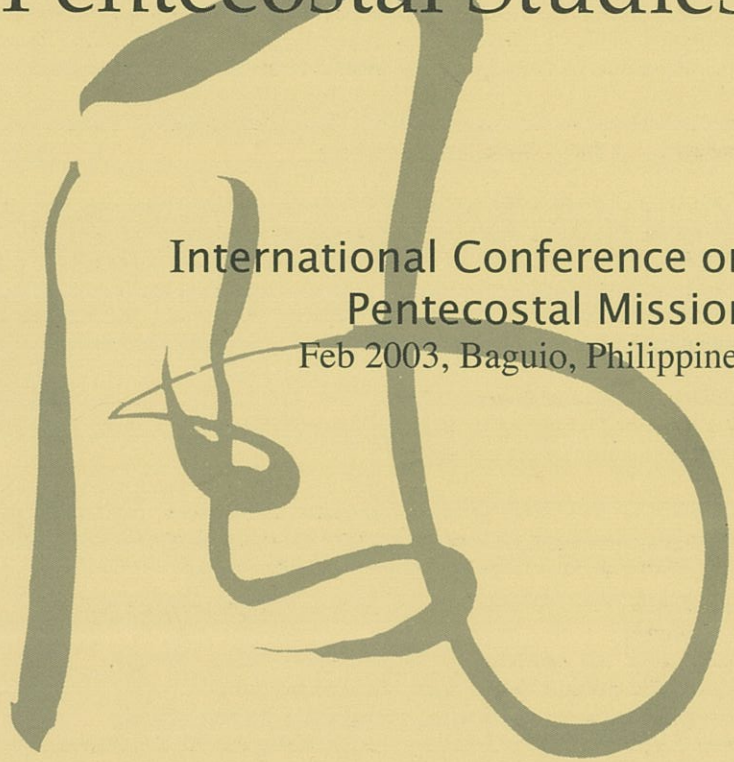
Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies



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Feb 2003, Baguio, Philippines

Volume 8, Number 1 (January 2005)

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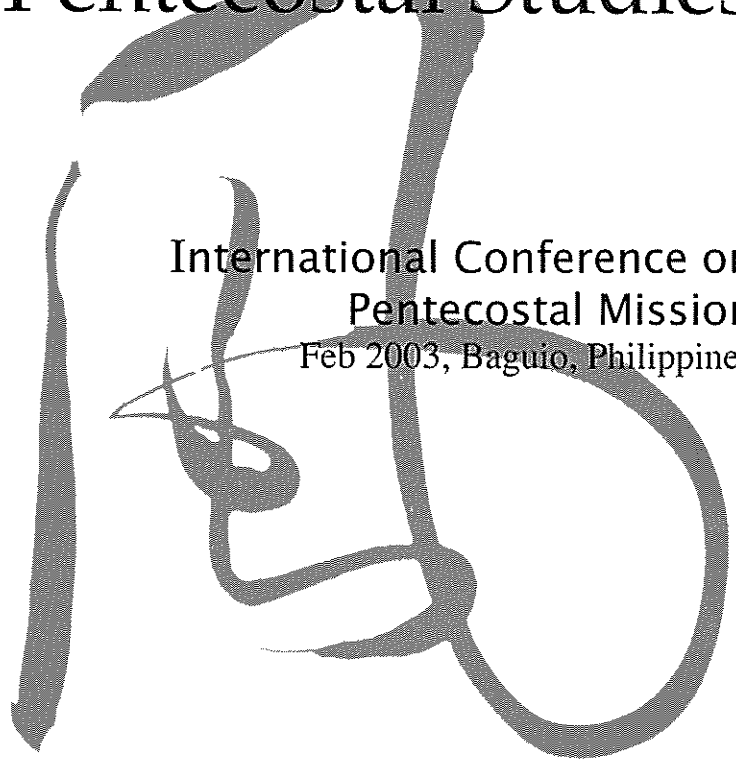

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ASIAN JOURNAL OF PENTECOSTAL STUDIES is published twice per year (January and July) by the Faculty of Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, P.O. Box 377, Baguio City 2600, Philippines. Part or whole of the current and previous issues may be available through 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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THE *JOURNAL* SEEKS TO PROVIDE A FORUM: to encourage serious theological thinking and articulation by Pentecostals/Charismatics in Asia; to promote interaction among Asian Pentecostals/Charismatics and dialogue with other Christian traditions; to stimulate creative contextualization of the Christian faith; and to provide a means for Pentecostals/Charismatics to share their theological reflection.

(Continue in the back inside cover)

Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies

Volume 8, Number 1 (January 2005)

"International Symposium on Pentecostal Mission
Feb 2003, Baguio, Philippines"

EDITORIAL

ARTICLES

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[*AJPS* 8:1 (2005), pp. 1-3]

"Let's Talk about Pentecostal Mission."

The current issue of the journal publishes selected studies originally presented in the International Symposium on Pentecostal Mission held in 2003. The following summary, drafted by Dr. Mathew Clark in March, 2003, well introduces the conference:

> On February 3-4, 2003 an International Symposium on Pentecostal Mission was hosted by, and held at, Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio City, Philippines. This conference was jointly sponsored by International Forum of Pentecostal Missiologists, the Assemblies of God World Mission, USA (through its Northern Asia, and Asia-Pacific Regional Offices) and Center for Asian Missions.
>
> The theme and title of the conference was "Reflecting on One Century of Pentecostal Mission." It was organized by a committee which represents the five major regions of the world. They were: Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen (Europe), Miguel Alvarez (Latin America), Gary McGee (North America), Mathew Clark (Africa), and Wonsuk Ma (Asia & chair). Each committee member coordinated presentations from their region, ensuring that as wide as possible a picture of world Pentecostal missions emerged. The total number of students and scholars that participated in the sessions was in excess of 100 persons.
>
> Twelve papers were presented over the two days of the conference, and a number of other significant non-presented contributions were included in the conference collection of papers. Many of the papers were presented from the perspective of traditional "target" countries and communities, thus showing how those who once passively received the gospel are now also prime movers in sharing it, both among their own folk, and abroad.
>
> Presenters (in addition to the committee members) were: Allan Anderson; Ayuk Ausaji Ayuk; William Filson; Conrado L. Garcia; Roger E. Hedlund; Young-hoon Lee; Paul W. Lewis; Julie C. Ma; Warren B. Newberry; and Bal Krishna Sharma. Non-presenting participants of the symposium are: William K. Kay; Agrippa Khathide; L. Grant McClung, Jr. and Jean-Daniel Pluss.
>
> Workshops were held concerning the future of theologizing on Pentecostal missions. The possibility of global or regional consultations on Pentecostal missions was debated, and the future publication of an

international journal of Pentecostal missiology is still under consideration.

The next global conference to be held in this format will be in Johannesburg, South Africa, in September 2004, immediately prior to the Pentecostal World Conference. The tentative topic is Pentecostal Contextualization. Auckland Park Theological Seminary will be the host (with Mathew Clark as the contact person).

The financial assist was provided by the Boys and Girls Missionary Crusade (BGMC) of the Assemblies of God World Mission (USA) through two regional offices: Asia Pacific Region (director: Rev. Russell Turney) and the Northern Asia Region (director: Rev. Ron Maddux). Also the venue and logistical support was provided by Asia Pacific Theological Seminary (President: Dr. John F. Carter) in Baguio, Philippines. The organizers, presenters and participants express their deep gratitude to these generous friends to make the conference a success.

After the conference, several papers were published in different journals. Apparently, these studies were not considered for inclusion in this journal because, due to the limitation of space, the editors had to make a judgment decision to have a balanced geographical representation. It is our regret that this volume does not include Latin American and European papers, which were published earlier in other journals. It is also our regret that no female contributor is included, again due to publication elsewhere.

As mentioned in the Press Release, the International Conference of Pentecostal Studies took place in South Africa in September, 2004, just days before the beginning of the Pentecostal World Conference. Currently a plan is in place to publish selected studies from the South African conference in the January, 2006 issue of the journal. Whether selected papers from the two conferences will be published in a single volume is being contemplated by various people. If this becomes a reality, the volume will be a valuable addition to the growing titles in Pentecostal mission.

Now, some words on the AJPS Series. *David Yonggi Cho: A Close Look at His Theology and Ministry* (2004), the first title in this new series, is a success. Joint publication of the title with the Hansei University Press of Korea is also significant, as the project brought institutions of Pentecostal higher learning in Asia together. The second title is also now available: *The Church in China: Persecuted, Pentecostal, and Powerful* (2004). This book is perhaps the very first book that argues academically that many of the house church networks in

China are Pentecostal in their theological orientations and practices. The third volume is to appear as a joint publication with Regnum (Asia): *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia* (2005 forthcoming). Considering that the volume may be the very first title on Asian Pentecostalism, it is fitting that the journal joins with Regnum Books International in this significant project. These ambitious publications reflect the commitment of the publisher and the editors of the journal to the advancement of Asian Pentecostal studies. Our prayer is for the Asian Pentecostal churches to be faithful to the spiritual and theological traditions of the Pentecostal-charismatic movement and to be reflective in applying tradition to the Asian socio-cultural context.

Editors

[*AJPS* 8:1 (2005), pp. 5-27]

FULL CIRCLE MISSION: A POSSIBILITY OF PENTECOSTAL MISSIOLOGY[1]

Wonsuk Ma

In the early 1980s, Peter Wagner, a church growth specialist of Fuller Theological Seminary, wrote a book entitled *On the Crest of the Wave*.[2] Typical of Wagner, this is a practical and easy to read book, with each chapter concluding with a "Do Something Now" list. This "one of Wagner's casual writings" has proven to be an extremely helpful book, especially among Christians to whom "mission" is a too familiar word to bother looking up in a dictionary, and yet precisely what it means, or what is not meant, is widely unknown. As an Asian Christian, I suppose this is more so among Asian churches. There are several critical and important concepts found in this book that all churches need to heed to.

This study is a reflection on one particular chapter of the book: "Full Circle: Third-World Mission" (chapter 9), dialogue with the author, and a further application to Pentecostal mission. The thesis is that the Pentecostal mission has a good potential to reach the ideal pattern of Christian mission, which Wagner labels as a "full circle mission." The perspective for this paper is obviously Asian, and mission-field oriented.

1. Basic Considerations

Wagner rightly argues, as anyone would agree, that the Great Commission (Matt 28:19-20) provides the basis for mission. I would like

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[1] The original version was presented at the International Consultation of Mission, April 2001, Baguio City, Philippines.

[2] C. Peter Wagner, *On the Crest of the Wave: Becoming a World Christian* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1983). This typical interpretation is found in many commentaries.

to interact in two areas: the goal of mission and the "full circle mission" as Wagner advocates.

1.1 Goal of Mission

As the majority of NT commentators would argue, "going, baptizing, and teaching," being participles, are means to accomplish the ultimate end, "making disciples."[3] However, observing the modern missionary movement, Wagner laments, "*In my judgement, the greatest error in contemporary strategy is the confusion of means and end in the understanding of the Great Commission.*"[4] In his view, missionaries often "baptize" or plant local churches,[5] but fall short of the ultimate goal of mission, disciple-making.

In view of this, the precise definition of "disciple" becomes crucial. According to Wagner, "people are not disciples…even if they are church members,"[6] although the basic New Testament meaning of the term is equivalent to "a true, born-again Christian,"[7] "followers" of Jesus,[8] or more specifically "a disciple is a responsible church member" based on the description in Acts 2:42.[9]

Now the question is: Is this definition sufficient and adequate? Wagner further argues that "part of becoming a disciple is to be disposed to obey Jesus as Lord,"[10] but nowhere does he include witnessing as an essential component of being a disciple. I am beginning to wonder if Matthew makes it clear that the highest task of the Disciples is making disciples, or in other words, reproducing themselves. "Following" has a definite purpose, and this passage indicates that the ultimate purpose of the calling for discipleship is the Great Commission. It is what the Disciples were called for, and their ultimate task was to make nations disciples of Christ, ones who would in turn make others disciples. Then, the Great Commission is given to the disciples of Jesus, including those

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[3] Wagner, *On the Crest of the Wave*, p. 108. *OCW* henceforth.

[4] *OCW*, p. 109 (italics are not mine).

[5] *OCW*, p. 144.

[6] *OCW*, p. 110.

[7] *OCW*, p. 110.

[8] *OCW*, p. 146.

[9] *OCW*, p. 111.

[10] *OCW*, p. 110.

who would become disciples through this unending reproductive process. This is the utmost test of true discipleship.

1.2 "Full Circle Mission"

Wagner pointedly states a major weakness of the modern missionary movement. "One of the problems is that we have tended to see missions as a straight line" with a starting point and the end.[11] The mission, in Wagner's view, should be a circular movement continuously "turning around and around with no foreseeable end in sight."[12] To make his point further, he presents four patterns of missionary work:

1) 90 degree mission: a missionary is sent and a church is planted.
2) 180 degree: the new church grows and matures but still under missionary control.
3) 270 degree: the church becomes autonomous and the missionary either remains as a partner or leaves for elsewhere.
4) 360 degree: the church becomes mission-minded generating churches in other cultures.[13]

He also points out the fallacy of the indigenous church principle. Often self-supporting is the major goal, and the missionary goal is in truth bringing the church to the level to be "capable of keeping itself alive.[14] Thus, even if there are many "indigenous *churches* and denominations," "indigenous *missions*" is seldom part of the picture.[15]

As a third-world missionary, I concur with him entirely. In all my Christian years, I have never heard a sermon on missions except one delivered by a missionary. This implies that the goal of the mission in their mind was not to produce mission-minded churches, but only churches that can support themselves, so that missionaries could find other places to repeat the process. It is, therefore, the special grace of God that Korean churches began to catch the missionary burden in the late 70s. But there is little evidence that this new movement was motivated by missionary calls issued by missionaries in Korea.

Wagner's observation may have come from practical observations. The assumed traditional goal of mission will perpetuate the need for

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[11] *OCW*, p. 162.

[12] *OCW*, p. 163.

[13] *OCW*, pp. 165-66.

[14] *OCW*, p. 165.

[15] *OCW*, p. 165. Italics are his.

missionaries, and mission will still be the "white man's burden,"[16] thus implicitly suggesting that mission can be done only by rich nations. However, the new goal of mission and the meaning of discipleship provide the theoretical foundation for this important argument. Mission theologians need to further develop this critical and yet less explored area of study.

1.3 The Role of the Holy Sprit

The shift of Wagner's understanding of the work and role of the Holy Spirit in ministry and mission is rather dramatic. Considering that this book was written in the early 80s, this may be the period around the time of his "paradigm shift."[17] He correctly points out the limitation of the traditional thinking of the Holy Spirit's work, by quoting Harold Lindsell, "We were taught that the power of the Holy Spirit was for living a holy life."[18] Wagner also refers to C. Kraft, "Illness is a matter of theological (not simply medical) understanding in virtually all cultures except those characterized by Western secularism."[19] Wagner argues, like many Pentecostals, "The power of the Spirit was not only for cleaning up the life but for witnessing and winning souls"[20] However, so far the discussions have been centered around signs and wonders that are linked to the work of the Spirit.

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[16] British poet Rudyard Kipling's poem "White Man's Burden" written in 1899 as exhortation to American to annex the Philippines. For a full text, see Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," *McClure's Magazine* 12 (Feb 1899) also available at http://www.boondocksnet.com/ai/kipling/kipling.html (checked, April 13, 2002). For a critique, Jim Zwick, "'The White Man's Burden' and Its Critics," in Anti-Imperialism in the United States, 1898-1935, ed. Jim Zwick (http://www.boondocksnet.com/ai/kipling, checked, April 13, 2002).

[17] Although it is possible that Wagner had been going through serious assessment of missions practices, his paradigm shift was motivated by the controversial course, "MC510 Signs, Wonders and Church Growth," taught by John Wimber at Fuller Theological Seminary in 1982, as featured in *Christian Life*, October 1982. The full account is later reported C. Peter Wagner, ed., *Signs and Wonders Today: The Story of Fuller Theological Seminary's Remarkable Course on Spiritual Power*, new expanded edition (Altamonte Springs, FL: Creation, 1987).

[18] *OCW*, p. 129.

[19] OCW, p. 129 quoting Charles H. Kraft, Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-Cultural Perspective (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1979), p. 305.

[20] *OCW*, p. 129.

However, the Holy Spirit has more to do with mission than miracles and healings, or even power-encounter. The New Testament makes clear that the mission of God is carried out through the empowerment of the Holy Spirit. Thus, there is a dire need for pneumatological missiology, or missiology which gives intentional attention to the role of the Holy Spirit, which traditional Evangelical theology has overlooked.[21] Pentecostal theology and experience can provide a viable model for pneumatological missiology.

2. Pentecostal Possibility: "Charismatic" Theology

As Max Weber defines, "charismatic" encompasses several components: 1) the supernatural endowment of a leader;[22] 2) a sacred or awesome property of groups, roles or objects;[23] 3) the personal qualities of a leader;[24] and 4) a social relationship between charismatic leaders and followers.[25] To these, one can add that the selection of a leader (or "calling") itself is strictly a divine prerogative.

Pentecostal theology is characterized by this charismatic nature of the spiritual experience commonly called the baptism in the Holy Spirit, the unique foundational belief of the Pentecostals.[26] It is important to

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[21] Paul A. Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1985), p. 79 argues that Pentecostal theology can be correctional to traditional Evangelical theology.

[22] For example, Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, 3 vols, eds. G. Roth and C. Wittich (1925 original, New York: Bedminster, 1968), pp. 241-50, 1112-17. Weber's pagination is consecutive throughout the volumes.

[23] For example, M. E. Spencer, "What is Charisma," *British Journal of Sociology* 24:3 (1973), pp. 341-54.

[24] For example, Bryan Lindsay, "Leadership giftedness: Developing a Profile," *Journal for the Education of the Gifted* 1:1 (1978), pp. 63-69.

[25] For example, see Bryman, *Charisma and Leadership*, pp. 22-69.

[26] The "charismatic" nature of Pentecostal theology was elaborated by Roger Stronstad, *Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984). Several Pentecostals convincingly argue that the theology of the kingdom of God provides the theological foundation for Pentecostal mission, e.g., Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions*, and Gordon D. Fee, "The Kingdom of God and the Church's Global Mission," in *Called and Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective*, eds. Murray A. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), pp. 7-21. However, this may be a more elaborate version of Evangelical theology championed by George E. Ladd,

note that, unlike their Evangelical counterpart, Pentecostals believe that baptism in the Spirit is distinguished from the conversion experience. This experience is interpreted as enduement of power for service. This unique belief is often based on the accounts of the Book of Acts, but this "charismatic" nature of the Spirit's presence upon individuals is also found in the Old Testament.

2.1 Old Testament Roots of Pentecostal Charismatic Theology

There are at least seven spirit[27] traditions identifiable in the Old Testament.[28] Among them, two are classified as charismatic traditions: leadership spirit and prophetic spirit traditions. As several sample passages are surveyed, the key elements will be highlighted.

2.1.1 Leadership Spirit Tradition

The Book of Judges and First Samuel provide this important spirit tradition. In this tradition, the presence of the divine spirit serves two functions.

The first is the authenticating function. Considering the unpredictable nature of the emergence of leadership, it became essential for God to authenticate his election of the new leader. A good example is the anointing of Saul by Samuel (1 Sam 10). When the prophet anointed Saul, three signs were predicted by Samuel primarily to confirm the authenticity of God's election of Saul as the king of Israel. One of the three signs was the presence of the spirit upon Saul, as he was to meet with the sons of the prophets (10:5-6, 10). Indeed, Saul met a group of prophets "prophesying" as the spirit of God was upon them. Soon the spirit came upon Saul as well and he began to prophesy along with the prophets. Here "prophesying" is the sign of the spirit's presence, which in turn functioned as a sign for God's election of Saul.

A Theology of the New Testament, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993). For this evaluation, see Gary B. McGee, "Mission, Overseas (North American)," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), pp. 610-25 (622).

[27] For the Old Testament usage, the "spirit" is not capitalized as the idea of Trinity was not yet developed.

[28] For more detailed discussion, see Wonsuk Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes: The Spirit of God in the Book of Isaiah* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 29-32.

It is not difficult to think that the sign was for Saul himself. This also became a sign for Samuel. Even the people were prepared for the subsequent election of Saul (1 Sam 10:17-24) with this sign. A similar function is found in the case of the seventy elders in the wilderness. When the spirit was upon them, they all prophesied, thus publicly authenticating Moses' selection of them (Num 11:16-25).[29]

The second function is empowering or equipping. This function is rather logical, as charismatic leaders are raised by God for a specific task. Well-known cases are three passages regarding Samson's experience. Every time the spirit of God came upon Samson, except for the initial experience (Judges 13:25), he gained superhuman prowess to counter the impending dangers. He tore a young lion on his way to Timnah (14:6), killed thirty Philistines to secure 30 set of festal garments (14:19), and to break the rope around his hands and kill a thousand Philistines with the fresh jawbone of a donkey (14-15). Another good example is found in the second experience of Saul with the spirit in 1 Samuel 11. Unlike the earlier reported experience after the anointing of Saul (1 Sam 10), this time, the coming of the spirit is directly related to the military campaign against the Ammonites. Upon hearing the gloomy threat of the Ammonites, the spirit of God rushed upon Saul, filling him with rage (1 Sam 11:6). He immediately mustered an intertribal army and undertook a sweeping victory. The coming of the spirit in this case is clearly linked to the military campaign and its empowerment function is evident. At the same time, the empowerment itself can have an authenticating role as well.

Thirdly, although less obvious than the first two functions, the "sending" dimension is also under the direction and presence of the spirit of God. The military campaigns of the judges (e.g., Othniel in Judges 3:10; Gideon in Judges 6:33-35; and Jepthah in 11:29-33) and Saul (1 Sam 11:6-11) imply the work of the spirit beyond the "coming" and "empowering" aspects. The successful campaigns take the role of the spirit for granted. A more explicit role of the spirit in "sending" is found at least in two passages for the future leaders. The Servant will go to the nations and coastlands to proclaim the justice and teaching of Yahweh (Isa 42:1-4). The spirit will enable him to persevere against obstacles and difficulties until he fulfills his task.[30] The other text is found in Isa 61:1-

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[29] For more detailed discussion, see Wonsuk Ma, "If It Is a Sign: An Old Testament Reflection on the Initial Evidence Discussion," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 2:2 (1999), pp. 163-175, esp. 166-67.

[30] Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes*, pp. 29-32.

4, although the speaker's identity is divided between a prophet and a political leader (i.e., king). The presence of the spirit is for a specific task ("to proclaim…"), and the "sending" role of the spirit is clear.

The last element of the charismatic spirit is the double beneficiary. The election, empowerment, and sending of a leader for a specific task is ultimately not for the elected leader, but for a larger group of people, i.e., various tribes, in the case of the judges (Judges 3; 6; 11) and Saul (1 Sam 11), the nations and coastland for the Servant (Isa 42), the poor, blind, and captives for the prophet-king figure (Isa 61). This double feature of beneficiary becomes more evident when other spirit traditions are examined, such as creation spirit, spirit as God's impersonal agent, or personal agent, etc.

2.1.2 Prophetic Spirit Tradition

In a similar way, the prophetic spirit tradition exhibits several aspects of the presence of the spirit. First, it authenticates a true prophet. Perhaps the best illustration is found in 1 Kings 22:19-25. As Miciah, God's true prophet faces the four hundred prophets of Ahab, he discloses his experience of the heavenly court session. By arguing that the lying spirit is upon the four hundred prophets of Ahab, Miciah certainly claims the presence of God's spirit upon him. This is confirmed by Zedekiah's question, "Which way did the spirit of the Lord pass from me to speak to you?" (1 Sam 22:24).[31] In the case of the prophet-king figure (Isa 61), the anointing and the presence of the spirit serves as the proof for his genuine calling. Even the pagan diviner Balaam has the spirit of God as a proof of God's election, at least for the occasion (Num 24:2).

The second is closely related to the first, the spirit's role as the source of the prophetic message and experience. Although with no intention of becoming prophets, prophesying became the evidence of the spirit's presence in the case of the seventy elders (Num 11:25) and Saul (1 Sam 10; 19). Micaiah's claim of the spirit is also the claim of the spirit as the source of his prophecy (1 Kings 22:24). The "sons of the prophet" under Samuel "prophesied" as the spirit of God was upon them (1 Sam 10:10; 19:20, 21). In the coming age, as the spirit of God is poured upon God's people, they will have various prophetic experiences such as seeing visions, and dreaming dreams (Joel 2:28).

The third is the element of empowerment in the course of proclamation. This dimension is less explicit than the first two, and yet

[31] Scripture quotations are from New Revised Standard Version, unless stated otherwise.

essential, partly due to the harsh and difficult setting in which the prophets are often commissioned to deliver a message. Perhaps the only explicit example is Micah's claim, "I am filled with power, with the spirit of the Lord" (3:8). Here, as he differentiates himself from other prophets to whom "it shall be night…without vision and darkness…without revelation" (3:6), Micah boldly claims not only the spirit of God as the source of his message, but also as the source of his strength and courage to unashamedly "declare to Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin" (3:8). Such an empowering effect is also seen in the Servant's calling (Isa 42). He will persevere and persistently fulfill the God-given task (42:1-4), because the spirit of God is upon him (42:1).

The fourth is the double-recipient nature of this tradition. It is obvious that a prophetic message is intended to a third party. However, it will be a little difficult to argue the same for the prophetic "phenomenon" as we see in the "sons" of the prophet. This "third-party" orientation of the prophetic vocation is also found in the prophet-king figure(s) such as the Servant (Isa 42:1-4) and the preacher (Isa 61:1-4).

2.2 New Testament: Luke's Charismatic Role of the Spirit

Pentecostals have often been accused of majoring in Luke's writing over Paul's, when it comes to pneumatology. This criticism is certainly true. However, equally true is the Evangelical's bias against non-Pauline corpus. The "quite revolution"[32] in biblical scholarship in the last century has opened a new door for narratives including Lukan literature to be treated as legitimate theological books.[33] This new appreciation of narratives is a significant theological contribution that the Pentecostal movement has brought into the theological world. Lukan pneumatology, among others, significantly emphasizes and further develops the leadership and the prophetic spirit tradition of the Old Testament. Perhaps the most important passage for the Pentecostals in this aspect is Acts 1:8, "But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and

[32] William W. Menzies and Robert P. Menzies, *Spirit and Power: Foundations of Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000), pp. 37-45.

[33] For instance, I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970). This view is in contrast with the prevailing Evangelical attitude toward narratives, e.g., Gordon D. Fee and Douglas Steward, *How to Read the Bible for All Its Worth*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993), pp. 94-112.

Samaria, and to the ends of the earth." There are two important features of Lukan theology for Pentecostal missiology.

2.2.1 Charismatic Theology

The charismatic orientation of Lukan theology has long been assumed since the advent of the modern Pentecostal movement. However, the first serious academic attempt was made by Roger Stronstad in his *Charismatic Theology of St. Luke*.[34] This was followed by several others, including Robert Menzies.[35] Luke, when referring to Old Testament sources, most frequently uses the two charismatic spirit traditions: the leadership and prophetic spirit traditions. They are borrowed mostly from the Book of Isaiah.[36]

The charismatic feature of Lukan theology implies not only a drastic manifestation of God's power, such as healing and miracles,[37] but also persevering persistence to fulfill the calling. In fact, Luke seems to stress the latter equally, if not more emphatically, than the supernatural demonstration,[38] and this is natural considering the oppressive setting of the early church. This is also arguable from the Old Testament perspective. The earlier stage of the leadership spirit tradition displays more of the physical and military effect of the charismatic endowment, as in the judges and king Saul. However, the later development emphasizes moral and spiritual aspects, as in the Servant. There is more perseverance and persistence than just the demonstration of supernatural power. Luke understands that the charismatic empowerment of the Spirit is to enable the disciples to go out in power and perseverance. Even this perseverance aspect of Luke in fulfilling the God-given task, is quite different from the Johannine idea of the indwelling presence of the Spirit.

The seemingly most highlighted individual in Acts, besides Paul and Peter, is Stephen. Acts 6-7 lists at least seven phrases indicating the fullness of the Spirit or its effect on the life of Stephen: "full of the Spirit

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[34]*Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984).

[35]Robert P. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series 6 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994).

[36] See below for detail.

[37] For a fine study on the nature of the "power," see Manuel A. Bagalawis, "'Power' in Acts 1:8: Effective Witnessing through Signs and Wonders," *Journal of Asian Mission* 3:1 (2001), pp. 1-13.

[38] Robert P. Menzies, "A Pentecostal Perspective on 'Signs and Wonders'," *Pneuma* 17:2 (1995), pp. 265-78, esp. pp. 272-73.

and wisdom" (6:3, for the deacons in general), "full of faith and of the Holy Spirit" (6:5, specifically for Stephen alone), "full of God's grace and power" (6:8), "[doing] great wonders and miraculous signs" (6:8), "his wisdom or the Spirit by whom he [Stephen] spoke" (6:10), "his face was like the face of an angel" (6:15), and "full of the Holy Spirit" (7:54), in addition to his reference to the Holy Spirit in his long sermon (ch. 7). There are effects of the Spirit that are different from the astonishing demonstration of God's power. It is important to note that early Pentecostal spirituality shows this balance with practices such as "praying through," "tarrying," etc.

2.2.2 Mission Theology

The two books of Luke were written not just to preserve the life and ministry of Jesus, but ultimately to convince "most excellent Theophilus" (Luke 1:3, cf. Acts 1:1), presumably a high-ranking Roman official, of Christian faith. Thus, the books were written with a missionary purpose.[39] Here are several points that illustrate Luke's mission-oriented theology.

Luke's gospel presents the ministry of Jesus as initiated and empowered by the Holy Spirit. This is expressed not only in the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus in his baptism (Luke 3:22), but also in the public proclamation of his mission by quoting Isaiah 61 (Luke 4:18-19). The book also concludes with a shorter form of the Great Commission ("…repentance and forgiveness of sins is to be proclaimed in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. You are witnesses of these things," Luke 24:47-48) and his command for the disciples not to leave Jerusalem until they "have been clothed with power from on high" (24:49). Here is a clear connection between the Great Commission and the role of the Holy Spirit.

In the Book of Acts, Luke connects the two books by repeating the concluding statement of the Gospel of Luke: "…he [Jesus] ordered them not to leave Jerusalem, but to wait there for the promise of the Father" (Acts 1:4). But here, Luke makes an interesting reinterpretation of the popular remark of John the Baptist: "He [Jesus] will baptize you with the Holy Spirit (and fire)" (Mark 1:8; Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16). In all the verses, the Holy Spirit (and fire) functions to cleanse people of sins. However, Luke, by placing the same statement right after Acts 1:4, Jesus' baptism in the Holy Spirit acquires an "empowering" function.

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[39] E.g., recently John Michael Penney, *The Missionary Emphasis of Lukan Pneumatology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), esp. pp. 18-25.

Thus, in the Book of Acts, the mission of the disciples is initiated and empowered by the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:4). The Book of Acts almost duplicates the pattern of Jesus' ministry (initiated and empowered by the Spirit), but this time for the disciples. This apostolic transfer of mission and authority was introduced in Luke's account of seventy disciples. They were assured not only of God's provision for their needs (Luke 10:7), but also of supernatural authority to pronounce peace (vs. 5-6), heal the sick (v. 9), and cast out demons (vs. 17-19). This commissioning with the manifestation of God's power, however, reaches its climax in salvation (v. 20). The Book of Acts makes it clear that the mandate of Jesus was carried out by the disciples through the empowering presence of the Holy Spirit.

The Book of Acts is a record of the expansion of the church as promised in 1:8. It began in Jerusalem signaled by the coming of the Spirit, which also equipped the disciples for the task (Acts 2:2-4). Then the expansion of the Christian gospel to Samaria is also marked by the coming of the Spirit upon the disciples (8:17), and to Ephesus, the representative of the gentile world (19:6). The coming of the Spirit in Luke has its ultimate goal in the spreading the gospel.

The disciples through the empowerment of the Spirit became not only witnesses but also disciple-makers. Barnaba's discipling of Paul, and Paul's training of Timothy are typical examples. Also the life stories of the major figures in the book mostly follow the pattern established for the Servant in Isa 42:1-4: persevering persistence under the empowerment of the S/spirit. Here, persistence is to fulfill the missionary task, and they include Peter, Paul, Barnabas, Stephen, etc.

Thus, one can call Luke's theology missiological pneumatology or pneumatic missiology. Without the "witnessing" the presence of the Spirit has almost no meaning in Luke. One can say that the Holy Spirit is indeed the missionary Spirit.

3. Pentecostal Mission Practices

In its one-century history, Pentecostals have distinguished themselves in the area of mission. Before any attempt to form a denomination, except those that predated the Pentecostal movement, mission agencies appeared as early as 1909.[40] Even the formation of the Assemblies of God, U.S.A. had a distinct two-fold purpose: "to promote

[40] Horton, *Reflections of an Early Pentecostal*, p. 53.

missions, and to establish a Bible school for the training of ministers and missionaries."[41] It is not an exaggeration to state, "Mission for most Pentecostals has never been merely the dutiful fulfillment of an obligation. The missionary task for many came close to being their movement's organizational reason-for-being."[42] By 1910, only ten years after the beginning of the Pentecostal movement, 185 missionaries from North American Pentecostal groups are reported to be in various mission fields.[43] However, Pentecostal mission has been carried out without much reflection. They were more acts of intuition, often "led by the Spirit." Several unique characteristics have emerged, primarily from stories from various mission fields.

3.1 Democratization of Ministry

Perhaps one of the most cherished Old Testament passages by Pentecostals must be Joel 2:28-29. This passage was quoted by Peter on the Day of Pentecost to explain the advent of the Spirit upon the 120 (Acts 2:17-18). The passage includes an explicit reference to the democratization of the S/spirit in the last days. It is no longer a small chosen group of people to experience the spirit, but "sons" and "daughters," old men and young men, and male and female slaves. This is not just the experience itself, but it implies God's calling upon them for service.

The experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit, for instance, in the Azusa Street Mission, was commonly understood as the empowerment for service. This had a profound implication in mobilizing every believer for ministry, especially for mission. The first observation was the "empowerment" of laity, against the prevailing clergy-centered ministries among the mainline churches. *The Apostolic Faith*, the publication of the Azusa Street Mission, reports many accounts of ministry carried out by ordinary people. Also evident is the active mobilization of women in ministry.[44] V. Synan reports many women, often single, missionaries

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[41] Horton, *Reflections of an Early Pentecostal*, p. 53.

[42] Everett A. Wilson, *Strategy of the Spirit: J. Philip Hogan and the Growth of the Assemblies of God Worldwide 1960-1990* (Oxford: Regnum, 1997), p. 15.

[43] McGee, "Mission, Overseas (North American)," p. 612.

[44] One contemporary example is the mobilization of women for the cell structure in the Yoido Full Gospel Church, Seoul, Korea. Paul Yonggi Cho, "The Secret behind the World's Biggest Church," in *Azusa Street and Beyond*, 99-104 (104). This is particularly significant considering the traditional male dominant culture.

went to foreign fields, and they were called "missionaries with the one way ticket."[45] Although this trend has gradually declined, the active women's participation in mission among Pentecostal denominations continues on. One notable example is Youth With A Mission. Although not a Pentecostal mission by affiliation, its historical roots and its mission practice with successful mobilization of laity (mostly youth) presumes Pentecostal mission theories.[46] The 1860 revival in South India is also marked by the link between the Pentecostal gifts and evangelism. As a result of the revival, a new era began, that "lay converts going forth without purse or scrip to preach the Gospel of Christ to their fellow country-men [sic], and that with a zeal and life we had hardly thought them capable of."[47]

3.2 Strong Commitment

It is rightly argued that early Pentecostal mission was primarily motivated by the eschatological urgency.[48] Borrowing dispensationalistic theology, the advent of the Holy Spirit was interpreted as the "latter rain" blessing immediately before the Second Coming of the Lord. Thus, the "call for harvest" was heard in every Pentecostal gathering. Theological

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[45] This is the title of the chapter describing the early Pentecostal missionary impetus: Vinson Synan, *The Holiness Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), pp. 129-42.

[46] Carsten Aust, "The Pentecostal Missiological Root of Youth With A Mission" (an unpublished class paper, Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines, 2000).

[47] Horton, *Reflections of an Early Pentecostal*, pp. 45-48, esp. 47. Ashton Dibb appeared in *Church Mission Intelligencer* (Aug, 1860), p. 622 quoted by Gary B. McGee, "Pentecostal Phenomena and Revivals in India: Implications for Indigenous Church Leadership" (a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Wheaton, IL, Nov 10-12, 1994), p. 8.

[48] E.g., L. Grant McClung, Jr., "Introduction: Truth on Fire: Pentecostals and an Urgent Missiology," in *Azusa Street and Beyond: Pentecostal Mission and Church Growth in the Twentieth Century*, ed. L. Grant McClung, Jr. (South Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1986), pp. 47-54 (51-52); idem, "'Try to Get People Saved': Revisiting the Paradigm of an Urgent Pentecostal Missiology," in *The Globilization of Pentecostalism::A Religion Made to Travel* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1999), pp. 30-51 (38-40). Also D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 36-47.

education, accordingly, was to quickly train more harvesters. Tent meetings and evangelistic trips were the norm. Early missions also had a strong eschatological urgency and this made them committed workers.

However, Pentecostal mission did not decline after, let's say, a generation. Their dissonant experience did not discourage the missionary zeal. This proves that Pentecostal mission is not motivated primarily by eschatological urgency. One possible answer is the "empowerment" Pentecostal theology.

As people were baptized in the Spirit, the burden for the lost became intense. Often unusual spiritual experiences enhanced such sensitivity. For instance, Elva Vanderbout, a widow missionary from California, received a missionary call while her husband was still alive. As she was struggling between the missionary call and her family life, the Lord revealed that her husband would no longer be a hindrance. Soon, her husband died and she left for the Philippines.[49] Although still debatable, her commitment to mission reflects her clear understanding of God's calling. She labored among mountain tribes--some of them were known for headhunting--and, as a result of her work, Pentecostal ministry was born and countless communities in the northern Philippines have been changed.[50]

3.3 Expectation of Signs and Wonders

In early days, particularly by Charles Parham, tongue-speaking was understood as the ability to acquire a known language without learning it. This new generation of tongue-speaking missionaries was considered to be a drastic measure of the last harvest before the return of the Lord.[51] This shows a connection between Pentecostal experience of the

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[49] Inez Sturgeon, *Give Me This Mountain* (Oakland, CA: Hunter Advertising, 1960), pp. 36-47. For a brief summary of her life and the evaluation of her ministry, see Julie C. Ma, "Elva Vanderbout: A Woman Pioneer of Pentecostal Mission among Igorots," *Journal of Asian Mission* 3:1 (2001), pp. 121-40.

[50] "A Pentecostal Woman Missionary in a Tribal Setting: A Case Study" (a paper presented at World Council of Churches Consultation with Pentecostals, Nov, 1997, Bossey, Switzerland), and published in *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research* 3 [1998] [http://www.pctii.org]); Julie Ma, *When the Spirit Meets the Spirits: Pentecostal Ministry among the Kankana-ey Tribe in the Philippines* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 74-86.

[51] James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields While unto Harvest: Chares F. Parham and the Missionary Origin of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, AK: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), pp. 15-16, 72-75, 84.

supernatural and mission. In Pentecostal mission, healings and miracles are regularly reported. Even calling was experienced in supernatural ways such as dreams, visions, prophecy, etc.[52] In the non-western world, gods and spirits are expected to demonstrate their power in tangible ways. Often, the missionary message and practice brought the western worldview, causing a clash with the non-western worldview, of the mission fields. This often resulted in "split-level Christianity"[53] or a syncretistic one.[54] In contrast, the Pentecostal worldview is much closer to the animistically oriented non-western worldview.[55] Thus, the Pentecostal message easily opens the minds of people and raises an expectation for God's miraculous work. Perhaps this may partially account for the success of the Pentecostal mission.[56]

Healing or the supernatural work of God causes a "wow" effect in the mind, and it causes a "crack" in their tight worldview reinforced by community life in a tribal setting. It is significantly heightened when a family faces a crisis, such as illness, and their traditional gods and spirits are unable to help them. A tangible experience of the power of God brings changes in numerous areas of personal, family and even community life.[57] Such a healing or miracle plays a decisive role in a

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[52] L. Grant McClung, Jr., "Introduction: Explosion, Motivation, and Consolidation: The Historical Anatomy of a Missionary Movement," in *Azusa Street and Beyond*, pp. 3-20 (11).

