuss some of the related philosophical problems of systematic theology. Instead, he speaks somewhat disparagingly of philosophy.[146] Philosophical and theological issues are difficult to pinpoint within Williams' works, since he does not use the nomenclature of many of the modern theologians or philosophers, preferring the Biblical terminology and a conversationalist approach. Thus, it is hard to verify many of his positions, due to his neglect of contemporary theologians and philosophers, and the lacunae of modern theological and philosophical nomenclature.

Williams has demonstrated a strongly Biblical view of the self. In this he has emphasized the role of the person as a responsible, free

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[143]Williams, *RT1*, 25; c.f. Robert Culpepper, review of *Renewal Theology 1: God, the World and Redemption*, by J. Rodman Williams, In *Faith and Mission* 7 (1989): 105-6; and Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 299, 303; see also Bruce Demarest, review of *Renewal Theology 1: God, the World and Redemption,* by J. Rodman Williams, In *Themelios* 16 (1991): 30-1.

[144]Cross, "Toward a Theology of the Word and Spirit," 118-20; and Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 299-300; In the *Renewal Theology*, Williams only cites Moltmann once, and Pannenberg once.

[145]Cross, "Toward a Theology of the Word and Spirit," 116 n.9; and Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Categories," 297-8.

[146]Cross, "Toward a Theology of the Word and Spirit," 120; and Williams, *RT1*, 247.

moral agent who is influenced by the community but is free to make her own decisions.[147] The major problem is that the role of the self in Williams' work is mainly discussed in Biblical terms. There is little engagement about other insights or discussions as they relate to his model of the self. For Williams, psychological, philosophical, sociological and other models of the self are overlooked and only discussed cursorily, since they are not Biblically based. For example, Williams adheres to the three parts of the self perspective (i.e. body, soul, and spirit) because of Biblical terminology. Neither does Williams give an adequate discussion of sanctification as God producing character within the believer. He emphasizes the dynamic role of the Holy Spirit, but he overlooks the informative and practical aspects of sanctification.[148]

Another strength of Williams is his view of community and the role of worship within the church. The church, its functions, and its gifts are described as being a formative agent for the persons within the church. The church is the Christian community by which God's presence is felt through worship, edification and outreach.[149] The main weakness is that Williams does not fully describe the need or method of the formation within the members in the church. In Williams' description of the Church he mainly deals with the "what" of communal activities which foster formation, and not the "how" of that formation.

A main strength of Williams' work is his focus on the Biblical text. Within his work he notes that the Bible is formative for theological reflection, but it is also a guide for righteous living, a proof against false teaching, and a tool for the edification of the church. So, for Williams, the Bible is not only theologically authoritative, but it is also existentially authoritative.[150] As noted above, one weakness is that he tends to use the Bible precritically, without the technical

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[147]Williams, *RT1*, 215-9; and idem., *RT2*, 416.

[148]Cross, "Toward a Theology of the Word and Spirit," 125-6.

[149]Williams, *RT3*, 87-158.

[150]Williams, *RT1*, 22-5; idem., *RT2*, 109, 415-6; and idem., *RT3*, 109-17; see also Williams, "The Holy Trinity," 101.

Biblical exegesis used by other Biblical scholars. The problem of this approach is that it can miss the complexities of the Biblical text and of our modern world.[151] A second problem is that he seems to promote a canon within a canon, where he gives preference to descriptive narrative over didactic exposition. In other words, Williams gives preference to the Luke-Acts material over the epistolary accounts found in scripture.[152]

As a whole, there are several contributions by Williams to this discussion. One contribution is his strong adherence to the Bible in theological reflection and existentially in a person's life. Williams is also instructive in his emphasis upon the dynamism and operational aspects of the Spirit. A third contribution is his discussions on worship and its role in the church community. A final contribution is his discussion on the state as morally formative for the person. These contributions are all helpful in delineating the role of the Holy Spirit in value formation.

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[151]Culpepper, review of *Renewal Theology 1: God, the World and Redemption*, 105-6; Macchia, "Revitalizing Theological Catagories," 301-2; and Spittler, "Theological Style among Pentecostal and Charismatic," 304-7.

[152]Cross, "Toward a Theology of the Word and Spirit," 115 n. 7.

James H. Kroeger and Joseph D. Zaldivar, eds., *A Fiery Flame: Encountering God's Word* (Quezon City, Phils.: Claretian Publications, Insta Publications & Jesuit Communications, 2010), xii pp. + 120 pp., paperback, ISBN: 978-971-0511-56-3, PHP 200.00.

The importance of the Bible and its appropriate interpretation for the Filipinos is captured very well in *A Fiery Flame: Encountering God's Word*. Although the setting of the book is within the predominantly Roman Catholic Church population in the Philippines, the Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians in the country and elsewhere can benefit much from it. This is because of the deep sense of the role of the Spirit in encountering the Word of God that is well expressed in the pages of this volume. The reflections are perceptive. The impression that the Holy Spirit is still speaking to the people of the contemporary world through the Bible, Catholics or non-Catholics alike, is apparent. The spiritual approach to the Scriptures from a Catholic perspective is insightful. Maturity is notable. It is significant to observe that the place of the Bible at the center of the Catholic faith is clearly highlighted. Furthermore, the emphasis that the encounter with the Word of God through the Holy Spirit should bring a person face to face with the Lord Jesus Christ is such a delight to read.

A Fiery Flame is a collection of the reflections of Filipino Roman Catholic clergies about the Bible. The preface of Joseph D. Zaldivar, one of the editors, points out that the Word of God must be eaten like what Jeremiah, Ezekiel and John experienced. "To 'eat' God's word is an excellent image for how Christians should receive the Word. The Word is not just read or studied like required texts in an academic course; rather, it must be chewed, swallowed, digested; it becomes part of the individual." (vii) What a powerful metaphor to present an anthology of papers read for the occasion of *Josefino Forum: Verbum Dei* convened on 4th of October 2009. (viii) The introduction is given by the other editor, James H. Kroeger. His first sentence is captivating: "Ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ" (St. Jerome). (ix) Kroeger's introduction is very helpful. He emphasizes the contribution of Vatican II in the renewed interest in reading the Bible. The outline of the presentations in this volume follows the outline of the *"Nuntius* or Message" issued by The Twelfth Synod of Bishops from their gathering in Rome from the 5th until the 26th of October 2008. The theme was "The Word of God in the Life and Mission of the Church." And this Twelfth Ordinary General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops received the support of Pope Benedict XVI who was visibly "present

for most of the twice-daily sessions and even commented on the topic of biblical exegesis." (ix)

The volume is edited to have three parts. The first part is called "The Message to the People of God" by the World Synod of Bishops. (1-23) This is a reproduction of the complete, original twenty plus page document of the *Nuntius* in four sections that presents the Holy Scriptures in terms of "Voice, Face, House, and Roads of the Word of God." (x) The *Nuntius* takes Deut. 30:14 as a divine challenge: "The word is very near to you, it is in your mouth and in your heart for you to put into practice." (3) The scope of the ideas concerning the Word of God is vast. The message of the Synod talks about the role of the Word of God from creation until the contemporary missionary work of the people of God. The full text is interpretatively outlined as follows: a). "The Voice of the Word: Revelation" (3-6); b). "The Face of the Word: Jesus Christ" (6-9); c). "The House of the Word: The Church" (9-14); and d). "The Roads of the Word: Mission" (14-22) with a concluding remark (22-23) that accents the eating of the Word of God and gives attention to those who teach it and suffer for its sake.