[53] Leni Mendoza Strobel, "On Becoming a Split Subject," *PATMOS* 9 (May 1993), pp. 8-11, 18-21 (19).

[54] E.g., Rodney L. Henry, *Filipino Spirit World: A Challenge to the Church* (Manila: OMF Literature, 1986), pp. 6-16.

[55] For instance, a comparison between the Pentecostal worldview and the tribal Kankana-ey worldview, see J. Ma, *When the Spirit Meets the Spirit*, pp. 213-32.

[56] Although Pentecostal mission has advantages in this area, it is still open to syncretism. See, for example, Mathew S. Clark, "The Challenge of Contextualization and Syncretism to Pentecostal Theology and Missions in Africa," *Journal of Asian Mission* 3:1 (2001), pp. 79-99 and Julie C. Ma, "Santuala: A Case of Pentecostal Syncretism," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 3:1 (2000), pp. 61-82.

[57] Wonsuk Ma, "The Role of Power Encounter in Contextualization among Tribal People: A Case of Kankana-eys in the Philippines" (an unpublished class paper, 1995). Also C. Peter Wagner, ed., *Signs and Wonders Today: The Story of Fuller Theological Seminary's Remarkable Course on Spiritual Power*, New expanded ed. (Altamonte Springs, FL: Creation, 1987). A good example of the role of signs and wonders in Asia is collected in Mel Tari with Cliff Dudley, *Like a Mighty Wind* (Carol Stream, IL: Creation, 1972).

mass conversion or people's movement. It is well known that the most effective element of Muslim evangelism is through the supernatural demonstration of God's power.[58]

3.4 Expansion of Pentecostal Churches

Perhaps the most convincing argument for Pentecostal mission theory and practice is the unprecedented growth of the Pentecostal churches worldwide. The latest statistics account for over half a billion Pentecostals/Charismatics (523,767,000) by mid-2000, more than all the Protestant Christians put together (342,035,000), only second to the Roman Catholics (1,056,920,000).[59] For instance, in Korea, ten of fifteen mega-churches are Pentecostal/Charismatic type.[60]

It is, of course, impossible to think that all this expansion is the work of missionaries. It should be credited, more correctly, to the work of nationals. It is known that Pentecostal missionaries began training schools in their early days on the mission field.[61] However, the real secret may not be just schools, but the training itself. The "empowerment"

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[58] Christian De Wet, "The Challenge of Signs and Wonders in World Mission for the Twentieth Century," in *Azusa Street and Beyond*, pp. 161-65.

[59] David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, "Annual Statistical Table of Global Mission: 2000," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 24:1 (Jan 2000), pp. 24-25 (24). For a comparison, the mid-2001 projected figures are: 533,581,000 Pentecostal/Charismatics; 346,650.000 Protestants; and 1,070,457,000 Roman Catholics, idem, "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 2001," *IBMR* 25:1 (Jan 2001), pp. 24-25 (24). For observations of Pentecostal church growth, see, e.g., Donald A. McGavran, "What Makes Pentecostals Grow?" in *Azusa Street and Beyond*, pp. 121-23; C. Peter Wagner, "Characteristics of Pentecostal Church Growth," in *Azusa Street and Beyond*, pp. 125-32.

[60] Young-gi Hong, "The Backgrounds and Characteristics of the Charismatic Mega-churches in Korea," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 3:1 (2000), pp. 99-138 (101, 104). According to his classification, a mega-church has over 10,000 Sunday attendants (p. 100 n. 4). For the Philippines, see George W. Harper, "Philippine Tongues of Fire? Latin American Pentecostalism and the Future of Filipino Christianity," *Journal of Asian Mission* 3:1 (2001), pp. 225-59.

[61] Yeol-soo Eim, "The Roots of Korean Pentecostalism" (A paper presented at the Theological Symposium for Asian Church Leaders at the 18th Pentecostal World Conference, Seoul, Korea in Sept 1988), pp. 48-49 observes that the Korean Assemblies of God began to grow notably only after the opening of its Bible school.

theology may have been the main force behind the explosive growth of Pentecostalism.

3.5 By Illustration

I would like to offer two examples, both taken from Pentecostal congregations. The first is rather a microscopic one representing a local development, while the other is macroscopic representing an international movement. The two are selected to illustrate that a global movement is possible only where there is a local movement. It is like the earth revolves itself, and this provides necessary energy for the earth to circle around the sun.

3.5.1 Local Reproduction

> The Kankana-ey tribe dwells in the rugged mountains of the northern Philippines. Small villages are accessible only by hiking. The average life span is short, since little medical services are available. Often their traditional religious practices, such as sacrifices and funerals, worsen their lifestyle conditions. Buguias is a Kankana-ey municipality of the Benguet Province. Buguias borders with the neighboring Ifugao Province, with the Kalango-ya tribe right behind the Pulag Mountain. Thus, often Kalango-yas trade with Kankana-eys and their children go to schools with Kankana-eys in Buguias. Naturally the Kankana-eys in Buguias have developed an affinity with the Kalango-yas, although traditionally the mountain tribes are known for their headhunting practices.
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> Balili is an old Kankana-ey "mother church" in this area. As the church grew, members residing in a far distance wanted to have their own "chapel," especially for the long rainy season. Thus, the Sebang Church was born. In Sebang Church, Miss Pynie Bacasen, a young Bible school graduate, naturally motivated several young people to pray for the Kalango-yas over the mountains. One summer, Pynie hiked through the Spanish Trail often infested by Communist guerrillas. When she reached Cocoy after a five-hour hike, she found children all over the mountain villages. She conducted a vacation Bible school, and soon a church was born in this strictly animistic community. Young people from Sebang made almost weekly journeys to Cocoy to strengthen the believers. Through prayer, people were healed, and others were delivered from ominous dreams. In spite of much opposition from the village priest, the church grew steadily. Within a year, the church building was dedicated through the joint work of Balili, Sebang and Cocoy.
>
> At this time, the young people of Cocoy began to pray for another nearby village, Docucan, as all the Cocoy children go to school in this

> community. Pynie led young volunteers from Cocoy, as well as Sebang, in her weekly evangelistic journeys to Docucan. Again, during this time, the young people regularly prayed for healing and deliverance from various spiritual and physical problems. When the church was constructed, the joint workforce consisted of people from Babili, Sebang, Cocoy and Docucan. Before the Docucan building was completed, the newest church had already begun to send their young people regularly to a nearby village, Ambakbak. Already six families there are worshipping the Lord. Now, four churches are "daughtering" this village church and they began to construct the church building and expect to finish it very soon. The ultimate goal for this "chain of daughter churches" is Tinuc, the most influential and sizeable Kalango-ya center in the country. The good news is that already there has been a Bible study at the center of this tribal region. Again, this is a joint ministry participated in by all the "mother" and "daughter" churches: Babili, Sebang, Cocoy, Docucan and now Ambakbak.

3.5.2 International Reproduction[62]

International Charismatic Service (ICS) in Hong Kong is a multi-national and multi-cultural Pentecostal congregation. This became a home for many foreign employees in this bustling city. A significant ethnic group was Filipinos serving in various jobs. The predominant component of the Filipino congregation (later they had their own worship center due to their large number) were women who worked as house helpers. Many of them had left their families and even children behind. Many found Christ in their lonely life in this city.

As a Pentecostal church, members have been deeply committed to missionary works, much interested in reaching Mainland China. In the early 1990s, the church noticed that Mongolia was about to be opened to the outside world. The church sent a 50-member evangelistic team in September, 1992. At least two of them were Filipina workers who gave their precious vacation time (normally spent visiting home and their children) to this missionary cause. The team conducted a one-week open air evangelistic crusade in Ulaanbaatar, the capital of this newly opened country. As a result, the Hope Church was established with a group of 300 new converts of the crusade.

The Hope Church is one of the largest (with around 600 Sunday attendance) and thriving churches. A Bible school in the church has

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[62] Details of this example were furnished by Kay Fountain on Aug 20, 2002, Baguio, Philippines, and through an e-mail message of Jordan Abellano, "Re: An Information" (icafm@vol.net) (Aug 22, 2002).

produced many workers. As a mother church, the Hope Church is now beginning to reach many rural areas of Mongolia with the gospel.

3.5.3 Summary

These are good examples of "full-circle mission." One can easily observe several unique features in this "four-generation" expansion of God's work within an eight-year span.

1) The churches have been naturally taking the missionary work as part of their Christian calling. This can be easily attributed to the exposure of the members to Pentecostal teaching.
2) In all cases, the major ministry force has been laity. In fact, Pynie is the only trained and licensed worker with the Philippine Assemblies of God for the first example, while the majority of team members were laity for the Mongolian evangelistic crusade.
3) Their commitment is something noticeable, as during the six-month rainy season, they still continue to hike several hours through rugged and stiff mountain trails to minister to the people. Of course, sacrificing their yearly vacation for mission requires a great resolution and commitment.
4) Praying for healing is a regular part of their ministry. Often a story of God's supernatural work provides a breakthrough in evangelism.

There is no doubt that such "empowerment mission" in micro levels can be easily expended into a global scope. And this potential makes the Pentecostal mission unique and promising.

4. Suggestions for Pentecostal Mission

The following suggestions are listed as several practical tips.

4.1 Theoretical Level

In this area, a serious attempt is necessary to articulate the significance of Pentecostal mission. This includes the theological foundations, historical records, and practical/strategic approaches of Pentecostal mission. This attempt should be done at various levels, including Sunday school materials, missionary training manuals, and textbooks for Bible colleges.

For this reason, a networking of Pentecostal missiologists is urgent. Such an international and interdenominational body of Pentecostal missiologists should be able to produce textbooks to be used widely, not only among Pentecostal schools but also Evangelical institutions. Also desirable is an academic journal solely dedicated to Pentecostal mission. Again, the body of Pentecostal missiologists can easily launch such a journal.

This will also require an inter-agency corporation among Pentecostal mission agencies, archives and schools. An interlink among Pentecostal archives will provide a rare resource immediately accessible by anyone interested in Pentecostal history and mission. The publication of historical materials, including life stories of missionaries, will provide a valuable primary source.

Also critical is the training of mission faculty members for Pentecostal schools. Schools and programs which provide training specifically from a Pentecostal perspective should be identified and actively utilized.

4.2 New Role for Western Churches

Pentecostal churches in North America and Europe have greatly contributed to the spread of the Spirit movement all over the world through their missionary work. Most Asian Pentecostal churches are a direct result of their missionary work.

However, as the western Pentecostal churches begin to loose their dynamic, especially due to the decline of their growth, this is particularly true for Pentecostal churches with a congregational polity, as the success or decline of their missionary work is directly linked to the growth or decline of their churches. Local churches need to provide missionary personnel, funds, and influence. Unfortunately, most of the classical Pentecostal churches in the West have either stopped growing or are even loosing their members. The simple and best way to reverse this unfortunate trend is to make their churches grow. The challenge is when this growth does not happen, then is the time to find new constructive ways to “continue” the Pentecostal mission heritage.

First, it is to “mentor” the developing mission forces in the two-thirds world. The growth of the Pentecostal movement in the new century will continue to take place in the non-western world. It is also clear that some of these churches are already sending their missionaries to nearby countries, as Korean Pentecostal missionaries working in Asia, far away, as African missionaries in Asia, or even to the western world. As

mentioned above, in most cases this missionary movement came about from a self-understanding of these churches, rather than an intentional training of western missionaries.[63] This is a time for the western churches to assist the two-thirds world churches to become effective and intentionally Pentecostal mission forces. Some areas can be institutional assistance such as mission structuring, recruitment, training, developing support systems, missionary education in local churches, etc., and while on the field, individual missionaries can mentor, train and partner with missionaries from emerging nations.

Second, the western churches should also train ethnic congregations in their own countries for mission. For instance, the U.S. Assemblies of God has various ethnic groups as part of its congregation. In fact, in the past several years, the net growth of the denomination is attributed to the growth of this sector, while the traditional white congregations have declined. Considering the local church based mission policy, it is imperative to bring the ethnic sector into the mainstream missionary movement.

4.3 The Role of Missionaries

The new role of western Pentecostal missionaries was mentioned briefly above. Pentecostal missionaries have excelled in evangelism, church planting, even in social services in some areas, and distinguished in the area of training. Training schools and programs have greatly contributed to the expansion of the Pentecostal movement in the non-western world.

Now, missionaries, regardless of their origin, and national leaders should work together to actively teach Pentecostal, or full-cycle, mission to local churches. One effective way is to partner with national workers to engage in evangelism, church planting and training, so that national workers will be theoretically and practically oriented to unique Pentecostal mission. This will also require the missionaries to prepare themselves not only in missiology in general, but Pentecostal missiology in particular. In Asia, the educational level of national leaders has been rising steadily and now we are beginning to see many national workers better prepared in theological education than some missionaries. Often a good role model is the best way to teach and train others. With resources

[63] Perhaps this is shown among Korean Pentecostal missionaries now serving in various places whose theology and practice of mission is not different from their Evangelical colleagues.

available to missionaries, they must actively partner with nationals or even with missionaries from other nations in training for future mission.

4.4 Global Networking

In order to achieve these new goals, it is critical to have a broader participation. How various national groups such as denominations can be helped by others was discussed earlier. In addition, regional mission associations such as Assemblies of God Asian Missions Association (AGAMA) should take an active role to network member churches. Also important is the role of regional schools. For instance, Asia Pacific Theological Seminary (APTS) in the Philippines has trained numerous top-quality Asian missionaries. What is important is that it provides a natural environment where students develop mission awareness and commitment. Some of the Asian students had almost no ideas about mission, when they first came to APTS. But in the course of their study they developed a strong mission's commitment and eventually became career missionaries and they are still active. However, true networking should take place at the grass roots level among individual missionaries, or between missionaries and nationals.

In closing, it appears that Pentecostal mission holds a unique key to full circle mission. In this aspect, history and theology of Pentecostal mission in the last century is too uniquely significant to be buried in a history book. There has not been sufficient reflection on the theology and strategies of Pentecostal mission. This requires a close working together in academic (reflection), institutional (strategic), and missionary (practical) levels. However, as history tells, perhaps because of human limitation, one particular group is not to continuously hold the tradition, but to mentor another. Here are different roles of Pentecostal churches worldwide. Could it be like a human? There is a time to grow and bear children, but then to nurture, grow and empower them, so that the tradition will continue.

[*AJPS* 8:1 (2005), pp. 29-47]

TOWARDS A PENTECOSTAL MISSIOLOGY FOR THE MAJORITY WORLD[1]

Allan Anderson

Pentecostals have been around for only a hundred years,[2] but today are main role players in world missions, representing perhaps a quarter of the world's Christians and perhaps three quarters of them are in the Majority World.[3] According to Barrett and Johnson's statistics, there were 1,227 million Christians in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania in 2004, 62% of the world's Christians, while those of the two northern continents (including Russia) constituted only 38%, dramatic evidence of how rapidly the western share of world Christianity has decreased in the twentieth century. If present trends continue, by 2025 69% of the world's Christians will live in the South, with only 31% in the North.[4] But it is not only in terms of numbers that there have been fundamental changes. Christianity is growing most often in Pentecostal and Charismatic forms, and many of these are independent of western "mainline" Protestant and "classical Pentecostal" denominations and

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[1] This is a considerably modified version of "Structures and Patterns in Pentecostal Mission," a paper published in *Missionalia* 32:2 (August 2004), pp. 233-49. See also Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 206-17.

[2] The term "Pentecostals" in this paper includes a wide variety of movements where the emphasis is on receiving the Spirit and practicing spiritual gifts such as prophecy, healing and speaking in tongues. The term includes Pentecostal denominations, a wide range of independent churches (the majority in Barrett's statistics), and Charismatics in mainline denominations.

[3] The term "Majority World" is the term used throughout the *New Internationalist* magazine, and is used here to refer to Asia and the Pacific, Africa, South America and the Caribbean.

[4] David B. Barrett & Todd M. Johnson 2004, "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 2004", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 28:1 (January 2004), pp. 24-5 (25).

missions. Pentecostal missiologists need to acknowledge and celebrate the tremendous diversity in Pentecostalism. The "southward swing of the Christian center of gravity" is possibly more evident in Pentecostalism than in other forms of Christianity.[5] Most of the dramatic church growth in the twentieth century has taken place in Pentecostal and independent Pentecostal-like churches. Classical Pentecostal churches like the Assemblies of God, the world's biggest Pentecostal denomination, have probably only some 8% of their world associate membership in North America, with at least 80% in the Majority World. One estimate put the total number of adherents of the World Assemblies of God Fellowship in 1997 at some thirty million, of which only about 2.5 million were in North America.[6] Larry Pate estimated in 1991 that the Majority World mission movement was growing at five times the rate of western missions.[7] Half the world's Christians today live in developing, poor countries. The forms of Christianity there are very different from western "classical Pentecostal" stereotypes. They have been profoundly affected by several factors, including the desire to have a more contextual and culturally relevant form of Christianity, the rise of nationalism, a reaction to what are perceived as "colonial" forms of Christianity, and the burgeoning Pentecostal and Charismatic renewal.

This paper traces six features of the structures and patterns of Pentecostal mission. However, no discernible formal organization or structures appeared in Pentecostal missions until comparatively recently, and Pentecostal missions have been known for their "creative chaos."[8]

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[5] Andrew F. Walls, "Of Ivory Towers and Ashrams: Some Reflections on Theological Scholarship in Africa," *Journal of African Christian Thought* 3:1 (June 2000), pp. 1-5 (1).

[6] Everett A. Wilson, *Strategy of the Spirit: J Philip Hogan and the Growth of the Assemblies of God Worldwide 1960-1990* (Carlisle: Regnum, 1997), pp. 3, 107, 183.

[7] Larry D. Pate, "Pentecostal Missions from the Two-Thirds World," in *Called and Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective*, eds. M. A. Dempster, B. D. Klaus, and D. Petersen (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), pp. 242-58 (245).

[8] D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 213-22.

1. Pneumatocentric Mission

Pentecostals place primary emphasis on being "sent by the Spirit" and depend more on what is described as the Spirit's leading than on formal structures. People called "missionaries" are doing that job because the Spirit directed them to do it, often through some spiritual revelation like a prophecy, a dream or a vision, and even through an audible voice perceived to be that of God. In comparison to the *Missio Dei* of older Catholic and Protestant missions and the "obedience to the Great Commission" of Evangelical Christocentric missions, Pentecostal mission is grounded first and foremost in the conviction that the Holy Spirit is the motivating power behind all this activity. Back in 1908, American Pentecostal leader Roswell Flower wrote, "When the Holy Spirit comes into our hearts, the missionary spirit comes in with it; they are inseparable.… Carrying the gospel to hungry souls in this and other lands is but a natural result."[9] Pentecostal missionaries got on with the job in a hurry, believing that the time was short and the second coming of Christ was near. Reflection about the task was not as important as action in evangelism. Their mission theology was that of an "action-oriented missions movement,"[10] and Pentecostals have only recently begun to formulate a distinctive Pentecostal missiology.

Paul Pomerville's book *The Third Force in Missions* uses the Lukan account in Acts for a Pentecostal mission theology.[11] He states that obedience to the Great Commission (the emphasis of most Evangelicals) is not the main motivation for mission for Pentecostals. The Holy Spirit poured out at Pentecost is a missionary Spirit, the church full of the Spirit is a missionary community, and the church's witness is "the release of an inward dynamic." But it was not only a collective experience of the Spirit; the individual experience that each Christian had with the Holy Spirit was also "the key to the expansion of the early church."[12] The

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[9] Quoted by Gary B. McGee, "Pentecostals and Their Various Strategies for Global Mission: A Historical Assessment," in Dempster, Klaus & Petersen, *Called and Empowered*, pp. pp. 203-24 (206).

[10] M. A. Dempster, B. D. Klaus, & D. Petersen, "Section IV: Introduction", in Dempster, Klaus & Petersen, *Called and Empowered*, pp. 201-2 (201).

[11] Paul A. Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1985).

[12] Paul A. Pomerville, *Introduction to Missions: An Independent-study Textbook* (Irving, TX: ICI University Press, 1987), pp. 95-97.

centrality of the Spirit in mission has been a consistent theme in Pentecostal studies.[13] The Pentecostal movement from its commencement was a missionary movement, made possible by the Spirit's empowerment. Australian Pentecostal John Penney believes that the experience of the day of Pentecost in Acts 2 becomes a "normative paradigm for every Christian to preach the gospel," and that "Luke's primary and pervasive interest is the work of the Holy Spirit in initiating, empowering and directing the church in its eschatological worldwide mission."[14] Pomerville considers that the main causes for the growth of Pentecostal churches identified by church growth specialists can all be explained by reference to the experience of Spirit baptism. The Spirit is "the superintendent and administrator of missions," and we live in the age of the Spirit, "a time of worldwide outpouring of the Spirit," evidenced by the emergence of the Pentecostal movements.[15] Donald McGavran, foremost expositor of the church growth movement, wrote of the Pentecostal emphasis on "utter yieldedness to the Holy Spirit" and that God is "instantly available and powerful." He also listed other factors in the growth of Pentecostal movements: the Holy Spirit working powerfully through ordinary Christians; the "bridges of God" or the social connections with which the gospel spreads from one ordinary person to another; the message of deliverance from evil powers and demons; and the flexibility and adaptability of Pentecostals.[16] Peter Wagner, McGavran's successor at Fuller, did not miss this dimension: "The basic dynamic behind Pentecostal growth in Latin America is the power in the Holy Spirit."[17] McClung observes that whatever "outside observers have marked as good methodology" in the practices of

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[13] See for example, Robert P. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994); John Michael Penney, *The Missionary Emphasis of Lukan Pneumatology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 122.

[14] Penney, *The Missionary Emphasis of Lukan Pneumatology*, pp. 11, 15.

[15] Pomerville, *Introduction to Missions*, pp. 116-19.

[16] Donald A. McGavran, "What Makes Pentecostal Churches Grow?" in *Azusa Street and Beyond: Pentecostal Missions and Church Growth in the Twentieth Century*, ed. L. Grant McClung, Jr. (South Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1986), pp. 121-23 (122).

[17] Peter Wagner, *Look Out! The Pentecostals Are Coming* (Carol Stream: Creation House, 1973), p. 29.

Pentecostals in their worldwide expansion, it is their primary "insistence upon the outpouring of the Holy Spirit personally into the life of each believer" that is the fundamental cause for their growth.[18]

Although Pentecostal missions may be described correctly as "pneumatocentric" in emphasis, this must not be construed as an overemphasis. Most Pentecostals throughout the world have a decidedly Christocentric emphasis in their proclamation and witness. The Spirit bears witness to the presence of Christ in the life of the missionary, and the message proclaimed by the power of the Spirit is of the crucified and resurrected Jesus Christ who sends gifts of ministry to humanity.

2. Dynamic Mission Praxis

Pentecostals believe that the coming of the Spirit brings an ability to do "signs and wonders" in the name of Jesus Christ to accompany and authenticate the gospel message. The role of "signs and wonders," particularly that of healing and miracles, is prominent in Pentecostal mission praxis. Pentecostals see the role of healing as good news for the poor and afflicted. Early twentieth-century Pentecostal newsletters and periodicals abounded with "thousands of testimonies to physical healings, exorcisms and deliverances."[19] Grant McClung points out that divine healing is an "evangelistic door-opener" for Pentecostals. He states that "signs and wonders" are the "evangelistic means whereby the message of the kingdom is actualized in person-centered deliverance."[20] Gary McGee takes up the issue of "signs and wonders" from an historical perspective. This "power from on high" he calls the "radical strategy in missions," which "new paradigm" has impacted Pentecostal and Charismatic movements in their mission endeavors. According to him, at the beginning of the twentieth century, there was an expectation that signs and wonders would accompany an outpouring of the Spirit.[21] Early

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[18] L. Grant McClung, "Truth on Fire: Pentecostals and an Urgent Missiology," in McClung, *Azusa Street and Beyond*, pp. 47-54 (49).

[19] McGee, "Pentecostals and Their Various Strategies," p. 206.

[20] L. Grant McClung, "Spontaneous Strategy of the Spirit: Pentecostal Missionary Practices," in McClung, *Azusa Street and Beyond*, pp. 71-81 (74).

[21] Gary B. McGee, "Power from on High: A Historical Perspective on the Radical Strategy in Missions," in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William*

Pentecostal missionaries like John G. Lake in South Africa and especially healing evangelists like William Branham, Oral Roberts and more recently, Reinhard Bonnke expected miracles to accompany their evangelism and "prioritized seeking for spectacular displays of celestial power—signs and wonders, healing, and deliverance from sinful habits and satanic bondage."[22] Penney states that "signs and wonders in Acts perform the dual function of authenticating the word and of leading to faith in the word."[23] The signs and wonders promoted by independent evangelists have led to the rapid growth of Pentecostal churches in many parts of the world, although have seldom been without controversy.[24] Pentecostal missiologists need to critically evaluate those "evangelistic ministries" that lead to the self-aggrandizement and financial gain of the preacher, often at the expense of those who have very little at all to give.

Pentecostals emphasize that these signs and wonders should accompany the preaching of the word in evangelism, and divine healing in particular is an indispensable part of their evangelistic methodology.[25] Indeed, in many cultures of the world, healing has been a major attraction for Pentecostalism. In these cultures, the religious specialist or "person of God" has power to heal the sick and ward off evil spirits and sorcery. This holistic function, which does not separate "physical" from "spiritual," is restored in Pentecostalism, and people see it as a "powerful" religion to meet human needs. For some Pentecostals, faith in God's power to heal directly through prayer results in a rejection of other methods of healing.

The numerous healings reported by Pentecostal missionaries confirmed that God's word was true, his power was evidently on their missionary efforts, and the result was that many were persuaded to become Christians. This emphasis on healing is so much part of Pentecostal evangelism, especially in the Majority World, that large public campaigns and tent meetings preceded by great publicity are frequently used in order to reach as many "unevangelized" people as

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W. Menzies, eds. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 317-36 (317, 324).

[22] McGee, "Power from on High," p. 329.

[23] Penney, *The Missionary Emphasis of Lukan Pneumatology*, p. 66.

[24] McGee, "Pentecostals and Their Various Strategies," p. 215.

[25] Willem A. Saayman, "Some Reflections on the Development of the Pentecostal Mission Model in South Africa," *Missionalia* 21:1 (1993), pp. 40-56 (46).

possible. McGee notes that this "confident belief that God had at last poured out his Spirit with miraculous power to empower Christians to bring closure to the Great Commission…has forced the larger church world to reassess the work of the Holy Spirit in mission."[26] Wagner believes that "probably the greatest contribution that Pentecostalism has made to Christianity in general is restoring the miracle power of the New Testament," for the purpose of drawing unbelievers to Christ.[27]

The central role given to healing is probably no longer a prominent feature of western Pentecostalism, but in the Majority World, where the problems of disease and evil affect the whole community and are not relegated to a private domain for individual pastoral care. These communities were, to a large extent, health-orientated communities and in their traditional religions, rituals for healing and protection are prominent. Indigenous Pentecostals responded to what they experienced as a void left by rationalistic western forms of Christianity that had unwittingly initiated what amounted to the destruction of ancient spiritual values. Pentecostals declared a message that reclaimed the biblical traditions of healing and protection from evil, they demonstrated the practical effects of these traditions, and by so doing became heralds of a Christianity that was really meaningful. Thus, Pentecostal movements went a long way towards meeting physical, emotional and spiritual needs of people in the Majority World, offering solutions to life's problems and ways to cope in what was often a threatening and hostile world.[28] But sadly, this message of power has become in some instances an occasion for the exploitation of those who are at their weakest. Our theologies of power must also become theologies of the cross.

3. Evangelism: Central Missiological Thrust

Pentecostals are notorious for aggressive forms of evangelism, as from its beginning, Pentecostalism was characterized by an emphasis on

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[26] Gary McGee, "Pentecostal Missiology: Moving beyond Triumphalism to Face the Issues," *Pneuma* 16:2 (1994), pp. 275-82 (278).

[27] C. Peter Wagner, "Characteristics of Pentecostal Church Growth," in McClung, *Azusa Street and Beyond*, pp. 125-32 (129).

[28] Allan Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecostal and Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa* (Tshwane: University of South Africa Press, 2000), pp. 120-26.

evangelistic outreach. All Pentecostal mission strategy places evangelism as its highest priority. For Pentecostals, evangelism meant to go out and reach the "lost" for Christ in the power of the Spirit. The Azusa Street revival (1906-8) resulted in a category of ordinary but "called" people called "missionaries" fanning out to every corner of the globe within a remarkably short space of time. "Mission" was mainly understood as "foreign mission" (mostly from "white" to "other" peoples), and these missionaries were mostly untrained and inexperienced. Their only qualification was the baptism in the Spirit and a divine call, their motivation was to evangelize the world before the imminent coming of Christ, and so evangelism was more important than education or "civilization."[29]

McGee describes the first twenty years of Pentecostal missions as mostly "chaotic in operation."[30] Reports filtering back to the West to garnish newsletters would be full of optimistic and triumphalistic accounts of how many people were converted, healed and Spirit baptized, seldom mentioning any difficulties encountered or the inevitable cultural blunders made.[31] Like their Protestant and Catholic counterparts, early Pentecostal missionaries were mostly paternalistic, often creating dependency, and sometimes they were blatantly racist.[32] There were notable exceptions to the general chaos, however. As South African missiologist Willem Saayman has observed, most Pentecostal movements "came into being as missionary institutions" and their work was "not the result of some clearly thought out theological decision, and so policy and methods were formed mostly in the crucible of missionary praxis."[33] Pentecostal missionaries often have a sense of special calling and divine destiny, thrusting them out in the face of stiff opposition to steadfastly propagate their message.[34] But it must be acknowledged that,

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[29] Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM, 1972), p. 34.

[30] McGee, "Pentecostals and Their Various Strategies," p. 208.

[31] Allan Anderson, "Signs and Blunders: Pentecostal Mission Issues at Home and Abroad in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Asian Mission* 2:2 (September 2000), pp. 193-210 (193).

[32] McGee, "Pentecostals and their Various Strategies," p. 211; see also Allan Anderson, "Christian Missionaries and Heathen Natives: The Cultural Ethics of Early Pentecostal Missionaries," *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 22 (December 2002), pp. 4-29.

[33] Saayman, "Some Reflections," p. 42.

[34] McClung, "Truth on Fire," p. 52.

despite the seeming naiveté of many early missionaries, their evangelistic methods were flexible, pragmatic and astonishingly successful. Pentecostals claim that their rapid growth vindicates the apostle Paul's statement that God uses the weak and despised to confound the mighty.

Pentecostal evangelism was geared towards church planting, a central feature of all Pentecostal mission activity. Pentecostal churches were missionary by nature, and the dichotomy between "church" and "mission" that so long plagued other churches did not exist. This "central missiological thrust" was clearly a "strong point in Pentecostalism" and central to its existence.[35] Thriving Pentecostal "indigenous churches" were established in many parts of the world without the help of any foreign missionaries. These churches were founded in unprecedented and innovative mission initiatives, motivated by a compelling need to preach and even more significantly, to *experience* a new message of the power of the Spirit. The effectiveness of Pentecostal mission in the Majority World was based on this unique message, which was both the motivation for the thousands of grassroots emissaries and their source of attraction. All the widely differing Pentecostal movements have important common features: they proclaim and celebrate a salvation (or "healing") that encompasses all of life's experiences and afflictions, and offer an empowerment which provides a sense of dignity and a coping mechanism for life. Their mission was to share this all-embracing message with as many people as possible, and to accomplish this, indigenous Pentecostal evangelists went far and wide.

Unfortunately, the emphasis on self-propagation through evangelism and church growth through signs and wonders has sometimes resulted in Pentecostals being inward looking and seemingly unconcerned or oblivious to serious issues in the socio-political contexts, especially where there were oppressive governments.[36] David Bosch asked during South Africa's apartheid regime whether "the rush into signs and wonders is, in reality, a flight away from justice for the poor and the oppressed,"[37] and this question must be seriously faced by Pentecostal missiologists. José Míguez Bonino asks if the "global challenge of missions…can be ideologically diverted from a concern with the urgent challenges of situations at home," which could cause a failure in

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[35] Saayman, "Some Reflections," p. 51.

[36] Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost*, p. 108.

[37] David J. Bosch, "Church Growth Missiology," *Missionalia* 16:1 (1988), pp. 13-24 (23).

Christian testimony at home and a distortion of it abroad.[38] Pentecostals are beginning to recognize the social implications of the gospel and this failure in their mission strategy. The church not only has to evangelize the nations but also to love its neighbours. Steven Land points out that if we only do evangelism, we "deny the global care and providence of the Spirit" and fail to grasp "the personal, social and cosmic implications of Pentecost."[39] McGee observes that "many Pentecostals who survive in Third World poverty and oppression may long for a more forthright witness, one that presses for economic, social, and even political change."[40] It is also a characteristic of most forms of Pentecostal evangelism that the proclamation becomes a one-way affair, without sufficient consideration being given to the religious experience of the people to whom the "gospel" is proclaimed. The result is those innumerable opportunities to connect the Christian message with the world with which the "convert" is most familiar are lost, and the "Christianity" that results remains rather "foreign." There is an urgent need for Majority World missiologists to give special attention to the hitherto neglected area of the relationship between the Christian gospel and the ancient pre-Christian religions that continue to give meaning to people's understanding of their lives. Demonizing these religions (the legacy of many western Protestant missions) will not help the cause of evangelism and the healthy growth of the church today.

4. Contextualization of Leadership

Although missionaries from the West went out to the Majority World in independent and denominational Pentecostal missions, the overwhelming majority of Pentecostal missionaries have been national people "sent by the Spirit," often without formal training. This is a fundamental historical difference between Pentecostal and "mainline" missions. In Pentecostal practice, the Holy Spirit is given to every believer without preconditions. One of the results of this was, as Saayman observes, that "it ensured that a rigid dividing line between clergy and laity and between men and women did not develop early on in

[38] José Míguez Bonino, "Pentecostal Missions Is More Than What It Claims," *Pneuma* 16:2 (1997), pp. 283-88 (284).

[39] Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 207.

[40] McGee, "Pentecostal Missiology," p. 280.

Pentecostal churches" and even more significantly, "there was little resistance to the ordination of indigenous pastors and evangelists to bear the brunt of the pastoral upbuilding of the congregations and their evangelistic outreach."[41] This was one of the reasons for the rapid transition from "foreign" to "indigenous" church that took place in many Pentecostal missions. Until recently, Pentecostals have not had a tradition of formal training for "ministers" as a class set apart. As Klaus and Triplett point out, the "general minimizing of the clergy/laity barrier" is because "the emphasis has been on the whole body as ministers supernaturally recruited and deployed. Since the Holy Spirit speaks to all believers equally, regardless of education, training or worldly rank, each member is capable of carrying out the task."[42] Leaders tended to come from the lower and uneducated strata of society, and were trained in apprentice-type training where their charismatic leadership abilities were encouraged.[43]

Pentecostal missions are quick to raise up national leaders who are financially self-supporting, and therefore the new churches are nationalized much quicker than older mission churches had been.[44] The pioneering work in this regard of the Assemblies of God missiologist Melvin Hodges and his widely influential book *The Indigenous Church* (1953) not only emphasized creating "indigenous churches," but it also stressed church planting—a fundamental principle of Pentecostal mission strategy.[45] Roland Allen's books on indigenous churches were already circulating in Pentecostal circles as early as 1921, when Alice Luce, an early Assemblies of God missionary, wrote a series of articles on Allen's teachings.[46] But the influence of Hodges on western Pentecostal (especially Assemblies of God) missions contributed towards the establishment of theological training institutes ("Bible schools") and in-

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[41] Saayman, "Some Reflections," p. 43.

[42] Byron D. Klaus and Loren O. Triplett, "National Leadership in Pentecostal Missions," in Dempster, Klaus & Petersen, *Called and Empowered*, pp. 225-41 (226).

[43] McClung, "Spontaneous Strategy," p. 76.

[44] McClung, "Spontaneous Strategy," p. 77.

[45] Melvin L. Hodges, *The Indigenous Church* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1953); McClung, "Spontaneous Strategy," p. 78.

[46] McGee, "Pentecostals and Their Various Strategies," p. 212.

service training structures throughout the world,[47] and resulted in the much more rapid growth of indigenous Pentecostal churches. Through this commitment to indigenization, writes Bonino, Pentecostals have "tuned in with the language, concerns and hopes of the people." McGee states that Pentecostal "perspectives on the spiritual realm have proved unusually compatible with non-western worldviews—a spiritual vision that has contributed to the gradual Pentecostalization of Third World Christianity in life and worship."[48]

Contextualization has been a principle hotly debated and sometimes little understood, and it should not be confused with "indigenization." "Indigenization" assumes that the gospel message and Christian theology is the same in all cultures and contexts, and tends to relate the Christian message to traditional cultures. "Contextualization," on the other hand, assumes that every theology is influenced by its particular context, and must be so to be relevant. It relates the Christian message to all contexts and cultures, especially including those undergoing rapid social change. Hodges was a missionary in Central America, who articulated what had always been at the heart of Pentecostal growth in different cultural contexts. He believed that the aim of all mission activity was to build an "indigenous New Testament church" that followed "New Testament methods."[49] He emphasized that the church itself (and not the evangelist) is "God's agent for evangelism," and that the role of the cross-cultural missionary was to ensure that a church became self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating.[50] He thus enthusiastically embraced and enlarged Anderson and Venn's "three self" policy of church planting, the main theme of this book, but he introduces an emphasis on "indigenization" that was lacking in the earlier works on the subject. The foundation for this to happen was the Holy Spirit, as he wrote:

> There is no place on earth where, if the gospel seed be properly planted, it will not produce an indigenous church. The Holy Spirit can work in one country as well as in another. To proceed on the assumption that the infant church in any land must always be cared for and provided for by the mother mission is an unconscious insult to the people that we

[47] Klaus & Triplett, "National Leadership in Pentecostal Missions," pp. 227-29.

[48] McGee, " Power from on High ," p. 334.

[49] Hodges, *The Indigenous Church*, pp. 10-11.

[50] Hodges, *The Indigenous Church*, pp. 12, 22.

> endeavour to serve, and is evidence of a lack of faith in God and in the power of the gospel.[51]

This has had a profound impact on the subsequent growth of the Assemblies of God, for whose future missionaries Hodges book has been required reading. For churches to become really contextual, however, attaining "three selfhood" does not guarantee that contextualization unless the "three selfs" are no longer patterned on foreign forms of being church, and unless those churches are grounded in the thought patterns and symbolism of popular culture. Pentecostalism's religious creativity and spontaneously contextual character were characteristics held as ideals by missionaries and missiologists for over a century. The "three self" formula for indigenization was automatically and effortlessly achieved by many Pentecostal churches long before this goal was realized by older ones. Hodges was able to tap into that fact. For him, the foundation for Pentecostal mission and the reason for its continued expansion is the "personal filling of the Holy Spirit" who gives gifts of ministry to untold thousands of "common people," creating active, vibrantly expanding and "indigenous churches" all over the world.

Unfortunately, Hodges was still a product of his own context, seeing "missions" as primarily from North America (or elsewhere in the western world) to the rest of the "foreign" world. This view of Pentecostal "missions" as from a western "home" to a Third World "abroad" is also reflected in American Pentecostal missiological writing up to the present. Pentecostal missiological reflection sometimes does not go further than an adapted reproduction of the old McGavran/Wagner church growth ideology that sometimes sees the mission enterprise in terms of procedures and strategies that succeed in the USA. Fortunately, there have been recent exceptions. Hodges, in spite of his remarkable insights, could not escape the concept of "missionaries" ("us") being expatriate, white people who had left "home" for "abroad," in contrast to the "nationals" ("them") who must (eventually) take over the "missionaries" work when the ideal of an "indigenous church" is reached. Hodges sees "mission" as "the outreach of the church in foreign lands."[52] In these and similar writings, the "objects" of mission, now the great majority of Pentecostals in the world, remain marginalized. They do not set the mission agenda; the rich and powerful West does that. It is high time for the Majority World church to produce theologians and missiologists who

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[51] Hodges, *The Indigenous Church*, p. 14.

[52] Hodges, *The Indigenous Church*, p. 9.

will challenge the presuppositions of the past and not be content to follow foreign mission ideologies and strategies blindly.

5. Mobilization in Mission

The remarkable growth of Pentecostal movements in the twentieth century cannot be isolated from the fact that these are often "people movements," a massive turning of different people to Christianity from other religions on an unprecedented scale, set in motion by a multitude of factors for which western missions were unprepared. Charismatic leaders tapped into this phenomenon, and became catalysts in what has been called in the African context a "primary movement of mass conversion."[53] Adrian Hastings reminds us that these movements did not proliferate because of the many secessions that occurred but because of mass conversions to Christianity through the tireless efforts of African missionaries, both men and women. Throughout the world, these early initiators were followed by a new generation of missionaries, learning from and to some extent patterning their mission on those who had gone before. The use of women with charismatic gifts was widespread throughout the Pentecostal movement. This resulted in a much higher proportion of women in Pentecostal ministry than in any other form of Christianity at the time. This accorded well with the prominence of women in many indigenous religious rituals, contrasting again with the prevailing practice of older churches which barred women from entering the ministry or even from taking any part in public worship. Pentecostals, especially those most influenced by American Evangelicalism, need to beware of limiting and quenching this most important ministry of women, who form the large majority of the church worldwide.

The growth of Pentecostalism was not the result of the efforts of a few charismatic leaders or "missionaries." The proliferation of the movement would not have taken place without the tireless efforts of a vast number of ordinary and virtually now unknown women and men. These networked across regional and even national boundaries, proclaiming the same message they had heard others proclaim which had sufficiently altered their lives to make it worth sharing wherever they went. Most forms of Pentecostalism teach that every member is a minister and should be involved in mission and evangelism wherever

[53] Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), pp. 530-31.

they find themselves. Although increasing institutionalization often causes a reappearance of the clergy/laity divide, the mass involvement of the "laity" in the Pentecostal movement was one of the reasons for its success. A theologically articulate clergy was not the priority, because cerebral and clerical Christianity had, in the minds of many people, already failed them. What was needed was a demonstration of power by people to whom ordinary people could easily relate. This was the democratization of Christianity, for henceforth the mystery of the gospel would no longer be reserved for a select privileged and educated few, but would be revealed to whoever was willing to receive it and pass it on.

6. A Contextual Missiology

The style of "freedom in the Spirit" that characterizes Pentecostal liturgy has contributed to the appeal of the movement in many different contexts. This spontaneous liturgy, which is mainly oral and narrative with an emphasis on a direct experience of God through his Spirit, results in the possibility of ordinary people being lifted out of their mundane daily experiences into a new realm of ecstasy, aided by the emphases on speaking in tongues, loud and emotional simultaneous prayer and joyful singing, clapping, raising hands and dancing in the presence of God—all common Pentecostal liturgical accoutrements. These practices made Pentecostal worship easily assimilated into different contexts, especially where a sense of divine immediacy was taken for granted, and they contrasted sharply with rationalistic and written liturgies presided over by a clergy that was the main feature of most other forms of Christianity. Furthermore, this was available for everyone, and the involvement of the laity became the most important feature of Pentecostal worship, again contrasting with the dominant role played by the priest or minister in older churches.[54] McClung points out, "Pentecostal worship allows the participant to be involved in a personal and direct way with the manifestation of God among His people in the congregation."[55] Pentecostalism's emphasis on "freedom in the Spirit" rendered it inherently flexible in different cultural and social contexts. All this made the transplanting of its central tenets in the Two-Thirds World more easily assimilated.

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[54] Saayman, "Some Reflections," p. 47.

[55] McClung, "Spontaneous Strategy," p. 73.

Chilean Pentecostal scholar Juan Sepúlveda writes that the reasons for the "dynamic expansion" of Chilean Pentecostalism are to be found in its ability "to translate the Protestant message into the forms of expression of the local popular culture."[56] Harvey Cox observes that "the great strength of the pentecostal impulse" lies in "its power to combine, its aptitude for the language, the music, the cultural artefacts, the religious tropes... of the setting in which it lives."[57] Many older missionary churches arose in western historical contexts, with set liturgies, theologies, well-educated clergy, and patterns of church and leadership with strongly centralized control. This often contributed to the feeling that these churches were "foreign" and that one first had to become a westerner before becoming a Christian. In contrast, Pentecostalism emphasised an immediate personal experience of God's power by his Spirit, it was more intuitive and emotional, and it recognized charismatic leadership and national church patterns wherever they arose. In most cases, leadership was not kept long in the hands of foreign missionaries and the proportion of missionaries to church members was usually much lower than that of older missions. As Pentecostal preachers proclaim a message that promised solutions for present felt needs like sickness and the fear of evil spirits, they (who were most often local people) were heeded and their "full gospel" was readily accepted by ordinary people. Churches were rapidly planted in different cultures, and each culture took on its own particular expression of Pentecostalism.

Sepúlveda points out that Chilean Pentecostalism should be understood as "the emergence of a search for an indigenous Christianity." He describes the "cultural clash" first between the foreign religiosity of "objective" dogma versus the indigenous religiosity giving "primacy to the subjective experience of God"; and second, between a religion mediated through "specialists of the cultured classes" (clergy) and a religion with direct access to God for simple people that is communicated through the feelings in the indigenous culture. He describes Chilean Pentecostalism's ability "to translate the Protestant message into the

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[56] Juan Sepúlveda, "Indigenous Pentecostalism and the Chilean Experience," in *Pentecostals after a Century: Global Perspectives on a Movement in Transition*, eds. Allan Anderson and Walter J. Hollenweger (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 111-34 (128).

[57] Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), p. 259.

forms of expression of the local popular culture," by the use of nationals in leadership and ministry, and by a "dynamic of rejection and continuity" with popular culture. He shows that both popular forms and meanings are preserved in Pentecostalism, and this way it has become an "incarnation" of the gospel in the culture of the *mestizo* lower classes.[58]

The appropriation and proclamation of the gospel by indigenous preachers was couched in thought forms and religious experiences with which ordinary people were already familiar. Some of the largest "Spirit" churches in Africa, such as the Kimbanguists in the Congo and the Christ Apostolic Church in Nigeria, rejected key indigenous beliefs and practices like polygamy and the use of power-laden charms. The syncretizing tendencies are seen in the rituals and symbols adapted from both the western Christian and the indigenous religious traditions (and sometimes completely new ones) that are introduced in Majority World Pentecostal churches. Usually these have local relevance and include enthusiastic participation by members and lively worship. Sepúlveda sees the ability of Pentecostalism to inculturate Christianity as a process of its incarnation in local cultures:

> The rediscovery of pneumatology by modern Pentecostalism has to do mainly with the spiritual freedom to "incarnate" the gospel anew into the diverse cultures: to believe in the power of the Holy Spirit is to believe that God can and wants to speak to peoples today through cultural mediations other than those of Western Christianity. Being pentecostal would mean to affirm such spiritual freedom.[59]

Elsewhere, he writes that what he calls "Creole Pentecostalism" is "very much rooted in the *mestizo* culture of the peasants and the poorest inhabitants of the cities," and that this fact differentiates this form of Pentecostalism from "historical Protestantism" as well as from other Pentecostal churches "of missionary origin, which show a major cultural dependence on their countries of origin."[60] Pentecostal missions from the West are not exempt from this danger. But throughout the world, Pentecostal movements create new voluntary organisations, often multiethnic, to replace traditional kinship groups. Many Pentecostal

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[58] Sepúlveda, "Indigenous Pentecostalism," pp. 116-17,120-24,128-29,132.

[59] Sepúlveda, "Indigenous Pentecostalism," pp. 133-34.

[60] Juan Sepùlveda, "To Overcome the Fear of Syncretism: A Latin American Perspective," in *Mission Matters*, eds. L. Price, J. Sepúlveda, and G. Smith (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), pp. 157-68 (158).

churches have programs for recruiting new members that transcend national and ethnic divisions, and this belief in the movement's universality and message for the whole world is a radical departure from ethnically based traditional religions.

This is the positive side. But Klaus and Triplett remind us that Pentecostals in the West "have a tendency toward triumphalist affirmation of missionary effectiveness."[61] This is often bolstered by statistics proclaiming that Pentecostals/Charismatics are now second only to Catholics as the world's largest Christian grouping.[62] When this is assumed implicitly to be largely the work of "white" missions, the scenario becomes even more incredulous. The truth is a little more sobering. There can be little doubt that many of the secessions that took place early on in western Pentecostal mission efforts in Africa and elsewhere were at least partly the result of cultural and social blunders on the part of missionaries. Early Pentecostal missionaries frequently referred in their newsletters to their "objects" of mission as "the heathen,"[63] and were slow to recognize national leadership. Missionary paternalism was widely practiced, even if it was "benevolent" paternalism. In Africa, white Pentecostal missionaries followed the example of other expatriate missionaries and kept control of the churches and their indigenous founders, and especially of the finances they raised in Western Europe and North America. Most wrote home as if they were mainly (if not solely) responsible for the progress of the Pentecostal work there.

In Conclusion

Pentecostals proclaim a pragmatic gospel and seek to address practical needs like sickness, poverty, unemployment, loneliness, evil spirits and sorcery. In varying degrees, Pentecostals in their many and varied forms, and precisely because of their inherent flexibility, attain a contextual character which enables them to offer answers to some of the fundamental questions asked by people. A sympathetic approach to local life and culture and the retention of certain indigenous religious practices are undoubtedly major reasons for their attraction, especially for those

[61] Klaus & Triplett, "National Leadership in Pentecostal Missions," p. 232.

[62] McGee, "Pentecostal Missiology," p. 276.

[63] Anderson, "Signs and Blunders," p. 205.

overwhelmed by urbanization with its transition from a personal rural society to an impersonal urban one. At the same time, these Pentecostals confront old views by declaring what they are convinced is a more powerful protection against sorcery and a more effective healing from sickness than either the existing churches or the traditional rituals had offered. Healing, guidance, protection from evil, and success and prosperity are some of the practical benefits offered to faithful members of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. All this does not state that Pentecostals provide all the right answers, a pattern to be emulated in all respects, nor to contend that they have nothing to learn from other Christians. But the enormous and unparalleled contribution made by Pentecostals independently has altered the face of world Christianity irrevocably and has enriched the universal church in its ongoing task of proclaiming the gospel of Christ by proclamation and demonstration.

[*AJPS* 8:1 (2005), pp. 49-65]

"THE LORD'S PENTECOSTAL MISSIONARY MOVEMENT" THE RESTORATIONIST IMPULSE OF A MODERN MISSION MOVEMENT[1]

Gary B. McGee

1. Introduction

"In the year 1901 the latter rain began to fall in different parts of the world," trumpeted the *Missionary Manual* of the Assemblies of God published three decades later. More importantly, the evangelistic zeal of "waiting, hungry-hearted people," who had been baptized in the Holy Spirit, signaled the resumption of "the Lord's Pentecostal missionary movement." It had been halted at the end of the first century when the Holy Spirit was "largely rejected and His position as leader usurped by men." Consequently, Spirit-led missions ceased and the Dark Ages commenced.[2] Now, in the remaining days before the imminent return of Christ, Pentecostals would jubilantly carry the apostolic banner down the parade route of modern mission.

The historical prologue of the *Manual*, "History of the Pentecostal Movement," may represent the first such interpretation produced in North America devoted solely to Pentecostal mission.[3] That it expressed the sentiments of a wide swath of Pentecostals becomes evident in its reprinting in Horace McCracken's *History of Church of God Missions*,

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[1] This paper has been written in honor of the late John Morar and his wife Leota, former Assemblies of God missionaries to Asia, devout Pentecostals who served faithfully in the "Lord's missionary movement."

[2] *Missionary Manual of General Council of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Foreign Missions Department, ca. 1931), p. 7. Although the authorship is unknown, it was published under the direction of Noel Perkin, Missionary Secretary of the Assemblies of God (1927-1959), who may also have written it.

[3] See Appendix for the full text of "The History of the Pentecostal Movement."

produced in 1943 in Cleveland, Tennessee.[4] This vision—albeit with modifications—persists today in Pentecostal and charismatic circles around the world. Historian Vinson Synan echoes this when he writes: "Perhaps the ultimate purpose of the Pentecostal-charismatic renewal movement is to bring the signs-and-wonders gifts of the Holy Spirit back to the church in order to lead the way for the most intensive and successful period of evangelization in the history of the Faith."[5] Crediting Pentecostals and charismatics as the most missionary-minded segment in the world Christian community, missiologist Edward K. Pousson borrows the term "great century" from Kenneth Scott Latourette's description of nineteenth-century missions to portray the striking global outcome of "Pentecostal/Charismatic renewal and missions" in the century that followed.[6]

While some observers might dismiss these claims as the applause of insiders, the seismic shift in the spirituality of worldwide Christianity and the unprecedented expansion of the faith brought about by Pentecostalism establishes their credibility. So great has been the influence that historians George Rawlyk and Mark Noll contend, "If the New Birth defined the essence of evangelicalism during the first century of its history, the emphases of Pentecostalism may well be the defining characteristic of evangelicals in the twenty-first century."[7] The effect, however, has been felt far beyond the walls of evangelicalism, as recently noted by another historian, Philip Jenkins: "Worldwide, Christianity is actually moving toward supernaturalism and neo-orthodoxy, and in many ways toward the ancient worldview expressed in the New Testament: a vision of Jesus as the embodiment of divine power, who overcomes evil forces that inflict calamity and sickness upon the human race."[8]

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[4] Horace McCracken, *History of Church of God Missions* (Cleveland, TN: Church of God Mission Board, 1943), pp. 7-9. While no author is listed on the title page, credit to McCracken appears in the Preface.

[5] Vinson Synan, *The Spirit Said "Grow": The Astounding Worldwide Expansion of Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches* (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1992), p. 61.

[6] Edward Keith Pousson, "A 'Great Century' of Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal and Missions," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 16 (Spring 1994), pp. 81-100 (86).

[7] George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, "Introduction," in *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States*, eds. George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), pp. 15-25 (18).

[8] Philip Jenkins, "The Next Christianity," *Atlantic Monthly*, October 2002, pp. 53-68 (54).

Pentecostal and charismatic mission endeavors, whether originating from North Atlantic countries or the southern hemisphere and Asian nations, have significantly contributed to this development.[9]

This paper briefly looks at the prologue from a historical and missiological perspective to discern how the author and other North American Pentecostal missionaries and mission leaders understood their place in the divine drama.[10] It then examines how they refocused their sectarian lens to recognize the achievements of others. Finally, the contemporary relevance of the prologue receives consideration.

2. Apostolic Missions

The comparison of modern mission methods with those employed by first-century Christians often created embarrassment for nineteenth-century missionaries. The rapid expansion of the early church, the miraculous demonstrations of power that convinced the pagans of God's supremacy, and the seeming success on every hand stood in sharp contrast to their long-suffering toil. Delivering the Students' Lectures on Missions at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1895, Presbyterian missionary and biblical scholar Chalmers Martin asked: "Is the work of modern missions the same work as that carried on by the apostles? In other words, are modern missions truly apostolic?"[11] In the lectures' published form, *Apostolic and Modern Missions*, it becomes evident that Chalmers needed 216 pages to answer in the affirmative.

Far away in southern Asia in 1902, while addressing United Presbyterian missionaries sowing the gospel seed on the "stony ground" of north India, theologian Robert Stewart listed all the advantages of the early Christians. In his estimation, the recovery of the apostolic

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[9] Larry D. Pate, "Pentecostal Missions from the Two-Thirds World," in *Called and Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective*, eds. Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), pp. 242-58.

[10] That African-American Pentecostal missionaries shared this vision is evident in the activities of Azusa Street participant Lucy Farrow, "Pentecost in Portsmouth," *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), December 1906, p. 1, col. 3; also Kenneth E. M. Spooner, *A Sketch of Native Life in South Africa* (Rustenburg, South Africa: By the author, c. 1931).

[11] Chalmers Martin, *Apostolic and Modern Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1898), p. 19.

dimension of mission would ultimately depend on a new baptism of the Spirit: "A great revival of religion, or a marked increase of grace, would strengthen and make effectual almost every plan we have named for the advancement of pastoral and ecclesiastical self-support."[12]

Stewart's concern for spiritual renewal did not go far enough for radical evangelicals, believers coming largely from the Wesleyan-holiness and "Higher Life" movements, who prayed that the Holy Spirit would dramatically empower them to bring closure to the Great Commission.[13] Nor would he have approved of their attempt to pole-vault over nineteen centuries to recapture the "signs and wonders" found in the Book of Acts (5:12).[14] Yet, in varying ways, that is exactly what they attempted.

No one expressed this as a missiological strategy better than A. B. Simpson, president of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. He lamented that mainline Protestantism "has lost her faith...in the supernatural signs and workings of the Holy Ghost, she has lost the signs also, and the result is that she is compelled to produce conviction upon the minds of the heathen very largely by purely rational and moral considerations and influences."[15] In what sounds like marching orders to the Alliance faithful, he declared: "We believe that it is the plan of the Lord to pour out His Spirit not only in the ordinary, but also in the extraordinary gifts and operations of His power, in proportion as His people press forward to claim the evangelization of the entire world."[16]

Accordingly, Joel's predicted outpouring of the Spirit (Joel 2:28-29) commenced as the "former rain" on the Day of Pentecost, preceding the

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[12] Robert Stewart, *Apostolic and Indian Missions Compared* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1903), pp. 117-18.

[13] For a discussion of the radical evangelical ethos, see Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 1-6.

[14] A. B. Simpson, *The Gospel of Healing*, rev. ed. (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, 1915), pp. 54-57; A. J. Gordon, *The Ministry of Healing* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, n.d.; originally published in 1882), p. 116; Gordon Lindsay, *John Alexander Dowie: A Life Story of Trials, Tragedies and Triumphs* (Dallas: Christ for the Nations, 1980), p. 7.

[15] A. B. Simpson, "The New Testament Standpoint of Missions," *Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*, December 16, 1892, p. 389.

[16] A. B. Simpson, "Connection between Supernatural Gifts and the World's Evangelization," *Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*, October 7 & 14, 1892, p. 226.

cloudburst of the "latter rain" that would come before the close of history. Looking at the premillennial calendar, they discovered they were part of the last generation.[17] Hence, the "radical strategy" of these evangelicals describes a virtually apocalyptic scenario of God's direct intervention in signs and wonders to ensure that every tribe and nation would hear the gospel before the coming of Christ. As an approach to mission, it centers largely on the action of the Holy Spirit invading Satan's realm with great demonstrations of power to gather out souls for Christ during the end-time harvest.[18] Through a select band of Spirit-filled missionaries, the miraculous work of the Spirit would then make up for the failure of the pedestrian practices of the Protestant missions movement to carry the gospel to all parts of the world before the Second Coming of Christ and the inauguration of his millennial reign on earth.[19]

Radical evangelicals collapsed history into two periods: the apostolic age and the era of a re-established New Testament Christianity. Other stripes of restorationists did the same: Hutterites with their communalism; Baptists with congregational polity; the Restoration movement in America with its order of salvation; Plymouth Brethren with an egalitarian ministry; Wesleyans with Christian perfection; and the evangelical healing movement with its "prayer of faith."

3. A Mission-Centered Church

But while Simpson and other radicals like A. J. Gordon and John Alexander Dowie linked prayer for the sick to missionary evangelism and remained open to the possibility that all the gifts of the Spirit might

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[17] Charles Nienkirchen, "Conflicting Visions of the Past: The Prophetic Use of History in the Early American Pentecostal-Charismatic Movements," in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. Karla Poewe (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 119-33 (121). For the tenets of premillennialism and dispensationalism, see Millard J. Erickson, *Contemporary Options in Eschatology: A Study of the Millennium* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1977), pp. 91-106, 109-124.

[18] For a historical examination of the radical strategy in mission and its various adaptations, see Gary B. McGee, "The Radical Strategy in Modern Mission: The Linkage of Paranormal Phenomena with Evangelism," in *The Holy Spirit and Mission Dynamics*, ed. C. Douglas McConnell (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1997), pp. 69-95.

[19] A. B. Simpson, *The Holy Spirit or Power from on High*, vol. 2, *The New Testament* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, 1896), pp. 84, 277-86.

be experienced again, others pressed for an even more open-ended return to the spirituality of early Christians. From the early nineteenth century—and especially after 1880—some radical evangelicals believed that with sufficient faith, a missionary might receive "new tongues" (Mark 16:17) for preaching.[20] After all, Christians widely believed that on the Day of Pentecost the Spirit had bestowed unlearned languages on the 120 disciples to jumpstart gospel proclamation among the nations. This gift would enable missionaries to bypass language school and preach immediately upon reaching their destinations.[21] Simpson, after several years of deliberation, objected to such a "strained and extravagant attempt to unduly exaggerate the gift of tongues" in a sermon published in 1898. Furthermore, "some have even proposed that we should send our missionaries to the foreign field under a sort of moral obligation to claim this gift, and to despise the ordinary methods of acquiring a language." The result would be "wild fanaticism and...discredit upon the truth itself."[22]

Nonetheless, others took the risk and prayed for an even greater dimension of the supernatural in their lives.[23] The most unusual twist came when Pentecostals, as early as 1901, announced that God intended for every Christian to receive languages in this manner as an indispensable component of Spirit baptism.[24] Through every Spirit-filled believer linguistically equipped for overseas evangelism, the outpouring

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[20] All scripture references are taken from the King James Version unless otherwise indicated.

[21] Gary B. McGee, "Shortcut to Language Preparation? Radical Evangelicals, Missions, and the Gift of Tongues," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 25 (July 2001), pp. 118-23.

[22] A. B. Simpson, "The Worship and Fellowship of the Church," *Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly*, February 9, 1898, p. 126.

[23] For example, see Frank W. Sandford, *Seven Years with God* (Mont Vernon, NH: Kingdom Press, 1957), p. 142. Sandford believed that God had commissioned him to "remove the [evil] covering cast over the face of all the earth." This would be the "beautiful key to the world's evangelization."

[24] Charles F. Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 2nd ed. (Baxter Springs, KS: Apostolic Faith Bible College, 1910), pp. 25-38. For his "gospel of the latter rain," see James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), pp. 62-86.

of the Spirit would create a truly mission-centered church.[25] With Pentecostals racing to preach the gospel with an eschatological stopwatch, amid the on-going spiritual and moral deterioration of the world, their empowerment signaled that the "apostolic faith" and the "Lord's Pentecostal missionary movement" had at last been recovered.

Bennett F. Lawrence, author of *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (1916), the first history of the Pentecostal movement, said the movement "leaps the intervening years crying, 'Back to Pentecost.'" "In the minds of these honest-hearted, thinking men and women, this work of God is directly connected with the work of God in New Testament days." In an important acknowledgment of the evangelical underpinning of the movement, he affirms: "We recognize the fundamentals of Christianity, we do not slight them, but in addition, we are laboring to obtain that supernatural character of the religion which was so pre-eminently a mark of it in the old days."[26] For Lawrence, Pentecostalism had only one forebearer: the New Testament church.

Not surprisingly, the prologue of the *Missionary Manual* presents a truncated picture of church history intent on summarizing God's plan for the "last days." Early Christians achieved success in mission because they allowed the "Holy Spirit [to assume] the entire control and leadership of the church." Though persecution scattered them from Palestine to Rome and elsewhere, they faithfully preached the good news. Then "local Assemblies of God's people" arose and continued to propagate the message.[27] (McCracken's version reads "local churches of God's people."[28])

Unfortunately, the Spirit's leadership ended at the close of the first century when God's people rejected the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Disaster followed: "The Lord's missionary movement halted. Local Assemblies died. The Dark Ages ensued." At this point, the writer pauses to remember his Protestant heritage. (Radical evangelicals and Pentecostals could not escape paying homage to the Protestant Reformation.) Despite the best efforts of the Reformers, however, they

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[25] For the transition in the meaning of tongues from preaching to prayer, see Gary B. McGee, "The Calcutta Revival of 1907 and the Reformulation of Charles F. Parham's 'Bible Evidence' Doctrine," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 6 (January 2003), pp. 123-43.

[26] B. F. Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, 1916), pp. 12-13.

[27] *Missionary Manual*, p. 6.

[28] McCracken, *History of Church of God Missions*, p. 7.

had failed to restore the dynamics of the Holy Spirit so characteristic of the early church. The sad result could be seen in the great denominations that had grown up on the "ruins of the early church." Mostly apostate, they resembled the Laodicean church—"neither cold nor hot...ready to be spued out" (Rev 3:16).[29]

With the arrival of the latter rain in 1901, the events seemed to parallel those of the early church. Indeed, "Acts 29" had begun: the "Lord's missionary movement" resumed; believers, showing the same level of dedication as the early Christians, preached the gospel everywhere; and "local Assemblies sprang into existence" around the world. In reviewing the intervening three decades before the publication of the *Manual*, the author reports that hundreds of Pentecostal missionaries could be found and nearly every nation had received a Pentecostal witness. Those baptized in the Spirit—"with the sign of speaking in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance"—now probably numbered in the hundreds of thousands and the local assemblies could not be counted.[30] This ahistoric and triumphalist interpretation of history certified the special spiritual commission of Pentecostals over other Christians whose traditions had departed from the supernaturally authenticated faith of the early church.[31]

Interestingly, however, the *Manual* itself suggests the inevitability of change. Unlike McCracken's use of the prologue to precede a historical survey of Church of God missions, its function in the *Manual* justifies the "nuts and bolts" regulations that follow, policies designed to strengthen the enterprise (e.g., financial support, acquisition of property, furloughs, passports). Its practical and pragmatic nature insured that modifications would come—guidelines are subject to amendment or deletion over time. In fact, the prologue would not be reprinted in later Assemblies of God publications.

4. From Isolation to Cooperation

The importance of the prologue also lies in what it does not say. First, one looks in vain for the mention of mission heroes such as William Carey, J. Hudson Taylor, and William Taylor, as well as

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[29] *Missionary Manual*, p. 7.

[30] *Missionary Manual*, p. 7.

[31] Nienkirchen, "Conflicting Visions of the Past," p. 120.

reference to other mission organizations. It appears that the "Lord's missionary movement" had been resurrected in a vacuum. Yet, in a notable development, the Assemblies of God joined the Foreign Missions Conference of North America (1893) in 1920, an agency that became a constituent member of the International Missionary Council in 1921.[32] General Superintendent John W. Welch grumbled about the creeping liberal theology prevalent among some in the Conference: "They have not only lost the vision of individual salvation, but have gone so far from the vision of the Gospel that they are actually talking boastfully about saving the world through the great brotherhood of man. God help them!"[33] Still, since membership did not require doctrinal uniformity, the denomination kept its membership for many years because of the numerous practical services it afforded and its representation of missionary concerns before the State Department.

Second, the prologue says nothing about holistic mission and the work of charitable institutions. J. Roswell Flower, the first missionary secretary of the Assemblies of God, had squarely placed the emphasis on evangelism in 1920: "The Pentecostal commission is to witness, *witness*, WITNESS." Missionaries "cannot follow the methods laid down by those who have gone before them, neither can they bend their energies in building up charitable institutions, hospitals and schools as do the denominational societies." Such activities would fall short of the "Pentecostal standard."[34]

Notwithstanding, almost from the beginning, Pentecostal missionaries participated in relief efforts (e.g., United International Famine Relief Committee in Mongolia)[35] and established charitable ministries (e.g., the orphanage founded by Lillian Trasher in Assiout,

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[32] Executive Presbytery Minutes, 20 April 1920; see also, Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "The Assemblies of God and Ecumenical Cooperation: 1920-1965," in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William W. Menzies*, ed. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (Sheffield, U.K.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 107-50.

[33] John W. Welch, "The Present Great World Crisis," *Pentecostal Evangel*, March 28, 1925, p. 8.

[34] J. Roswell Flower, "The Pentecostal Commission," *Pentecostal Evangel*, June 12, 1920, p. 12.

[35] Thomas Hindle, "Gashatay, Mongolia," *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 30, 1921, p. 12.

Egypt; Home of Onesiphorus founded by Leslie M. Anglin in China).[36] North India missionary Esther B. Harvey spoke for many when she queried: "Could we preach the love of Christ to these and turn them away naked and hungry to die along the roadside?"[37] Her question betrays defensiveness about departing from the "Pentecostal standard." Throughout the history of the Assemblies of God, missionaries have evangelized and worked in various forms of holistic ministry, but with the latter always needing a measure of justification.[38]

Issues of justice did not appear on the agenda; premillennial eschatology left little time for the transformation of cultures. For Pentecostals, prophecy opened the window into the future. Contemporary history and culture only had relevance as they related to coming events. "But mark this," Paul warned Timothy, "there will be terrible times in the last days" (2 Tim 3:1 [NIV]). Therefore, cultures could not be salvaged. With their eyes fixed upward, Pentecostals brushed other matters aside as they waited for the clouds to part when the "Lord himself shall descend from heaven" (1 Thess 4:16).[39]

Despite the exclusiveness of the prologue, praise surfaces in early Pentecostal literature for evangelical missionaries who had not spoken in tongues. "We do not mean to say that others who believe in the new birth have wholly lost [the supernatural character of the Christian religion]," wrote Lawrence, "but we desire a return to New Testament power."[40] In McCracken's *History of Church of God Missions*, written twelve years after the *Missionary Manual*, the borrowed prologue provides the reason for Church of God missions. A later chapter, however, pays tribute to

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[36] See Beverly Graham, ed., *Letters from Lillian* (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God Division of Foreign Missions, 1983); Harry J. Albus, *Twentieth-Century Onesiphorus: The Story of Leslie M. Anglin and the Home of Onesiphorus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951). Though he had early connections with the Assemblies of God, Anglin later separated from the Pentecostal movement.

[37] Esther B. Harvey, *The Faithfulness of God*, 2nd ed. (Battle Creek, MI: Grounds Gospel Press, n.d.), p. 38.

[38] Interestingly, Scandinavian Pentecostal missionaries have a long history in the practice of holistic mission. See David Hallberg, "Swedish Missionary Outreach," *World Pentecost* 1 (1973), pp. 22-23.

[39] Edith L. Blumhofer, "Restoration as Revival: Early American Pentecostalism," in *Modern Christian Revivals*, eds. Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp. 145-60 (154).

[40] Lawrence, *Apostolic Faith Restored*, p. 13.

such well-known mission personalities as John R. Mott, A. J. Gordon, D. W. Stearns, and Edward ("Praying") Hyde of India.[41]

In 1963, the Assemblies of God issued a Sunday school worker's training book entitled, *Our World Witness: A Survey of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions*, written by Noel Perkin and John Garlock. Since Perkin had probably written the *Manual*, the change in historical reflection is noteworthy. By the time of its publication, the denomination had affiliated with the National Association of Evangelicals and the World Evangelical Fellowship. The missions department had been a member of the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association (now Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies) for some years and Perkin had been the first Pentecostal to serve as president (1959-1960).

Several factors contributed to this alignment, including the post-war "dream of a Christian America," a new agenda that would require cooperation with evangelicals and move Pentecostals beyond their sectarian isolation. The new coalition had a moderating influence on Pentecostal restorationism and reshaped their identity.[42] In the process, more contact between Pentecostals and evangelicals clearly brought greater appreciation for the other and recognition of the benefits of joint action.

In another significant development in the post-war period, Pentecostals began to follow the lead of evangelicals in exploring the implications of the advancing kingdom of God for mission. Evangelical missiologist Arthur Glasser writes, "If God's tomorrow means the end of exploitation, injustice, inequality, war, racism, nationalism, suffering, death, and the ignorance of God, Christians must be 'signs' today of God's conquest of all these 'burdens and evils' through the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ." Hence, "Christians today dare [not] indulge the luxury of indifference to the moral and social issues of today."[43] Moving away from the dispensational focus on the kingdom of God as chiefly the restoration of David's kingdom in the millennial reign of Christ, Pentecostals too discovered that the present aspects of the kingdom had great relevance for the mission of the church.

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[41] McCracken, *History of Church of God Missions*, pp. 157-68.

[42] Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), p. 197.

[43] Arthur F. Glasser, "The Evolution of Evangelical Mission Theology since World War II," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 9 (January 1985), pp. 9-13 (12).

Consequently, the apocalyptic flavor of the prologue that marked Pentecostal missions gradually diminished, while leaving an "urgent" eschatological motivation intact.[44]

The willingness of Esther Harvey to sidestep the "Pentecost standard" illustrates the willingness of Pentecostal missionaries to think and act "outside the box" when necessity required it. Their preference to be led by the Spirit virtually guaranteed that they would occasionally dance beyond the narrow circle of the prologue. In true Pentecostal fashion, the Lord allowed Harvey to pull back from the brink of eschatology and expand her horizon in mission: "The Lord gave us Isa. 58:4-14. 'Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house?'"[45]

Our World Witness, though seemingly unaware of the up-and-coming revamping of Pentecostal mission theology,[46] shows evidence of a turnabout in historical outlook. It contains thirteen pages on the history of missions, assisted by references to books by historians Edward Gibbon and Kenneth Scott Latourette. "Like flashes of light in darkest of days of Church history gleam the records of individuals who were obviously dedicated to God and filled with His Spirit," writes Perkin and Garlock. Those placed in this "Spirit-filled" hall of fame surprisingly include

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[44] L. Grant McClung, Jr., "'Try To Get People Saved': Revisiting the Paradigm of an Urgent Pentecostal Missiology," in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel*, eds. Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Irvine, CA: Regnum, 1999), pp. 30-51.

[45] Harvey, *Faithfulness of God*, p. 38.

[46] Speaking at the Congress on the Church's Worldwide Mission at Wheaton College in April 1966, three years after the publication of *Our World Witness*, Melvin L. Hodges declared the church to be "the present manifestation of the kingdom of God in the earth, or at least, the agency that prepares the way for the future manifestation of the kingdom. Its mission therefore is the extension of the Church throughout the world.... It is the Holy Spirit that gives life to the Church and imparts gifts and ministries as well as power for their performance"; Melvin L. Hodges, "Mission—And Church Growth," in *The Church's Worldwide Mission*, ed. Harold Lindsell (Waco: Word, 1966), pp. 140-50 (141, 145). More extensive treatments of the kingdom of God from a Pentecostal perspective came with Paul A. Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1985); and Murray Dempster, "A Theology of the Kingdom—A Pentecostal Contribution," in *Mission as Transformation*, eds. Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden (Irvine, CA: Regnum, 1999), pp. 45-75.

Columba, Raymond Lull, William Carey, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau, David Brainerd, David Livingstone, J. Hudson Taylor, and Roland Allen, among others.[47]

Furthermore, a "great surge forward in world evangelism" happened at the turn of the twentieth century parallel to the beginning of the Pentecostal movement. While Pentecostal missions accounted for part of this advance, "even in those churches which did not accept the Pentecostal experience there was a spiritual stirring which resulted in greater missionary activity." The authors then praise the many nondenominational mission societies formed after World War I by Christians who felt that the mainline denominational mission agencies were not doing enough to evangelize the world.[48] Thus, in the thirty-two year period between the publication of the *Missionary Manual* and *Our World Witness*, a significant shift in perspective had occurred, but without the loss of Pentecostal self-perception. The Church of God (Cleveland, Tenn.), International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, International Pentecostal Holiness Church, Open Bible Standard Churches, and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada all made similar pilgrimages.[49]

5. Mission in the Last Great Conflict

It would be unfair to condemn the 776-word prologue for failing to address all the issues that missiologists take for granted today. If the document appears to be triumphalist in nature, it is due in part to the intertwining of mission and eschatology in the New Testament. Jesus told his disciples, "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come" (Matt 24:14). Peter's sermon on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:14-40) and other favorite scripture passages among radical evangelicals and

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[47] Noel Perkin and John Garlock, *Our World Witness: A Survey of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1963), p. 17.

[48] Perkin & Garlock, *Our World Witness*, p. 22.

[49] Mickey Crews, *The Church of God: A Social History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), pp. 146-47; Robert Bryant Mitchell, *Heritage and Horizons: The History of Open Bible Standard Churches* (Des Moines, IA: Open Bible Publishers, 1982), pp. 229, 261; Vinson Synan, *The Old Time Power: A Centennial History of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church* (Franklin Springs, GA: LifeSprings Resources, 1998), pp. 222-24, 291-92.

Pentecostals clearly directed them to the final triumph of God (e.g., 1 Thess 4:16-17; 2 Peter 3:9-13).

Like other restorationists, Pentecostals caught a glimpse of their place in history, used the early church as their model, but more radically sought for the return of the same apostolic dynamics—Spirit baptism, charismatic gifts, and signs and wonders.[50] Along the way, they discovered other faithful servants involved in mission (Luke 9:49-50) and even more responsibilities in mission: feeding the hungry, sheltering the stranger, clothing the naked, caring for the sick, and visiting the prisoners (Matt 25:34-36, 40). By the end of the twentieth century, they had broadened their understanding of the church, adopted the kingdom of God as an interpretive framework for salvation history, engaged in holistic mission without apology, and had even begun to consider the importance of social doctrine as it relates to mission.[51]

In *The Last Great Conflict* published in 1913, Church of God pioneer Ambrose J. Tomlinson laments that millions still have not heard the gospel. The task of evangelism "has been shifted from one generation to another long enough. It is up to us now. Our commander says 'Go!'" He then declares that Spirit-filled believers must forsake "ease, pleasures, friends we love, homes and all their comforts" to accomplish the Great Commission.[52] Sharing the same sentiment, the *Manual* adds, "God is looking for men and women to use. He has no other body, nor hands, nor feet for the earthly ministry. He gives gifts to men and gives men as gifts."[53]

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[50] For independent charismatic missions, see Edward K. Pousson, *Spreading the Flame: Charismatic Churches and Missions Today* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992); cf., Nienkirchen, "Conflicting Visions of the Past," pp. 125-30. With a shorter history, independent charismatic missionaries and mission leaders since the 1960s have perceived themselves as raised up by God in the last days to evangelize the world. Writing about charismatic missions and noting the relationship between renewal movements in history and evangelism, Pousson explains, "When the Gospel as we package it loses its edge in a changing society, God sends revival to chisel away outdated patterns of ministry and evangelism. New patterns of ministry then break out, impacting new segments of society, and exposing worn-out Christians to the real power of the Gospel" (p. 27).

[51] Douglas Petersen, *Not by Might Nor by Power: A Pentecostal Theology of Social Concern for Latin America* (Irvine, CA: Regnum, 1996), pp. 186-233.

[52] A. J. Tomlinson, *The Last Great Conflict* (Cleveland, TN: Walter E. Rodgers, 1913), p. 29.

[53] *Missionary Manual*, p. 7.

Contemporary Pentecostals should be inspired by the calls for sacrifice and evangelism made by early leaders like Tomlinson and the author of the *Manual*, without needing to profess superiority over other Christians. Still, for Pentecostals, "specific instances of the gifts of the Spirit operating in the worship setting or in the market place of witness," writes Church of God theologian Steven Land, "are seen as part of a larger cosmic drama in which one is a participant and not a victim. The sovereign Spirit of God is moving and working in all things for the good of those who love God." [54] Of course, this ultimately involves all believers since the final victory belongs to Christ.

Mission in the "last great conflict" certainly requires the full-orbed power of the Holy Spirit, the compassion of Christ, and the creativity and courage of missionaries who love God and humanity. Pentecostals, stirred to mission by a divine sense of destiny, can also celebrate that all Christians who bear witness to the good news serve together in the "Lord's missionary movement." Indeed, the preaching of the "gospel of the kingdom in all the world for a witness unto all nations" cannot be accomplished without them.

APPENDIX

HISTORY OF THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT[55]

The Lord's Pentecostal Missionary Fellowship and Movement began on the day of Pentecost nearly two thousand years ago. On that glorious and memorable day; the Father in heaven, in answer to the prayer of the Son, Jesus Christ, gave the Holy Spirit, the third Person of the Trinity, and He descended upon the waiting disciples in the city of Jerusalem, baptizing them into one body and enduing them with power for the task of world-wide evangelization committed to them by the Master. All became witnesses and spoke in other languages as the Spirit gave them utterance. Peter preached to the multitude and before the day was over three thousand souls were added to their number.