Part two of the volume is composed of four reflections. These four articles are theological considerations of the four aspects of the Word of God that are itemized by the *Nuntius*, albeit in a different sequence. The first one by Pablo Virgilio S. David undertakes "The House of the Word: The Church" that covers the human stewardship and the dynamic role of the Scriptures in the temple, the synagogue and the church. (27-46) The next presentation is that of Luis Antonio G. Tagle on "The Voice of the Word: Revelation" that articulates the form of God's revelation in "creation," "history" and "transmission" revealing its power. (47-61) The third, "The Roads of the Word: Mission" by Teodoro Bacani, Jr., is a profound and contemporary outlook on evangelistic endeavor and inculturation of the Gospel as well as fresh Christian witness and the motive of love as charity. (63-77) And finally, "Reflections on the Word of God: A Synthesis" by Catalino C. Arévalo provides a summation of and response to the earlier three presentations, which also highlights the face of the Word of God who is the Lord Jesus Christ, the person to whom everything points. (79-92)

The third part starts with Gaudencio Cardinal Rosales' "The Word of God and Priestly Spirituality." (95-100) He sees the worth of the incarnation of Christ as the Word to that of experiencing "brokenness." The argument of Bienvenido F. Nebres about the "Academic Excellence in Ministerial Priesthood and Pastoral Work" is well expressed in helping victims of natural calamities, which is not only

"theoretical-analytical intelligence" but rather "practical-synthetic intelligence." (101-110) He uses biblical patterns, charitable groups and exemplary people to show the pastoral challenge of meeting human needs. The contribution of Victor C. de Jesus is his exposition of "Encountering God through Words" wherein he appeals to sensitivity in understanding the use of words and their meanings. (111-116) In particular, his use of the story of Helen Keller and her teacher Annie Sullivan is astute. The last piece by Sir-lien Hugh Tadeo, "The *Verbum Dei* Story," is about the journey of the organizers of the forum. (117-119) Their hunger for an academic understanding of the Word of God was satisfied with success.

The Pentecostal-Charismatic reader's interest in *A Fiery Flame: Encountering God's Word* is the acknowledgment of the character of the Holy Spirit in different aspects of the Word of God, the Holy Bible. The Roman Catholic clergy-theologians who contributed to this anthology are receptive to the dynamic role of the Spirit of God in the human encounter with the Word of God. The pairing of God's Word and the Holy Spirit cannot be separated. For the authors of this volume, the Spirit is an important assumption to understand the Scriptures. Another interest for Protestants and Evangelicals that would read this book is the "contextualized" approaches of the articles to the Filipino setting. Protestants and Evangelicals are championing the importance of communicating the Word of God in a manner that can be understood by the audience in their own context. This work is well contextualized. It is a collection of articles that would touch the heart and mind of the Filipino. The materials contained in this anthology are readable. The presentations of the authors are witty. It is a book that is interesting to read because the reader can easily relate to the points made by the writers. Furthermore, the editing of the articles is well done. The order of articles is logically connected. The Catholic tradition and representation in this title is pretty obvious. Nevertheless, the non-Catholic reader would also receive much intellectual and spiritual gain from the articles in this fine book.

R. G. dela Cruz

Bradley Truman Noel, *Pentecostal and Postmodern Hermeneutics: Comparisons and Contemporary Impact* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2010), xiv pp. + 201 pp., paperback, ISBN: 13: 978-1-60608-905-7, US$ 24.00

It is generally taken for granted in the academic setting that the Western world is Postmodern. The philosophical foundation of Postmodernity is relativity. Make no mistake about it. The Pentecostals, to survive in the future, should face the paradigm of the Postmodern mindset. There is no other way for Western Pentecostalism to confront Postmodernism except to deal with it. Thus, *Pentecostal and Postmodern Hermeneutics: Comparisons and Contemporary Impact* is meant to engage with this Western reality. Originally submitted as a Doctor of Theology in Practical Theology thesis (University of South Africa, 2007) with exactly the same title, the main emphasis of this book is to examine how the scriptural message has been interpreted within Pentecostalism and the way Postmodernity views the biblical text. Epistemology is a primary question in Postmodern hermeneutics. An epistemological solution is necessary. Postmodern epistemology developed a big threat to the Modern paradigm of understanding knowledge. It is Modernity that shaped the Pentecostal paradigm as a whole. The Modern framework occupies the Pentecostal mind. The early Pentecostal biblical interpretation is in the context of Modernity. (2-6)

The author, Bradley Truman Noel, in his bibliographical examination of the available information about early and contemporary Pentecostalism, detects that in many places there are matching notions between the Pentecostal pioneers' handling of the scriptural text and the main precepts of Postmodern thinkers. (7-8) The research is on the available literature. The data and arguments of the book were from the writings of the academicians. It is noteworthy that there is an exceptional reception of the Pentecostal scholars into the broader academy of theological studies. Pentecostals are into it. What would be the reason why Pentecostals have already penetrated the academic world? Is Pentecostal hermeneutics modernized and evangelicalized? And thus, does evangelical hermeneutics that is based in Modern presuppositions dictate the direction of Pentecostal biblical exploration? The Pentecostal academy is certain to lead the way to the better understanding of the Pentecostal experience based on the Bible. And Noel is really concerned about the passing on of the Pentecostal

tradition and its academic definition to contemporary youth whose worldview is Postmodern.