The Holy Spirit assumed the entire control and leadership of the church, the body of Christ, and the Lord continued His mighty works though its members.

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[54] Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), p. 137.

[55] *Missionary Manual of General Council of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Foreign Missions Department, 1931), pp. 6-8, now available at the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, 1445 Boonville Ave., Springfield, Mo. 65802.

Persecutions arose and believers were scattered abroad, preaching the Gospel everywhere they went. Thus the Good News was carried throughout Judea, to Samaria, the sea coast towns and farther afield. Believers returned to their homes in distant countries to preach the Gospel, and it was not long before the news was carried to Rome, the capital city of the Roman Empire. Local Assemblies of God's people sprang up everywhere, and in turn continued to propagate the Gospel. The complete story is contained in the book of Acts.

The Holy Spirit continued in control until the close of the first century, then He was largely rejected and His position as leader usurped by men. The results are written in history. The Lord's missionary movement halted. Local Assemblies died. The Dark Ages ensued.

The Reformation followed, but the Holy Spirit was not fully restored, and upon the ruins of the early church have grown up the great denominations. Today the professing church is largely in apostasy, neither cold nor hot, and is nearly ready to be spued out.

But God looks down in mercy. The Lord's missionary movement, begun on the day of Pentecost, must be completed. He must have a people, a remnant, a bride.

In these latter days, the last days of the age, God is again pouring out His Spirit in accordance with His promise. In the year 1901 the latter rain began to fall in different parts of the world. Again, waiting, hungry-hearted people were baptized in the Holy Spirit. The Lord's Pentecostal missionary movement was resumed. Believers went everywhere preaching the Gospel. Numerous local Assemblies sprang into existence in America, Europe, and other parts of the world.

In the years 1906, 1907, and 1908 the Pentecostal missionaries began pressing on to the regions beyond. Whole families volunteered for the work, sold their possessions, and started for the field. They were possessed with a passion to go to the ends of the earth for their Lord, and no sacrifice seemed too great to them that the Gospel might be proclaimed and the coming of the Lord might be hastened.

At the present time there are hundreds of missionaries on the fields—nearly every nation in the world has received a Pentecostal witness—and those who have received the Holy Spirit with the sign of speaking in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance are probably numbered by the hundreds of thousands. The local Assemblies are uncounted.

It is the Lord Himself who is continuing His works though those who are willing to yield their all to the Holy Spirit and receive this wonderful Baptism. God is looking for men and women to use. He has no other body, nor hands, nor feet for the earthly ministry. He gives gifts to men and gives men as gifts.

In the beginning of the Pentecostal missionary movement, during the first century and later, God administered though the apostles—Paul was especially used in this capacity—and through councils of apostles and brethren, and so on.

At present, the Lord is graciously using the Council of brethren, known as the General Council of the Assemblies of God in administering the affairs of a large part of this Pentecostal missionary movement at home and abroad.

The missionary Department of the General Council is the servant of the Assemblies of God and is concerned in carrying out the policy of the General Council as outlined in its Foreign Missions Policy.

Acting for the Assemblies, the Missions Department, assisted by its staff, disseminates missionary information, arranges for missionary meetings and conferences, examines and endorses candidates, aids the missionaries—duly appointed—in reaching their fields of labor, receives and disburses mission funds, acquires and holds property at home and abroad, and so on.

[*AJPS* 8:1 (2005), pp. 67-94]

CRITIQUE OF PENTECOSTAL MISSION BY A FRIENDLY EVANGELICAL

Roger E. Hedlund

1. Introduction

In the conclusion of his 1997 revision of his study of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movements, Vinson Synan states, "Christian affairs of the twenty-first century may be largely in the hands of surging Pentecostal churches in the Third World and a Roman Catholicism inspired and revivified by the charismatic renewal."[1] Hollenweger likewise indicates that Pentecostalism today is centered outside the West in a growing Third World movement.[2]

Indeed Pentecostalism during the twentieth century has emerged from the status of a marginalized sect to become a major tradition of Christianity. With 193 million (19.3 crores) members in 1990, the Pentecostals were the largest Protestant group of churches in the world.[3] In addition to these denominational Pentecostals, if one includes mainline Charismatic Protestants and Catholics, the total is more than 372 million (37 crores) which is 21.4 percent of the world's Christians.[4] Also in 1990, out of an estimated 4 million (40 lakh) full-time Christian workers, 1.1 million (11 lakh) were Pentecostal-Charismatics.[5] "Fully

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[1] Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997), p. 298.

[2] Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), p. 301. "Third World" terminology refers to the non-western, developing Majority World.

[3] Vinson Synan, *The Spirit Said 'Grow'* (Monrovia: MARC, 1992), p. 1.

[4] Synan, *The Spirit Said 'Grow'*, pp. 10-11.

[5] One lakh is 100,000 and one crore is ten million in the normal measurements used in India/South Asia.

one fourth of all full-time Christian workers in the world are from the Pentecostal-charismatic persuasion."[6] Part of this expansion is taking place in India where Pentecostals are active and growing.

In this paper, I have been asked to offer a critique of Pentecostal mission. This I attempt with a bit of reticence having personally benefited and learned much from the Pentecostals. This paper is predominantly a positive critique. The Pentecostal mission has been highly successful! Along with success inevitably some apparent weaknesses may be seen, and certain questions arise. In order to appreciate strong and weak points, it will be helpful to have a brief look at certain aspects of Pentecostal mission history.

2. Pentecostalism: A Missionary Movement

2.1 Azusa Street Revival

Azusa Street in Los Angeles generally is regarded the birthplace of the modern Pentecostal movement, and the black Holiness preacher William Seymour its founder, a thesis which may however be challenged. The largest black Pentecostal denomination in the world, the Church of God in Christ, historically preceded the 1906 Azusa Street revival. Juan Sepulveda sees Pentecostal growth in Latin America "as the emergence of an indigenous Christianity" and notes that Chilean Pentecostalism had no connections with Azusa Street.[7] Chilean Pentecostalism is seen as a local incarnation of the gospel different from the classical Pentecostalism of other cultures.

In India, likewise, even prior to the Azusa Street revival, Pentecostal phenomena were reported both in South India and in Maharashtra.

2.2 The Italian Experience

In a report on one hundred years of Pentecostal missions, Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen notes, "The significance of Pentecostal/Charismatic missions

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[6] Synan, *The Spirit Said 'Grow'*, p. 13.

[7] Allan H. Anderson and Walter J. Hollenweger, eds., *Pentecostals after a Century: Global Perspectives on a Movement in Transition* (Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

has escaped the notice of missiologists."[8] That is similar to my own observation. In the 1960s in Italy, the Pentecostals were largely overlooked by other evangelicals. Yet they had grown to become larger than the Waldensians and all other historical Protestant denominations combined. Membership in the Assemblies of God in 1969 stood at 120,000, whereas all non-Pentecostal Protestants totaled about 55,000.[9] Lessons were there to be learned, but were missed by other missions:

> The Assemblies of God is an Italian church, run by Italians in an Italian way.... It is "national" and not "missionary" in orientation. Its American missionaries work under the Italian church—an arrangement sometimes difficult for the missionary, but apparently beneficial to the church.[10]

Other missionaries tended to present the gospel in foreign dress, whereas the Pentecostals responded with local cultural distinctives. Pentecostals offered a meaningful alternative to the people of post-war disrupted Italy. Reasons for Pentecostal growth, in contrast to other groups as observed in that country, include: 1) an Italian identity, 2) a distinctive identity not as Protestants but as *evangelista* (evangelists), 3) aggressive witnessing by the laity, 4) family house churches, 5) a few large churches which attract growth, 6) the presence of the Holy Spirit communicated in a dynamic community, 7) spiritual experience, and 8) simplicity of doctrine.[11]

The Italian experience of the past century has affinity to what has transpired in other parts of the world. David Barrett has shown us that at the start of the twenty-first century, Pentecostals and Charismatics constitute the second largest body of Christians in the world, exceeded

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[8] Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, "One Hundred Years of Pentecostal Missions: A Report on the European Pentecostal/Charismatic Research Association's 1999 Meeting," *Mission Studies* 16:1-2 (2000), pp. 207-16 (207).

[9] Roger E. Hedlund, *The Protestant Movement in Italy* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1970), pp. 131-38.

[10] Hedlund, *The Protestant Movement in Italy*, p. 142.

[11] Roger E. Hedlund, "Why Pentecostal Churches Are Growing Faster in Italy?" *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 8:3 (Spring 1972), pp. 134-35.

only by the Roman Catholics in size.[12] The rapid growth and impact of Pentecostalism in the last century caused Harvey Cox to modify his secularization thesis, because Pentecostalism proves that something noteworthy is happening in the world of religion.[13] Allan Anderson and others have demonstrated the reality of Pentecostalism as a global phenomenon among the poor.[14] Grant Wacker, however, argues that the first generation of American Pentecostal converts were not necessarily from the poorest and marginal sections but represented a cross-section of American lower-middle and middle classes.[15] Leaders likewise included persons of social, financial and educational prominence. The story is one of "men and women of modest birth who proved resourceful, hard working, fired by ideals and, above all, determined to get the job done."[16] It is not surprising, then, that Pentecostalism flourished. This is because Pentecostalism was and is a missionary movement.

2.3 Brazil

In a recent study, Waldo César (of Brazil) speaks of modern Pentecostalism as "a religious phenomenon" which takes its originality from the Day of Pentecost at Jerusalem (Acts 1:13-14; 2:2). With signs reappearing at Azusa Street in Los Angeles in the early 1900s, a movement began which spread to Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America within the same decade. "The historic and symbolic efficacy of Pentecost has been reproduced in the twentieth century."[17] Initially subjected to ridicule or rejected as sectarian, "the existing churches underestimated this new form of Protestantism."[18]

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[12] David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Trends AD 30-AD 2200: Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2001).

[13] Anderson & Hollenweger, eds., *Pentecostals after a Century*.

[14] Anderson & Hollenweger, eds., *Pentecostals after a Century*.

[15] Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 199.

[16] Wacker, *Heaven Below*, p. 213.

[17] Waldo César, "From Babel to Pentecost: A Social-Historical-Theological Study of the Growth of Pentecostalism," in *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Lain America*, ed. André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), p. 24.

[18] César, "From Babel to Pentecost," p. 25.

In its essence, Pentecostalism always was a missionary movement. In Brazil, for example, by the 1930s, nearly 10 percent of the Protestants had converted to Pentecostalism. In the 1990s, the Assemblies of God in Brazil converted half a million members in one year; the Christian Congregation of Brazil baptized 100,000 converts in one year; and the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God built a cathedral to seat 20,000 worshippers in Rio de Janeiro. "In global terms, in the Third World alone, Pentecostals must amount to over 150 million individuals."[19] The significant global expansion of Pentecostalism "demonstrates the inversion of traditional missionary activity, from the Third World to the developed countries of Europe and North America."[20]

2.4 Nepal.

To the north of India, in Nepal, where Christianity has been growing rapidly during the last three decades, the Christian movement from its inception is said to have a Pentecostal character. Even before Nepal opened its doors in 1951, Pentecostal missionaries in India were active on the Nepal border. Some of the converts were trained at the North India Bible Institute of the Assemblies of God at Hardoi. In Nepal converts were exposed to Pentecostal teaching. Besides the Assemblies of God, the Agape Fellowship and many independent churches are Pentecostal or Charismatic.[21]

3. Roots of Pentecostalism in India

3.1Ramabai Mukti Mission.

According to various authorities, Pentecostalism in India has its roots in Maharashtra at the Ramabai Mukti Mission, Kedgaon.[22] In 1897

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[19] César, "From Babel to Pentecost," p. 25.

[20] César, "From Babel to Pentecost," p. 25.

[21] Bal Krishna Sharma, "A History of the Pentecostal Movement in Nepal," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 4:2 (July 2001), pp. 295-305.

[22] Ivan M. Saatyavrata, "Contextual Perspectives on Pentecostalism as a Global Culture: A South Asian View," in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel*, eds. Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Carlisle: Regnum, 1999), pp. 203-21 (204). See also Gary B. McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached: A History and Theology of Assemblies*

Pandita Ramabai invited Minnie Abrams, a Methodist missionary from America, to minister at Kedgaon.[23] In 1905 a spiritual revival at Mukti was to reverberate far beyond Kedgaon.[24] A first-hand account by Minnie Abrams describes the weeping and praying of the repentant Mukti girls as well as the dramatic manifestations which accompanied the new "baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire."[25] Preaching bands from Mukti volunteered to spread the gospel in the surrounding villages. The message of Pentecost made its way to other parts of India. Healings, speaking in tongues, prophecy and other "gifts of the Spirit" were in vogue.[26]

J. Edwin Orr documents the spread of the revival as the Mukti bands carried the message throughout the Maratha country. Characterized by emotional phenomena, the impact of the awakening was long-lasting in terms of conversions and changed lives.[27] The spiritual movement spread across various denominations, e.g. Alliance, Anglican, Baptist, Friends, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc. At Mukti, Ramabai channeled the enthusiasm of the believing community into famine relief work as well as social rehabilitation.[28] The spiritual awakening had an enduring influence in Maharashtrian society.

3.2 Growth in South India: Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

There were also, however, earlier precedents in South India both in Tamil Nadu and in Kerala. Historian Gary McGee states that "the most

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of God Foreign Missions to 1959 (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1986), p. 54.

[23] Basil Miller, *Pandita Ramabai: India's Christian Pilgrim* (Pasadena: World-Wide Missions, n.d.), p. 64.

[24] Miller, *Pandita Ramabai*, pp. 86-87.

[25] Minnie F. Abrams, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire*, 2nd ed. (Kedgaon: Pandita Ramabai Mukti Mission, 1906, rep. 1999), pp. 1-3. Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), p. 120 states that in 1963 the Mukti Mission leadership claimed they were totally ignorant of the Pentecostal revival,

[26] Abrams, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, p. 36.

[27] J. Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in India* (New Delhi: Masihi Sahitya Sanstha, 1970), pp. 111-14.

[28] Jessie H. Mair, *Bungalows in Heaven: The Story of Pandita Ramabai*, rev. ed. (Kedgaon: Pandita Ramabai Mukti Mission, 1993 reprint), p. 79.

prominent revivals of the nineteenth century characterized by the charismatic gifts of the Holy Spirit occurred in India."[29] Pentecostalism in South Asia, then, is significantly indigenous in origin. "The Pentecostal movement that created ripples in South India began as an indigenous movement. It was not until later that revival movements in the West impacted this indigenous movement."[30] In 1860 in Tirunelveli, under Church Mission Society (CMS) catechist John Christian Aroolappen, a revival took place with Pentecostal signs including prophecy, tongues, interpretation of tongues, dreams, visions, and intense conviction of sin.[31] A decade later, a similar revival was brought to Kerala (Travancore) by Aroolappen.[32] These and other antecedents prepared the ground for the twentieth-century Pentecostal movement in India.

3.3 North East India (NEI)

Pentecostalism in NEI is rooted in the Evangelical Christianity introduced by missionaries from Wales. Several waves of the Welsh Revival influenced the developing leadership of the NEI churches. A 1904 revival in Wales appears to have been carried to NEI in 1905 where the revival movement in the Presbyterian Church had "several elements of Pentecostal expression," including "praying at the top of their voices, singing, dancing, trembling and being slain in the Spirit."[33] Other precedents are found in the indigenous Christian movements of the region including the formation of the indigenous Church of God in 1902, which at a later point experienced speaking in tongues (and a subsequent division).[34]

Full expressions of Pentecostal Christianity in NEI came with the formation of new Pentecostal fellowships and denominations. In

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[29] Gary B. McGee, "India: Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like Movements (1860-1910)" (an unpublished article, c.1999), cited in A. C. George, "Pentecostal Beginnings in Travancore, South India," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 4:2 (2001), pp. 215-37 (220).

[30] George, "Pentecostal Beginnings in Travancore, South India," p. 220.

[31] George, "Pentecostal Beginnings in Travancore, South India," p. 222.

[32] George, "Pentecostal Beginnings in Travancore, South India," p. 223.

[33] O. L. Snaitang, "The Indigenous Pentecostal Movement in Northeast India," *Dharma Deepika*, July-Dec, 2002, p. 7.

[34] Snaitang, "The Indigenous Pentecostal Movement," p. 6.

Meghalaya in 1932, the indigenous Church of Jesus Christ—Full Gospel came into existence, followed by other Pentecostal groups from outside the region.[35] In Mizoram, revival produced a number of independent churches of Pentecostal character in 1913, 1932, 1942, 1947, 1965 and 1971.[36] In Manipur, a 1917 revival associated with Watkin R. Roberts prepared the ground for Pentecostal growth, including the United Pentecostal Church, the Revival Church of God, the Christian Revival Church and others.[37] Revival in Nagaland in the 1940s and 1950s led to the formation of the Nagaland Christian Revival Church in 1962, followed by the introduction of the Ceylon Pentecostal Mission, the Assemblies of God and other missions from outside the region.[38]

Most of the Pentecostal churches of NEI have roots in the revivals in the Presbyterian and other churches of NEI.

3.4 Assemblies of God and Church of God

Among early Pentecostal missionaries in India were several from the 1908 Azusa Street Mission revival. These included George Berg and Robert F. Cook, pioneer missionaries whose evangelistic work laid the foundations for the beginnings of the Assemblies of God and the Church of God in Southern India. Cook, who began as an independent missionary, for a while joined the Assemblies of God, then separated and affiliated to the Church of God (Cleveland), attracted a group of committed local preachers who were to become significant Pentecostal leaders.

Missionaries and local workers of the Assemblies of God and the Church of God were to lay the foundation, not only for these two denominations, but also for the subsequent emergence of numerous new indigenous Pentecostal fellowships and movements in India and beyond. The principles and procedures followed were conducive to the formation and growth of new Christian movements, as we shall see.

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[35] Snaitang, "The Indigenous Pentecostal Movement," p. 7.

[36] Snaitang, "The Indigenous Pentecostal Movement," p. 8.

[37] Snaitang, "The Indigenous Pentecostal Movement," p. 9.

[38] Snaitang, "The Indigenous Pentecostal Movement," p. 10.

4. Indigenous Pentecostals: The Indian Pentecostal Church and the Ceylon Pentecostal Mission

4.1 The Indian Pentecostal Church of God (IPC)

One of the local preachers who served with Robert Cook was K. E. Abraham who became founder of the Indian Pentecostal Church of God, a major indigenous Pentecostal denomination from which have sprung numbers of other independent movements. IPC is the largest indigenous Pentecostal movement in India and continues to grow at the rate of one new church per week. In 1997, there were more than 3000 local churches in India including 1700 in Kerala, 700 in Andhra, 210 in Tamil Nadu, 70 in Karnataka, and smaller numbers in other states in North India and the North East.[39]

The IPC is an important expression of Christian nationalism in India prior to India's Independence. K. E. Abraham believed that ministry could progress better without foreign missionary domination, viz., self-supporting churches should be led by self-sacrificing national ministers; leadership should be in the hands of local Christians; local churches should manage their own affairs and hold their own property as independent Christian churches in an independent India. The IPC thus challenged the Assemblies of God and the Church of God, which were of missionary origins in India.

From these origins have emerged numerous Pentecostal movements. One example is the Sharon Fellowship Church (SFC) and its institutions based at Thiruvalla, begun by P. J. Thomas after he separated from the

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[39] Information is from the son of the founder and present head of the IPC, Pastor T. S. Abraham, interviewed at Hebron, Kumbanad, on December 18, 1997. Also see Sara Abraham, "A Critical Evaluation of the Indian Pentecostal Church of God: Its Origin and Development in Kerala" (M.Th. thesis, Serampore University, 1990); IPC, "A Handbook of the Indian Pentecostal Church of God" (Kumbanad, Kerala: IPC General Secretary, Hebronpuram, 1994); Samuel Mathew, "Biblical Leadership: A Theology of Servanthood for the Church in India" (M.Th. in Missiology thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1989); Abraham Thottumkal Pothen, "The Indian Pentecostal Church of God and Its Contribution to Church Growth" (M.A. Missiology thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1988); Saju, *Kerala Penthecosthu Charithram* (Kottayam: Good News Publications, 1994); P. J. Titus, "IPC Movement in Andhra Pradesh" (unpublished paper, 1997); Habel G. Verghese, *K.E. Abraham: An Apostle from Modern India* (Kadambanad, Kerala: Christian Literature Service of India, 1974).

IPC in 1953. Today SFC has more than 90,000 members and 450 congregations in Kerala and 350 outside Kerala.[40]

In Central India, the Pentecostal Church at Itarsi sponsors the Central India Bible College, founded in 1962 by Kurien Thomas, directed today by Matthew Thomas. The related Fellowship of the Pentecostal Churches of God in India, established in 1966, reports more than 500 workers in 13 fields of service throughout North and South India. This Fellowship is an example of one of the many ministries to have emerged from the IPC.[41]

These are but a few of the many Pentecostal denominations in India. The first major scholarly study of South Indian Pentecostalism[42] touches the history of all known Pentecostal bodies in South India including those of indigenous origins as well as those of international (foreign missionary) extraction. Bergunder lists a total of 71 Pentecostal bodies in the four southern states.

4.2 The Ceylon Pentecostal Mission (CPM)

The origins of Pentecostalism in Sri Lanka are closely related to developments in India. The earliest Pentecostal missionaries were not related to any denomination but served as independent Christian workers. The most prominent among them was a woman, Anna Lewini, from Denmark who first arrived in Colombo in 1919, returned to Denmark in 1920, then came again to Sri Lanka where she remained for more than three decades. In 1922, she rented a hall a Borella which became the first assembly of Pentecostal Christians in Sri Lanka known as Glad Tidings Hall. In 1927, the name was changed to Colombo Gospel Tabernacle.[43]

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[40] Information is from T. P. Abraham, "Sharon Fellowship Church" (an unpublished paper, n.d).

[41] A letter of Matthew K. Thomas to Roger E. Hedlund (March 9, 1998). Also see *The Trumpet*, IPC Platinum Jubilee Edition, January-February 1999.

[42] This is a definitive work by a German scholar at Halle University, Michael Bergunder, *Die Südindische Pfingstbewegung im 20.Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 1999), not yet available in English.

[43] G. P. V. Somaratna, *Origins of the Pentecostal Mission in Sri Lanka* (Nugegoda: Margaya Fellowship, 1996), pp. 12, 16, 18.

"Anna Lewini was the real founder of Pentecostalism in Sri Lanka."[44] Another figure, however, was to be more prominent, because Anna Lewini deliberately chose a secondary position. "She labored and founded the mission. Then she prayed for a man to arrive to take over the leadership. When the person arrived she willingly handed over the ministry to that person."[45] Walter H. Clifford was that person who arrived from India to serve from 1924 to 1948 as an Assemblies of God missionary in Sri Lanka.[46] Clifford's ministry and influence were extensive. He not only laid solid foundations for the Assemblies of God, but also influenced other denominations.

According to historian Somaratna, "The Ceylon Pentecostal Mission owes its origin to the ministry of Walter Clifford."[47] The CPM began as a breakaway group in 1923 led by Alwin R. de Alwis and Pastor Paul. The CPM espoused an ascetic approach to spirituality. Ministers were not to marry and they should wear white. They disdained the use of medicine and gave central importance to the doctrine of the second coming of Christ. Somaratna observes that testimonies of miraculous healing attracted Buddhists and Hindus, and the wearing of white was appropriate culturally in Sri Lanka, where Buddhist devotees wore white to visit the temples. The CPM also instituted indigenous forms of worship.[48]

The CPM, despite its name, did not remain confined to Sri Lanka but spread to other countries including South India, the birth place of Pastor Paul. He was originally known as Ramankutty, born in 1881 to Hindu parents in the village of Engadiyur in Trichur District, Kerala.[49] Ramankutty's first contact with Christianity was at Colombo where he had a vision of the Lord Jesus Christ, which caused him to begin secretly

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[44] G. P. V. Somaratna, *Walter H. Clifford: Apostle of Pentecostalism in Sri Lanka* (Nugegoda: Margaya Fellowship, 1997), p. 23.

[45] Somaratna, *Walter H. Clifford*, p. 23.

[46] Somaratna, *Walter H. Clifford*, p. 25.

[47] Somaratna, *Walter H. Clifford*, p. 25.

[48] Somaratna, *Origins of the Pentecostal Mission in Sri Lanka*, pp. 34-35, 40-41.

[49] This information is provided by Paul C. Martin, "A Brief History of the Ceylon Pentecostal Mission" (a paper presented at the Hyderabad Conference on Indigenous Christian Movements in India, October 27-31, 1998).

to pray and meditate on Jesus.[50] In 1902 Ramankutty openly confessed Jesus as Lord, was baptized and given the Christian name "Paul."

His ministry developed gradually. It was reported that a leper, over whom Paul prayed, was cured, and a person declared dead was brought to life. People were attracted to his new fellowship called the Ceylon Pentecostal Mission. Among those who joined was a college lecturer, Alwin R.de Alwis. Under the leadership of Pastor Paul and Bro. Alwin, the CPM ministry spread beyond Colombo to Tamil Nadu and Kerala, then to other countries.[51]

The CPM laid the foundation for other Pentecostal ministries, not only in Sri Lanka and India but beyond. Today, says Paul C. Martin, the CPM under various names, is one of the largest Pentecostal movements in the world with branches in several countries. While exact membership figures are not yet available, here are 848 branches worldwide (including 708 in India) and about 3984 full-time ministers presided over by chief pastor C. K. Lazarus.[52] In addition, there are numbers of independent assemblies and movements which have severed connections with the CPM. Some of these are prominent, such as the Apostolic Christian Assembly in Tamil Nadu, founded by G. Sundram, led today by Sam Sundaram. And many more.

5. Ecclesistical Freedom: Strength or Weakness?

How, then, to evaluate the Pentecostal missions thrust? Many facets intersect, yet two major streams of influence can be detected. One is the influence of Scandinavian Pentecostalism; the other is the indigenous church growth principles of Melvin Hodges. Pentecostal contribution to the contemporary indigenous missionary movement is a further development derived from this background.

5.1 The Scandinavian Model

From Scandinavia, the Pentecostal missionary movement gained a principle of ecclesiastical freedom, which maximizes the role of the local laity. A movement of the Spirit should not be controlled by ecclesiastical structures or hierarchy. Scandinavian Pentecostalism is marked by a

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[50] Martin, "A Brief History of the Ceylon Pentecostal Mission."

[51] Martin, "A Brief History of the Ceylon Pentecostal Mission," p. 8.

[52] Martin, "A Brief History of the Ceylon Pentecostal Mission," pp. 5, 12.

strong congregational ecclesiology.[53] Missionary societies from the Scandinavian Free Pentecostal churches served to facilitate the sending of missionaries from local churches, but maintained minimal control over the missionaries.

From Oslo, former Methodist missionary Thomas Ball Barratt, now a leader of the Pentecostal movement, was influenced by the self-supporting "Pauline missions" theory of dissident Methodist missionary bishop, William Taylor. Taylor had planted Methodist churches in India, Latin America and Africa.

5.2 The Pauline Method

From his reading of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, Taylor derived what he considered a divinely inspired methodology for mission work.

The "Pauline method" was to evangelize, to establish churches, and to form an effective pastorate from among the converts. Any supervision by missionaries was to be as short as possible. The converts themselves will "support and extend" the church, which is to be self-governing from the beginning. These churches are to be the equal of any churches anywhere in the world.[54] This was the method Taylor had followed to begin Methodist churches in the cities of India.

5.3 The Contribution of Taylor and Barratt

Barratt implemented Taylor's mission theory in Norway, and from the Central Filadelfia Church in Oslo spread the innovative tradition far beyond.

Outside Norway, Barratt, more than any other figure in the early period of Pentecostalism, was responsible for the beginnings of new movements throughout Europe, India and Latin America. His radical insistence on the "three self" theory of Taylor allowed Pentecostalism to be flexible, entrepreneurial and ready to accept the leadership of the new converts as equal to that of the founders. He, unlike the American Pentecostal and Wesleyan/Holiness denominations, adopted a thorough

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[53] T. P. Varghese, "The Influence of Swedish Pentecostalism in India" (Paper presented for the 9th EPCRA Conference, Missions Academy, University of Hamburg, July 13-17, 1999), p. 3.

[54] David Bundy, "Unintended Consequences: The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society and the Beginnings of Pentecostalism in Norway and Chile," *Missiology* 27:2 (April 1999), pp. 211-29 (214).

congregationalism, which cooperated for mission, evangelism and publication, but refused to establish a bureaucracy or to allow intervention in the congregations. This has become the ecclesiology and missiology of most of global Pentecostalism.[55]

The global Pentecostal advance was characterized by innovation. Missionaries were essentially new church initiators but not superintendents of churches. Newly begun Pentecostal churches were neither appendages of a foreign mission nor under the patronage of missionaries—at least in principle, but not without exception! Human failure notwithstanding, the Scandinavian model was good for producing a sense of local autonomy and maturity with reciprocal responsibility for mission. A two-way flow of missionary personnel and resources (from South and East to North and West) seems to reflect this ideal. The emergence of Methodist Pentecostalism in Chile is directly related to the experience and work of Wilis Hoover, influenced by William Taylor, and buttressed, no doubt, by Barratt and the example of Norway.

The commonalities between the Norwegian and the Chilean experiences are striking. Both Barratt and Hoover had experience in the Wesleyan/Holiness branch of Methodism and had accepted William Taylor's mission theory as the paradigm for ministry. In both Norway and Chile, the Pentecostal churches grew quickly. In both cases, they became centers of mission in the tradition of Taylor.[56]

In India, a similar strand is found in the case of Minnie Abrams, Methodist missionary turned "independent," who had ties with the Hoovers in Chile and whose treatise on *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire* provided impetus to the debate over mission policy.[57] The Scandinavian practice of mission, then, has had a bearing as well in Asia which is reflected in numerous Asian-initiated Pentecostal and Independent churches.

5.4 Melvin Hodges' Indigenous Policy

The impact of the well-known Pentecostal missiologist, Melvin Hodges, is particularly evident in the missionary policies of the Assemblies of God. The goal, said Hodges, is a national church which

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[55] Bundy, "Unintended Consequences," p. 219.

[56] Bundy, "Unintended Consequences," p. 223.

[57] Bundy, "Unintended Consequences," p. 222.

will have roots of its own and not be dependent upon foreign resources.[58] Such a church will be self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing. Church government is to include an adequate national fellowship, which will facilitate unity and cooperation and provide correction as needed for the local congregations.[59]

At the heart of Hodges' missiology was a strong ecclesiology. "A weak theology of the Church will produce a weak sense of mission."[60] Hodges might have been influenced by Roland Allen whose writings are mentioned along with others in Hodges' bibliography,[61] but his principles are derived from his missionary experience in Latin America and from his study of the New Testament. The gifts of the Spirit are for carrying out the ministry of the church, yet the fruit of the Spirit takes precedence over spiritual gifts, because God desires to develop our Christian character which is essential for Christian witness.[62] The mission of the church is to persuade people "to turn from darkness to light and from empty forms of religion to the vital power of God's salvation."[63] Anything which hinders this objective or impedes the development of the church must be sacrificed.[64] Hodges mandated the redistribution of missionaries in order to encourage development of national workers. To fulfill the mission objective the chief missionary activity must be church planting, which is to be carried out by missionaries, pastors, evangelists and laypersons.[65] The church, wherever it is located, by prayer and other means, is to create a climate for church growth. This begins by being the kind of persons "through

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[58] Melvin L. Hodges, *Build My Church* (Springfield: Assemblies of God, 1957), p. 13.

[59] Hodges, *Build My Church*, p. 47.

[60] Melvin L. Hodges, *A Theology of the Church and Its Mission: A Pentecostal Perspective* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1977), p. 10.

[61] Hodges, *A Theology of the Church and Its Mission*, p. 181.

[62] Hodges, *A Theology of the Church and Its Mission*, pp. 46-47.

[63] Hodges, *A Theology of the Church and Its Mission*, p. 97.

[64] Melvin L. Hodges, *On the Mission Field: The Indigenous Church* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1953), p. 106.

[65] Melvin L. Hodges, *A Guide to Church Planting* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1973), p. 28.

whom the Holy Spirit can create the life and climate of the New Testament Church.[66]

The biblical theology of mission and the missionary principles of Melvin Hodges resulted in associations of churches under local leadership with a keen sense of mission. The Pentecostal movement worldwide has been characterized by love for the Bible and zeal for evangelism.

Despite some problems of missionary paternalism and dependency, the three-self "indigenous principles" policy of the Assemblies of God seems to have facilitated the development of indigenous Pentecostal leadership. Creation of regional Bible schools was an important aspect of Pentecostal strategy. Bethel Bible Institute at Punalur is the oldest existing Bible school of the Assemblies of God outside of North America.[67] Without a doubt, these Bible colleges have been a catalyst in training leaders many of whom in turn have fostered indigenous Pentecostal movements in Kerala. The role of the Bible school, combined with the implementation of the indigenous policy, produced a formula for Pentecostal expansion in and beyond Kerala.

6. Indian Models of Leadership

The example of the strict congregationalism of Scandinavian Pentecostalism encouraged the development of local leaders in the Indian churches. Later, this was buttressed by the three-self indigenous principles of Melvin Hodges and the Assemblies of God.

6.1 Local Leadership

Indigenous leadership emerged early in the Indian Pentecostal movement. By the second decade of the twentieth century, a second line of local leaders was beginning to challenge missionary leadership monopoly. By 1930, "native leadership with a considerable following had been developed in Kerala. These leaders took the Pentecostal faith to

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[66] Melvin L. Hodges, "Creating a Climate for Church Growth," in *Church Growth and Christian Mission*, ed. Donald Anderson McGavran (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 32.

[67] Gary B. McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached: A History and Theology of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions to 1959* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1986), p. 158.

the rest of South India and were the founding fathers of the Pentecostal Faith in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and parts of Karnataka."[68]

These leaders propounded a strong "faith" component resulting in a Pentecostal movement, which was largely self-supporting from the beginning as well as self-governing and self-propagating.[69]

6.2 Theological Leadership

Pentecostals in Kerala and elsewhere have begun their own Bible colleges and seminaries. The earliest in Kerala were Mount Zion Bible College in Mulakkuzha, and Mizpeh Bible College in Thrissur, both founded in 1922. Bethel Bible College in Punalur, founded in 1927, is the oldest existing Bible school of the Assemblies of God outside North America.[70] Hebron Bible College of the IPC at Kumbanad dates to 1930. A recent list of Pentecostal Bible colleges in Kerala[71] contains 60 institutions, two of which, Faith Theological Seminary at Manakkala and Gospel for Asia Biblical Seminary at Kuttapuzha, are affiliated to Serampore University. Five others are accredited by the Asia Theological Association (ATA) in Bangalore,[72] and ten are members of the Association of Pentecostal Theological Institutes.[73] Four offer either the B.D. or M.Div. degree,[74] and 18 offer an undergraduate B.Th. degree.[75]

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[68] Paulson Pulikottil, "Emergence of Indian Pentecostalism," *Dharma Deepika* (July-Dec. 2002), p. 53.

[69] Pulikottil, "Emergence of Indian Pentecostalism," p. 52.

[70] McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached*, p. 158.

[71] Information provided by Alexander Philip, January 19, 1999.

[72] Bethel Bible College (Punalur), New India Bible College (Paippad), Sharon Bible College (Thiruvalla), Peniel Bible Seminary and Missioary Training Centre (Keezhillam), and Ebenezer Institute and College (Kaduthuruthy).

[73] Zarephath Bible College (Thrissur), WME Bible College, Kariamplave, Bethlehem Christian Educational Centre, Karuvatta, Bersheba Christian Bible School (Kottarakkara), India Christian Fellowship Foundation Bible School (Renny), Everyone Crusade Misionary Bible Institute (Ezhamkulam), Malabar Bersheba Bible College (Kozhikode), Bersheba Bible College (Mavelikkara), and Bethany Bible College (Kottayam).

[74] Faith Theological Seminary (Manakkala), New India Bible College (Paippad), Peniel Bible Seminary and Missionary Training Centre (Keexhillam), and Gospel For Asia Biblical Seminary (Kuttapuzha).

An assortment of certificates are offered by others. While enrolments, quality and levels of training vary, it is obvious that these 60 training institutions produce a large number of Christian workers for ministries in and beyond Kerala.

Theological educators in the past were prone to shun Pentecostals. Pentecostal beliefs and practices were ridiculed in some ecumenical and evangelical classrooms, and students subjected to discrimination. This has begun to change.

Indian Pentecostal theologians have been trained in some of the world's finest universities. In Kerala, the Faith Theological Seminary for many years has been affiliated to Serampore University. Numerous other such institutions exist in Kerala, many with well-qualified faculty, providing basic theological training for hundreds of teachers, preachers, pastors, evangelists, missionaries and other workers for the Pentecostal movement.

At long last, this dynamic growth has caught the attention of theological educators in India. Pentecostals today are included among the theologians of India! Rejection has changed to acceptance. Pentecostal institutions are accepted for Serampore affiliation and for ATA membership. Pentecostal success has occasioned academic recognition. Will it also bring theological renewal?

6.3 Has Pentecostalism Developed Any Contextual Theology?

Pentecostal and Charismatic churches comprise the fastest growing segment of Christianity in South India.[76] Kerala is the home of numbers

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[75] Bethel Bible College (Punalur), Faith Theological Seminary (Manakkala), New India Bible College (Paippad), Sharon Bible College (Thiruvalla), Peniel Bible Seminary and Missionary Training Centre (Keexhillam), Mount Zion Bible College (Mulakkuzha), Bethel Seminary and Missionary Centre (Chengannur), Bethlehem Christian Educational Centre, Calvary Bible College (Pathanapuram), Ebenezer Institute and College (Kaduthuruthy), Zion Bible College (Mallappally), Malabar Bersheba Bible College (Kozhikode), Hebron Bible College (Kumbanad), Calicut Theological College (Calicut), Light for India Bible College (Trivandrum), Bethel Bible College (Kumbanad), Gospel for Asia Biblical Seminary (Kuttapuzha), and Trinity Bible College (Calicut).

[76] This statement is based upon observation and compilations carried out in South India. See the author's chapter, "Church Planting in Selected Indian Cities," in *Evangelization and Church Growth: Issues from the Asian Context*, ed. Roger E. Hedlund (Madras: C.G.R.C., McGavran Institute, 1992), pp. 187-212.

of Pentecostal denominations, many of whom have spread beyond the borders of Kerala into various regions of India, South Asia and overseas. It is important, therefore, to ponder the implications.

Some theologians discern in Pentecostalism a potential corrective function. "Pentecostalism represents a restoration of the experiential dimension of the Christian faith in the wake of its scholastic reduction."[77] Non-western Christianity has great capacity for removing unwanted accretions and correcting western distortions. Pomerville mentions indigenous Pentecostals as an emerging "third force" in world Christianity whose theology and witness respond to issues outside the scope of traditional western considerations.[78]

Today's Pentecostals participate in ecumenical dialogue and teach in some of the renowned theological faculties of Asia and the West. A number of distinguished biblical scholars, historians and theologians are Pentecostals.[79]

In India, emerging young Pentecostal theologians from Kerala have the prospect of pointing indigenous theology in new directions. Consultation and collaboration between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals is one indication. Evangelicals and Charismatics need each other, states David Shibley.[80] In India, younger Evangelical and Pentecostal leaders realize the same. Pentecostals at the close of the twentieth century are found in leadership roles in a number of Indian evangelical institutions and organizations.

Given the strong indigenous principles received from Melvin Hodges, combined with the pneumatological ecclesiology inherent in Thomas Ball Barratt's congregationalism, it is not surprising that Pentecostalism has proven courageously flexible and innovative, resulting in numerous Pentecosal independent movements in many parts of the world. The Pentecostal mission has proven itself capable of

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[77] Paul A. Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1985), p. 63.

[78] Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions*, pp. 29, 33, 38.

[79] One thinks of Gordon Fee at Regent College in Canada, Russell Spittler, Cecil M. Robeck and Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen at Fuller, Miroslav Volf of Yugoslavia and now Yale University, Peter Kuzmiç at Gordon-Conwell, Simon Chan at Trinity College in Singapore, and others.