The sensitivity of the issue about Postmodern youth in North America is looked at in terms of an unparalleled candidness to any kind of spirituality that is relevant to a personal experience. *Pentecostal and Postmodern Hermeneutics* claims that Pentecostals could bring their significant contribution to the larger Christian world, not only within Evangelicalism. This contribution is a Pentecostal hermeneutic that would bring a pertinent interpretation of Christianity from a Pentecostal perspective to the current generation of young people. Hence the chapters of the book are developed and divided into eight chapters. Chapter one is presented in a manner that portrays the problem that the volume seeks to answer. Here the author identifies the problems at hand. Noel declares that: "The goal of this work is to show that in the earliest days, the hermeneutics employed by Pentecostals shared many characteristics of today's Postmodern thought." (9) Furthermore, the author states that: "This work demonstrates that Pentecostals must continue in the hermeneutical traditions of their early leaders if they are to remain relevant in the future. It is possible to adhere to the best of early Pentecostal hermeneutics, without ignoring the tremendous hermeneutical advances of the twentieth century." (10)

The next two chapters investigate the meeting place of Postmodern philosophy and Pentecostal mentality. The scope is in the area of the Modern manner of reasoning. In chapter two Noel maintains that although the vital meanings taken for granted by Evangelicalism contradict Postmodern philosophy, there are "similarities between the Postmodern way of thought and the thought patterns of the earliest Pentecostals." (17) The author develops his argument by mapping out the history of Western thinking. He reviews what are the Premodern, the Modern and the Postmodern ways of viewing knowledge. (18-29) Moreover, Noel itemizes the types of Postmodern thought as: 1). "deconstructive" or "ultramodernism"; 2). "liberationist"; 3). "constructive"; and 4). "conservative" or "restorationist". (30-31) The whole point of discussion is their extent of transformation from Modernity. In chapter three Noel astutely portrays how the Spirit encounter, the intellectual rejection and the oral narratives of the early Pentecostals explain their hermeneutical attitude. (45-69) He further notes that, as the Pentecostals matured theologically. "it became apparent that the approach of Pentecostal scholars would begin to mirror that of their Evangelical comrades as they began to employ the

traditional Evangelical hermeneutics of Modernity to the core of Pentecostal theology." (71)

The fourth chapter deals with the contribution of Gordon Fee and his Pentecostal critics. (73-95) The main concern for Noel is the use of Modern critical approaches in Pentecostal hermeneutics. He sees Fee as an ideal representative of Pentecostal hermeneutics influenced by Evangelical values in reading the Scriptures. He also presents Fee's concern for the authorial intent of a biblical writer and the historical precedent as a hermeneutical defect. (74-83) The author also presents the answers of William and Robert Menzies as well as Roger Stronstad to Fee's views. (83-93) The fifth chapter is Rudolf Bultmann's contributions to biblical demythologization (98-103) and the Jesus Seminar (103-107). The appropriation of his work in the world of the Postmodern young generation is the significance of this chapter (107-121). The sixth chapter engages with a new generation of Pentecostal scholars represented by Kenneth Archer. (122-145) He creates the term "paramodern" (127, 140-142) and comes up with a new "tridactic" Pentecostal manner in doing hermeneutical dialogue of "the biblical text," "the Pentecostal community" and "the Holy Spirit." (137-141) This approach is a departure from the typical Evangelical methodology.

Chapter seven addresses the Spirit's part in the hermeneutical process. Is there any advantage to being a Spirit-filled biblical interpreter? This chapter is interesting. The observation of Noel is noteworthy: "Though most begin their work on hermeneutics by affirming the role of the Spirit in the creation and transmission of Scripture, few scholars find it necessary to include a detailed description of the Spirit's role in illumination." (147) After surveying the views of Pentecostals and Evangelicals about the guidance of the Spirit in hermeneutics (152-163) the author sees that Pentecostals must have "a distinctive approach to hermeneutics." (163) He also maintains that the advantage of being Spirit-filled is the matter of "experiential verification." (164) In addition, he traces the idea of personal experience influencing biblical interpretation from Pentecostal scholars. (164-172) Noel contends that: "For Pentecostals, the link between hermeneutics and experience is well established; their contribution to the larger Evangelical hermeneutical world is perhaps just beginning to take shape." (174) And in chapter eight the author essentially provides a recapitulation of the chapters and reiterates the distinction made by Archer between "Postmodern and Paramodern." (176-180)

The volume is an informative read. The surveys of ideas in Premodern, Modern and Postmodern periods are clearly presented. The

bibliographical resources for the Pentecostal mindset are pretty comprehensive. The argument of the book is well sustained. Likewise, Noel points out that additional research should be done on the influence of Modernity among the Pentecostals in other places of the globe as well as the effect of Postmodernity on non-Western young people. The particular form of the experience factor of Pentecostal hermeneutics is also necessary to be explored. Diversity of the younger generation's response to Postmodernity must be assessed. The penetration of Postmodern thinking into global Pentecostalism is also worthy to be investigated. (180-181) Noel opens new areas of research for Pentecostals in the developing world such as in Asia. The suggestions that he has for further research are appropriate for Asians to explore. Pentecostalism is thriving in Asia. Postmodernity is already in Asia. The impact of Postmodern philosophy to the Asian mind due to globalization is becoming a necessary area of study in connection to its significance to Asian Pentecostalism. Hence, *Pentecostal and Postmodern Hermeneutics* is recommended reading for Asian Pentecostals!

R. G. dela Cruz

`Estrelda Alexander and Amos Yong, eds., *Philip's Daughters: Women in Pentecostal-Charismatic Leadership*, Princeton Theological Monograph Series 104, ed. K.C. Hanson, C.M. Collier and D. C. Spinks (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications/Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2009), paperback, viii + 251 pp., ISBN: 13: 978-1-55635-832-6, US$ 27.00.

It must be admitted that there is "a history of suppression" of the "ministry of Spirit-empowered women." (1) *Philip's Daughters: Women in Pentecostal-Charismatic Leadership* presents before the contemporary church life the necessary questions that are nevertheless to be resolved concerning the total involvement, with the same level of treatment, of Christian women in ministerial service and church leadership. However, there are no answers in this volume to provide decisive answers to the remaining issues about the position of women in Christian ministry. (14) This anthology calls for the equal opportunity and complete participation of women in the church leadership. The approaches employed by the contributors are culturally diverse and multiethnic as well as methodologically varied and interdisciplinary. Estrelda Alexander and Amos Yong brought together twelve different academic papers about women in the spiritual revival movement. These papers were collected from the three weekend symposium during the school year 2006-2007. (vii, 8) The meetings were held at the School of Divinity of Regent University. The twelve presentations came from biblical, theological, missiological, historical, sociological and anthropological fields of inquiry. The essays though are divided into two major parts, the historical perspectives and the biblical/theological perspectives. There are six essays for each part. A preface to the book is written by Yong while an introduction to the articles is given by Alexander.

Part one begins with a title "Wesleyan/Holiness and Pentecostal Women Preachers: Pentecost as the Pattern for Primitivism" by Susie C. Stanley. (19-37) She essentially claims that the Wesleyan/Holiness view of women in ministry is favorable due to "the doctrinal emphasis on sanctification." (19) Hence, she sees that it is the Wesleyan/Holiness openness to female preachers that is responsible for the big quantity of Pentecostal women who became active in the ministry. She poses an insightful historiographical notion in her treatise that if the source of Pentecostal believers is more from the mainline Protestant churches, there would be a lot of women Pentecostal ministers. Stanley features the work and the call of selected Pentecostal women whose backgrounds were from the

Wesleyan/Holiness tradition. In other words, the author sees that, historically speaking, the Wesleyan/Holiness foundation of many of the Pentecostals provides a theological reason for the tolerance of the women preachers. (37)

The second article in the historical perspectives section is given by David G. Roebuck, "'Cause He's My Chief Employer': Hearing Women's Voices in a Classical Pentecostal Denomination," that explores the Bible as the basis for responding to the call of preaching the gospel. (38-60) It is an interesting piece. The thrust of this essay is the view that the commanding basis of women preachers is the Word of God. Biblical interpretation is shaped by both the societal values and spiritual sensitivities. The Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) denominational context provides the tension between the human culture and the Holy Spirit. Roebuck investigated printed materials supplied by lady ministers as well as oral conversations in his interview with them to have a better understanding of Spirit, Word and culture as used by these Pentecostal women. The writer concludes that the Church of God was "historically open to women preaching but not to women in leadership roles." (57) Moreover, he maintains that female preachers in this Classical Pentecostal denomination "now have more rights as ministers, [but] their exclusion from the ministerial rank of bishop continues to prevent those rights from being translated into leadership opportunities." (60)

Karen Kossie-Chernyshev brings forth the succeeding essay naming it "Looking Beyond the Pulpit: Social Ministries and African-American Pentecostal-Charismatic Women in Leadership." (61-73) Using the Church of God in Christ Pentecostal group, she provides an outline of African-American Pentecostal women's involvement with social ministry from its early history. (63-68) Furthermore, she highlights the black Charismatic ministries that more recently participated in civic engagement. (68-72) Kossie-Chernyshev observes that from early on the pulpit ministry and the leadership role in African-American Pentecostal denominations are highly contested. This is an important sociological factor for the female gender to express leadership in other ways. And so, although African-American Pentecostal women may not have the privilege to be ordained in the ministry, they still preoccupy themselves with social ministry. Their vision in social engagement should not be overlooked as an expression of their leadership roles and capabilities to serve in the ministry. This kind of service should be seen as spiritual leadership of black Pentecostal women at its finest.

A captivating discourse concerning "Sanctified Saints—Impure Prophetesses: A Cross-Cultural Reflection on Gender and Power in Two Afro-Christian Spirit-Privileging Churches" by Deidre Helen Crumbley, comes up as the fourth presentation. (74-94) Her discourse asks a bipartite query: "How might socio-cultural legacy, leadership, and institutional complexity inform the antithetical gender practices of the case study churches, and what strategies might this suggest for addressing women's leadership in other spirit-privileging churches?" (92) The anthropological approach of Crumbley utilizes ethnography to accomplish the research. The two case studies that she did are Aladura Yoruba's church in West Africa known as the Celestial Church of Christ (CCC) and an African American church in an inner city called the Church of Prayer Seventh Day (COPSD). Crumbley observes that on the one hand, CCC curtails the opportunity for the ladies to preach and serve in the altar areas during their menstruation. (81) On the other hand, the women in COPSD can be involved in the ceremonial and the political leadership as well as the doctrinal and the organizational matters. (see 81-92)

The next paper is by Gastón Espinosa, "'Third Class Soldiers': A History of Hispanic Pentecostal Clergywomen in the Assemblies of God," who surveys the resistance of the Latino Pentecostals to ordain ladies into the clergy. (95-111) He starts his essay quoting a letter written by Aimee García Cortese on July 11, 1958 pleading with J. Roswell Flower that she should be ordained by the Spanish Eastern District according to the constitution of the Assemblies of God. (95) Using this portion of the original, emotional letter of a female Latina preacher, who was later ordained in 1962, the author narrates how from an early period, the Assemblies of God was open for women in the ministry. (98-108) Nevertheless, the Latin districts of the Assemblies of God made it difficult for female pastors to be ordained. Furthermore, the prophetic and the priestly ministries in the Latin districts have become a source of conflict in the minister's home, especially if both the husband and the wife are in the ministry. (108) Thus, Espinosa concludes with a challenge to an attitudinal change: "If the leaders of the Latino Pentecostal denominations in the U.S. cannot find a way to accommodate women's voices in a more meaningful way in the near future, they may find themselves in conflict with the prophetic voices of their daughters—women not unlike Aimee Garcia Cortese." (111)

Last but not the least contribution in the historical perspectives part of the volume is the "Leadership Attitudes and the Ministry of Single

Women in Assembly of God Missions" of Barbara L. Cavaness. (112-130) She insinuates in this essay that: "Proactive efforts to open more leadership roles to women and correct inequalities and restrictive attitudes were recommended to the AG World Missions division." (129) The whole article of Cavaness demonstrates how the earliest of Pentecostal frontrunners inspired and enabled female ministers when the first experience of Spirit outpouring brought much enthusiasm but then later partiality against them became even an acknowledged attitude. She observes how Parham and Seymour were open to women preachers. (114-122) Nonetheless, as the excitement of the Pentecostal revival faded she points out that in the Assemblies of God World Missions, as a case in point, single female missionaries grew fewer in number due to "'limiting' historical events/documents," "mixed theological messages in publications," and "restrictive leadership attitudes." (123) For Cavaness the reason is more of leadership "values" than the formalization of missions. (123)

Part two, first of all, presents Janet Everts Powers' "Pentecostalism 101: Your Daughters Shall Prophesy" as the seventh treatise. (133-151) In her theologically argued presentation. the author maintains that the Pentecostal view of Spirit baptism was advanced by a lady minister, Phoebe Palmer, from the holiness movement. (133ff.) Pentecostalism appears to have overlooked the thrust of Palmer's teaching which is the empowering of women. When a person is baptized in the Holy Spirit, he or she, whether he is a son or she is a daughter, is straightway enabled to prophesy. (see 136-139) The first Pentecostals followed Palmer and authorized Spirit baptized females to be entirely authorized preachers. (139) Parham added to Palmer's Spirit baptism view that tongues is the initial evidence of the experience. And Seymour, through the Azusa Street experience, extended this teaching across the globe. (133-134) It is unfortunate though that E. N. Bell among the Pentecostals and J. R. Rice among the Fundamentalists resisted the ordination of women. (141-143) Subsequently, the Charismatic Movement's view of prophecy diminished female's prophetic ministry. (143-145) And presently, the likes of Wayne Grudem, who became a prominent intellectual in the Association of Vineyard Churches and independent charismatic groups, contests women's ordination. (145-149) Hence, "Pentecostalism 101" challenges Pentecostals to go back to the theology of the "prophethood of all believers." (149-151)