[80] David Shibley, *A Force in the Earth: The Charismatic Renewal and World Evangelism* (Altamonte Springs, FL: Creation, 1989), p. 27.

enormous adaptability and adjustments. Weaknesses also arise from these very strengths.

7. Cautions and Areas for Attention

7.1 Splits!

The Pentecostal movement in some quarters is marked by division. Kerala, for example, has a number of denominations bearing the Church of God label, each existing in separate isolation. One at least, the Church of God (Division), is the result of separation on caste lines. Other bifurcations are over leaders and personality clashes. The SFC is an outcome of a leadership exodus from the IPC. Institutions such as Bible colleges have emerged around personalities, creating factions within existing bodies as well as spinning off to form new denominations.

These multiplied and growing groups exhibit something of the vitality of Pentecostalism. Nevertheless, this fissiparous tendency also is counter-productive for Christian witness in a complex society seeking unity in the midst of diversity. A tendency for divisive exclusiveness on the part of some Pentecostal groups is an impediment to united witness. This was painfully illustrated in the division created by John C. Douglas and the World Missionary Evangelism mission in Andhra Pradesh.

> Almost all of the Indian Pentecostal Church leaders joined the service of Mr. Douglas. That was the beginning of the World Missionary Evangelism mission in India. What happened to missionary, ministerial, and pastoral ethics? Many IPC pastors changed their signboards from IPC to the WME mission. But they remained still on IPC property, lands and buildings, which were purchased and registered by and in the name of the Indian Pentecostal Church. These are now occupied by the WME mission pastors.[81]

A penchant for divisiveness is not peculiar to Pentecostals by any means, but it is an area which bears watching. Development of an indigenous ecclesiology is needed, which might correct a tendency toward irresponsible independency.

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[81] P. J. Titus, "Pentecostal Indigenous Movements in Andhra," in *Christianity Is Indian: The Emergence of an Indigenous Community*, ed. Roger E. Hedlund (Delhi: ISPCK, 2000), pp. 269-93 (386).

7.2 Ecumenism

Relationships between different Pentecostal bodies need attention. How Pentecostals relate to Christians of other denominations is also a neglected issue. Rightly or wrongly, Pentecostals are perceived as exclusivist and separatist. Ecumenical structures, therefore, tend to bypass Pentecostals, whereas the Pentecostal voice needs to be heard. The ongoing Pentecostal dialogue with the Vatican is an indication of what can be done.[82]

7.3 Leadership

Leadership in breakaway churches often exhibits "power-mongering inclinations"[83] which require attention. The history of Pentecostalism is filled with colorful personalities who can be studied for lessons and models of leadership. Pastoral theology should include a solid biblical theology of leadership. Pastoral training, which tends to be action oriented, could also include study of Pentecostal theology of mission.

A century of mission experience is a rich field to be exploited. What are the particular Pentecostal mission distinctives? Is it the role of the Holy Spirit in mission? But that is found also in Reformed theology, e.g., H. Boer's *Pentecost and Mission*. Is it spontaneity? But that emphasis was already given in the writings of Roland Allan. Perhaps the prominence of the laity is a key, but that is also characteristic of the Brethren movement. Nevertheless, the early Pentecostal movement was essentially a movement of the laity, and the Pentecostal model of participatory training was highly effective in recruiting and equipping leaders, as Bishop Newbigin pointed out.[84] Further investigation may be fruitful.

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[82] Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, "Evangelization, Proselytism, and Common Witness: Roman Catholic-Pentecostal Dialogue on Mission," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 25:1 (January 2001), pp. 16-22.

[83] Agrippa G. Khathide, "Mission in Pentecostalism," *Missionalia* 30 (November 2002), p. 356.

[84] Lesslie Newbigin, "Theological Education in a World Perspective," in *Missions and Theological Education in World Perspective*, eds. Harvie M. Conn and Samuel F. Rowen (Farmington, MI: Associates of Urbanus, 1984), pp. 3-18 (11, 17).

7.4 Inculturation and the Trap of Syncretism

Lack of adequate training in biblical exegesis, theological methodology and hermeneutics leaves sections of the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement vulnerable to aberrations. Pentecostalism on the American scene has been blemished by "the shattered empires of the deliverance evangelists in the 1950s and the television preachers in the 1980s."[85] The cloning of these flawed American patterns by Pentecostal-Charismatic preachers in the developing world is not healthy. More disturbing is a tendency to develop peculiar teachings derived from extra-biblical sources. Asian theologian Hwa Yung warns against the danger of Pentecostal and charismatic movements becoming more experience-centered than word-centered. "The problem with an experience-centered Christianity is that historically it has always tended towards extremism and heresy. The only way to avoid this is to hold Spirit and God's Word together in proper harmony."[86]

Hwa Yung also warns against the heresy of the American prosperity gospel, which is "a sub-Christian version of the 'American Dream' of the affluent and comfortable middle-class lifestyle," and the related emphasis on the super-star pastor, which "has less to do with New Testament images of shepherds of God's flock than with the American idolization of the super-hero."[87] However, Donald Miller's recent research found Neo-Pentecostal leaders, who are highly critical of the prosperity gospel, while affirming that prosperity may be a byproduct of Christian conversion, which is accompanied by a radical change of lifestyle.[88]

Pentecostalism's ability to inculturate makes it vulnerable to local aberrations. An example is the reported Shamanization of the gospel in Korea. Shamanism is deeply rooted in Korea, and Korean Christianity is said to have been shamanized. Is this an unfortunate syncretism? Or the secret of an indigenous Korean religiosity? All denominations of the Korean church are said to have been influenced by Pentecostalism.[89] It will be helpful if Korean Pentecostal theologians will respond to the

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[85] Wacker, *Heaven Below*, p. 216.

[86] Yung Hwa, *Beyond AD 2000: A Call to Evangelical Faithfulness* (Kuala Lumpur, Kairos Research Centre, 1999), p. 24.

[87] Hwa, *Beyond AD 2000*, p. 26.

[88] Timothy Sato, "Outrageous Vision: A Conversation with Donald Miller about Global Pentecostalism," *Books & Culture* 8:6 (Nov-Dec 2002), p. 31.

[89] Anderson & Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism after a Century*.

issues raised. In India, it is commonly believed that evil spirits are the results of premature or violent death. This pre-Christian belief is propagated as Christian doctrine by certain well-known healing evangelists. Biblical teaching is required as a corrective.

Miller's research affirms that "Pentecostalism connects strongly with animistic cultures" in terms of supernatural healings and other interventions.[90] Witchcraft, healing, dreams, possession, signs and wonders are uppermost issues in much of the developing world. This is not a weakness, unless it becomes overbalanced. The Pentecostal worldview does not dichotomize mind and body, and may be at the forefront of an emerging postmodern worldview.[91]

7.5 Anti-Intellectualism?

Pentecostalism is highly pragmatic with a tendency to endorse whatever works without careful reflection and evaluation. Contradictory practices and statements sometimes result which later have to be corrected or rescinded. The early Pentecostal movement was weak in terms of serious biblical and theological reflection. The Bible was accepted literally, the issue was obedience rather than interpretation. Pentecostal leaders were activists. Today, however, Pentecostals contribute an increasing number of world-class scholars. Development of centers for Pentecostal studies at various locations around the world is an encouraging development.[92]

P. J. Titus, a seasoned participant from India, points out some weaknesses in the Pentecostal movement in Andhra Pradesh, where emphasis on non-essentials, such as prohibition of jewelry, has alienated the educated middle class communities. A borrowed theology, elitism, a rural mentality, contextual failure, materialism and division prevented the Pentecostal mission from developing a contextual Pentecostal theology.[93] The movement in Andhra became rural and afflicted with a poverty mentality, which was not able to resist the temptation to materialistic greed.

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[90] Sato, "Outrageous Vision."

[91] Sato, "Outrageous Vision."

[92] For example, the Cawston Learning Resource Centre for Pentecostal Studies being developed at the Southern Asia Bible College, Bangalore. See Johnson Srigiri, "A New Centre for Pentecostal Studies," *Dharma Deepika* (January-June 2003), pp. 81-83.

[93] Titus, "Pentecostal Indigenous Movements in Andhra," pp. 384-85.

This lack of serious theological reflection hindered the development of indigenous ecclesiology and hampered outreach to Hindu intellectuals. "Pentecostalism needs to appreciate the intellect as a product of the Spirit," states Agrippa Khathide.[94]

7.6 Weak Social Concern?

Lack of serious theological reflection as well as a weak social theology has been noted by critics from South America.[95] Pentecostals have been accused of lacking social awareness. The church's mission not infrequently is perceived solely as evangelistic preaching and church planting. Members are not encouraged to engage in social or political action. This may have been partly true, but is changing. Pentecostals today are moving into the political arena, but sometimes to support political parties that might grant favors and without critical analysis of structures of injustice.[96]

These proclivities notwithstanding, Pentecostalism has demonstrated its power "to touch the lives of the poorest and most excluded, to help them reorganize their lives, and to give them a new sense of identity and hope."[97] In Pentecostal churches in India, people from widely differing social and economic backgrounds can be found worshipping God side by side in unity.[98]

Hollenweger mentions the social implications of an oral liturgy.[99] Pentecostal oral liturgy has enormous appeal in the oral cultures of India. Is Pentecostal Christianity socially relevant?[100] Kerala may be the test.

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[94] Khathide, "Mission in Pentecostalism," p. 339.

[95] Richard Shaull and Waldo Cesar, *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge, Eerdmans, 2000), pp. 146, 211.

[96] Shaull & Cesar, *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches*, p. 212.

[97] Shaull & Cesar, *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches*, p. 212.

[98] Reuben Louis Gabriel, "Reflections on Indian Pentecostalism: Trends and Issues," *Dharma Deepika*, July-Dec, 2002, p. 68.

[99] Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), p. 273.

[100] See Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, "Are Pentecostals Oblivious to Social Justice?" *Missiology* 29:4 (October 2001), pp. 417-31.

Not infrequently, Dalit and tribal converts in Kerala are found in Pentecostal churches: "a church of the poor!" Pentecostal theology emphasizes the immediate presence of the Holy Spirit giving power for witness and service: "a church with spiritual power!" The indigenous Pentecostals of Kerala are a church in mission among the socially deprived and neglected, as the record shows.[101]

Certain shortcomings seem inherent in the Pentecostal system as derived from its Holiness roots, e.g., a revivalistic formulation of individual salvation, which seemed to neglect social components. Shaull, however, finds a growing Pentecostal social commitment which is related to belief in the transforming power of the Spirit.[102] Its ability to adapt and make mid-stream corrections is a strength of the Pentecostal movement. Imperfections notwithstanding, the Pentecostal mission of the twentieth century is both remarkable and formative for the Christianity of the new century.[103]

7.7 Warfare Language

Spiritual warfare terminology and practices need to be carefully reconsidered in light of today's realities especially in Asia. Crusades and campaigns, though spiritually conceived, are perceived as threats by non-Christian populations and governments. Opponents of the gospel are quick to seize upon military-sounding language as evidence of religious imperialism and neo-colonialism. In summary it may be helpful to highlight a few specific points for further attention. Pentecostals need to:

1) Distinguish between the demonic and psychological disorders, when dealing with demonized or depressed persons. Shamanistic practices should be avoided.

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[101] This statement is substantiated by the kinds of activities carried out by Pentecostal churches and agencies.

[102] Shaull & Cesar, *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches*, pp. 215, 217.

[103] The point is reiterated by Shaull & Cesar, *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches* that Pentecostalism offers great hope for the spiritual and theological renewal of the mainline churches.

2) Avoid overemphasis on deionization. Do not assume that expelling demons will solve all the person's other problems.[104]
3) Recognize that occult practices such as the horoscope, palmistry, divination, necromancy, mediumship, possession, charms and amulets may be part of the background of converts.
4) Recognize practices of *mantra* among converts from New Age mysticism and Eastern religions and provide suitable theological replacement.
5) Avoid spiritual dualism. God and the devil are not equals! Satan is a defeated foe.
6) Be aware of controversies over the territorial spirits issue. The Bible gives "no hints that believers are to concern themselves with such spirits.... There is no evidence in the New Testament that a concern about territorial spirits ever figured into the missionary strategy of the early Christians."[105]
7) Historically it appears that exorcism could be practiced by any Christian calling on the name of Jesus. Christians were exorcists! No religious specialists were required. Exorcism takes place "primarily on the church's border with paganism."[106]
8) Resist the publicity syndrome! Billboard promotion of healing and evangelistic events is detrimental to Christian witness in many contexts today. "Our present persecution in India has been sparked by exaggerated, distorted reports and statistics published widely in newspapers and journals and on the Internet."[107]
9) Plan follow up for evangelization events. Success stories should be scrutinized, facts documented. Inquirers and seekers require

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[104] Charles H. Kraft, "Contemporary Trends in Spiritual Warfare," in *Deliver Us from Evil: An Uneasy Frontier in Christian Mission*, eds. A. Scott Moreau, et al. (Monrovia, MARC, 2002), pp. 177-202 (187).

[105] John Christopher Thomas, "Spiritual Conflict in Illness and Affliction," in *Deliver Us from Evil*, pp. 37-60 (59).

[106] Oskar Skarsaune and Tomod Engelsviken, "Possession and Exorcism in the History of the Church," in *Deliver Us from Evil*, pp. 65-87 (85).

[107] Juliet Thomas, "Issues from the Indian Perspective," in *Deliver Us from Evil*, pp. 146-51 (147).

careful nurturing to become true disciples. "Lack of follow up results in many returning to their old faith."[108]

10) Deal with problems carried over from the pre-Christian belief system, such as the fear of ghosts and harmful spirits thought to have originated from an untimely death. Inculcate a Christian worldview including biblical portrayals of the after-life.
11) Beware of warfare language which is easily misunderstood and potentially inflammatory in today's world.
12) Do not stifle emotion, but avoid emotional extremes.

8. In Conclusion

The examples studied indicate that the worldwide Pentecostal movement was less a product of mission agencies but more the result of local initiatives by enthusiastic indigenous believers. This thesis could be supported by further evidence from the numerous non-western Christian movements in Africa (e.g., African Instituted Churches), Latin America and other regions, but that is beyond the scope of this study.

From his research carried out in five Latin American countries, six in Africa and six in Asia, Donald Miller describes the Pentecostal churches studied as possessing an outrageous vision.

> It's outrageous to the point that people set goals for themselves that are utterly unattainable by normal human standards; but the fact is, they oftentimes attain these goals. They are very much people with a vision who gain their commitment and power to carry out that commitment from a source other than themselves. Many of these churches are extremely large; their worship is often extremely dynamic. Almost all of the large churches have coped with their growth by having cell groups or the equivalent, which then become the primary means of evangelism. They also function as the primary outlet for social ministries in many instances. And they provide the opportunity for people to learn leadership skills. The pastors function as trainers, as opposed to simply ministers, and they train people to do the work of ministry.[109]

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[108] Thomas, "Issues from the Indian Perspective," p. 149.

[109] Sato, "Outrageous Vision."

And therein lies the key to the future. Pentecostal mission is not tied to traditions of the past. If there is a mythical golden age, it was the Apostolic age of the New Testament. Neither hierarchy nor clergy nor cathedrals are required; ecclesiastic embellishments are peripheral and not of the essence of the church. Christian witness in the postmodern age and evangelization of the unchurched are major challenges of the twenty-first century. And the Pentecostals and related new Christian movements, which are themselves the products of the Pentecostal missionary movement, are well-equipped to respond to the challenge.[110] The Pentecostals are among the primary bearers of the Christian mission during the new century.

From the Pentecostal example we derive lessons for other churches.

1) Mission is possible! Whether in a postmodern culture or a hostile environment.
2) Churches need not be tied to the patterns of the past.
3) Christian ministry is for all the members.
4) Training for ministry takes place in the local church.
5) Leaders are born in the local church.
6) Pastors should be trainers of people for the work of ministry.
7) Christian mission is a movement of the laity.
8) Urbanization offers tremendous scope for Christian mission.
9) Cell groups are a primary means of mission in the urban world.
10) The gospel has power to transform lives and society.
11) "A church of the poor" can be "a church with power" for witness and service.
12) A witnessing church can have a powerful impact in society.
13) Theology should respond to local cultural beliefs and fears.
14) Theologians are needed who will exegete both Scripture and culture.

[110] For example, the Yoido Full Gospel Church is planning to evangelize North Korea. See Cheryl Johnson Barton, "World's Largest Church Strategizes on North Korea, World Evangelism," *World Pulse* 37 (December 30, 2002), pp. 1, 3.

[*AJPS* 8:1 (2005), pp. 95-115]

CONTEXTUALIZING INDIGENOUS CHURCH PRINCIPLES: AN AFRICAN MODEL

Warren B. Newberry

1. Introduction

In spite of overexposure and considerations of being outdated, indigenous church principles, as espoused in one form or another since the mid-1800s, continue to be a popular mission strategy for many sending agencies or churches. The concept has persisted and remains a viable tool in spite of having often been discarded as archaic, outmoded and abandoned in favor of partnership, or other newer strategies. It resulted as a reaction to the missionary paternalism that prevailed within the church and mission circles during that period and has carried forward to this present time.

Being a concept formulated and defined by western missioners, it is now used both as a strategy for missions and as a measuring device for the purpose of determining the maturation level and progress of any non-western church established or planted by them. It is argued that these are New Testament principles and thus are mission strategy models that we would do well to follow. After all, if the apostle Paul used them, then they should be good enough for us.

Within missiology, the social sciences such as applied anthropology, cultural anthropology, and intercultural communications are studied and utilized with the expectation of being able to better understand the host culture and to avoid both communicational and relational problems. We apply these models and theories to our mission work and applaud ourselves for being better missionaries. Yet, when it comes to applying the concept of the indigenous church to a non-western situation, a “foreign” western model is always utilized instead of one that is relevant. A contextualized model that functions within the framework of the social and spiritual morés of the host country is better suited for the job. We have not allowed the social science disciplines to influence this area of our missionary praxis.

This essay will briefly trace the history of indigenous church principles in the Assemblies of God and then attempt to contextualize them in order to make them more palatable to the African context. I will argue that these principles are not limited to the original Three-Selfs and that the incorporating of additional "selfs" into the formula will only enhance them. The concepts indicated will apply to Africa in general, and to Malawi in particular, where my wife and I served as missionary educators from 1968-1994.

2. The Development of Indigenous Church Principles[1]

During "the heyday of nondenominational mission societies, mission had been understood predominantly as *conversio gentilium*—a conversion of individual persons."[2] These societies had been preaching a "gospel without a church." Their concern was individual conversion rather than church planting. A reaction and remedy against this notion resulted in what missiologists now call "Indigenous Church Principles" or the "Three-Selfs." This approach was explained as planting churches that would become self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating.[3]

In Pentecostal missions, it is often thought that indigenous church principles are the original work of the late Melvin Hodges, an Assemblies of God missiologist. While he certainly was not the first to espouse them, he, standing on the shoulders of others, took a major step forward with pen in hand and gave to the church world a very practical version. I will attempt to trace the antecedents leading up to Hodges to indicate the proper Three-Selfs ancestry and pedigree.[4] The earliest proponents of this school of thought were Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn.

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[1] Portions of this section are edited excerpts from Warren B. Newberry, "Major Missiological Motifs in North American Classical Pentecostal Missions" (D.Th. Thesis, University of South Africa, 1999).

[2] David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991), p. 331.

[3] Paul A. Pomerville, *Introduction to Missions: An Independent-Study Textbook*, 2nd ed. (Irving, TX: ICI University Press, [1987] 1995), p. 189.

[4] The continental missiologists such as Gustav Warneck and Bruno Gutmann, who were involved in the indigenous church debate, are purposely excluded. Peter Beyerhaus and Henry Lefever, *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) have given an excellent overview and synopsis of their contributions.

2.1 Rufus Anderson (1796-1880)

Born in a Congregationalist parsonage in the State of Maine in 1796, he was immersed in concern for mission from his earliest days.[5] He later studied at Andover Seminary and, while studying, worked at the office of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). After graduation, he applied for missionary work in India, but the ABCFM decided that he could make a greater contribution to missions in the home office and he was selected as the assistant secretary. In 1832 he was appointed as the general secretary and remained in that position until 1866.[6]

Anderson was often considered to be "a tyrant who ruled the American Board, the Prudential Committee, and the missionaries with an iron hand."[7] This was the obvious result of his new-found mission strategy of indigenous principles that he was endeavouring to impose on missionaries who were already set in their ways of paternalism.

Anderson's main thesis was that missions existed for the spread of a scriptural, self-propagating Christianity. His thesis included these factors: 1) the conversion of lost humanity, 2) organizing the converts into churches, 3) providing these churches with competent national leadership, and 4) guiding them to the stage of independence and self-propagation.[8] While espousing the total package of the Three-Selfs, Anderson's main emphasis centred upon the developing of indigenous leadership. This contrasted with Henry Venn's preoccupation with financial self-support. Later, in his ministry, he would describe "the mission structure as 'scaffolding' while the indigenous church was the 'edifice.'"[9]

2.2 Henry Venn (1796-1873)

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[5] R. Pierce Beaver, "The Legacy of Rufus Anderson," *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 3:3 (July 1979), pp. 94-97 (94).

[6] Willem A. Saayman, "Mission—What?: Goal and Content of Mission," in *On Being Witnesses*, eds. J. J. Kritzinger, P. G. J. Meiring, and W. A. Saayman (Johannesburg: Orion Publishers, 1994), pp. 1-39 (7).

[7] Beaver, "The Legacy of Rufus Anderson," p. 94.

[8] Beaver, "The Legacy of Rufus Anderson," p. 95.

[9] Wilbert R. Shenk, "The Origins and Evolution of the Three-Selfs in Relation to China," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 14:1 (January 1990), pp. 28-35 (29).

Henry Venn was born on the other side of the Atlantic in London in the same year as Anderson, 1796. He became the general secretary of the Church Missionary Society in 1841 and served until 1872. Seeking to find the principles of missions, he posed this question, "What gave a church integrity?" He concluded that it was necessary for a church to feel self-worth. Over a period of fifteen years he identified three aspects of that self-worth. They would eventually be stated as self-government, self-propagation and self-supporting, with the latter receiving the most emphasis.[10] Venn also felt that with the emergence of national churches, the policy of the society should be one of "working oneself out of a job." He called it "the euthanasia of a mission."[11]

2.3 Anderson's and Venn's Mutual Contribution

In an essay on the subject, Wilbert Shenk notes the similarities of Anderson and Venn. Both were born in the same year, howbeit, one on the west and the other on the east side of the Atlantic Ocean.[12] Each lost his mother at the age of seven and father at the age of seventeen. Each was the eldest son and they both graduated from college in 1818. Both served as senior secretaries in mission administration and achieved eminence as leading administrators in their respective countries. And last, but certainly not least, both are given credit for formulating the so-called indigenous church principles: self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating.

Yet, each came independently to the Three-Self formula without any apparent collusion. Together, they provided a guiding principle for world missions, as too few others held all three terms in proper tension and unity. Mission executives usually stressed self-support; national church leaders emphasized self-government; and too few put self-propagation as the priority that Anderson did.[13] While their emphasis was different, their principles were the same. They used the Three-Selfs as pointers toward the

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[10] Shenk, "The Origins and Evolution of the Three-Selfs in Relation to China," p. 29.

[11] A. F. Walls, "Venn, Henry," in *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. J. D. Douglas, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), p. 1015.

[12] Wilbert R. Shenk, "Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn: A Special Relationship?" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 5:4 (Oct 1981), pp. 168-72.

[13] Beaver, "The Legacy of Rufus Anderson," p. 96.

missionary goal of planting churches that would themselves become the means of missionary advance in the world.[14]

2.4 John Nevius (1829-1893)

John L. Nevius was an American missionary to China. He received his education at Princeton Seminary and was sent to China in 1854 under the Presbyterian Mission Board. Picking up on Anderson's and Venn's theme, Nevius began to espouse the same principles while visiting Korea in 1890. In developing his version of the principles, he says: "The plans and methods made use of in bringing the truth to bear upon the minds of the heathen are various and many and should be changed and modified according to the different conditions and circumstances."[15]

Nevius called for the discarding of the "old plan," paternalism, and for the adoption of his "new plan." In summary, he stated that the old plan could be distinguished by the fact that it depended largely on paid national workers, while the new plan seeks to minimize their use. The old system used foreign funds to foster and stimulate the growth of the national churches in the first stage of their development, while the new system introduced the application of principles of independence and self-reliance from the beginning.[16]

Though his own colleagues in China were not enthusiastic about the "new plan," it was implemented in Korea by Presbyterian missionaries.[17] A vigorous church rapidly developed which was virtually unmatched in the non-Western world."[18]

2.5 Roland Allen (1868-1947)

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[14] Shenk, "Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn: A Special Relationship?" p. 171.

[15] Everett N. Hunt, "The Legacy of John Livingston Nevius," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 15:3 (July 1991), pp. 120-24 (122).

[16] John L. Nevius, *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches*, ed. Harvie Conn, 4th ed., Studies in the World Church and Missions 4 (Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, [1885] 1958), p. 8.

[17] Floyd E. Hamilton, "The Self-Support System in Korea," in *The "Nevius Method" in Korea*, ed. Thomas Cochrane, Indigenous Church Series (London: World Dominion Press, 1930), pp. 3-9.

[18] Pierard, "Nevius, John Livingston," p. 700.

"Roland Allen is currently the most influential deceased mission writer whose career began in the last [19th] century," wrote John Branner.[19] He believed profoundly in the leadership of the Holy Spirit and had a deep love for the Bible. Like the apostle Paul, he could be called a "task" theologian. In regards to both theology and methodology, he called the missionary enterprise back to its Biblical roots.[20] Deciding that the Three-Selfs principles were worthwhile, but yet did not go far enough, Allen emphasized a new dimension of maturity. This concept stressed the dynamic of the Holy Spirit in the development of the indigenous church.[21] This additional emphasis on the gift of the Holy Spirit to believers was something which was to govern Allen's entire concept of missions, particularly that of the indigenous church.[22] In viewing the missionary work of his era and church, he lamented that while they had accomplished many good and wonderful things,

> Nevertheless, there is everywhere three very disquieting symptoms: (1) *Everywhere Christianity is still an exotic*. We have not yet succeeded in so planting it in any heathen land that it has become indigenous.... (2) *Everywhere our missions are dependent*. They look to us for leaders, for instructors, for rulers. They have as yet shown little sign of being able to supply their own needs....(3) *Everywhere we see the same types*....There has been no new revelation. There has been no new discovery of new aspects of the Gospel, no new unfolding of new forms of Christian life.[23]

Allen argued for a return to New Testament principles and a radical dependence on the Holy Spirit.[24] He pondered the question of utilizing Paul's methods in his day without totally destroying the very foundations of all they had accomplished or established. They are outlined in detail in his first book, *Missionary Methods,* and included the following:

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[19] John E. Branner, "Roland Allen: Pioneer in a Spirit-Centered Theology of Mission," *Missiology* 5:2 (April 1977), pp. 175-84 (176).

[20] Francis M. DuBose, *Classics of Christian Missions*, ed. Francis M. DuBose (Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1979), p. 268.

[21] Pomerville, *Introduction to Missions*, p. 192.

[22] Branner, "Roland Allen," p. 181.

[23] Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods, St Paul's or Ours?* 5th ed. (London: World Dominion, 1962), pp. 141-42.

[24] Shenk, "The Origins and Evolution of the Three-Selfs in Relation to China," p. 30.

1) All teaching to be permanent must be intelligible and so capable of being grasped and understood that those who have once received it can retain it, use it, and hand it on.
2) All organization in like manner must be of such a character that it can be understood and maintained. It must be an organization of which the people see the necessity. It must be an organization which they can and will support.
3) All financial arrangements made for the ordinary life and existence of the church should be such that the people themselves can and will control and manage their own business independently of any foreign subsidies.
4) A sense of mutual responsibility of all the Christians one for another should be carefully inculcated and practised. The whole community is responsible for the proper administration of baptism, ordination and discipline.
5) Authority to exercise spiritual gifts should be given freely and at once. Nothing should be withheld which may strengthen the life of the church, still less should anything be withheld which is necessary for its spiritual substance.[25]

Years later, when he wrote his other famous book, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church,*[26] he retained his main concern with indigeneity. His opening statements ring, "If the church is to be indigenous it must spring up in the soil from the very first seeds planted. One or two little groups of Christians organized as churches, with their bishops and priests, could spread all over the empire. They would be obviously and without question native churches."[27]

Later on, Allen was quick to criticise Nevius's methods as focussing on only one point of the Three-Selfs. He pointed out that self-support is the foundation stone in the Nevius plan and was the main point emphasized. Furthermore, Allen felt that by over-emphasizing the material (self-support), the spiritual dimension was lost.[28]

He was a voice ahead of his time, as his message was largely ignored in his own lifetime; but subsequent generations have rediscovered the legacy of his writings. He himself understood this and once predicted that

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[25] Allen, *Missionary Methods, St Paul's or Ours?* pp. 151-52.

[26] Roland Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes That Hinder It*, 4th ed. (London: World Dominion, 1960).

[27] Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*, p. 2.

[28] Roland Allen, *The 'Nevius Method' in Korea*, ed. Thomas Cochrane (London: World Dominion, 1930), pp. 11-12.

his work would not be taken seriously until about 1960.[29] From the very first, Pentecostals, some of whom were associated with the Survey Application Trust, claimed him; though he was neither a Pentecostal nor a radical Protestant.[30] Gary McGee, a noted Pentecostal historian, penned, "Pentecostals were among Allen's best students. Neither Anglicans nor Pentecostals could have envisioned a more unlikely scenario—an Anglo-Catholic impacting the Pentecostal mission enterprise, helping it become one of the twentieth century's most vibrant missionary movements."[31]

3. Indigenous Church Principles from a Pentecostal Perspective

3.1 Alice E. Luce (1873-1955)

While early Pentecostals were not noted for their academic scholarship and literary skills (they preferred "doing" instead of "writing"), a budding mission theology began to crystallize with the help of Alice Luce. She had come into the Assemblies of God because of a personal experience of glossolalia while serving as an Anglican missionary in India.[32] During her service in India, the Pentecostal message and experience impacted the missionaries as well as indigenous Christian missions.[33] Later, she would find herself ministering to Hispanics in Texas after having left India due to health reasons.

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[29] Charles H. Long and Anne Rowthorn, "The Legacy of Roland Allen," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 13:2 (April 1989), pp. 65-70 (65-66).

[30] Long & Rowthorn, "The Legacy of Roland Allen," p. 68.

[31] Gary B. McGee, "The Legacy of Melvin Hodges," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22:1 (January 1998), pp. 2-24 (21).

[32] McGee, "The Legacy of Melvin Hodges," p. 21.

[33] Edith L. Blumhofer, *"Pentecost in My Soul": Explorations in the Meaning of Pentecostal Experience in the Early Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), p. 134.

In January and February of 1921,[34] she published in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, a three part series entitled "Paul's Missionary Methods." These articles were the first major exposition of indigenous church principles in that publication.[35] Admitting to having read Allen's *Missionary Methods*, but could not remember his name, she noted: "We missionaries all read it, and thought the writer somewhat visionary and unpractical, but that book first opened my eyes to the diametrical distinction between our methods of working and those of the New Testament."[36] She became the first fledgling missiologist of stature in the Assemblies of God,[37] and for the classical Pentecostal groups who were in their formative stages during that era. While admitting dependence on Allen, Luce strongly advocated the development of the Three-Selfs principles in the foreign fields.[38]

Being a Pentecostal, Luce took Allen's indigenous concepts a step further than he had intended. She believed that utilizing apostolic methods would be accompanied by the power and demonstration of the Holy Spirit.[39] Therefore, she was quick to ask, "When we go forth to preach the Full Gospel, are we going to expect an experience like that of the denominational missionaries, or shall we look for the signs to follow?"[40]

3.2 Melvin Hodges (1909-1988)

To the Pentecostal missionary, "Mr Indigenous Church" is none other than Melvin Hodges. His name is synonymous with the modern indigenous church concept and many Pentecostals believe that he is the sole author of

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[34] The General Council of the Assemblies of God adopted the indigenous church principles as a new required missionary policy at their meeting in September of this same year. While it is not known, it is highly probable that Alice Luce was instrumental in the writing or adoption of this policy.

[35] Gary B. McGee, "Pioneers of Pentecost: Alice E. Luce and Henry C. Ball," *Assemblies of God Heritage*, Summer 1985, pp. 12-15 (12).

[36] Alice E. Luce, "Paul's Missionary Methods," *The Pentecostal Evangel*, February 5, 1921, pp. 6-7 (6).

[37] McGee, "The Legacy of Melvin Hodges," p. 21.

[38] Gary B. McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached: A History and Theology of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions to 1959* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1986), p. 97.

[39] McGee, "Pioneers of Pentecost: Alice E. Luce and Henry C. Ball," p. 12.

[40] Alice E. Luce, "Paul's Missionary Methods [Part One]," *The Pentecostal Evangel*, January 6, 1921, pp. 6-7.

it. His writings on the subject are often required reading for missionaries regardless of denominational affiliation.[41]

Hodges was ordained by the Rocky Mountain District of the Assemblies of God in 1929 and served as a pastor until his appointment to missionary service in Central America in 1935. Noel Perkin, who was the missionary secretary for the Assemblies of God at that time, encouraged Hodges to read Roland Allen's books.[42] Upon arrival in Central America, he became an understudy of Ralph Williams, a missionary who had learned the indigenous principles from Alice Luce. This set the context for Hodges to formulate his own version of the Three-Selfs principles.[43]

Melvin Hodges was a quick understudy. Ralph Williams was a practical person who applied indigenous church principles in El Salvador,[44] which in time became a showcase model of effective church planting. Hodges learned from Williams and, armed with Roland Allen's books, *Missionary Methods* and *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church,* he began to apply the principles. After ten months in El Salvador, the Hodges moved to Nicaragua, which proved to be a difficult field. However, he was determined to persevere with his newly acquired indigenous strategy. To achieve this, he established a Bible institute that required the students to put their academic training to practical use in evangelism and church planting.[45]

While Hodges felt that indigenous church principles were the correct and New Testament methodology, he was quick to add that, "We must tailor our...program to fit the need."[46] Flexibility was important as long as certain principles and goals were kept in mind. He stated: "None of us is wise enough to chart the future course of missions. We don't have to be! The Holy Spirit will lead us on a better course than we could possibly plan.

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[41] Donald A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), pp. 373, 378.

[42] McGee, "The Legacy of Melvin Hodges," p. 21.

[43] Douglas Petersen, *Not By Might Nor By Spirit: A Pentecostal Theology of Social Concern in Latin America* (Irvine, CA: Regnum, 1996), p. 70.

[44] Gary B. McGee <GMcgee@agseminary.edu>, "More About Hodges," Personal E-Mail to Warren Newberry <wnewberry@cwjamaica.com>, March 5 1999.

[45] McGee, "The Legacy of Melvin Hodges," p. 21.

[46] Hodges, "Developing Basic Units of Indigenous Churches," p. 127. He felt that withholding training from the older, mature converts would set back the work. Thus, he was open to new ideas that would lead to the establishment of the indigenous church.

He is already doing so!"[47] Hammered out on the anvil of many years of practical experience and observation, Hodges wrote his famous book, *The Indigenous Church,* in 1953.[48]

Hodges's final chapter is titled "Pentecost and Indigenous Methods." Emphasis is placed on the Pentecostal experience and indigenous church principles as being not only compatible, but working "hand-in-glove." "We have witnessed thousands of 'indigenous' churches spring into existence in the homeland as a result of Pentecostal outpourings since the turn of the century. Pentecostal outpourings, whether in the homeland or abroad, have always produced converts with flaming zeal and sacrificial spirit."[49] However, modern church history has shown that being filled with the Spirit does not necessarily produce indigenous churches in spite of "zeal and a sacrificial spirit." While he insisted on a New Testament model of indigenous church principles, it remained limited in its application in non-western cultures.

4. Contextualizing the Principles: "Fitting the Need"

Contextualizing has to do with making an idea or theology understandable, useful, and relevant within a given culture or society. While we readily admit that indigenous principles are New Testament strategies, one has to wonder if Venn or Anderson had been African or Asian if their conclusions and emphasis would have been the same. Perhaps not! What we do and how we see the world is related to our own worldview which, in fact, causes us to observe our external world with "tinted glasses."[50] Almost for certain, the preoccupation and emphasis on self-support would not be of the same intensity if they had been of

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[47] Gary B. McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached: A History and Theology of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions Since 1959*, vol. 2 (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), p. 106.

[48] Petersen, *Not By Might*, p. 73 states that Hodges' book was "an analysis of its [El Salvador] development and operation." He implies that Hodges only reported and analyzed what he had observed rather than actually developing the theory of Pentecostal indigenous church principles.

[49] Melvin Hodges, *The Indigenous Church.* (Springfield, MO.: Gospel Publishing House, 1953), p. 132.

[50] Charles Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996), p. 19.

non-western extraction. In an African context it is likely that self-propagation would be the most emphasized of the Three-Selfs.

I have already stated that the western model of the indigenous church does not always comfortably fit a non-western society. It is a "one-size-fits-all" model that fits no one very well. It is "too small" for the large and "too large" for the small. Are the non-western churches to become clones of the West? Hodges's remarks about "fitting the need" should be heard loud and clear. We need to allow each church to contextualize their indigenous church model to fit their particular society and situation. Malawians have a proverb which says that a "forced bone will break the pot." A western version would be "you can't fit a square peg into a round hole." Don't force something that will not work. The following two models are good examples.

4.1 Paternalism

Both Venn and Anderson formulated their principles in a crisis situation reacting to the extreme paternalism propagated and enjoyed by their western counterparts. They were opposed to the making of "rice Christians," an approach that caused total dependence on the sending mission to sustain the work and employ the believing nationals. Formulating their version of the Three-Selfs was a western missionary reaction to a western missionary-created problem.

Morris Williams has pointed out that paternalism in itself is not bad. After all, in order for there to be children, there must be parents. Without parents, there would be no children; and children is what it is all about! The missionaries became the great benefactor. They were the parents! They bound the wounds of their "children," pulled their teeth, educated them, sheltered them on mission compounds, fed them, employed them, and loved them! The people were the "children" of the missionaries and the missionaries were looked upon as parents. Often, particularly in Africa, they were referred to as "Pa" and "Ma." However, missionaries expected to be paid in return. Loyalty and appreciation were required and dependency resulted. The "children" were put in the debt of the "parents" and were never allowed to forget it. In an Asian context they became "rice Christians." Little by little, missionaries fell into a life-style that became paternalistic: an "over-under" relationship, with the missionaries always in the superior role and the nationals under them. Consequently, the missionaries resisted any attempt to take away this "parenthood" status. They told themselves that the children were not mature enough, not

educated enough, not spiritual enough and opposed any turnover of responsibility, funds or authority to the indigenous people.[51]

Problems begin to surface when the "children" mature and become of age. As is often the case, maturing children want their independence and seek to extract themselves from being under parental authority. This has been handled by simply reversing the roles, so that now the "children" are in control and the "parents" are under the supervision and authority of the children. It is referred to as fusion.

4.2 Fusion[52]

The "fusion" strategy puts the national church in the dominant role due to numerical strength and political advantages. Now the nationals become the parent and the missionaries the children.[53] Naturally, this has met with a lot of opposition from western missionaries who feel that this is a ploy and an attempt to gain control of mission properties and finances. Properly understood, it is more an attempt of the national churches to free themselves from the colonial attitude of paternalism, and it appears to be an acceptable alternative.

The Synod of the Church of Scotland, the Nkhoma Synod and the Dutch Reformed Church Mission from South Africa were mission groups working within Malawi. In 1964 they merged to form "The Church of Central Africa Presbyterian," commonly known as the CCAP.[54] With the merger, the newly formed church assumed the ownership of all properties belonging to the three mission groups. The missionaries came under the direct authority of the church. Their housing, ministry, placement, funds, etc. were allocated and administered by the church. The missionaries lost their identity and function as a mission. The parents had become the children in this fusion model.

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[51] Morris O. Williams, *Partnership in Missions* (Springfield, MO: Division of Foreign Missions, 1979), p. 140.

[52] While the term "fusion" means to "blend together," it is used to indicate that the mission organization has "blended" with the national church to become one. However, in this scenario, the national church becomes the dominant authority.

[53] Williams, *Partnership in Missions*, 145.

[54] C. Martin Pauw, "Independency and Religious Change in Malawi," *Missionalia* 21:2 (August 1993), pp. 138-51 (143).

5. Towards a Solution for an African Model

5.1 The Social Science Contribution

In a familial analogy, the fusion concept is not a good kinship model. Certainly, within an African context, a mature child does not move from the "under" position of an "over-under" model to the "over" position at a moment's notice. In fact, in an African kinship model, it is quite possible that it will never happen except when the parent is too old and decrepit to care for him/herself. Only at this point does the child become the parent and the parent the child.

In order to understand the similarities and differences across cultures, social scientists refer to the following variables as dimensions of cultural variability: individualism—collectivism. [55] Individualism concerns personal achievement, while collectivists emphasize community, harmony, groupness and maintaining face.

Individualists emphasize: 1) concern for clarity and directness; 2) straight talk and truth telling; 3) self-referent messages, more "I" than "we"; 4) meeting personal needs and goals rather than group needs and goals; 5) more independence; and 6) linear pattern of conversation.

In contrast, collectivists emphasize: 1) indirect communication; 2) avoiding negative evaluation from a listener; 3) concern for others' feelings, avoiding hurting others, and saving face; 4) more interdependence and group are concerned; and 5) fewer linear patterns of conversation.[56] In short, it is the Western European and North American cultures that tend to be individualist, while most non-western cultures are collectivist.

In individualistic western society, the nuclear family (father, mother and children) is not connected to the extended family in the same manner as in collectivist societies. The western nuclear family is encouraged towards individuality, being on their own and not dependent upon the extended family. Often, upon marriage, the new family will remove itself a great distance from the extended family in order to become independent and remove any possible unwanted influence or interference from relatives and the extended family community. This is done purposefully. In most

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[55] William B. Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim, *Communicating with Strangers: An Approach to Intercultural Communications*, 3rd ed. (Boston: McGraw Hill, 1984), p. 56.

[56] Carley H. Dodd, *Dynamics of Intercultural Communication*, 5th ed. (Boston: McGraw Hill, 1995), pp. 92-93.

cases, the familial tie will remain, but, if at all possible, the nuclear family will desire to be free from constant familial input into their home life and decisions. In addition, the extended family understands that constant advice or input into their affairs will often be regarded as interference instead of assistance.

In contrast, the African family appreciates the communal and familial ties. The nuclear family will heavily depend upon the extended family for advice, input, leadership and assistance throughout their lives. There is no thought of divorce from the extended family, even if they are physically far removed from them. It is their life and community. Thus, it is natural to seek financial, as well as other assistance from them, and quite natural for the extended family to render assistance of all kinds. Colin Turnbull writes,

> In Africa, a family is something, much bigger than anything we [westerners] could call a family. Imagine throwing a stone into a still pool of water and watching the rings form, each one bigger than the one before. At the very center is the family, small and neat, just as we know it; parents and their children. The next ring includes aunts and uncles and first cousins, and grandparents. The next ring includes the brothers and sisters of the grandparents, or great-uncles and great-aunts, together with their children and grandchildren. And then come the great-grandparents, and so on.[57]

According to Malawian Lazarus Chakwera, community within the Malawian/African culture is of the highest importance.[58] Malawi social structure is such that everyone has ties to a home village somewhere. While nuclear families may live within a town or large city, one would never refer to the house within the city as being their "home." The city dwelling would be considered as their "house," but their "home" will be somewhere back in a village. This is referred to as "our home" (*kwathu*) where the extended family has its roots and where they belong and always feel "at home."

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[57] Colin M. Turnbull, *Tradition and Change in African Tribal Life* (New York: Avon Books, 1966), pp. 25-26.

[58] Lazarus M. Chakwera, "The Development of the Eleventh Hour Institute to Be Utilized as a Means of Mobilizing, Training, and Sending Missions Workers from Malawi and Nearby Countries to Unreached Peoples" (D.Min. project, Trinity International University, 2000), p. 96.

5.2 Adding More "Selfs" to the Formula

Neither paternalism nor fusion is a satisfactory solution in the natural maturation of the national church. Certainly, neither the mission nor national church desires paternalism to continue. Fusion has been accepted in many places of Africa, often only because of the alternative, paternalism. There should be better solutions and models!

Not only are we suggesting that a contextualized African indigenous church model may contain five or more "selfs," it should be based on the African's understanding of kinship and the extended family's interdependence.

I have observed a very poor Malawian take his new bride in marriage with the meagerist of worldly possessions. In some cases, only a change of clothing, a couple of poorly made chairs and a table, a sleeping mat, and a very small stick and waddle hut. However, he is secure in the knowledge that he is not alone. He can depend on assistance from his extended family for food, money and other material requirements. After all, he belongs to them and they belong to him! There is an interdependence between himself and his extended family. This analogy speaks volumes to our contextualized model of indigenous church principles.

Chakwera notes, "Part of this growing in interdependence may mean learning to give up control on the part of those who give and learning to be accountable on the part of those who receive. But it is never a patron-client relationship, but one that recognizes that both are receivers of God's grace and should therefore be givers of the same. And because the agency of missions ought to be all who are redeemed, the contribution of any person or group is not important."[59]

In 1977 Bethany College of the Assemblies of God (USA) found itself in a financial crisis. There was talk of closing the school. When the Malawi Assemblies of God School of Theology faculty heard this, it was decided that during their spiritual emphasis week they would raise funds to send to Bethany. Five hundred US dollars were raised and sent. While this was a very small amount in terms of the need, it was a very large amount for Malawi. Bethany used the story with their fund raising and it became a catalyst which eventually resulted in about US $250,000.00 being donated. The college is still operating!

Lazarus Chakwera mentioned that he used his familial kinship ties as the metaphor to convince the Malawian students to give to a school in America. "At this time also, my dad was a student at Assemblies of God

[59] Chakwera, "The Development of the Eleventh Hour Institute," p. 32.

School of Theology. In his early 80s he was our oldest student. I used his presence there and mentioned how that there was a time I was dependent on him but now he was dependent on me to challenge the student body to bless the church in America that had blessed us in the first place."[60] True interdependence!

5.2.1 Self-Theologizing

In recent years there have been a few western voices calling for a "'fourth self' to be added to the classical 'Three-Selfs'— *self-theologizing*, about which the missionary theorists of the nineteenth century never thought."[61] Until recently national church leaders were not encouraged to develop their own theologies. Any theology that deviated from the standard theological texts from the West was considered suspect, perhaps syncretistic, and even heresy. To young nationalistically minded leaders this was theological colonialism. However, several forces have changed this situation: 1) Second and third generation church leaders are mature and seminary-trained theologians; 2) As colonialism and the trappings of the West were thrown off, young churches demanded self-rule and the right to interpret Scriptures for themselves; and 3) The rise of anthropological thought and the growing awareness among missionaries of the impact of cultural contexts on Bible translations and theology.[62]

Certainly the interest in contextualization during the past three decades has stimulated a whole new area of missiological thought. The subject has come into its own as a sub-discipline in missiology and numerous books and essays have been written about it. Scott Moreau has compiled a bibliography of over 2100 articles, chapters and books related to the subject.[63] Consequently, not only Africa but most of the continents have their contextualized theologies with, arguably, liberation theology within the Latin American context as being the best known.

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[60] Lazarus M. Chakwera <lazchakwera@globemw.net>, "Lighter Things," personal email to Warren Newberry <wnewberry@agst.edu>, January 11, 2003.

[61] Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, p. 452; Paul G. Hiebert, "The Missiological Implications of an Epistemological Shift," *Theological Students Fellowship Bulletin*, May-June 1985, pp. 12-18.

[62] Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), p. 48.

[63] See his website and course bibliography at http://www.wheaton.edu/Missions/Courses/532/biblio/biblio.htm (checked: Jan 2003).

This has led to many non-western theologians doing "self-theologizing." In Nigeria, for example, there was a desperate need for Nigerian theologians and biblical scholars. The European missionaries had contributed a great deal to the life of the church in Nigeria but it was recognized that their contribution was limited in what they could offer.[64] As well, their continued dominance hindered the self-expression of theology by Christian Nigerians. Bolaji Idowu states, "For over one hundred years they have done our theological thinking for us, and in ecclesiastical matters they have taken vital decisions for us. It is now overdue for Nigerians themselves to determine what is the will of God for His church in Nigeria."[65]

Within the framework of Africa in general and Malawi in particular, Lazarus Chakwera, General Superintendent of the Assemblies of God, has led the way in calling for a contextualized Pentecostal theology[66] that would speak to Malawians without the dualism and Greco-Roman influence of western theology. Eager that Malawians would understand and catch this vision, Scott Hanson instructed a group of potential missionaries, "As a missionary, who is an outsider to the host culture, you may not have the proper cultural understanding to properly address these issues. Therefore it is important that you develop a church which is able to come up with its own culturally applicable theology. This is a self-theologizing church."[67] As far as they are concerned, the fourth "self" of "self-theologizing" must be included in their indigenous church principles.

5.2.2 Self-Missionizing

Pressing onward, the Eleventh Hour Institute, a school of missions for training Africans to become missionaries, is calling for a fifth "self"—self-missionizing. In the understanding of Chakwera and his associates, the

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[64] Ronald Allen, "Creating an Indigenous African Church," *The Christian Century*, March 6 1991, pp. 265-69 (265).

[65] Bolaji Idowu, *Towards an Indigenous Church* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 50.

[66] Chakwera, "The Development of the Eleventh Hour Institute"; Scott Hanson, "Passing It On: Creating Indigenous Missionary Churches," in *Eleventh Hour Mission Handbook: Lectures Presented at the Eleventh Hour Institute, July 26-August 18*, ed. Murriell McCulley (Lilongwe, Malawi: Eleventh Hour Institute, 1999), pp. 1-173 (15).

[67] The Eleventh Hour Institute Missions Training Seminar, Lilongwe, Malawi, July 26-August 18, 1999.

original "self-propagating" was limited to evangelism within one's own people or region. In contrast, he states that "self-missionizing" is reaching out to the nations beyond one's own country or perhaps to an entirely different culture and society within one's borders.[68]

To facilitate the missions programs not only of Malawi, but within Africa as a whole, the concept of *The Eleventh Hour Institute*, initiated by Chakwera,[69] was received with open arms and accepted by the Africa Assemblies of God Alliance (AAGA) meeting in Iringa, Tanzania in 1998.

It must be understood that not only the Assemblies of God within Africa, but many non-western Evangelical and Pentecostal churches are involved or becoming involved in their own missionary enterprises within the continent and throughout the world. It is the day and time of the Two-Thirds world to reach out to its neighbors and around the globe with the good news of the kingdom of God.[70]

Peter Wagner argues that for mission work to be complete it must come "full circle." There are four stages in the process: 1) The mission plants the national church; 2) The national church develops; 3) The national church gains autonomy; and 4) The national church becomes a sender of missionaries to others. Thus, the process comes "full circle" and repeats itself.[71] This certainly is self-missionizing.

5.2.3 Self-Caring—Social Concern

Would we dare to suggest that perhaps there could be added a sixth "self" to a contextualized African model of indigenous principles? Ronald Allen notes, "African churches struggle with developing positions on contemporary concerns. The issues that seem to draw the strongest interest are neocolonialism, racism, economic justice, human rights and polygamy." [72] Added to these are concerns for the poor and disenfranchised. Within the circle of Assemblies of God missions, the AAGA leadership called for a social concern arm of their association at their first formative charter meeting in Lusaka, Zambia. They appreciated

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[68] Hanson, "Passing It On," p. 16.

[69] Chakwera, "The Development of the Eleventh Hour Institute."

[70] The story of missions by the Two-Thirds World is well known, documented, and beyond the scope of this essay.

[71] C. Peter Wagner, "Full Circle: Third World Missions," in *Readings in Third World Missions: A Collection of Essential Documents*, ed. Marlin L. Nelson (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976), pp. 57-66.

[72] Allen, "Creating an Indigenous African Church," pp. 265-69.

the evangelistic thrust that the missionaries had made within Africa; and this mantle had been successfully passed to them, but it was felt that there needed to be a greater emphasis in the area of social concern.

While the Two-Thirds world will continue to look to the West for assistance with famine relief, natural disasters, and other catastrophic disasters, there is a contribution for those living within to make. It may be a minority part at this point in time, yet as Lazarus Chakwera has reminded us, "the [size of the] contribution of any person or group is not important,"[73] but that all are participating.

6. Conclusion

Being willing to think "outside the box" in terms of our traditional understanding of indigenous church principles is the first step forward in contextualizing them. We applaud the early pioneer thinkers and missiologists who thought creatively and went against the tide of popular missionary praxis of their day and formulated the "Three-Selfs." Wearing the blinders of ethnocentrism, western missionaries proclaimed and taught them as if they were Scripture themselves. All products of the enterprise were measured with the same standard, the Three-Selfs. In the western mindset, the principle of "self-supporting" is deemed to be the best indicator of indigeneity. Only when the national church can financially stand on their own two feet are missionaries satisfied and convinced that an indigenous church has been planted. These principles are methods and strategies utilized by the apostle Paul and thus are Biblical in that they are found within the sacred text. But were they meant to be normative for all time? Perhaps not! Methods and strategies must change with the changing times and contexts.

The purpose of this essay has been to propose that there are additional "selfs" that are just as valid as the original three and contextualizing them within the African and Malawian contexts provides additional validation. If it provokes further engagement with these issues, then it has served its purpose.

[73] Chakwera, "The Development of the Eleventh Hour Institute," p. 32.

[*AJPS* 8:1 (2005), pp. 117-141]

PORTRAIT OF A NIGERIAN PENTECOSTAL MISSIONARY

Ayuk A. Ayuk

1. Introduction

The Spirit of Pentecost among Pentecostals awakened the dying church, much to everyone's surprise. As a matter of fact, without the emergence of Pentecostals in the twentieth century, Christian missions would have died a natural death. This demise of world missions was clearly indicated by Pius Wakatama:

> No subject is as controversial and emotion-packed in the modern missionary movement as the suggestion that missionaries stop their activities. This is dividing missionaries as well as Third World Christians both among evangelical conservatives and liberal churchmen.[1]

Pentecostals brought the church back to life with its insistence on missions and evangelism. Among the mainline Protestant churches there was controversy over whether there was a need for missions. This was brought about by a misunderstanding between Third World Christians and First World Christians. Some mainline denominations did not feel the strong need for evangelism and missions because they felt it was destroying culture.

This conspiracy to destroy missions work was brought about

> …by the anthropologists who met on Barbados in 1971 under the sponsorship of the World Council of Churches. They concluded that missionary work was detrimental to the survival of the Indian culture in Latin America.[2]

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[1] Pius Wakatama, *Independence for the Third World Church: An African's Perspective on Missionary Work* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1976), p. 1.

[2] Wakatama, *Independence for the Third World Church*, p. 1.

The plan did not push through as expected, because Pentecostalism had become very strong in Latin America, a continent that was largely Roman Catholic, and many people were led to Christ. The Pentecostal church in Latin America is today sending missionaries to other countries.

The Pentecostals had a different perspective as seen among their early records:

> …a close and abiding association between the baptism in the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking in tongues for an inducement of power in Christian witness, a fervent belief in the premillennial return of Christ and his command to evangelize to the uttermost parts of the world. This Baptism, viewed as the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy for "the last days," seemed to heighten the imperative for world evangelism.[3]

This kind of spirit spurred revival and set the desire for missions ablaze and gradually rocked the world, until the early 1980s when everybody began to succumb to it with less resistance.

The Nigerian case was no different. Many churches were plagued by culture and traditions and the church, as a whole, was gradually losing her impact on the lives of people, until the coming of Pentecostalism. Though, at first, the Pentecostals were ridiculed by many, they stood their ground and did not compromise with those aspects of culture and tradition that are contradictory to the gospel, and eventually led one church after another to another dimension of spirituality that is biblically sound and theologically balanced. This kind of spirituality touched every facet of the society for the glory of God, and today one can say that almost every Nigerian has heard the gospel, even though most of them have not yet responded.

The impact is especially seen in the conflict between the Moslems and Christians. Moslems are afraid they are losing out in the race of religiosity/spirituality and are doing everything they can to control the rate at which Moslems are defecting to Christianity. This has led to a stricter discipline on the Moslems who are not living according to the standards of Islam. Things have never been this way before: like the threat to stone a Moslem woman who had a child out of wedlock. But, that is only a camouflage of the political statement that Moslems are still

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[3] L. Grant McClung, Jr., "From Bridges to Waves: Pentecostals and the Church Growth Movement," in *Azusa Street and Beyond*, ed. L. Grant McClung, Jr. (South Plainfield, NJ: Bridge, 1986), pp. 109-118 (118).

in power and can do anything they want, even if the government does not approve of it. Part of that is the fact that the country now has a President who confesses, without fear of losing the Moslem vote, that he is a Christian.

The Pentecostals have not only made the gospel alive in Nigeria, but they are also sending missionaries all over the world to preach the gospel, despite financial upheaval in the country. The Pentecostal churches in Nigeria have sent out more missionaries in the late 20th century than any other denomination in Nigeria. Its influence and impact on all other denominations in Nigeria is beyond comparison. The Pentecostals not only won converts, but they also won other churches over to their side. The acceptance of the power of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues in mainline fundamental and evangelical churches is what makes Pentecostalism a powerful influence. Not only did they grow, but they empowered other churches with the power of the Holy Spirit.

According to *DAWN Fridayfax*:

> What has been described as a "book of Acts-like" move of God is sweeping through Nigeria and spreading overseas. Large meetings and confirmed healings are order of the day in the Western African Nation.[4]

This paper will attempt to reflect on what the Pentecostal churches have done in the area of missions in Nigeria and other parts of the world. This is not an exhaustive study because my contribution is limited to a certain number of words.

2. Historical Background of Pentecostal Missions In Nigeria

What happened at the Azusa Street revival between 1906 and 1909 among a circle of Christians became national phenomena, and thereafter, continental phenomena and eventually an international panorama. That experience led to what we now call Pentecostalism. This experience has spread like "wild fire" and is touching the lives of people all over the world. This "wild fire," however, does not consume, but rather restores relationships with God and other people. It is an amazing experience, that is still going on up to this very time. And, no one would have thought

[4] Matthew Ashimolowo, "What Is God Doing in and through Nigeria," *DAWN Fridayfax* 18 (www.jesus.org.uk/dawn/2002/dawn02.html, 2002), p. 1 (checked: Sept 4, 2002).

that there would be greater missionaries than those of the past. And it may not be right for us to compare or speculate about this; but it is fitting to talk of our experiences in relation to what took place before this present-day time.

The missionaries of yesterday were brave soldiers of and for Christ. They took themselves into the jungles of Africa and Asia to share the Word of God in very hard and harsh conditions. This is what is written about Mary Slessor (1848-1915):

> She wore a shapeless, sleeveless garment, not the formal long sleeved dress which was normal for white women in the tropics in 1882; and her head was uncovered except for her shock of close cropped red hair, for she refused to wear the sun helmet which the doctors insisted was vital for Europeans. And since she always ate African food, and slept on the floor among the wives, all the village of Ibaka loved their guest, for her laughter and jokes, and her medicine chest and because she taught about God.[5]

This description of this admirable lady gives us a good model of a missionary woman in the nineteenth century. Missionaries like this laid the foundation for what is taking place in Nigeria today. She may not have been a Pentecostal, but she sowed the first seeds of the gospel that have now blossomed.

> Pentecostal missionaries are said to have arrived Nigeria in 1920 from Oregon. And a "revival was stirred in 1930 when Nigerians traveled hundreds of miles to hear the preaching of an indigenous evangelist, Joseph Babalola, who was based in the city of Ilesha."[6]

While it is true that Pentecostalism has been in Nigeria for quite some time, its greatest impact was felt in the 1980s, as indicated by "Enoch Adeboye, general overseer of the RCCG which is starting three churches a day in Nigeria."[7] He sees a divine strategy behind Nigeria's boom, and he went on to say, "Since one in five Africans is a Nigerian, perhaps God is raising up an army to evangelize all of Africa from

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[5] John Pollock, *On Fire for God* (London: Star Books, 1995), p. 1.

[6] J. Lee Grady, "Nigeria's Miracle," *Charisma and Christian Life*, May 2002, pp. 38-49, 83 (42).

[7] Grady, "Nigeria's Miracle," p. 41.

here."[8] Nigerian missionaries are presently going beyond Africa to plant and grow big churches that no one ever imagined was possible.

The theory of Adeboye is well-founded because the Nigerian church has remained one of the strongest missionary forces in Africa. They are not only evangelizing African nations, but they are also evangelizing people in Europe, Asia and America. It is quite surprising, but not out of place, that Nigerians are presently reaching out to Europeans and Americans who actually brought the Word of God to them.

The upsurge of conversions in Nigeria is a result of miracles as indicated by Charisma: "Reports that a dead baby had been resurrected during one of his meetings triggered widespread conversions and launched several new ministries"[9]

Signs and wonders are very characteristic of Pentecostals and that is what has led the church so far. Some Pentecostals may now be down-playing the importance of the role of the Holy Spirit, even though it is what makes them Pentecostal. But, we must realize that the Holy Spirit and the working of signs and wonders is very central to Pentecostalism. It is not just what one ought to believe in order to be Pentecostal; but it is true and real in many ways. We must claim our inheritance and continue to allow it to manifest itself in our midst like before. That is Pentecostal Identity.

3. Nigerian Pentecostal Churches in Missions Today

Many Pentecostal churches in Nigeria have grown in numbers, but only a few are actually taking the initiative to send missionaries to other nations due to financial constraints. Nigeria is going through crises, such as political, social, economic, religious and health-wise. All these problems stem from two major problems: politics and religion.

First, the political situation in Nigeria has been unstable for quite sometime. The country has been ruled by corrupt military officials who have always seized power under the guise of national security. But they normally end up being more corrupt than the civilians. This kind of power tussle has been there for a long time, and it has always affected the economic growth of the country. And, there is wide-spread corruption among government officials, who are sometimes richer than the country itself. Politicians, and leaders in general, are not concerned about the

[8] Grady, "Nigeria's Miracle," p. 42.

[9] Grady, "Nigeria's Miracle," p. 42.

well-being of the country. Another problem is tribalism and nepotism, as people want to have the opportunity to help their own tribe.

Secondly, Nigeria has always had a Moslem leader in power during and after the civil war. Recently, however, there has been a turn around, as an avowed Christian is now the President of Nigeria. The Moslems are very uneasy with the situation, and are doing everything they can to frustrate the government in order to come back to power. Moslems are attacking Christians when given the slightest opportunity. These unnecessary attacks are coupled with the fact that the church in Nigeria has grown tremendously and the Moslems are threatened by the fact that many Moslems are being converted to Christianity. This situation is adversely affecting the peace and order in Nigeria, as well as the economy of the country.

All of these problems, compounded by the high criminality rate, are causing people to begin to ask about the relevance of church growth in Nigeria. But God is still shaking Nigeria to purify it of all forms of squalor that are putting the country down. And definitely, the devil will not just sit down and watch the transformation of Nigeria without causing havoc to prevent a spiritual awakening in the country today.

3.1 The Redeemed Christian Church of God

The Redeemed Christian Church of God is one of the strongest churches in the area of missions in Nigeria and abroad. This church is said to be the largest Pentecostal church in Africa. It counts eighty-two parishes in the United States, including two in Chicago: Jesus House on the North Side and All Nations Assembly in Lincolnwood.[10] The Church has about 5,000 parishes in eighty countries. Most of these churches are, however, found in Nigeria.

The leader of this church dreams of a day when one in four people worldwide will be a member of the church.[11] That may be a good dream, but missionaries and church leaders should not be thinking of building their own kingdoms here on earth in the name of churches, which seems to be a common trend today among Pentecostals, but rather should be looking forward to bringing people to a personal relationship with Jesus Christ.

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[10] J. Lieblich and Tom McCann, *Africans Now Missionaries to US* (www.ezboard.com, 2002), p. 1 (checked: Sept 5, 2002). They were missionaries in Africa, but now reside in the U.S.A.

[11] Leiblich & McCann, *Africans Now Missionaries to US*, p. 1.

Rev. Josiah Olufemi Akindayomi founded The Redeemed Christian Church of God in 1952, but the growth of the church culminated in the 1980s when the leadership was changed to Rev. Adeboye, a former mathematics professor. It had only a few churches in 1981, but as of today it has about 5,000 congregations.

The church teachings/doctrine is succinctly stated thus: "The church emphasizes biblical inerrancy, the power of the Holy Spirit, divine healing and prophecy. It warns against disobeying church authority and a worldliness leaders see as rampant in the United States."[12]

It is not only doctrine that makes the church meaningful in the lives of people, but also the dynamism that is seen in the worship services.

> The African Pentecostals are characterized by their use of music and dance in the liturgy, their belief that prayer will solve problems, and their attempts to adapt Christian values to African beliefs and ways of life.[13]

This dynamism is helping young people to be involved in church activities today in Nigeria. The use of drums and other musical instruments is very attractive to young people who like to move and dance instead of sitting down in one place. This is noticeable because young people are the ones most often involved in the playing of musical instruments and singing songs of praise, instead of an old woman playing the piano and old men and women singing hymnal songs that are not so attractive to young people. I don't mean to down play the older folks and hymnal songs; I am only saying that the young people have been given a place in the church that was not there before now.

As indicated in the international directory of The Redeemed Christian Church of God,

> The Directorate of Missions came into existence in 1992 through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost and the guidance of the General Overseer, Pastor E. A. Adeboye. The broad vision of The Redeemed Christian Church of God to have a parish planted in every hamlet, town, country and continent of the world led to the establishment of the Directorate of Missions.[14]

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[12] Leiblich & McCann, *Africans Now Missionaries to US*, p. 1.

[13] Leiblich & McCann, *Africans Now Missionaries to US*, p. 1.

[14] Directorate of Missions, *The Redeemed Christian Church of God*, 3rd ed. (Lagos: RCCG Press, 2000-01), p. 8.

Despite the fact that the church started missions only in 1992, it is remarkable that they have been able to plant churches in about 15 countries as of 2001. In the United States alone, they have been able to plant 21 churches in different states and about 31 churches in India.

3.1.1 Qualifications of an RCCG Missionary

Prospective missionaries are selected and trained by the Recruitment and Training Department. This Department trains and equips prospective missionaries for cross-cultural ministry and other people interested in missions work. The Redeemed Christian School of Missions is one of her agencies for achieving this purpose.[15]

This is a one-year program, as indicated by one of their missionaries during an interview. The missionary also said one of his greatest benefits was the exposure to the need for contextualization in the training. This is one area many missionaries are very weak in, that should be given primary importance. The success of any missionary endeavor depends solely on the power of the Holy Spirit and how one is able to contextualize the gospel in the specific area he or she is doing missions.

The training generally emphasizes strong disciplinary action in order to help the missionaries be strong in the mission fields. This kind of approach in missions is very important, because some missionaries today are taking missions for granted.

3.1.2 Missions Sending and Support

The missionaries from the RCCG are normally sent to other countries without necessarily having a receiving body, since there are no RCCG churches in those countries yet. They practically start their work independently without having anybody to oversee them. That means they are directly supervised by their overseers in Nigeria. Their support is meager since they are coming from a poor country. They are generally encouraged to involve themselves in tent making, in order to support their ministry. They receive about $300-$500 every month to support their mission activities.

3.1.3 Why Some of the RCCG Missionaries Are Successful

The missionaries from RCCG are able to succeed in the United States of America and other parts of the world because of two strong factors: Spiritual discipline and assertiveness.

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[15] Directorate of Missions, *The Redeemed Christian Church of God*, p. 8.

a) Strong Spiritual Discipline: The Nigerian missionaries from the RCCG are devoted to the Word of God and prayers. They do not take these two spiritual disciplines lightly. They pray daily and fast often to maintain their spiritual fervor.

b) Assertiveness: They are also assertive in the sense that they do not allow circumstances to deaden their spirits. They move on despite the situation; and he or she is not easily discouraged, but pursues his or her goal with passion. They are not intimidated by anything when it comes to the sharing of the gospel.

3.2 Embassy of the Kingdom of God

This is another remarkable story of a Nigerian Pentecostal missionary in Europe. It is not only remarkable, it is extraordinary, because it seems to have been thought that it was impossible for a black man to go and start a church in Europe. Being black was just one obstacle; the other obstacle was the fact that this part of Europe had never believed in God. But these two obstacles were overcome and the largest church in the whole of Europe was planted in a most unlikely place.

Godwin Ifijeh states:

> Like it was in all of the former Soviet Union, the mention of religion or even God was a taboo in the Ukraine. To the people, God never existed. Of course, this was not surprising. The communist barrier erected around the people completely cut them off from not only the rest of the world but from every other thing alien to communism. But from as early as 1994, a young Nigerian Cleric, Sunday Adelaja, braved the odds.[16]

The amazing thing about Adelaja is the fact that he had neither a strong sending body behind him nor a receiving body. He went to study with the hope of doing missions as directed by God through dreams and visions, and arrived in the Ukraine with only a $20 bill. And so it took him a long time to actually involve himself in full-time ministry. But in eight years, he was able to establish a church of 20,000 members.

Unlike many missionaries who go back to their home countries to raise support for ministry, he did it locally in a poverty-stricken country. This, however, does not mean that all missionaries should raise their support locally; but, somehow, this is a biblical mandate as Christ

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[16] Godwin Ifijeh, *In Ukraine, a Nigerian Cleric Makes Waves* (www.thisdayonline.com, 2002), checked: Sept 2002.

commanded his disciples: Take nothing for the journey-no staff, no bag, no bread, no money, and no extra tunic. Whatever house you enter, stay there until you leave that town" (Luke 9:3-4).

What was Adelaja's mission strategy?

3.2.1 Training

Adelaja's success in missions was not instant, as it took him eight years to prepare. He first of all went through college and graduate school before launching into full-time ministry. Within these eight years, he studied the language and culture and understood them very well before starting the ministry entrusted to him by God.

3.2.2 Action with the Least in Society

He started his ministry with the society rejects who needed the Word of God the most. This proved the validity of the Word of God, as stated below:

> There was the fear that religion could enthrone them in another form of detention. So, to get around that, we went to the prostitutes, the outcasts, drug addicts, the alcoholics and social outcasts. It worked out. We preached the ministry to them and tried to restore them. With those people delivered and cleansed up to once again become normal people, their parents started coming to the church to find out what happened. It dawned on them that there must be something about what we were trying to do. The church became socially relevant to the community with government realizing that we are doing what they couldn't do.[17]

Getting involved in the real life situations of people can actually pay off in missions. People want to see the reality of God in their lives, not just by word of mouth. The words uttered by God must be authenticated with action. This may seem ambivalent to having faith that is not supposed to be based on reason, but it works in missions. We have to be very strategic.

3.2.3 Social Action

The next thing he did was to make sure the restored dejects in the society would be well taken care of, and so he decided to start a feeding program. He did this by raising funds within the country.

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[17] Ifijeh, *In Ukraine, a Nigerian Cleric Makes Waves*, p. 2.

3.2.4 Signs and Wonders

Some may think this is social action, but it is coupled with signs and wonders: "Besides, some of the miracles God had performed through us had also helped the church."[18] The ministry of God is never complete without signs and wonders. That is exactly why the Pentecostals have an edge over others in missions.

3.2.5 Involving Members in Ministry

The last factor in the success of his missionary effort is the fact that every person is involved in the ministry, not just himself. "God has been using men to spread the word of knowledge and in our own case in the Ukraine, every member of the over 20,000-member Church is involved in the spread of the word of God"[19]

The ministry of Sunday Adelaja deserves our commendation and emulation if we want to succeed in our missionary endeavors.

3.3 Kingsway International Christian Centres in East London

Most of the early missionaries in Nigeria were from England, as mentioned earlier in this paper, and it might be surprising to know that the largest church in England today is led by a Nigerian missionary who was a Moslem.

According to Matthew Ashimolowo, the pastor of the church: "God gave us a prophetic word that his servants will go out from our nation and shake the world."[20] There is no denying the fact, God has raised up his children from Nigeria to do his ministry.

According to Stephen Hunts:

> The popular media of the contemporary Pentecostal movement has made much of the apparent fresh 'revival' in Britain, in terms of mass converts and rapid congregational growth, among West Africans, mostly Nigerian, churches.[21]

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[18] Ifijeh, *In Ukraine, a Nigerian Cleric Makes Waves*, p. 2.

[19] Ifijeh, *In Ukraine, a Nigerian Cleric Makes Waves*, p. 2.

[20] Matthew Ashimolowo, *What God Is Doing in and through Nigeria?* (www.jesus.org.uk/dawn/2002/dawn18.html, 2002), p. 1, checked: Sept 4, 2002.

[21] Stephen Hunts, "The 'New' Black Pentecostal Churches in Britain" (A paper presented at the 14th Cesnur International Conference, Riga, Latvia, August 2000), p. 1.

He went on to say that the first church was 'planted' in 1985 in Britain with only four people in attendance. They now have about fifty churches of varying sizes and a membership somewhere in the range of two hundred thousand, especially in London and the midlands, but also with sizeable representation in a number of Britain's larger urban areas.[22]

The influence of the Nigerian Pentecostals in Great Britain is a clear authentication of what is happening in Nigeria. The Holy Spirit is not only manifested in Nigeria, but also in other parts of the world.

3.4 Elsewhere in the World

The remarkable thing about most Nigerian missionaries is the fact that, they shine wherever they go. It is said that: "the largest churches in Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, Zimbabwe and Jamaica are also led by Nigerians."[23] This somehow makes the Pentecostal Nigerian missionaries phenomenal, in the sense that most of them start missions without strong connections at their home churches and yet do better than most missionaries who are well funded and prayed for.

4. The Nigerian Missionaries' Observed Stragegies in Missions

The Church in Nigeria did not grow in a vacuum. There are conditions that led to its rapid growth. These conditions, if taken into consideration and allowed to manifest themselves in any ministry anywhere in the world, will help a church to grow. As a matter of fact, the Nigerian situation is not an isolated case. It is seen in Korea and Latin American countries. God works with people in a particular way and in certain circumstances, and so it becomes imperative for us to take a careful look at how He was able to do it with the Nigerian missionaries.

The following are some of the observed characteristics of Nigerian missionaries:

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[22] Hunts, "The 'New' Black Pentecostal Churches in Britain," p. 1.

[23] Wolfgang Simson, "What Is God Doing in and through Nigeria?" *Dawn Fridayfax* 18 (2002).

4.1 Spirit Filled

The churches that have grown tremendously among Nigerian missionaries are churches that are spirit filled. People go to churches where they see the power of God moving. A spiritually dead church does not allow the spirit of God to manifest itself. It believes in God but does not believe in His power to move mountains if there is a need to do so.

It is mandated of every Pentecostal missionary to be spirit filled. The spirit's power is what moves people to do God's work and this is what has been seen in Pentecostal missionaries everywhere. The Holy Spirit can only be present in a church where there is fervent prayer and belief in that prayer. Pentecostals pray because they believe strongly in the Word of God, and they spend time reading it day and night, to see what God has done before in the lives of his children. Their faith is strengthened by their reading of the Word, and most of the time when they pray, their prayers are not only answered, but sometimes instantly to the amazement of people, who then begin to put their trust in God.

It is not surprising that Nigerians are easily "carried away" by the Spirit movement. By nature they are spiritual; and I don't quite know how to make this more explicit. It is not that other humans are not spiritual, but it is just that Nigerians are more attuned to the spiritual than to the physical. A Nigerian, by nature, looks at life from a spiritual dimension, rather than from a rational point of view. The concept of a supreme being is so ingrained in the mind set of a Nigerian that it is impossible for him/her not to associate every aspect of his /her life with God.[24]

4.2 Signs and Wonders

Every spirit filled person is accompanied with signs and wonders and there is nothing as convincing as the manifestation of God's power in the lives of people. When people are healed or set free from demon possession, others are made to see the reality of God in their lives.

C. Peter Wagner looks at church growth as the result of miraculous healing, as indicated in the case of Nigeria. In the book, he narrated the story of two leprous people who became Christians as a result of being

[24] Ayuk Ausaji Ayuk, "The Pentecostals Transformation of Nigeria Church Life" *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 5:2 (2002), pp. 189-204.

healed.[25] This is one thing the Pentecostals brought back to life in the Nigerian Churches. Many persons used to flock to faith healers or witch doctors to get healing, but today they go to churches because the power of the Holy Spirit has been restored in full force.

This causes me to think that the saying "to see is to believe" is very much engrained in all human beings. The Israelites were also looking for signs and wonders. Jesus, however, was not very happy about this, because it makes faith irrelevant. The evidence of trust without any physical manifestation is what Christianity is all about, and that is what Jesus tried to impress in the minds of his disciples. However, the fact still remains that human beings are more convinced and persuaded, when something miraculous and dramatic happens. But miracles do not necessarily make Christians. It is the revealing power of the Holy Spirit that makes Christians (1Cor 2:10). Miracles may be performed, but it is the convincing and revealing power of the Holy Spirit that makes persons respond to the Christian faith. Not every person who sees miracles turns to God (1Cor.2: 14). Only those persons, whom God has chosen to reveal himself to, respond appropriately (1Cor.1: 26-30). If miracles were the determinants of a person's faith, then the whole world would either be for Christ or the Devil. The Devil usurps the power of God sometimes and people are generally amazed by such powers (Acts 8:9-11), but not every person will take these experiences seriously. In the same manner, not all persons who see miracles from God are touched by the Holy Spirit to take them as revelations from God, and respond to accept Jesus Christ as their personal Savior. Miracles should, therefore, not be seen as the driving force behind a person's acceptance of Jesus as their personal savior. Rather, it is the power of the Holy Spirit that intervenes and makes them begin to see things differently.[26]

4.3 Contextualization

Theology should be contextualized in order for it to have meaning in the lives of its consumers. Kofi Appiah-Kubi succinctly put it this way:

> That the Gospel has come to remain in Africa cannot be denied, but now our theological reflections must be addressed to the real contextual African situations. Our question must not be what Karl Barth, Karl

[25] C. Peter Wagner, *How to Have a Healing Ministry without Making Your Church Sick* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1988), pp. 72-73.

[26] Ayuk, "The Pentecostals Transformation of Nigeria Church life," p. 204.

> Rahner, or any other Karl has to say, but rather what God would have us do in our living concrete condition.[27]

Western theologians have written a lot of theological books; but, perhaps only a handful of professional theologians are interested in what has been said by these very articulate theologians. It becomes imperative for us to think about the relevance of these great books to church life. Theology is relevant when it answers the questions of the context in which it is done. There is nothing that makes the Word of God more relevant than a proper understanding of the language and culture of a people.

4.4 Social Action

Pentecostals are vigorously involved in the political life of Nigeria. They pray for the country and are involved in some government activities. Their preaching is not devoid of political innuendoes and a call for appropriate actions to be taken. They depend on God to help them in influencing certain actions in the country. Nigerians generally believe that it is God who has intervened in the changes that have taken place in the country politically. They think that God has answered their prayers. God has, therefore, acted in a political situation. However, there is still much to be done in this area. The church cannot deny the fact that she is the embodiment of life in totality. It is supposed to touch all [28]

4.5 Dynamic Worship

Nigerians are very active people. They do not like anything solemn. Moreover, they like to sing and swing and move. Such is the nature of a Nigerian, which invariably is the nature of Pentecostalism. This makes me see very clearly the importance of contextualization. This is in agreement with Jules-Rosette's observation that, "Third World countries are creating ideologies which bring a synthesis of indigenous and Western religious beliefs as part of the growth of New Religious Movements. Often such movements, typified by developments in Africa, represent the interests and life experiences of distinct and sometimes emerging social groups. These theological constructs may then be subject

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[27] Kofi Appiah-Kubi and Sergio Torres, *African Theology Enroute* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1983), p. viii.