The following article is entitled "'You've Got a Right to the Tree of Life': The Biblical Foundations of an Empowered Attitude among Black Women in the Sanctified Church" by Cheryl Townsend Gilkes

which provides a sociological study of the role of the Bible in African American religious experience. (152-169) The writer points out that the contribution of the black churches to Pentecostalism is "the centrality of the Bible" (154) and "the Bible became a speakerly text—a Talking Book." (155) The theme of Exodus in their spirituals as well as women in Scriptures in their tunes show their roots in biblical religion. The African Americans brought three gifts to America: "the gift of labor, the gift of song, and the gift of Spirit." (157) Black women participated well in the Azusa Street outpouring of the Spirit. Black roots of Pentecostalism cannot be adequately understood apart from the motif of African slavery in America. (passim) The females in the African American congregations get inspiration from the women of the Bible in challenging men-dominated Christianity.

The ninth essay by Cheryl Bridges Johns is provocatively designated as "Spirited Vestments: Or, Why the Anointing Is Not Enough" where she theologically assessed the hierarchy of the persons in the Trinity that became a theological basis for the subordination of women in the work of the Lord. (170-184) For the author, although the Pentecostals may not openly subdue females because of Joel's prophecy of men and women receiving the Spirit, the theology starts and ends in the prophetic role of women. The ecclesiastical practice is that "priestly functions of pastoral and denominational leadership are likely reserved for men." (170-171) And so there is a tension between the prophetic and the priestly role of men and women in the church. Female Spirit baptized ministers should be in prophetic roles but the males should be in charge of the priestly headship. The essay gives a theological model for a fresh relational understanding of human relationships based on the Trinity. It reviews the idea of God's image in male and female. (174ff., 179-183, 184)

Pamela Holmes subsequently authors "The Spirit, Nature and Canadian Pentecostal Women: A Conversation with Critical Theory." (185-202) Here she looks at the decreasing participation of the ladies in the Canadian Pentecostal setting even though they were important participants from the very beginning of the movement. She employs the perceptions advanced by the Critical Theory of Max Horkheimer and Theodore Adorno to the problems encountered by women in Canadian Pentecostalism. (187-193) The author also surveys the theological reflections of Canadian Pentecostal women in the ministry. (193-198) Holmes argues that Pentecostalism carries the character and the language of crucial concepts and spiritual exercises that bring liberating capability for the female in the ministry. (200-202) The

livable actuality and the viable structure of Pentecostal experience could bring the necessary counter-revolution for women ministers to be fully integrated in a revolutionized Pentecostal movement.

"Changing Images: Women in Asian Pentecostalism" is the eleventh paper in the collection written by Julie C. Ma. (203-214) Her article traces the images of the female gender in the biblical setting where their affirmation is developed (204-206) and the contemporary world where openness to acknowledge the competence of women to take leadership positions is emerging. (206-210) Hence, this improvement of women leading in present society shows the maturing public consciousness of women who can be leaders where such positions have not been traditionally esteemed or even allowed, like in Korea. Ma has a challenge for the Asian Pentecostal churches in particular, and the Christian world in general, to observe the transformation of the societal view on women in leadership and come up with avenues to modify their mindset and custom about women in ministry. (see 210-214)

Frederick L. Ware completes the volume with "Spiritual Egalitarianism, Ecclesial Pragmatism, and the Status of Women in Ordained Ministry" wherein he depicts that Pentecostal ideals were left to conform to the conventional norms. (215-233) Ware sees a clash between "spiritual egalitarianism" which is a Pentecostal theological belief with "ecclesial pragmatism" which is a typical cultural adaptation. (215-217) The conflict's victim is her. Seymour tolerated female involvement in Azusa Street but he "later retracted his initial openness to women in ministry and church leadership." (218) Ware explores a black Pentecostal body known as the Church of God in Christ (COGIC). (see 217-229) He traces the inequality of opportunities for women, the ordination policy and the real praxis of the denomination, as well as the biblical understanding of the female and the hierarchical attitude of the leadership in COGIC. He argues that the early Pentecostal "theological tradition" would nullify any opposition for women's ordination. (229-231) He also argues that Pentecostal core values should shape the current ethical standard, which entails a total ministerial credit for women. (232)

Alexander and Yong gather together significant articles that critically seek to illumine the current understanding of women's encounters of and influence in the Pentecostal-Charismatic churches. These essays are welcome contributions to the debate about the female in the ministry. The gathering and ordering of the essays according to their themes and contributions are also to be commended. It is a well

edited anthology. The collection of writings that they put together exhibits the tension in Pentecostalism about what the Bible says concerning women in ministry and what society informs about females as secondary. The contributing writers in this collection also cross-reference each other to enhance the arguments of their essays. Moreover, the high quality of the research given to the production of the articles reflects on the important contribution of this book to the concept of the "prophethood of all believers" who are Spirit baptized, which obviously includes women, and therefore the female gender must be equal with the male gender in all the aspects of Spirit ordained Christian ministry. *Philip's Daughters* is a highly recommended book to be read by Pentecostal ministers, men and women alike, particularly those that are in leadership positions in their denomination. This title brings an immense challenge to those who are still resisting the clergy ordination and the leadership role that women could avail since they also receive their call from God who poured out the Holy Spirit to the sons and the daughters, to the male servants and female servants, in order that they may all prophesy.

R. G. dela Cruz

[*AJPS* 14:2 (2011), pp. 187-198]

NON-WESLEYAN PENTECOSTALISM: A TRADITION "THE FINISHED WORK"

William W. Menzies

Introduction

In June, 1995, a remarkable outpouring of the Holy Spirit began at the Brownsville Assembly of God, Pensacola, Florida. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, have visited Pensacola. Many have come away with a renewed spiritual experience and a revitalized ministry. What is happening in Pensacola is evidently happening in many other localities as well. Some of the local outpourings are a direct result of contact with Pensacola; some are not. Significantly, a common thread in the testimonies of those impacted by the current flow of revival is that it is essentially a renewal of holiness, of concern for the sanctified life. Some would see in the Pensacola revival a call to Pentecostals to recover their holiness roots. Evidently, somewhere along the way, the Pentecostal movement (or at least part of it), generally pictured as a direct outgrowth of the nineteenth-century Holiness Movement, drifted away from the emphasis on sanctification. With this new focus of attention on personal holiness, it is timely that we attempt to reconstruct the story of the roots of the modern Pentecostal movement, giving particular attention to the streams of influence regarding the doctrine of sanctification. The practical implications of this for today's Pentecostals may be significant. The Pentecostal revival has featured effectively the empowering of the Spirit for evangelistic and missionary service. Somehow, through the years an earlier priority on the interior development of a holy life has apparently been muted. Is God calling Pentecostals to take a fresh look at the importance of Holy living?