[28] Ayuk, "The Pentecostals Transformation of Nigeria Church life," p. 204.

to the process of globalization and, in doing so, appeal to localized communities"[29]

4.6 Dynamic Preaching

Nigerian missionaries speak the Word of God with authority and power, so that it penetrates the mind with full force. The business of a missionary is to communicate the Word of God in such a way that it can be clearly understood by the listeners. This, coupled with personal conviction and authenticity, makes the message acceptable. Peter demonstrated this in Acts. The forcefulness of his preaching and the strong conviction in what he was saying led to the winning of three thousand (3000) souls in one day.

This is one area that must be strengthened if souls are to be won for Christ. Many preachers today are using preaching as a form of entertainment. But, if our audience is serious, they are not there to be entertained, but rather to be edified and inspired through the Word of God. Taking good note of this will help us to be more focused, instead of getting side-tracked by the desire to impress.

4.7 Message of Hope

The Pentecostals offer a futuristic kingdom of God. [30] This theological perspective tends to conceptualize both a present and future hope of deliverance from the conditions of this world.[31] Scholars like Cope tend to look at this perspective as escapism from reality.[32] The central message of Jesus Christ was about the coming kingdom. He said, "They are not of the world, even as I am not of it" (John 17: 16). The world is a place to be purified, in order for its inhabitants to qualify for the kingdom of God. Christians generally do not have any message other than this, but the fact is, only the Pentecostals emphasize the coming of the kingdom of God. Churches also emphasize the need to be 'born-again,' the baptism of the Holy Spirit, the importance of the charismata

[29] Hunt, "The 'New' Black Pentecostal Churches in Britain," p. 2.

[30] Hunt, "The 'New' Black Pentecostal Churches in Britain," p. 2.

[31] J. Aldred, "Paradigms for a Black Theology in Britain," *Black Theology in Britain* 2 (1999), pp. 9-32.

[32] J. H. Cope Cope, *For My People* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1984), p.13.

and a great deal of emphasis is placed on miracles and faith healing.[33] The Word of God is held as infallible and the basis of all teachings.

Apart from this theological orientation, Pentecostals also emphasize personal purity. I feel this should be every Christian's theology. Theology should be based on the Bible -- no more, no less. Anything outside the Bible is not Christian and should not be taken seriously. And however profound your theology may be, if it is not giving life to people, then it is worthless

People need hope and that is what is given to them through God's Word. We are living in a hopeless world, where people are not sure of what will happen next and how they can deal with such situations. The Pentecostals offer the security and hope that every person needs in order to keep going on with life.

4.8 Good Training

The kind of discipline and training received by Nigerians makes them strong enough to bear up under any kind of condition. Their training and up-bringing offers them an advantage no other missionary has. Many Bible schools and seminaries have been opened to help in training church leaders for the next generation.

The question, however, is whether these institutions are being whole-heartedly supported by the churches, both morally and financially? There is a kind of ambiguity seen among Pentecostal churches regarding Bible and theological training. They are both excited and, at the same time, suspicious of educational institutions. There are many big Pentecostal churches I know of, that would rather train their pastors than send them to Bible schools or seminaries. They would rather invite a seminary professor to come and train their church workers than send them to the Bible school, and there are many training programs within the church to cater to the needs of the churches.

But, the question is: Are the training programs in the churches adequate? I believe the answer to that question is "No." Then why do they still opt to train the workers within the church setting? The answer to that question is very troubling. Many churches are suspicious that the seminary will destroy, rather than build, good leaders for the church. Many churches today are afraid of seminary graduates who may come back to divide the church, rather than consolidate it.

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[33] Hunt, "The 'New' Black Pentecostal Churches in Britain," p. 2.

These are hard-core issues that should be talked about, rather than just avoiding them and thinking of them as being unfounded. What, in theological education, has failed? Is it just that "knowledge puffs up" (1 Cor. 8:1)? The problem is not just that "knowledge puffs up," but the problem lies with both the formal and hidden curriculum of seminaries and Bible schools.

Seminaries and Bible schools do not take Christian education, as a discipline, seriously; and, therefore, do not employ the principles of educational planning in their development of curriculums. When curriculums are not well-planned and implemented, the students will not be well-trained, and so the expected outcome of theological training is lost in the process of training. Most of the time, curriculums are designed without due consultation with the churches. How then can the churches want to support what is being done in the seminaries?

Education, without clear-cut goals, will definitely fail. That is exactly what is happening. Yes, most theological schools have goals, but the goals are not very clear. Most of the time, the curriculums are not implemented because the teachers are not well informed of what is expected of them in a particular course. They teach what they like, not what the curriculum expects of them; and so, then the curriculum is not implemented.

The problem is not so much that churches are training their own workers; the problem is why the seminaries are being undermined? Unless the philosophy of education is changed, and principles of educational practice are taken seriously, seminaries will continue to lose their place as the formation center of future church leaders.

The hidden curriculum plays the most important part in theological education. Seminary teachers are supposed to be models of what the school upholds. If students do not see the sincerity of the faculty's actions, they will also become likewise. I agree with what McKinney said in his paper:

> Every administrator and faculty member of a Pentecostal educational institution should have an articulated personal philosophy of ministry and education. This will determine to a great extent how he functions in and out of the classroom and what kind of model he will be for the students. This will also affect his objectives for the courses he teaches

> and the balance between academic and spiritual dimensions that he allows and encourages.[34]

I still believe that only well-planned educational programs can make theological education worthwhile in the 21st century. And the planning must involve churches who will be having their church workers and pastors trained in seminaries. Without formal training in the seminaries, it will be hard to find pastors who can handle the kind of churches that will be emerging in the 21st century. Christian education is indispensable.

The world is changing very fast and as the world changes, different aspects of life will also change. There is nothing that can substitute for change but change itself. We are in a period of knowledge explosion, and all we need to do is manage the knowledge that is there, for grasp by any person who wants it. The library is no more very far from home, because the Internet is full of resources to tap from. The alternative for a classroom will be the home, church buildings and most probably offices, in both urban and rural areas.

Some Pentecostal denominations already have distance education. The Assemblies of God has ICI (Global University)[35] and the Church of God, a certificate in ministerial studies, which is presently selling like hot cakes among the Church of God churches. Most of the big Church of God churches prefer to use the CIMS program, instead of enrolling students in the traditional seminary training. This does not mean that the traditional system of education will be out of the market. The traditional institutions will still operate as the main source for the materials of distance education.

The distance education program should be strengthened, because people don't have time anymore to spend three years in school for a degree before going to start a ministry. I believe it is even better to be in the church setting while studying, instead of staying away from real church life situations. Seminary teachers should be encouraged to develop materials that can easily be understood by those taking the distance education program.

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[34] Everett L. McKinney, "Some Spiritual Aspects of Pentecostal Education: A Personal Journey," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 3:2 (2000), pp. 253-79 (263).

[35] Benjamin Sun, "Assemblies of God Theological Education in Asia Pacific: A Reflection," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 3:2 (2000), pp. 227-51 (236).

Distance education programs should not stop with certificate programs only. Graduate study materials should also be prepared for the distance education program. The classroom is not the only place that education can take place. Admittedly, that is the very traditional way of thinking about education; but learning can take place anywhere as long as knowledge is gained, whether through reading or from a teacher's input. Theological schools should begin to get ready, as theological education is going to change its face in the very near future.

5. Challenges Faced by Missionaries

Missionary work in itself is a big challenge; only people set apart by God will be able to undertake it. This challenge in missions is manifested in certain areas that make missions possible, such as:

5.1 Finance

Money is one of the biggest challenges in missions and ministry in general. Without money it is almost impossible to do missions, because mission is carried out through the use of money. Money is not only a challenge in terms of its lack, but also a challenge in terms of its proper usage by missionaries. While the missionaries from the Third World like Nigeria are complaining of the lack of money, missionaries from rich countries are accused of using the name of God to make money or are living fabulous lifestyles in countries with poor economic situations. In this regard, Western missionaries and missionaries from other rich countries are under suspect. They are looked upon as having the best time of their lives, especially when compared to the early missionaries who suffered and died while preaching the word of God.

The Nigerian missionary from the RCCG has this to say with regard to money:

> Owing to the cost of living in this Region, setting up new churches has been quite challenging, financially. Costs include those of venues of meetings, purchase of musical and office equipment, as well as of required furniture items. In addition is the added cost of transporting members to church until they become grounded enough to make the effort of coming to church on their own.[36]

[36] RCCG Southern Africa 11 Region, *Church Planting* (www.rccgsa.org, 2002), checked: Dce 13, 2002.

5.2 Nationalism

Another big challenge to missions is nationalism. Indigenes always feel apprehensive at first when dealing with foreigners; so it takes some time for them to be fully accepted. The indigenous or national Christians, on the other hand, feel they do not need missionaries because of the way they perceive the missionaries.

The first issue is national pride: "We can take charge of ourselves; we don't need anybody to tell us what we should be doing." Even though we can understand this, such is not supposed to be, because we are all Christians. We should be working with one another instead of fighting with each another. We are supposed to look at one another as brothers and sisters working together in the vineyard of the Lord, not "our country." This complex feeling is not Biblical; because it is God who mandates us to go.

The second reason is that missionaries from the West, and other rich countries, have more money than the nationals and they live better. The nationals feel they are not treated well by the missionaries who work with them, even when they do the same work or work harder than the missionaries.

The third reason is that the nationals feel powerless, even when they are given positions, because they feel they are being dictated to. They feel their positions are not being recognized by the missionaries, who don't take them seriously, even though they are supposed to be under them. It is a matter of having a superiority and inferiority complex, both on the part of the missionary and the local.

5.3 Culture and Language

One of the most important elements in effective ministry is recognition of culture and language. The most successful missionaries are the ones who take the culture and language of the people they ministering to seriously. It is not easy to study a language, especially at an older age, but that is exactly what we must do if we want to be successful in our missions work.

The aforementioned challenges are beginning to cause mission organizations and churches to feel that foreign missionaries are no longer important, and they desire to have locals do the work instead of missionaries. It is right to encourage indigenes to be involved in local missions, but it is not Biblically or theologically right to stop sending

missionaries to other countries. We must not use our heads over and above the Biblical mandate and God's direction. Sometimes a foreign missionary can do ministry better than the national, so we must continue to send foreign missionaries to aid the locals, if needed.

6. Recommendation

The following are some recommendations that can help in making missions more effective and efficient. Some of the Nigerian missionaries have employed them in their ministry, as discussed earlier in this paper. Missionaries who want to be successful in their ministry in any part of the world should not hesitate to implement them.

Firstly, prospective missionaries should be given adequate training in the area of contextualization and indigenization of the Gospel. This is not about compromising, but it is about making the gospel relevant to the culture just like Paul (1 Cor. 9:19-22). Contextualization means you employ the local's way of doing things in your ministry. This will make your ministry to not be something foreign to the locals, who are always looking out to retain their identity as a people. This does not mean that you should employ any aspect of a culture that is directly opposed to the Christian faith; but that which is not, in any way contrary to the faith, should be utilized in the propagation of the message. The locals will feel more at home in that kind of situation. This means that the missionaries should first immerse themselves in the culture before attempting to share the Gospel (Acts 17:22-23). In short, one can easily understand the worldview of the people through their language and culture.

Secondly, missionaries should share with the locals whatever blessings they have, be it financial or otherwise, especially when they work together. The locals normally complain of the fact that they are doing ministry together, but the missionaries are living better lives than them. This is quite difficult to discuss, but missionaries must be aware of the fact that the locals are beginning to look at them as just using nationals for financial gain from their home countries.

Thirdly, missionaries should treat the locals with respect. Not because they must, but because they deserve it as equals in the eyes of God. Being a missionary should not make you look at the locals as inferior. Jesus never treated the Samaritans as inferior. He always tried to make the Israelites recognize the fact that if the Samaritans were living according to the will of God, they were better in the eyes of God than them.

Fourthly, missionaries who belong to a particular denomination that has international affiliation, and who are under the locals, must respect and support their programs. There is a tendency for some missionaries not to respect the local authority or subject themselves to it. Part of the reason for this is the fact, that the missionary feels he has more money and should run the local programs. This does not mean that missionaries cannot be leaders and have the locals obey them too; but, whoever is the leader should be treated as such.

Fifthly, locals should not look at missionaries as foreigners, but rather as co-workers in the vineyard of God. The Christian missionary can work anywhere he/she chooses. The world is our parish, if I may borrow from John Wesley. However, I don't really know how to say this so I will not be misunderstood. Therefore, whatever may be the case, I will say it: the local Christians should not treat the foreign missionary as an outsider, especially when he/she can perform responsibilities as well, and in some cases even better, than the locals.

Churches/mission organizations should continue to support sending foreign missionaries to other countries, instead of thinking only of supporting the locals. There are a lot of advantages in the use of local missionaries, but foreign missionaries can also be helpful in certain areas.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to say we are actually coming to the end of the age, because what was prophesied is coming to fruition. The Lord said: "This is what I will do in the last days…I will pour out my spirit on everyone" (Acts 2:17-21). This prophecy is coming to pass because all people are being used today to do the ministry of God.

Many are questioning the validity of Nigeria's church growth and involvement in missions because of the poor economic situation, social problems and lack of peace between Moslems and Christians. The fact is, nothing can stop God from doing what he wants to do and where he wants to do it. The lack of prosperity in any place does not necessarily suggest a lack of spirituality.

The equation of God with regard to material things is one issue that we need to deal with among Pentecostals. We often forget the sufferings of Christ, and Paul, and concentrate more on what we can get. Paul gave up a good life for a difficult life, yet he never regretted becoming a Christian.

Another disturbing trend among Pentecostals is the fact that many of them want to be independent from others and seeks to build his own ministry instead of working with others. This is not giving Pentecostals a good name. Though some people may see schism as necessary for church growth, undue quarrels and jealousy of one another is not a manifestation of the Holy Spirit.

In order for the Pentecostals to continue in the momentum they are now in, there has to be a good educational foundation to help sustain the tremendous ministry that has been entrusted to them. But, the question now is, what kind of education should the Pentecostals be getting? This is a very relevant question because there is the tendency to end up as liberals, with an undue quest for scholarship. Scholarship, if put in its right perspective is good, but when it begins to go against the basic tenets of Pentecostalism, there is reason to worry.

I fear that Pentecostals are beginning to forget that, what they are learning today in the name of scholarship was there before Pentecostalism, and it hampered growth of the church. They want to be recognized by others as scholars, so they seem to be enjoying every bit of knowledge they come across, just so they can be accepted into the circle of scholars. But I look at this as unstable or theological immaturity. Some are gradually drifting away from the truth and sinking into the ocean of worldly wisdom to their own detriment, all in the name of scholarship. A Scholar is not necessarily determined by how much he knows about facts, but how he thinks about things. Critical thinking is what most Pentecostal schools should be seeking to develop in their students, and that is what makes a scholar.

I would like to reiterate what Howard G. Hendricks has said: “Many things done in the name of scholarship are meaningless” (p. 88). Whatever we do in school should have a meaningful objective. The number of books you have read or the numbers of papers you have written do not necessarily make you a good Christian. Nobody is suggesting that we should stop reading books or writing papers, as I am doing now; but what we are saying is, seminary education should focus on what is relevant to ministry and missionary work.

The Pentecostal Church in Nigeria has grown and most of the missionaries are successful because they can defend what they believe and they had rigorous training that is faithful to the Pentecostal belief system. When we begin to be insecure with what we have and start looking for people to authenticate us, or looking for ways to substantiate what we believe by reason at the expense of faith, we are doomed for instability. Reason can never be substituted for anything. It is what

makes us human, and objective most of the time; but the use of reason cannot explain every mystery, because then there would be no mystery anymore. In the same manner, faith can never be substituted for anything else, because then there would be no such thing as Christian faith.

Missions has been made possible by faith and it is only faith that can sustain it. Let’s keep our faith strong.

[*AJPS* 8:1 (2005), pp. 143-161]

TWO CONTRASTING MODELS OF MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION AND THE ASSEMBLIES OF GOD

Mathew S. Clark

1. Introduction

South Africa is an interesting situation in which to observe the dynamics of Christian mission. It has had a settled European population since 1652, and a colonial history similar to that of Canada, Australia and New Zealand—perhaps more like Canada, with the Dutch playing a similar role to the French in that country. The major difference is that in those countries, the original inhabitants eventually became a minority, while it is the Europeans who remained a minority in South Africa.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, at the time of the arrival of the first Pentecostal preachers, the country consisted of four provinces, two of which were originally British colonies and two of which were recently subdued Boer (Dutch, or Afrikaner) republics. The country was recovering from devastating war, and many of its inhabitants resented British rule. Blacks and Afrikaners were especially economically disadvantaged.

At this time, there was still the simplistic notion among Christians that Blacks were pagans and objects of mission, and that Whites were Christians bringing the civilizing influence of Christianity to Africa. By the end of the twentieth century, this was no longer the case, although it was a notion that remained longest in the mentality of many Afrikaner Christian workers and politicians.

In this study, I would like to examine two contrasting styles of mission endeavor by two Pentecostal denominations in South Africa, and attempt to draw some conclusions that might benefit Pentecostal understanding of missions in a context broader than just South Africa. First I will give an extremely brief overview of the history of the two

denominations, and then will take a more detailed look at their missions practices.

2. A Short History of Two Denominations

2.1 The Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (AFM)[1]

The AFM was the earliest Pentecostal denomination to register in South Africa. It was founded in 1908 in response to the preaching of John G. Lake and Tom Hezmalhalch from the USA. The local Zionist church under P. L. le Roux joined with Lake's followers to provide a ready infrastructure of existing congregations, both White and Black. Lake and Hezmalhalch returned to the USA, and in 1913 P. L. le Roux became the first South African president of the denomination. From this time the AFM operated as a totally indigenous South African church, with no links to, or oversight from, any other nation. Its members were from all nations and cultures represented in South Africa at that time.

The Blacks who had joined the AFM from the Zionist group of P. L. le Roux eventually found themselves estranged from the decision-making of the church, since most of the converts among the Whites were Afrikaners. These so-called "poor whites" found themselves in economic competition with the Blacks, particularly in the urban setting, and tensions were not long in developing. In 1919 a large group of Black members withdrew from the AFM and founded the Zionist movement, a branch of which, the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), is currently the largest African Initiated Church (AIC) in South Africa.[2]

The now completely White-ruled AFM continued with a missions practice of "daughter churches," similar to that practiced by the Dutch Reformed churches. This eventually led to the establishment of a four major groupings in the AFM: the White (parent) church, a large Black

[1] The primary source for this section is the official history of the AFM of SA: I. S. vd M. Burger, *Die Geskiedenis van die Apostoliese Geloof Sending van Suid Afrika (1908-1958)* (Braamfontein: Evangelie Uitgewers, 1987), with insights from Christiaan R. de Wet, "The Apostolic Faith Mission in Africa: 1908-1980: A Case Study in Church Growth in a Segregated Society" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Cape Town, 1989).

[2] Many White leaders of the AFM seemed to have trouble with this link between the AFM and the Zionist movement: Burger does not even deal with it in his official history. However, it has been too well established by church historical research to still maintain that it is fictitious.

daughter church, a Colored (mixed race) daughter church, and an Indian daughter church. The Black church consisted of many different components, ordered primarily by language and region. One of the difficult situations at the time of the unity of the four sections in 1996 was that not all the components were part of the constitutional Black section, that is, the Black church in the Venda region of Limpopo province.

The AFM was always a very constitutional church, where its total pastorate and membership was involved democratically at every level: congregational, regional and national. The daughter churches operated under similar constitutions inherited from the parent body, but did not elect their own presidents—the missions superintendent appointed by the White church filled this office. During most of its history, the AFM tended toward a Presbyterian system of church government, although the inherently authoritarian nature of both Afrikaner and Black cultures meant that there was always a tendency to centralize authority in a few figures or councils, and to remain loyal to their elected leaders, even if they did not always deliver according to expectations.

Although the AFM was divided constitutionally into four separate churches, there was often contact between White congregations and those of the other sections. Contacts with the Blacks tended to be very "top-down," and many White members would preach regularly in Black townships or mine hostels. Contact between Whites and Indians and Whites and Coloreds was an easier option because of many cultural similarities. The White congregations always remained very "mission" conscious, and it has always been easy to raise funds from their ranks for "the salvation of souls in Africa." In the latter quarter of the century, many articulate Black AFM leaders began to object to being seen as "objects of mission," and their strident objections led to a backlash in which today it is well-nigh impossible to raise funds for "African missions" among traditionally White AFM congregations, unless the need is somewhere outside of South Africa itself. This has led to the growth of a number of para-church organizations that offer evangelization, care of AIDS orphans, feeding-schemes, and training of pastors in numerous countries—but rarely in South Africa itself.

In 1996, the four sections of the AFM united under a single constitution, with a democratically elected church government. It consists of over 30 regions, whose chairpersons make out the Executive Council (now known as the National Leadership Forum), together with the elected office-bearers of the church. In 2000, the church voted for a new philosophy in church government, and now operates under a mixture of

the old democratic constitution and the "new apostolic paradigm"—a move from a Presbyterian system to an Episcopalian.

2.2 The Assemblies of God in South Africa (AOG)[3]

The AOG found its beginnings in South Africa as an umbrella organization under which numerous Pentecostal missionaries chose to operate. Some of these folk had been involved in missions in South Africa since 1908, and in 1912 one of them, Hannah James, applied to the USA Assemblies of God for permission to operate under that name in South Africa. This was granted, and the denomination received official recognition in South Africa from the South African authorities, from that time.

However, the official line in the USA appeared to be that the AG there chose to relate to the Full Gospel Church in South Africa, and were not keen on a separate AOG group existing in that country. This led to an on-off situation that lasted for decades. Eventually in 1932, the AOG was registered as the Assemblies of God in South Africa, under the supervision of the missions office in the USA. However, this decision by the USA AOG was reversed the very next year, and the AOG found itself existing independently in South Africa.

Since the AOG consisted primarily of expatriate missionaries working in mainly rural localities, its membership growth was primarily Black. The various missions were also fiercely independently minded, and vigorously guarded their own autonomy. This notion permeates the denomination until today, with most assemblies and most sections during the period of division in the church opting for lean-and-mean constitutions (that limited the activities of the leaders as little as possible).

In the 1930s, a number of significant developments took place. The large and influential Emmanuel Mission and Press joined with the AOG, but only on the basis of a constitution that would allow it full autonomy over its own affairs. Nicholas Bhengu, together with his co-workers Alfred Gumede and Gideon Buthelezi, left the Full Gospel Church to work under the AOG umbrella—again with the understanding that he would enjoy complete autonomy over his own affairs. James Mullan also

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[3] The primary source for this section is P. Watt, *From Africa's Soil: The Story of the Assemblies of God in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: Struik Christian Books, 1992).

left the Full Gospel Church, bringing with him a number of White assemblies, and became the founder of the White churches in the AOG.

By 1944, the AOG consisted mainly of a large Black church, partly the fruit of the labors of expatriate missionaries working on mission stations, and partly the result of the powerful preaching of Africa's "Billy Graham," Nicholas Bhengu. It also consisted of a growing group of White churches, which acknowledged James Mullan as their leader. The Executive of the AOG reflected both groups, but operated under the understanding that no party or grouping under the AOG umbrella ever interfered in the affairs of another. The AOG was essentially nothing more than a large umbrella cover for a number of groups. This state of affairs continued until the early 1960s.

A number of expatriate missionaries were working in South Africa under the supervision of the missions department of the AOG in the USA, and under the AOG umbrella in South Africa. However, the casual way in which church government proceeded in South Africa, compared to the more democratic and organized manner in which the AG in the USA comported itself, eventually led to a schism in AOG ranks. In 1964, the American missionaries in South Africa withdrew from the fellowship and established the International Assemblies of God (IAG). Missionaries from other western countries remained in fellowship with the AOG.

Among the White churches, the question of succession arose, as James Mullan aged. He had run the churches on an "apostolic" basis, doing more or less as he liked and moving ministers as he liked. Bhengu operated in a similar manner over the Black churches. A number of assemblies (mainly White), which had come under the AOG umbrella in more recent times, were alienated by the manner in which this sort of church government was applied. Consequently, in 1981 they separated under the chairmanship of Sam Ennis (an Irishman of Salvation Army background) to form the Assemblies of God Fellowship (AGF). James Mullan, aging and already having stood back for his own personal selection of successors, also left the AOG in sorrow. The "apostolic" leadership of the remaining AOG churches, although intended by Mullan to be taken up by a number of younger men, came to fall solely upon John Bond. Nicholas Bhengu effectively ran the Black churches as he wished, but with his support John Bond became and remained the head of the AOG until his recent retirement.

In 2002, the three groups found a formula for unity, and celebrated their re-established unity. The newly re-united AOG would appear to still cling to its desire for local autonomy under a minimal constitution, but how these nuts-and-bolts will be arranged is part of the continuing saga.

3. A Comparison of the Missions Practice of the AFM and the AOG

At this point, the question arises of what is meant by Pentecostals in South Africa by "missions." At the beginning of the century, it was clearly understood to be cross-cultural communication of the gospel by Christian Europeans to pagan Africans. A century later, it probably still holds this primary connotation, particularly for conservative Whites and for many expatriate missionaries. However, this is no longer so clear-cut. Is missions-work "missions" only when there is a cross-cultural component involved? Or is it "missions" when there is an element of preaching the gospel to people (perhaps of one's own race) of a non-Christian background and/or culture? Can a South African be a missionary to a South African? Can a Black be a missionary to a Black? Can a Black be a missionary to a White? In present-day South Africa, all of these scenarios are possible. Indeed, this is so much the case that missiology may now be found under practical theology at some South African seminaries. "Missions" and "evangelization" are now one and the same thing.[4]

For the purposes of the discussion below, I am using the term "missions" as it operated among the parties who were involved in practicing it. This novel way of escape is of course not so secure, since in the context under discussion the term has evolved as the various subjects and objects of mission activity have questioned it.

3.1 Missions Activity in the AFM

Although it came to operate under the traditional racial divisions that were eventually legislated by the State in the apartheid era, the AFM was at all times from 1913 an *indigenous South African church*. While it ranked its membership racially, there was never a time when expatriate missionaries, or a foreign church office, directed the affairs of the church in any way.[5]

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[4] Auckland Park Theological Seminary, the flagship theological training center for the AFM, has never had a head of Department Missiology with a doctoral qualification in missions. The lecturing is normally done by teachers with qualifications in Practical Theology or New Testament.

[5] De Wet, "The AFM in Africa," p. 95 notes that the first "missionary" council of the AFM was established in 1910, and consisted of three White members and three "native" members. It was called the Native Council. This was remarkably egalitarian for the times, although de Wet sees the equal numbers as evidence of paternalism.

At the same time, the AFM was always a homogenous church constitutionally. Each section was governed under a similar democratic, Presbyterian-type constitution. There were no autonomous groups operating under an umbrella constitution: "mission" was something the entire White church did, and it did it officially and together. (That Blacks could also be missionaries did not occur to the White leadership.[6]) In the very latter part of the century, some White congregations developed their own missions programs, normally in cooperation with (or as initiators of) a para-church body.

The practice of founding "daughter churches" was considered a practical manner of doing missions in South Africa. The other Afrikaans (reformed) churches also followed it, and it had the effect of developing large and spiritually healthy culturally-homogenous churches without forcing the White people to worship in a racially integrated setting. While today this racial attitude of the Whites is obviously seen as ethically unacceptable, its absence was unthinkable in the first half of the twentieth century.[7] Even the non-racial AOG developed on the lines of White assemblies and Black assemblies, for all that they were not forced to do so by their constitution.

The involvement of White congregations in "missions" activities in terms of relationships with their local Black churches also meant that institutionalized segregation did not necessarily imply total segregation. The relationship was extremely paternalistic, but the discrepancy in economic resources between White and Black during the period under discussion left little alternative. The fact was that some very close relationships and friendships developed between White and Black Pentecostals even in a segregated church environment. Until the overt radical politicisation of the church situation by younger articulate Blacks in the 1980s and later, there was never a time that it could be said that the hearts (and purses) of the White membership were not open to their Black colleagues and co-believers.[8]

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[6] De Wet, "The AFM in Africa," p. 97.

[7] Burger, *Geskiedenis van die AGS*, p. 422 notes how by 1917 the question of integrated worship had become a problem for a church whose White component represented more and more the *Boerekultuur*. This led to official pronouncements that "Coloureds" and Blacks should worship separately.

[8] Burger, *Geskiedenis van die AGS*, pp. 422-23 reports John Lake as follows: "The Afrikander…has always lived among the natives; he knows them, and is a much better missionary than the overseas man. The difficulty with the Afrikannder, as a rule, is that he is like our Southerner in America; there is a

From the early 1990s, the traditionally White congregations of the AFM have changed their missions involvement from involvement within South Africa to involvement in Africa (and also in other parts of the "10-40 window"). Despite the unity process in the church, most White members are reluctant to give money for work among the Blacks in South Africa, for two major reasons: 1) the Black leadership insisted volubly from the 1980s that Blacks should no longer be seen as mission-objects or targets, and 2) the White membership was emotionally alienated by the strident pro-liberation, pro-ecumenical (and indeed, pro-Marxist) rhetoric of some of the leaders in the Black church. [9]

During the time of segregation in the AFM, a number of powerful Black church leaders and evangelists did arise. One of the earliest was Elias Letwaba, who worked with Lake and Le Roux, and who did not depart the AFM with the Zionist schism. The most influential in recent years was Richard Ngidi, a Zulu whose ministry led to the establishment of scores of churches in KwaZulu-Natal province. However, the White church government of the AFM never allowed such persons to exercise the sort of influence that Nicholas Bhengu had in the AOG.

The new unity constitution of the AFM (adopted in 1996) does not allow for any racial distinctions to be made in terms of membership, office or ministry in the church. In effect, this deprives the church of any notion of "missions" activity within its own ranks, since until unity "missions" was always understood as "White going to Black" and as "White giving to Black." The Missions Department of the AFM has for some time been known as the Department of World Missions and Evangelisation, with the proclamation of the gospel in South Africa being understood as "evangelization," and to non-Christians (e.g., Muslims) outside of South Africa as "world missions."

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strong prejudice on his part against the blacks, and only God, the Holy Ghost, can remove that. But, bless God, He does, and the most devoted white workers we have among the natives are these, whose hearts God has caused to love the natives."

[9] This reluctance has been overcome to some extent by the Project Judea tent-ministry group, where local churches are asked to sponsor tents and evangelists (at a fixed cost per tent per annum) for the purposes of planting new churches in traditionally Black areas. The response from many large White AFM churches has been heartening. However, the project is the brainchild of White AFM pastors, and has a White directorship and financial management, factors that are found reassuring by the missions committees of the funding churches.

3.2 Missions Practice in the AOG

Initially the AOG *was* mission: expatriate missionaries who were working in Africa "to bring the light of the gospel to Black pagans." The notion of becoming AOG was simply to promote fellowship and to alleviate loneliness. As indigenous Black leadership developed in (or gravitated to) the AOG, the role of these expatriate missionaries became more peripheral, involving administration and education more than evangelization. Because "missions" was such an assumption the beginning, there does not seem to have been a time when it could be said that the AOG had an official missions policy in its constitution, or a local missions director or superintendent.

This missions activity was often done in a mission-station setting. The larger and more effective the station, the more intense (and understandably) the desire was to be granted fellowship with autonomy, and without interference. This was true of, for example, Emmanuel Mission when it negotiated for acceptance under the AOG umbrella. The matter was not settled until Mullan could assure Immanuel Mission that the relationship would be one of autonomous equals in partnership, and not in subjugation. Emmanuel Mission was especially noted for its press, where Christian literature was produced as a means of, and as complement to, evangelization.

For the first half of the century, the major membership component of the AOG was its Black churches. Only in the latter half did a significant number of White churches arise within the denomination. This meant that indigenous White churches and leadership came to exist alongside indigenous Black churches and leadership. As undisputed leader of the Black component, Bhengu was insistent that local White churches should not become involved in any way in evangelization of Black people. He had initially agreed on a Peter-Paul arrangement with Mullan: Bhengu goes to the Blacks and Mullan goes to the Whites. This division of labor was ironclad and water-tight, in Bhengu's mind.[10] As a result, the non-segregated AOG, at grass-roots level, was more segregated than the

[10] Ironically, the crunch with regard to this issue came after 1973, when a number of White AOG ministers attended the Conference on Missions and Evangelism in Durban. This was an ecumenical conference (something AOG ministers would normally never attend!) and it inspired a number of White ministers to launch evangelization efforts on the Black townships. This raised Bhengu's ire, as he considered evangelization of Black's his personal domain, and it caused severe tension in the denomination from then until Bhengu's death. Whatever Bhengu's actual motivation, many White leaders viewed it as a matter of his ego.

officially segregated AFM, where Whites had no trouble working with and among their township brethren.

Because from the beginning the AOG always had a majority of Black members, and because there were no racial limits or quotas in the executive of the movement, a dominant, very powerful and articulate Black leadership arose within the AOG, most especially in the person of Bhengu. This leadership developed its own style of dealing with miscreants and dissenters, as was seen in Bhengu's cavalier treatment of the erring Molefe.[11] Because of the Black majority in the executive, it was also clear that nothing was going to change without Bhengu's permission. Frustration with this state of affairs was one of the prime reasons for the separation of the AGF in 1981.

4. Comparison of, and lessons from, these two models

The AFM and the AOG, in terms of historical development, "missions" practice and basic ethos, are two completely dissimilar denominations. When reconciliation in the AOG is finally concluded, there could be some dispute as to which church would be the largest Pentecostal church in South Africa. Certainly the AOG has more Black members than the AOG (and its mission story could thus be considered more successful!), while the AFM has a much larger White membership than has the AOG. Its Black membership is also not to be despised in terms of size. The AFM in South Africa has also been very active in planting itself in other African countries, and has AFM affiliates in many southern and east African countries, as well as the Indian Ocean islands.

In terms of history, the AFM was a White church that rather casually labored among Blacks and developed Black daughter churches that never really influenced the denomination seriously until the 1990s. The AOG was a largely Black church under expatriate development until the advent of Mullan and Bhengu, when it developed a significant White membership, and its Black membership came to operate under Black leadership rather than expatriate.

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[11] An eye-witness, Charles Enerson, reported to me (in a private conversation in August 2002 in Johannesburg, South Africa) that he was moved by Molefe's public humiliation, which was at Bhengu's insistence. Apparently Molefe's primary sin had been to refer to Bhengu as "an old woman." Molefe was disciplined by the Conference (actually, for some more serious misdemeanors than insulting Bhengu), and Bhengu slammed out of the meeting disgusted at how lenient the sentence was.

It could be argued that, while the AFM speedily became a totally indigenous (though mainly White indigenous) South African church, for the first thirty years of its existence the AOG was primarily a foreign mission work. Even its existence as AOG was dependent upon the vagaries of missions policy as promulgated in Springfield, MO. While the AFM, as an indigenous South African church, mirrored pretty accurately the social trends and biases of the South African scene, the AOG initially reflected the more liberal values of its expatriate heritage. The irony of the 1964 separation of the IAG lies in the expatriate disapproval of an indigenous leadership style in the AOG in South Africa that diverged from the liberal democratic pattern of its own US denomination! The "development" of Black indigenous leadership suited the expatriates' missions theory, while the "style" of leadership that the indigenous Black (and White) leaders developed did not.[12]

What can we learn from the comparison between the two denominations in South Africa?

4.1 Autonomous Groups under an Umbrella, Compared to a Parent-Daughter Church Model

On the surface, it would appear that the earliest methods adopted by the AFM and the AOG stand in stark contrast: the one was a model of autonomous mission groups working together voluntarily, and the other a model of a centralized denomination that founded "daughter" mission churches. However, if one looks closer, there is actually something of a similarity. The autonomous mission groups of the AOG were normally representative of a "sending" group outside of Africa, and certainly did not plant completely self-governing Black churches in South Africa. The AFM, as an indigenous church, did not represent overseas "senders," but its White section played a very similar supervisory role. Like the AOG, it planted Black churches that were limited in the extent to which they could govern themselves.[13]

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[12] According to Watt, *From Africa's Soil*, p. 62, the issue for the missionaries was the lack of a constitution limiting the exercise of personal power by leaders such as Bhengu and Mullan. The issue for the South Africans was that they had no wish to be "limited" by a form of church government imposed on them from the USA. When the missionaries appeared to favor Molefe over Bhengu, he was seen to deal with this challenge ruthlessly (see above).

[13] A Anderson, *Bazalwane: African Pentecostals in South Africa* (Pretoria: Unisa, 1992) p. 8 notes that the Black churches of the Pentecostal denominations

Both the AFM and the AOG only really took serious notice of Black leadership aspirations, when they were faced with capable and articulate Black leaders within their ranks. In the case of the AFM, this leadership developed slowly, was highly politicized, and only really came into its own late in the century. In the AOG, this leadership actually came from outside, in the persons of Bhengu, Gumede and Buthelezi, and it came much earlier than in the AFM. It was also far less politicized.[14]

That the "Black experience" in the AOG was less repressive and confrontational than in the AFM probably owes a lot to the difference in background and culture of the White leadership of each group. In the AFM, even though P. L. le Roux had been a missionary of first the Dutch Reformed Church and then the Zionists, the White leadership was conservative and Afrikaans. Although not necessarily hostile to the Black membership, this group would certainly never have been "soft" or liberal in its dealings with Africans. On the other hand, the White leadership of the AOG consisted primarily of expatriate missionaries, people whose sole reason for being in South Africa was their love and compassion for Africans. Later, when a number of South African Whites were involved in the AOG, it is significant that one of the things they intended to do at the fateful conference in 1981 was to "bring Bhengu to heel"[15]—a typically White South African attitude of the time!

Nevertheless, the comparison between autonomous groups and the denominational missions does raise the issue of effectiveness. In the early nineteenth century, the rise of missions societies already pointed to the difficulty of church denominations doing missions. The diversity and focused energy of the autonomous groups appears to give them an edge over a denomination with its bureaucracy and sacred bovines. The eventual withdrawal of the American missionaries from the AOG was partly an effect of their commitment to the particular denominational ethos of the AG in the USA. In its early years, the AOG in South Africa provided an umbrella for groups of virtually every possible national provenance. This diversity impacted the AOG, and is probably one of the

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were neither self-supporting nor self-governing, but were (largely) self-propagating.

[14] John Bond, *For the Record: Reflections on the Assemblies of God* (Cape Town: Nu Paradigm, 2000), p. 99 notes that Bhengu avoided political involvement, and warned his converts to do the same. He was not anti-White, but was certainly pro-Black. (This attitude was similar to earlier Black leaders in the AFM, such as Letwaba and Ingidi.)

[15] Watt, *From Africa's Soil*, p. 74.

reasons why, until today, the sentiment in the AOG is for a minimal and largely non-prescriptive constitution.

4.2 Official Segregation versus "Natural" Segregation

The AFM unashamedly identified with the social developments in South Africa that were formulated by the Afrikaner nationalist government, and that eventually became apartheid. In the early years, this was simply because that was how Europeans in Africa thought and behaved. In later years, it found expression in the AFM in a determined resistance to communism and Black nationalism, and an emotional identification with Afrikaner nationalism.[16] Only in 1996 did a White leader of the newly united AFM apologize (publicly at a live televised meeting) for the attitude of White Pentecostals toward their Black brethren.

The AOG is proud that this was never the case in their movement. Although they refused to identify with the liberation theologians and the ecumenical movement (believing that church and politics do not mix), they also did not practice discrimination of the racial kind in their church government. However, after the meteoric rise of Bhengu, a virtually total separation of the races developed in the AOG, and its protagonist was not a White leader but a Black. Watt believes that the "group" system developed in the AOG initially to guard the autonomy of the various groups under its umbrella, and that these groups only later took on a racial identity.[17] Whether this innocent explanation is adequate, or whether one could argue that later on it was Bhengu's personality that was its driver, the fact is that, in fact if not in church law, the AOG came to represent in its own forms the divisions in South African society. Watt maintains that this had the two-fold benefit of protecting the smaller White churches from Black numerical domination, and of allowing the development of self-confident Black leadership. The two arguments, while probably pragmatically valid, ironically enough were often used by Afrikaner nationalists to support the establishment of Black independent

[16] Burger, *Geskiedenis van die AGS*, p. 423 reports the official line of 1944: "The [Apostolic Faith] Mission stands for segregation. The fact that the Native, Indian or Coloured is saved does not render him European."