The story is not as simple as it might appear, however. Today, the Pentecostal movement is divided along the line of teaching about sanctification. Some adopt a Wesleyan understanding of sanctification as a "second blessing;" a crisis experience that cleanses the soul from inbred sin, preparing one for a third work of grace, called baptism in

the spirit. Most Pentecostals today adopt a different view of sanctification, seeing sanctification as a continuing process flowing from the point of regeneration. For these non-Wesleyans, baptism in the Spirit is a second experience, not a third one. The series of lectures for this week centers on the retracting of the story of how the Pentecostal revival divided along two differing views of the doctrine of sanctification. It is hoped that by addressing this story, young Pentecostals of today will be able to relate constructively and congenially with others whose theological understanding may differ from their own. And, beyond this, it is hoped that all will be challenged to ponder what God is saying to us about living lives separated unto God.

In studying the origins of the modern Pentecostal revival, it is clearly evident that virtually all of the initial leaders and participants held to a Wesleyan view of sanctification. In truth, scholars such as Vinson Synan rightly report that the modern Pentecostal movement is a direct descendant of the nineteenth-century Holiness movement.[1] Certainly, from the beginnings of a connected history, reaching back to Charles F. Parham's Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, where the Spirit was poured out in 1901, and on to the great Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles that flowered in 1906, there is a solid phalanx of leaders who uniformly advocated the Wesleyan doctrine. For Parham, Seymour, and others with whom they worked in the first decade, baptism in the Spirit was perceived to be a "third work of grace," conditional upon receiving the second, and prior, work of the Holy Spirit, which rooted out the sin principle in the believer. The logic was that one must be cleansed before one could be filled. So up to a point, Holiness Pentecostal scholars are right--that is, if one limits the field of view to events of that first decade, up to 1910. However, the story is not so simple after that. One must explain what transpired so that virtually all Pentecostal bodies that came into being after 1911 adopted a non-Wesleyan view of sanctification. In fact, very quickly the centers of growth and influence shifted to those bodies that espoused the non-Wesleyan sanctification theology. Holiness (Wesleyan) Pentecostalism became largely a provincial view found principally in the American southeast states, in pockets in the Midwest, and among the West Coast descendants of the Azusa Street revival, principally the followers of Florence Crawford in Oregon. The broader, more representative,

[1] Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans., 1997), x.

Pentecostal bodies, such as the Assemblies of God, adopted a non-Wesleyan Theology of Sanctification. For most Pentecostals, within a short time following the close of the Azusa Street phase of the revival, sanctification was understood to be a quality of life maintained by faith and diligence, a condition that normally is expected to grow throughout one's Christian life. The notion that a crisis experience of sanctification is a necessary prerequisite to baptism in the spirit was rejected. Today, most Pentecostals around the world identify themselves as non-Wesleyan in their understanding of sanctification. The lectures of this week are intended to shed light on how this major change took place, so we can better understand the complex history of the Pentecostal revival. Our first endeavor will be to visit the story of William H. Durham and his teaching of "the Finished Work." Without question, the influence of Durham on the shaping of emerging groups like the Assemblies of God is strategic.

William H. Durham: Early Years

William H. Durham was born in 1873 in Kentucky. At the age of 18 he joined a Baptist Church but did not have a genuine experience of salvation. This came some years later, In 1898, while he was in Minnesota, Durham experience a vision of the crucified Christ. He points to this moment as the time when he was born again. Early in his experience, he encountered issues related to the teaching of sanctification. For some months Durham enjoyed a wonderful sense of victory in his Christian experience, but then there were times when he felt he had "lost the victory."

> I was told that sanctification was what I needed, and I sought this blessing the best I knew how for a long time. Sometimes I would think the work was done, then again would realize that it was not, till finally, some three years after my conversion, God gave me light and grace to definitely trust the blood of Christ and rest my faith on His finished works.[2]

He felt at that time that he had experienced sanctification. At once he launched into full-time Christian service, preaching what was

[2] William H. Durham, "Pentecostal Testimony of Pastor Durham, " The Pentecostal Testimony (1909), 6

essentially a Wesleyan message of entire sanctification. In 1901, Durham became a pastor of a humble fellowship in Chicago called the North Avenue Mission, where his ministry flourished. Like many Holiness advocates of the time, he felt he had received the fullness of the spirit, but doubts continued to plague him. He had to acknowledge in honesty with himself that his experience did not match what he read of the apostolic church in the Book of Acts. In April, 1906, word spread of a Pentecostal outpouring in Los Angeles. Durham was convinced that God was at work in Los Angeles but was offended at the teaching that speaking in tongues is the accompanying evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit, and preached against the doctrine. Yet, he did believe that those who spoke in tongues had something he did not have. In January, 1907, the Holy Spirit began to fall on people in Chicago. Among the first to receive was Elder J. C. Sinclair, a man with whom Durham had labored, one that Durham felt had the Holy Spirit before this experience, if anyone did. The powerful, radiant experience of Elder Sinclair was a challenge to Durham, for he now felt that Sinclair indeed had something he himself did not have. He was particularly impressed with Sinclair's singing in the spirit, since he knew that the man could not sing! At this point, Durham began to seek God for the baptism in the Spirit in great earnest. His pastoral duties in Chicago limited his ability to wait on the Lord; so Durham made a trip to Los Angeles, visiting the Azusa Street Mission. After several days of earnest seeking, on March 2, 1907, Durham received the Pentecostal experience with the accompanying sign of speaking in tongues. In the weeks that Durham was at Azusa Street, he had ample opportunity to observe the revival. Here is a sample of his comments:

> I shall ever cherish the memory of that place; for as soon as I entered the place I became conscious that God was there. I knew I was in his Holy presence. There were hundreds of people present. God seemed to be controlling everything so far as I could see. No man had anything whatever to do with what was happening. The Holy Ghost seemed to have full control, and yet the order seemed perfect. My soul was melted down before the Lord; but to me the wonderful thing was yet to happen. After some hymns had been sung a wave of power and glory seemed to sweep over the place, and a large number began to sing in the spirit, what is called in this work the "Heavenly Anthem." I had never heard anything in my life so sweet. It was the Spirit of God Himself, and I knew it. I would have given much to be able to sing in that choir, but had my

> life depended upon it could not have sung a word; for I had not yet received Him who was doing the singing. And there I saw, more plainly than ever before, the difference between having the presence of the Spirit of God with us and having Him living within us in person, and I resolved then there that I would never cease seeking, till I had received Him in Pentecostal fullness, and by the grace of God I kept that resolve.[3]

On Feb. 26, 1907, at an afternoon meeting at the Azusa Street Mission, with about thirty people present, the Holy Spirit fell on Durham, an experience repeated on subsequent occasions, as well, over the next several days. Here is how he describes the event:

> I was at the end of everything and the Lord knew it, and as three of His dear children stood over me and told me just to surrender all to God and not to try to do anything I did so, when, O joy! A thrill of power went through me followed by another. And then it appeared as if every one of my pores were suddenly opened and a mighty current was turned on to me from every side, and so great was the infilling that it seemed at the time as if the physical life would be crowded out of my body. I literally gasped for breath and fell in a heap on the floor. My strength was gone but I was perfectly conscious of everything, so lifted my heart to God and earnestly entreated Him to finish the work at this time, and so intense was my longing to have the work finished that I was reaching heavenward with one hand all the time.[4]

Such powerful visitations of the Spirit continued for several more days before Durham received the fullness of the Spirit. Seymour was present on the evening of March 2, 1907, when Durham was baptized in the Spirit. He prophesied that "where I should preach the Holy Spirit would fall on the people." Indeed, when Durham returned to his Chicago pulpit, the Pentecostal message spread quickly throughout the American Midwest. His meetings were crowded, sometimes lasting far into the night. It was reported that a "thick haze…like blue smoke" often rested on the building. When this occurred, those who entered the mission would fall down in the aisles.

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[3] Ibid

[4] Ibid., 7

Not only did Durham have an impact on ordinary believers, but his ministry attracted the attention of many other ministers of the gospel. Sometimes as many as 25 ministers from out of town would be in a meeting, seeking the baptism in the Holy Spirit. His preaching was acclaimed by thousands. The litany of leaders who later became prominent pioneers of the burgeoning Pentecostal revival who came to hear him is impressive. They included A.H. Argue of Winnepeg, E. N. Bell, a Baptist minister who became an early leader of the Assemblies of God, Howard Goss, Daniel Berg, the founder of the Assemblies of God in Brazil, and Luigi Francescon, a pioneer of the Pentecostal movement in Italy. Aimee Semple (before she married Harold McPherson) was instantly healed of a broken ankle through Durham's ministry in 1910. Certainly the ministry of Durham in Chicago in these years was one of the important factors in the spread of the Pentecostal message in the Midwest.[5]

Durham's Teaching on Sanctification

Durham emphasized a Christological view of sanctification. For him, the focus is on the believer's position in Christ. The victory of the believer centers in the cross and the "finished work of Christ."

> When one really comes into Christ he is much in Christ as he will ever be. He is in state of holiness and righteousness. He is under the precious Blood of Jesus Christ and is clean. Every sin has been washed away. This is the state one enters on conversion. If he keeps there he will continue to be holy and righteous. There is no reason why should not remain in the state he is brought into in conversion. The Scripture clearly teaches that a converted person is to reckon himself dead, Rom. 6:11. Such a one is exhorted to present himself to God as alive from the dead, Rom. 6:13, not to seek for a second work of grace. In fact all the teaching of Scripture on the subject is that all in conversion we become identified with Christ and come into a state of sanctification, and we are continually exhorted to live the sanctified life in the Holy Spirit. Living faith brings us into Christ, and the same living faith

[5] See Richard Riss, "William H. Durham." In *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds, S.M. Burgess and G.B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 255-256.

> enables us to reckon ourselves to be 'dead indeed' and to abide in Christ. It is a sad mistake to believe that any one, or even two experiences, as such, can ever remove the necessity of maintaining a helpless continual dependence on Jesus Christ, and bearing our daily cross, and living the overcoming life.[6]

Durham sees Paul's teaching in Galatians as a significant reinforcement of this view.

> In the days of Paul, when a man or church backslid, they were called to repentance. They were classed as backsliders, and exhorted to return to their first state of grace. His letter to the Galatians was written for the express purpose of pointing out their mistake in departing from the blessed place of grace into which faith in Christ had brought them. What a mistake holiness teachers have made in teaching that the Galatians were justified and not sanctified. No such thing is even hinted at in the epistle. They were turning from the faith of Jesus Christ to the works of the law. They were in danger in falling from grace entirely. They had begun in the Spirit and were ending in the flesh, and as a result were losing their justification, and of course their sanctification. They had come into Christ, the Sanctifier, when they believed on Him, and they had receive the Holy Spirit.[7]

Of people like Demas, whom Paul admonished, Durham says, "It was not a second work of grace they needed, but to repent and get back into the grace they had once been in"[8] It is clear that Durham understood the baptism in the Holy Spirit to be a profound experience with God that can be described as the "fullness of the spirit," but is not conditional on a particular quality of sanctification. There is an underlying assumption that being overwhelmed by the Spirit, as occurs in Spirit baptism, is inconceivable without a sensitivity to one's personal condition of holiness. However, for Durham, personal holiness is an on-going discipline of life that centers in renewing one's place in Christ. Sanctification is the victory of the Christian over sin as one continually reckons oneself dead to sin and alive to Christ (Rom 6).

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[6] Durham, "Sanctification." *The Pentecostal Testimony* 1:8 (1911), 2.

[7] Ibid

[8] Ibid

It is clear that Durham did not want to confuse the interior work of the Spirit in the moral domain of sanctification with the overflow of the Spirit that engulfs the individual in Spirit baptism. The believer was admonished to appropriate the benefits of the finished work of Christ, not a second crisis experience subsequent to conversion. Durham objected to the teaching of entire sanctification because he understood it to be a circumvention of the need for an ongoing sanctification process in the life of the Christian believer.

Durham: From Chicago to Los Angeles

Durham first aired his views on sanctification at a large Pentecostal convention held in Chicago in 1910. This opened up considerable controversy, since many of the Pentecostal leaders held to the Wesleyan position. In the months that followed, Durham was able to persuade a significant number of these leaders of the Biblical soundness of the "finished work" doctrine.

Early in 1911, Durham virtually abandoned the work in Chicago, and moved his operations to Los Angeles, including his occasional periodical, *The Pentecostal Testimony*. He had a sense of mission to communicate his "finished work" message. He went first to Elmer Fisher's Upper Room Mission with his message, but was turned out. From there, he attempted to minister in the Azusa Street Mission. He reports,

> On February14th, we began meetings in Azusa Mission. From the first day the power of God rested upon the meetings in a wonderful way… The work in Los Angeles was in a sad condition. Those who had been the leaders, in most cases, had proven so incompetent that the saints had lost all confidence in them, and this had resulted in state of confusion that was sad indeed to see. Scores were really in a backslidden state, and yet in their hearts they longed to follow Jesus. Scores of others were, and for months had been, crying to God to send some one who would preach the truth and lead his people on.[9]

[9] Durham, "The Great Revival at Azusa Street Mission—How it Began and How it ended," *The Pentecostal Testimony* 1:8 (1911), 3.

Frank Bartleman, an eyewitness to the events in Los Angeles, reported that at once there was a wonderful flow of the power of God at the place where the great revival had flourished earlier.

> I had gotten back just in time to see it. God had gathered many of the Old Azusa workers back, from many parts of the world, to Los Angeles again evidently for this. It was called by many the shower of the Latter Rain. On Sunday the place was crowded and five hundred were turned away. The people would not leave their seats between meetings for fear of losing them.[10]

Bitter controversy followed Durham's Los Angeles ministry. On the one hand, he was obviously received with joy by many, and was instrumental in bringing fresh life back to the old Azusa Street Mission. His teaching on sanctification evidently set many free from bondage. On the other hand, some of the early leaders fought back, repudiating Durham's teaching as a serious departure from orthodoxy. Brother Fisher had already denounced him and was doing all in his power to oppose him. Even so, many from the Upper Room Mission left Fisher's work to follow Durham. For some time, Durham was welcomed at the Azusa Street Mission. What evidently had been a dwindling group was immediately revitalized. William Seymour, the Azusa Street Mission pastor, was away at this time. Upon his return to Los Angeles, Seymour opposed Durham, and even locked the door of the mission to prevent the popular preacher from having access. Durham had taken a vote among the hundreds of people now attending the Azusa Street Mission to see which leader they wanted—whether it would be the Wesleyan Seymour or the non-Wesleyan Durham. Durham reports that only about 10 out of the several hundred wished to stay with Seymour as a leader.[11]

For the next several months Durham preached in Los Angeles in a hall that had been leased for a year. On Sundays, a thousand people attended the meetings. On Weekdays, as many as four hundred came to hear Durham. It is apparent that the original Azusa Street Mission and Fisher's Upper Room Mission were in decline but that Durham's ministry was flourishing.

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[10] Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street* (reprint, Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1980), 150.

[11] Durham, op.cit., 4.

In February, 1912, Durham returned to preach in Chicago at the invitation of a friend. He conducted a strenuous two-week meeting that was evidently greatly blessed by the Lord. However, the physical exertions of these stressful days exacted a great toll on his body. He returned to Los Angeles in a weakened condition. He died of pneumonia on July 7, 1912, not yet forty years of age.

Concluding Thoughts

By 1914, when the Assemblies of God came into being, many of the leaders emerging among the isolated and scattered missions and meeting halls, had adopted the sanctification teaching of William Durham. Certainly this is true to M.M. Pinson, Howard Goss and E. N. Bell, the first chairman of the General Council. The teaching of Durham from 1910 onward had opened up acrimonious attacks and counter-attacks among Pentecostals. It is noteworthy that M.M. Pinson, who preached in the opening session of the first council in Hot Springs, Arkansas, in April, 1914, used the occasion to call for harmony among the people on this very point, titling his message, "Entire Sanctification"[12] During the first years of this broad fellowship of local assemblies, a strong anti-creedal sentiment prevailed. It was assumed that a common belief in the authority of the Bible, and in a shared set of values, largely unwritten, was all that was necessary. In 1916, out of the crisis occasioned by the so-called "Jesus Only" teaching, it became apparent that no longer was it possible to function as a fellowship of believers and churches without a written statement of faith, not intended to be a comprehensive theology, but at least articulating a common point of view on critical matters. In the statement of Fundamental truths, one of the 16 points listed to clarify the position of the Assemblies of God was a paragraph on sanctification. The language of that statement clearly expresses a Reformed point of view that sanctification begins with regeneration and is progressive through the Christian life. Surprisingly, however, the term employed to describe this was "entire sanctification." It seems that a term dear to Wesleyans was consciously employed to avoid giving offense to those in the fellowship (including J. Roswell Flower) who continued to advocate the Wesleyan second-blessing teaching about sanctification. The ambiguity lay, of course, in defining that

[12] General Council Minutes, 1914, 3.

term to mean quite the opposite! In 1961, by vote of the General Council, that point in the Statement of Fundamental Truths was amended so that no longer was the term "entire sanctification" used.[13]

Pentecostal denominations that grew out of the Assemblies of God, including the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel and the Open Bible Standard Churches, hold the same view of sanctification as the Assemblies of God. Many autonomous national church bodies, some certainly influenced by the American Assemblies of God, hold the doctrine of sanctification taught by that group. Most Pentecostals in the world today identify themselves with the non-Wesleyan view of sanctification. In this paper, I have attempted to demonstrate that the teaching of William Durham at a critical formative phase in the history of the young revival movement had a powerful impact on shaping the view that prevailed.

A final note should be added at this point. In 1947, with the formation of the World Pentecostal Fellowship, and a year later, the formation of the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America, Pentecostals who had grown up in virtual isolation from the larger church world—and even in isolation from one another—were now thrust into the unfamiliar territory of having to engage in conversation with one another. It was immediately evident that a major dividing line appeared along the different doctrines regarding sanctification, with a large number of Pentecostals adhering to the traditional Wesleyan holiness view of a second blessing, and an even larger number advocating the Reformed view of progressive sanctification. Over the years, it has become apparent that at least part of the theological differences are to some degree semantic, rather than substantive. Our Wesleyan Pentecostal friends want to give emphasis to the need for cultivating a holy life, and usually allow for a principle of growth within the life of the believer, not unlike that taught by non-Wesleyans. And, pressed on the point, many Wesleyans will qualify the term "entire-sanctification" in such a way that it defuses the judgment that they are teaching a species of "perfectionism."

What is really called for is not an exercise in name-calling, but a common search for what God is saying to the Pentecostal movement a century after its birth. If, in fact, God in his matchless grace pours out His Spirit in powerful ways to empower believers to be bold witnesses in a dark world, and if, in fact, He does not wait until hungry believers are entirely sanctified to use them, is there not a humbling challenge for

[13] General Council Minutes, 1961, 92.

all Spirit-anointed believers to invite the Holy Spirit—the Spirit of holiness—to search our hearts and to cleanse us from every evil way?

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