[17] Watt, *From Africa's Soil*, p. 117. Anderson, *Bazalwane*, p. 87 takes issue with Watt's sidestepping of the issue of the AOG church conveniently reflecting the racial divisions in South Africa society.

homelands, equal-but-separate, the very cornerstone of apartheid doctrine!

The experience of the Indian section of the AFM is instructive in this regard. There are over one million Indians resident in South Africa, and 90 percent of them are Hindus. The only Christian group to really impact this population has been the Pentecostals. The Indian daughter-church in the AFM thrived as a daughter church, although some of the restrictions on leadership did chafe. However, once the church dissolved its separate racial sections and united as a non-racial church, the single greatest loser has been the Indian church. As a small minority within the nation and the church, the daughter-church concept protected them, and allowed the development of their own training institution, of powerful and effective Indian church leaders, and of meaningful interaction between Indian congregations. This protection no longer exists, and the continued success of the Indian work in the AFM is one of the critical challenges facing the denomination in the new century.

The Pentecostal churches in South Africa simply have to come to terms with the reality of the segregation of the races in the church. While this is no longer enforced, the historical realities of Africa imply that it will simply continue to be a fact of life. South Africa now remains the only country in Africa where a significant population of European origin exists (about 5 million), and the massive differences in culture, economic means and use of resources, language, and outlook on life are not soon going to be erased. Europeans in Africa rarely Africanize culturally, and the sheer size of the Black semi-urbanized and peasant population of South Africa makes its modernization (in terms of prosperity, education and influence) impractical—at least in the short to medium term. In other words, the gap will remain. How this issue is dealt with by the Pentecostal church in a country, which became an international pariah because of its racial policies, will surely have something to say to the wider Pentecostal community.

4.3 Expatriate Missionaries: Are They a Success or a Failure in a Country such as South Africa?

The local European population in countries such as South Africa has not always welcomed expatriate missionaries—as they have not in others such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Those who are born among, and live and interact with, local “native” populations do not always

respect the idealism and implicit criticism of these foreigners, whom they deem naïve. Missionaries can very easily be labelled troublemakers.[18]

In terms of numbers of Black converts, the AOG appears to have been more successful than the AFM in its missions work. However, since the size of the Black group in the AOG owes much more to the ministry of Bhengu than to the labors of the expatriate missionaries, and since Bhengu came to the AOG from the Full Gospel Church (a thoroughly indigenous South Africa Pentecostal denomination), such an assumption can be questioned. The AOG learnt what the AFM already knew (even if they reluctantly acknowledged it), and that is that the most effective evangelists among Blacks were Black preachers. However, this "indigenization" of the Pentecostal church cannot be attributed to the missions planning and strategy of either the expatriate missionaries or of the indigenous, White-controlled South African denominations. It simply happened and indeed, like Azusa Street and similar Pentecostal beginnings, should probably be seen as the gracious providence of a compassionate God.

After the rise of Bhengu, the major role of expatriate missionaries within the AOG appears to have been in the auxiliary services of the church, such as education, ministry training and health care. Few expatriates can today come to South Africa and begin to preach the gospel to the Black Africans. This is a ministry most ably carried out by Black preachers themselves.

Would it have made any difference to Pentecostalism in South Africa, if the expatriates had never come there, and had never established the AOG umbrella? In one sense, one can truly answer "yes": Bhengu, being who he was, could never have thrived in an indigenous Pentecostal church such as the AFM or Full Gospel. Only the AOG umbrella, and the climate of sensitivity toward Black aspiration that had been cultivated by the expatriate missionaries in the AOG, could have accommodated him. Had it not been for the AOG, Bhengu may have become just one more African prophet, gathering around himself a number of converts, and

[18] John Bond, *For the Record*, p. 99, who took over Mullan's role as the "apostolic" leadership figure in the AOG, comments as follows: "I cannot recall many missionaries (if any) who truly understood the Blacks…. It is a fact that some thought they did, and were thus vulnerable to manipulation by the Blacks they thought they understood so well…. Missionaries have not been perfect. They have made mistakes. There have been paternalism, cultural arrogance, ignorance and missionary colonialism." This criticism, while relatively mild, is pretty representative of what many indigenous South Africans, both White and Black, think of missionaries in general.

probably developing a syncretistic sort of Afro-Christian religion. Africa already has hundreds of thousands of such figures.

4.4 Theological Education in the AFM and the AOG

Both denominations followed the early Pentecostal pattern of being sceptical about the value of formal theological training for clergy—indeed, of the very notion of clergy itself. However, in the denominational environment of the AFM, the notion of formal training was gradually accepted. Since it took some effort and a certain amount of confrontation within its ranks to eventually establish this culture in the AFM, the daughter churches were not admitted to its privileges very early in the process. Nevertheless, through the concern and application of resources of a number of expatriate individuals and local leaders, for the last 20-30 years of the twentieth century there has been formal and adequate theological training available to AFM ministers of every race. It is the current policy that an AFM minister holds at least a three-year diploma in theology as an entrance requirement to full-time ministry. The general acceptability of formal theological education has also led to a large number of theologians progressing to doctoral level in their studies, making the AFM one of the highest qualified (per capita) Pentecostal denominations in the world.

This has not been true in the AOG. Various individuals, and the AG missions office in the USA, have established a number of Bible training colleges and seminaries in South Africa. However, theological training and qualifications are still considered optional for AOG ministry candidates. It is the African members who appear to be most keen to achieve a theological qualification, while in most White AOG churches there is no culture of theological training at all.

This disparate evaluation of theological training appears to owe much to leadership styles of the different groups. The earliest expatriate missionaries reflected both tendencies in early Pentecostalism: 1) well-trained non-Pentecostals who, after their Pentecostal experience, went into the mission field as Pentecostals, and 2) untrained laity who were moved by the Spirit to come to Africa and proclaim the gospel. Like most early Pentecostals, neither type saw their primary mission as theological education of the indigenous peoples.[19]

[19] Commenting on the lack of training and vulnerability to heresy of the earliest recognized Black workers in the AFM, de Wet, "The AFM in Africa," p. 124 notes that this was not surprising, since the Black workers received their training from White workers who had no training at all!

However, once two distinct indigenous groups arose, it was the attitude of their leaders that became canonized. As leader of the White group, Mullan rejected the notion that a Pentecostal minister needed any formal theological training. His successors adopted and implemented his views, and until today any protagonist for formal theological training in White AOG ranks is difficult to find. However, Bhengu urged his converts and co-ministers to improve themselves by getting educated. While he may not have stressed theological training above any other disciplines, his urging had a bearing on the greater openness of the Black AOG ministers toward such training. In the last half-century, the Black population in South Africa has been led in its search for upward social mobility by the same sort of people who led the Afrikaner nationalist movement to its independence from Britain: lawyers, medical doctors, teachers and preachers.

There may be a closer link between the attitude toward theological training and leadership styles. Since the AFM changed its constitutional direction from a Presbyterian form to the "new apostolic paradigm," it is noticeable how many of the newly emerging "apostles" tend to discourage their followers from theological training. When it was a more democratic denomination there was a levelling effect upon leadership that did not allow any particular figure (least of all the extremist ones) to dominate the sentiment of the church. However, the new paradigm allows "apostolic" leaders to determine the requirements for ministry under their own mantle, which both is fragmenting the church in terms of its ethos, and is leading to a growing superficiality in terms of membership knowledge and training.

Bhengu, on the other hand, appears to represent a different, more caring model of leadership. Although there is ample testimony to his domineering and autocratic leadership style, he seems to have cared as much for the development of his people as for his own prerogatives as a leader.

In terms of Pentecostal missions activity, and indeed of the future of Pentecostalism itself, the development of such leadership needs to be carefully cultivated. A mistake that has often been made in the expatriate missionary environment has been the inability to "let go" of the local indigenous leadership, or to encourage it to develop for its own good and the betterment of the local people. And in broader Pentecostalism, the glitzy model of exploitative and often abusive leadership, which underlies so much of the independent charismatic ministry environment, has all too often been adopted by Pentecostal ministers. The development of leaders who are servants, of leaders who are in Pentecostal ministry

not because it is a career option, but because it is a sacrificial vocation, must become a primary concern of those who lead, teach and train.

4.5 Black Leadership's Attitude toward Political Activism

Although they belonged to different generations, it is still worth noting the significant difference between Frank Chikane of the AFM and Nicholas Bhengu of the AOG. Each was the most prominent and well-known Black leader of their denomination. However, Bhengu earned his reputation as powerful evangelist, while Chikane earned his as a political activist.

Chikane's activist career began within his own church, and there is every reason to believe that it was his experiences at the hands of an insensitive White AFM leadership that led to Chikane's complete identification with the political aims of the Black liberation movements in South Africa. Today he is the Director-General in the Office of the President of South Africa, and his influence in the AFM is largely over. Nicholas Bhengu, until his death, resisted the call to political activism, despite the oppressive experiences of his people.

The difference may perhaps be traced to the different in racial ethos in the two denominations. During Chikane's formative years, the White leadership was involved in rapprochement with the Afrikaner institutions of the day: the dominant Dutch Reformed Church, and the ruling National Party. Both of these were proponents of the apartheid system, and both considered themselves as bulwarks of civilization, resisting the communist powers that were taking over Africa. While the AFM leadership consorted with such powers, there was little chance of a firebrand like Chikane receiving sensitive treatment in his church.

Bhengu joined an AOG which was both racially egalitarian and apolitical. Neither position was ever negotiable in the history of the denomination. From this climate, and with the conciliatory treatment that he received from his White colleagues, there were few of the sort of frustrations that could have matched those which drove Chikane to rebellion in the AFM.

In terms of race relations, then, the expatriate-founded AOG definitely was more successful than the indigenous AFM

5. Conclusion

One nation, two large Pentecostal denominations, two dissimilar histories. This is the story of the AFM and the AOG in South Africa. Today both are fourth generation churches, in that way very similar to their counterparts in the North Atlantic setting. However, as part of Africa, they both share common experiences, lessons and links with their compatriots on the two-thirds world, where Pentecostalism is often a first or second generation movement.

Perhaps this short review may add to the understanding of leaders, ministers and teachers in both worlds.

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THE WORLD OF R. M. EVANS

L. Grant McClung, Jr.

1. Introduction

Robert Milton Evans had the privilege of living during changing times in two centuries. His life began in the middle of the nineteenth century and bridged over into the twentieth. Evans was born in 1847 in DeKalb, Mississippi, USA and grew up in the rural farm community of Live Oak, in the north-central area of Florida. Evans was 25 years old when he entered the pastoral ministry of the Southern Methodist Church in 1872.

After coming out of retirement at the age of 63, Evans and his missionary party set sail for Nassau on December 31, 1909, and within five days, they landed in the Bahamas on January 4, 1910.[1] Evans was the first cross-cultural missionary for the Church of God (Cleveland, TN, USA). The Church of God began as the Christian Union, near the North Carolina-Tennessee border.

If one could stand in Evans' shoes and look around at the religious world in the year 1910, he or she would find that a strategic International Missionary Conference (of all Protestants) was held in Edinburgh, Scotland, and that over 185 Pentecostals had joined the evangelical missionary force. It was the year for the first Pentecostal missionaries from England, Norway and Sweden; it was the year in which Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren's Spirit-led trip from Chicago sparked the flame of Pentecost in Brazil; and it was also the year when Willis C. Hoover founded the Methodist Pentecostal Church in Chile. The impact of what God began that year is still with us today.

The year 1910 also brought other changes in various parts of the world that would have implications on into the last decade of the

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[1] James E. Cossey, *R. M. Evans: The First of His Kind* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, n.d.).

twentieth century. In fact, the second decade of the twentieth century included three significant revolutions which affected world history—and the missionary spread of the gospel—in the 1900s. These were the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the Chinese Revolution of 1911 led by Sun Yat-sen against the Manchu Dynasty, and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 led by Vladimir Lenin against the Romanov Monarchy.[2]

Within one lifetime, R. M. Evans lived through a devastating civil war, saw his country emerge as a world power and was contemporary to the three national revolutions that would have regional and world influence in the twentieth century. Just a decade prior to his death on October 12, 1924, he was affected, along with the rest of the entire world, by the first of two global wars in the last century.

It was during this time (1914-1929) that the Church of God was building upon the heroic self-sacrifice of R. M. Evans in the international expansion of its Pentecostal message. In 1914, Lucy M. Leatherman was sent to Egypt and Palestine and in 1916 to Argentina; in 1914 the Rushins to China, with contacts in the Philippines in 1918; in 1917 F. L. Ryder to Argentina via strategic stops in the West Indies; in 1914 the fund raising plan for a general assembly missions was initiated with F. J. Lee as general missions treasurer; in 1916-17, vigorous promotion of missions was made by L. Howard Juillerat, an articulate speaker/writer for the missions cause at two successive general assemblies; in 1921 J. H. Ingram made a pilot voyage to Hamilton, Bermuda; in 1926 a missions board was established with R. P. Johnson as chairman; and in 1929 J. H. Ingram made the first of several trips into Central and South America.[3]

However, one hundred years prior to the missionary ministry of R. M. Evans, the God of all nations was quietly and steadily building a missions movement that would come into full bloom within the lifetime of this missionary pioneer. The eminent mission's historian, Kenneth Scott LaTourette, calls the nineteenth century the "Great Century" in the overall two thousand year expansion of the Christian movement.[4] R. M.

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[2] T. Walter Wallbank, *Civilization: Past and Present*, 3rd ed., (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1962).

[3] See the chapter, "Fifty-year Survey of Church of God World Missions," in Charles W. Conn, *Where the Saints Have Trod: A History of Church of God Missions* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway, 1959), pp.11-48. This survey covers the period between 1910 and 1960.

[4] See the chapter under the title, "The Great Century: Growing Repudiation Paralleled by Bounding Vitality and Unprecedented Expansion, A.D. 1815–A.D.

Evans, the Church of God, and the global advance of the modern Pentecostal/Charismatic movement have roots in the "Great Century" that formed the "world of R. M. Evans."

2. From the Haystack to the Wagon

One hundred years and great cultural-geographical distance separated R. M. Evans from Samuel J. Mills. Yet Evans had a spiritual heritage from the eventful century between the two men. Evans, born in rural Mississippi and reared in rural Live Oak, Florida, was pastoring in the agrarian settlement of Wildwood Circuit, Florida in 1902.[5] In 1906 he retired from his ministry in the Methodist Church and in 1910, he and his wife Ida sold their home and livestock in Durant, Florida and set out with a wagon and team of mules on a three-hundred mile land journey to Miami, where he sailed to Nassau.[6]

Exactly one hundred years prior to Evans' pastorate in the Wildwood Circuit, young Samuel J. Mills was called to preach while following the plow on his farm in Connecticut in 1802. He enrolled in Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts to prepare for the ministry. Mills was a central figure in a group of missionary-minded young men known as the "Society of the Brethren," who met regularly in a grove of maples near the campus for prayer and discussion. The Great Commission of the church was a central and frequent focus of their prayer meetings. One day, on their way to prayer, they were caught in a sudden thunderstorm and took refuge under a nearby haystack where they had their usual time of prayer for the lost world. Standing to their feet the young men said, "We can do it if we will." They signed a pledge to become America's first foreign missionaries and became known as "the Haystack Group." After graduation Mills and several of the group went on to Andover Seminary where they joined with others (including Adoniram Judson who later sailed for Burma) to form the Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions.

It is significant, in light of the power of student involvement in Church of God World Missions (especially after World War II from Lee College), that students and young people were the motivating force

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1914,' in Kenneth Scott LaTourette, A *History of Christianity*, vol. 11, *A.D. 1500-A.D. 1975* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 1063-80.

[5] Cossey, *R.M. Evans*, p. 15.

[6] Conn, *Where the Saints Have Trod*, p. 50.

behind the first organized mission society in America—long before the days of denominational mission boards. And, out of the dedication of these young seminary students, the first interdenominational missions society in America was formed. It was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which held its first organizational meeting in September, 1810. One hundred years later, Evans began his work in the Bahamas.

Responding to this opportunity and building upon the imperial trade routes across international colonial empires, the Protestant churches of Europe advanced the gospel to make Christianity a truly universal faith for the first time in its history.[7] The nineteenth century was a "Protestant era," says mission historian Ruth A. Tucker, "…and more specifically an era dominated by evangelical Protestantism."[8]

The philosophies of French Rationalism (in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and the power of the French Revolution had effectively cut the purse strings of Roman Catholic missions. In Latin America, in particular, Roman Catholicism was witnessing many reverses.[9] At the same time non-Christian religions were experiencing a decline. "Hinduism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism were relatively quiescent in the nineteenth century," says University of Chicago historian Martin Marty, and "… Christians sensed that they could fill a vacuum."[10]

In America, church membership increased from ten to forty percent during the century. Denominations were springing into existence and the Sunday school movement was rapidly growing, both in the U.S. and in Great Britain. The eighteenth century revivals that began in England with Whitefield and Wesley brought a great surge among Christian leaders and laity in spreading the gospel worldwide. Large sums of money coming into Britain through international trade were channeled into Christian causes.[11]

Beginning with William Carey and the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), dozens of new mission agencies were founded throughout the

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[7] Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (New York: Penguin, 1964), p. 243.

[8] Ruth A. Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Java: A Biographical History of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI. Zondervan, 1983), p. 110.

[9] Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Java*, p. 110.

[10] Martin E. Marty, *A Short History of Christianity* (New York: Meridian, 1959), p. 318.

[11] Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Java*, pp. 110-11.

century. Stephen Neill says it was "the great age of societies."[12] It was the century of some of the better known "missionary heroes" in modern missions history: Henry Martyn to India (1806); Robert Morrison to China (1807); Adorinam and Nancy Judson to Burma (1812); David Livingstone to Africa (1841); J. Hudson Taylor to China (1854); Mary Slessor to Africa (1876); "The Cambridge Seven" to China (1885).[13]

There was a great variety of Christian ministries during the century. Christian missionaries, while maintaining their primary goal of preaching the gospel and winning baptized converts, were responsible for giving hundreds of languages a written form, translating the Bible and other Christian literature, and setting up thousands of missionary schools. Orphanages and hospitals were founded; nurses and relief workers were trained; and Christian missionaries were involved in the abolition of Negro slavery, in curbing the sale of opium, in prohibiting the spread of alcohol, in gaining better working conditions and obtaining better housing for urban workers, in fighting for prison reform and insuring better care for the mentally ill. Dozens of colleges and universities were founded by Christians during this time.[14]

Seeing the whole world as their field, including the United States, Evangelicals made fast strides forward in reaching out cross-culturally at home during the "Great Century." Actually, this had already been the practice since colonial times, as outreach to Native Americans (Indians), for example, was as old as the first colonists. In 1628, when Charles I granted a charter to Massachusetts, it was definitely stated that "the principal end of the plantation was the conversion of the Indians." A similar clause, says Kane, was inserted in the Virginia charter. Interestingly, two hundred years before Evans, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel went on record requesting itinerant preachers from England to missionize the "Six Nations of the Indians." Almost three hundred years before Evans, "the Pilgrim Fathers had set apart one of their number to promote the conversion of the Indians" when they landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620.[15]

It is no wonder, then, with the "home missions" tradition of former denominations (along with outstanding efforts of others such as the

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[12] Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 252.

[13] Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Java*, pp. 186-87.

[14] LaTourette, *A History of Christianity*, pp. 1335-36.

[15] J. Herbert Kane, *A Global View of Christian Missions: From Pentecost to the Present*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1975), p. 95.

Presbyterians and Southern Baptists) that Evans conducted evangelistic missions to the Seminole Indians as he traveled from Durant toward his point of departure in Miami.[16]

Surveying various kinds of outreaches in the ethnic diversity of nineteenth century America, Harold Cook also points out that a variety of cross cultural ministries were being offered to Negro slaves, frontiersmen and southern highlanders (Appalachia and the Ozark Mountains), "rural missions," and the great ethnic cities.[17]

Evangelist Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899) was one of the better known nineteenth century contemporaries of Evans. Beyond his holistic ministry to the cities and his extensive international preaching, Moody also contributed to the overseas missionary cause through his efforts to multiply leaders through Bible institute training. The Nyack Missionary College founded in 1882 by another contemporary of Evans, A. B. Simpson (1843-1919) and Moody Bible Institute, founded in 1886 by Moody, were among the first of hundreds of institutes that rapidly multiplied missionary workers through practical instruction, with the Bible as the chief textbook. The growth of the independent "faith mission movement" (which dates its origin to 1865 when J. Hudson Taylor founded the China Inland Mission) was greatly enhanced by the sister "Bible institute movement." A high proportion of candidates for these non-denominational mission societies founded in the great century were trained in Bible institutes,[18] a method later adopted by Pentecostal missionaries.

Moody is also to be appreciated for his part in founding the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) for Foreign Missions (interestingly in the same year as the founding of the Church of God). In August, 1886, Moody held a summer Bible conference for college young people from across the country at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts. Many students came with a deep burden for missions. By the end of the conference, more than 100 young people had volunteered for missionary service. The result was the birth of the SVM with its well-publicized motto: "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation."[19]

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[16] Cossey, *R..M. Evans*, pp. 17-18.

[17] Harold R. Cook, *Highlights of Christian Missions: A History and Survey* (Chicago: Moody, 1967), pp. 91-130.

[18] Cook, *Highlights of Christian Missions*, pp. 66-67.

[19] Cook, *Highlights of Christian Missions*, p. 68.

One of the early student leaders was John R. Mott who, later in life as a Methodist layman, would chair the proceedings of the very strategic International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1910—the year of Evan's missionary trek. The SVM prospered for some 50 years and was instrumental in sending 20,500 students to the foreign mission field, mostly from North America. "During the early twentieth century," says Ruth Tucker, "it is estimated that student volunteers constituted half of the total Protestant foreign missionary force," with a strong preference for the countries of China and India.[20]

While Moody was calling for at least one hundred volunteers in Massachusetts, an inconspicuous and non-publicized meeting was being held hundred of miles to the south at the Barney Creek Meeting house in Monroe County, Tennessee on Thursday, August 19, 1886.[21] Though the eight original volunteers (five of them women) for the Christian Union were much like the small streams which converged near them (Barney and Coker Creeks), in time their spiritual successors in the Church of God would flow into a mighty worldwide Pentecostal river of blessing, eventually surpassing the peak strength of the SVM, which later declined and faded due to theological liberalism in the 1920s.

The seeds of theological liberalism, that questioned the missionary cause, had been sown in the nineteenth century. In fact, the "Great Century" that saw unprecedented expansion also produced some of the most ominous threats to the missions cause. This was also responsible, in part, for the pietistic longings that gave rise to the Holiness movement and the resulting Pentecostal revival. While the "Great Century" produced its Livingstones, Judsons, and Taylors, it also gave birth to notorious enemies of the gospel (most of them with Christian backgrounds, many from the homes of clergymen!): Karl Marx (1818-1883), Charles Robert Darwin (1809-1882), Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzshe (1844-1900), Auguste Comtee (1798-1857), Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), Robert Green Ingersoll (1833-1899), Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) and John Dewey (1859-1952).[22] The impact of their philosophies posed a threat toward the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century.

The prevailing expectation of most Protestant missionaries in the 1800s, however, reflected the overall optimism of the century. Most

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[20] Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya*, p. 261.

[21] Charles W. Conn, *Like a Mighty Army*, rev. ed. (Cleveland, TN: Pathway, 1977), pp. 7-8.

[22] LaTourette, *A History of Christianity*, pp. 1066-74.

missionaries held a postmillennial view of history, believing that the preaching of the gospel, coupled with their humanitarian efforts in establishing human institutions (schools, orphanages, hospitals, etc.) would eventually usher in the kingdom of God on earth.[23] After all, their missionary activities abroad were practically unhindered under the protective cover of western colonialism. In addition, the last twenty years of the nineteenth century (from 1880-1900) produced an era in which there was a tremendous increase in wealth in the U.S. In fact, the 1890s were called the "Gay 90s." This, says church historian William W. Sweet, was "the most significant single influence on organized religion in the U.S." during those years.[24]

The great popular churches, in which the leadership of men like R. M. Evans was produced, had achieved phenomenal success. The Methodists, for example, were but a small percentage of the religious scene in colonial America when the nation was formed. However, due to their aggressive evangelism, gifts theology (to every man and woman a ministry), and superior organizational abilities, the Methodists moved with the pioneering young nation toward the frontier. By 1850, it had become America's largest and fastest-growing religious movement, with more than 1.2 million members. Churches like Evan's Methodist denomination were proud to be known as "poor men's churches," but "were rapidly being transformed into churches of the upper middle class."[25]

Sweet maintains that the great denominations came to be controlled more and more by business methods and were dominated by people of wealth. Church services leaned towards formality, and the common people of limited means began to feel more and more out of place, complaining that "heart religion" was disappearing. In addition there was a growing tendency in mainstream religion to accept more liberal and modernistic views (including a subtle "social Darwinism") that

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[23] Gary B. McGee, "Missions, Overseas (North American)," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), pp. 610-11.

[24] See Chapter 21, "The Church and the Changing Economic Order," in William W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1930), p. 345. See also the amazing socio-economic roots and linkages of the Holiness-Pentecostal movements in a well-documented work by Mickey Crews, *The Church of God: A Social History* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1990).

[25] Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, p. 345.

questioned the theological mainstays of the evangelical Protestant missionary enterprise.[26]

With these developments firmly entrenched in the mainline church, seekers of a deeper walk and the "higher life" began to congregate in Holiness retreats, such as the Pleasant Grove campground near Durant, Florida, where R. M. Evans and his wife Ida first came into contact with the Pentecostal experience and eventually with the Church of God.[27] Here, they were introduced to a spiritual family that extended north of Cleveland, Tennessee, west to Los Angeles, California, and beyond to the wider world of Pentecostalism.

3. The Azusa Street Lineage

What was the real power and significance of the "Azusa Street Revival" in Los Angeles, California from 1906-1913? Certainly the old building at Azusa Street, a forty-by-sixty-foot white-washed wood frame structure could not compare with the magnificent cathedrals of Europe and America in architectural beauty. And, the Azusa Street revival, with its accompanying supernatural signs, was certainly not the first of its kind at that point in Christian history. Agnes Ozman had spoken in tongues on New Year's Day (January 1, 1901) at Charles Parham's Bible school in Topeka, Kansas and there had been supernatural signs and wonders at the 1896 Shearer Schoolhouse revival in Cherokee County, North Carolina. Scores of Pentecostal outpourings, many beyond the shores of the U.S., were being experienced at the turn of the century. In fact, Church of God historian Charles W. Conn notes a number of instances in the two thousand-year history of Christianity in which God's people experienced spiritual blessings similar to Pentecostal manifestations prior to 1896.[28]

The major contribution of the revival at Azusa Street—called the "American Jerusalem" [29] —was that through it Pentecostalism was becoming an international missionary movement, and the global significance of Azusa Street cannot be overestimated. Strong missionary churches, influential evangelists, new missions societies and entire

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[26] Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, p. 352.

[27] Conn, *Where the Saints Have Trod,* p. 49.

[28] Conn, *Like a Mighty Army*, pp. 23-25.

[29] Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971), p. 95.

denominations trace their spiritual heritage back through the Azusa Street lineage. The network of people who came and went from this revival spread around the world through committed evangelists such as Robert and Ida Evans.[30] The Evans' "personal Pentecost" came through a series of people connected to the Azusa Street revival.

Like Evans, G. B. Cashwell (1862-1916) was a former Methodist minister, who left his church to join the Holiness Church of North Carolina (later known as the Pentecostal Holiness Church). Hearing of the Azusa Street revival, Cashwell traveled in November, 1906 to Los Angeles where he received the Pentecostal experience. Cashwell returned to Dunn, North Carolina where he began meetings on December 31, 1906 that lasted through the month of January, 1907. Among the many ministers of the Holiness churches in the area who were baptized in the Holy Spirit at that time was a young man by the name of F. M. Britton (1870-1937), who would later have a direct connection to the Evans through the Azusa Street lineage.[31]

A year after Cashwell's revival in Dunn, he was invited by A. J. Tomlinson to preach at the third general assembly of the Church of God where, on Sunday morning, January 12, 1908, Tomlinson received the Pentecostal blessing during Cashwell's message.[32] By the time Cashwell was preaching in Cleveland (January, 1908) one of his "Pentecostal converts," Britton, had already preached the full gospel at a meeting destined to be the crossroads experience for R. M. and Ida Evans:

> In June and July, 1907, at the Pleasant Grove Campground, two miles from Durant, a preacher named F. M. Britton, of North Carolina, preached about the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and about seventy persons received this spiritual blessing. The Evans were among the seventy.[33]

Two years later, the Evans joined the Church of God when A. J. Tomlinson and T. L. McLain visited the campground, arriving on May

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[30] C. M. Robeck, Jr., "Azusa Street Revival," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, pp. 31-36.

[31] See the following entries in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*: Vinson Synan, "Gaston Barnabas Cashwell," pp. 109-110 and Charles W. Conn, "Francis Marion Britton," p. 99.

[32] A. J. Tomlinson, *Answering the Call of God* (Cleveland, TN; White Wing, n.d.), pp. 9-10.

[33] Conn, *Where the Saints Have Trod*, p. 49.

21, 1909.[34] Another ministry couple, A. G. and Lillian Garr from Los Angeles, had already started their new Pentecostal ministry overseas a few months before the Pleasant Grove revival with Britton. Writing from Calcutta, India, Lillian Garr excitedly reported that:

> God is spreading Pentecost here in Calcutta, and thirteen or fourteen missionaries and other workers have received it…. We are among Bible teachers, and they have the Word so stored away; but now the Spirit is putting life and power into it, which is wonderful to behold.[35]

She also reported, says Pentecostal archivist Wayne Warner, that Miss Susan Easton, head of the American Women's Board of Missions, had been baptized in the Spirit and "is power for God."[36]

Garr's reports came in the April, 1907 issue of *The Apostolic Faith*, the magazine published by William J. Seymour from the Azusa Street Mission, a periodical responsible for igniting scores of Pentecostal fires in all parts of the world. The Garrs were among the first of the Pentecostal overseas emissaries from Azusa Street. Some would say that they were "the first foreign missionaries of the Pentecostal movement."[37]

What Lillian Garr observed as "something wonderful to behold" in Calcutta and what Robert and Ida Evans were experiencing on the other side of the world in south Florida was spreading like wildfire. McGee says, "Pentecostal missionaries went everywhere preaching the gospel," and by 1910, Evans was a part of over 185 Pentecostals who had traveled overseas from North America to engage in missionary evangelism.[38] Coming out of the heritage of the faith missions movement in the "Great Century," many Pentecostals hastily went out on their own initiative, expecting the soon return of the Lord. Others would form mission societies that eventually consolidated into denominations, and some, like

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[34] A. J. Tomlinson, *Journal of Happenings*, 5 vols. (1901-1923, original manuscripts).

[35] Lillian Garr, "In Calcutta, India," *The Apostolic Faith*, April, 1907, p. 1.

[36] Garr, "In Calcutta, India," p. 1. See also Maynard Ketcham and Wayne Warner, "When the Pentecostal Fire Fell in Calcutta," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 3:3 (Fall 1983), pp. 5-6.

[37] Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, pp. 111-12.

[38] Gary B. McGee, "The Azusa Street Revival and Twentieth-century Missions," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 12:2 (April 1988), p. 58-61 (59).

Evans, would go at their own expense with membership connections in church organizations.[39]

In 1910, a number of exciting developments were unfolding internationally in the world of Pentecostal missions concurrent with Evans. Already the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU), the first successful Pentecostal missions agency, had been established by Alexander Boddy (the first chairman) and Cecil Polhill (the elected president) in Great Britain. Polhill had already distinguished himself as a veteran missionary, having gone to China twenty years before as one of the now famous "Cambridge Seven." (C. T. Studd was another of that early group of Cambridge athletes who surrendered their lives as missionaries.) Polhill, like Evans, was a part of the Azusa Street lineage, having been baptized in the Spirit on an earlier trip to Los Angeles.[40]

Other European and American Pentecostal societies began to form after the PMU:

> The Norwegian Foreign Mission work commenced in 1910, with missionaries proceeding to India, South Africa, and South America. The Swedish Churches followed about the same time, thereby initiating a great missionary movement within their own constituency.[41]

With regard to the Scandinavian Pentecostals, Peter Hocken has noted in the late 1980s that "Pentecostals form approximately one-half of all Scandinavian missionaries, with main concentrations in Africa and Brazil."[42]

According to McGee, the first "missionary manifesto" among independent Pentecostals, calling for the establishment of a missionary society, surfaced in 1908 at the Pentecostal camp meeting in Alliance, Ohio. The meeting was led by Levi R. Lupton, who subsequently formed the Pentecostal Missionary Union in the U.S. In the following year,

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[39] See Grant McClung, Jr., "Explosion, Motivation, and Consolidation: The Historical Anatomy of a Missionary Movement," in *Azusa Street and Beyond: Pentecostal Missions and Church Growth in the Twentieth Century*, ed. L. Grant McClung, Jr. (South Plainfield, NJ: Bridge, 1986), pp. 3-20.

[40] McClung, "Explosion, Motivation, and Consolidation," p. 16.

[41] L. F. W. Woodford, "Pentecost and Foreign Missions," in *World Pentecostal Conference, 1952*, ed. H. W. Greenway (London: British Pentecostal Fellowship, 1952), pp. 42-43 (43).

[42] Peter D. Hocken, "European Pentecostalism," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, pp. 268-78 (273).

Pentecostals in the U.S. also formed the South and Central African Pentecostal Mission, and the Congo Evangelistic mission.[43]

To help "de-Americanize" the international Pentecostal missionary movement, it is significant to note that the Pentecostal Missionary Union in Britain was organized and sending forth board-sponsored missionaries at least a decade prior to the establishment of missions boards and departments by two of the larger North American Pentecostal bodies, the Assemblies of God and the Church of God. The Assemblies of God formalized its Missionary Department in 1919 (five years after its founding)[44] and the Church of God established a standing Foreign Missions Board in 1926 (forty years after its inception).[45] The Pentecostal Holiness Church elected a Foreign Missionary Board in 1911.[46] Other missions contemporaries in the 1910 world of R. M. Evans were Willis C. Hoover, father of the Methodist Pentecostal Church in Chile (1910), and Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren, whose Chicago to Brazil trip in 1910 was the spark of Pentecostalism in that country.

The fact that men like Daniel Berg in Chicago and Cecil Polhill in England were laymen illustrates how people from all walks of life were carrying the Pentecostal message in those days. Peter Hocken stresses this in his article on "Cecil H. Polhill—Pentecostal Layman":

> It was central to the spiritual genius of the Pentecostal movement that all participants had an equal Christian dignity. The Holy Spirit was poured out on "all flesh," not just ordained clerical flesh, not just educated degreed flesh, not just aristocratic propertied flesh. The least educated, the least affluent, those with no social status, all could be equal recipients of the spiritual gifts; all could become instruments of the Lord in word and act. 'God is no respecter of persons' is a truth amply demonstrated in early Pentecostal history.[47]

This truth was demonstrated in the interracial cooperation between Evans and his black Bahamian predecessor in missions, Edmund S. Barr.

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[43] McGee, "The Azusa Street Revival and Twentieth-century Mission," p. 59.

[44] William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), p. 131.

[45] Conn, *Where the Saints Have Trod*, p. 25.

[46] Joseph E. Campbell, *The Pentecostal Holiness Church in 1898-1948* (Franklin Springs, GA: Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1951), p. 347.

[47] Peter Hocken, "Cecil H. Polhill—Pentecostal Layman," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 10:2 (Fall 1988), pp. 116-40 (137).

It is further illustrated by the contribution of Pentecostal women, such as Ida Evans, a missionary in her own right. Ida Evans (1866-1952), who was nineteen years younger than Robert and in her mid-forties when they sailed for Nassau, had actually felt called to missions early in life. Cossey called her the "Indomitable Mrs. Evans," and places her missionary contribution side-by-side with her husband.[48] Similar honor also goes to women such as Rebecca Barr (Edmund's wife), who wrote reports from the Bahamas to the *Church of God Evangel*,[49] and to Flora Bower, a short-term worker from the *Evangel* office in Cleveland, who helped the Evans-Barr effort in the Summer of 1910.[50]

Married women missionaries were the accepted norm in the early 1800s, but the idea of an unmarried woman going overseas was not yet popular. Yet, in the 1820s single women began to trickle overseas. "The first single American woman (not widowed) to serve as a foreign missionary," says Ruth Tucker, "was Betsy Stockton, a black woman and former slave, who went to Hawaii in 1823."[51] During the first decade of the twentieth century, women, *for the first time in history*, outnumbered men in Protestant missions. Missions records from Baptist and Presbyterians working in the Shantang province of China, dated 1910, the year Ida Evans sailed for Nassau, show "seventy-nine women missionaries as compared to forty-six men."[52]

Tucker also refers to a book, *Western Women in Eastern Lands*, published in 1910 by an outstanding missions promoter, Helen Barrett Montgomery. Montgomery noted:

> It is indeed a wonderful story.… We began in weakness, we stand in power. In 1861 there was a single missionary in the field, Miss Marston, in Burma. In 1909, there were 4,710 unmarried women in the field, 1,948 of them from the United States. In 1861 there was one organized woman's society in our country; in 1910 there were forty-four.[53]

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[48] Cossey, *R. M. Evans*, p. 32.

[49] Rebecca Barr, "Revival in the Bahamas," *The Evening Light and Church of God Evangel*, June 1, 1910, p. 7.

[50] Conn, *Where the Saints Have Trod*, p. 53.

[51] Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya*, p. 232.

[52] Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya*, p. 232.

[53] Helen Barrett Montgomery, *Western Women in Eastern Lands* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), pp. 243-44.

By 1914 about 21,500 Protestant missionaries served overseas. McGee notes that "women constituted half this number and single women one-fourth."[54] A large part of the dynamic success of Pentecostal missions is due to the effective ministry leadership of committed women who were seen as equal partners in ministry. This was particularly true at Azusa Street where seven of the twelve members of the Credential Committee were women. This committee selected and approved candidates for licensing.[55]

In the year that Ida Evans landed in the Bahamas, Aimee Semple McPherson, founder of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, began missions work with her husband in China, shortly after a visit to the Pentecostal Convention in Toronto, Canada.[56] In 1910 Lilian Thrasher sailed to Egypt where she began her world-famous orphanage.[57] In 1910 one of the best known Church of God evangelists, J. W. Buckalew, received the Pentecostal experience in a revival preached by a female preacher, Miss Clyde Cotton, in Boaz, Alabama.[58]

Mickey Crews also traces the active ministerial leadership of women in all phases of ministry, especially in the earlier days of the Church of God, devoting an entire chapter to the topic.[59] McGee reveals that, "Throughout most, if not all, of the history of Pentecostal missions, married and single women missionaries have constituted a majority." He

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[54] Gary B. McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached: A History and Theology of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions to 1959* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1986), p. 22.

[55] Fred T. Corum, compiler, *Like as of Fire: A Reprint of the Old Azusa Street Papers* (Collected by the compiler, 160 Salem Street, Wilmington, MA, 1887), p. 6.

[56] Thomas William Miller, "The Canadian 'Azusa': The Hidden Mission in Toronto," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society of Pentecostal Studies* 8:1 (Spring 1986), pp. 5-29 (15).

[57] Beverly Graham, comp., *Letters from Lillian* (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God Foreign Missions, 1983), p. 11. See also Conn, *Where the Spirits Have Trod*, pp. 15-16.

[58] J. W. Buckalew, *Incidents in the Life of J. W. Buckalew* (Cleveland, TN: Church of God Publishing House, 1920), p. 33.

[59] See the chapter, "Your Daughters Shall Prophesy," in Crews, *The Church of God: A Social History*, pp. 92-107. See also the excellent overview by R. M. Riss, "Women, Role of," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, pp. 893-99.

notes, however, that the number of single women in denominational missions agencies has steadily declined. He says, "Other prominent women…including Elizabeth V. Baker, Marie Burgess Brown, Florence L. Crawford, Minnie T. Draper, Christine Gibson, Aimee Semple McPherson, Carrie Judd Montgomery, Virginia E. Moss, and Avis Swiger, while not serving as missionaries (with the exception of McPherson), impacted Pentecostal missions through the institutions that they founded (schools, missions agencies, denominations) or served."[60] David DuPlessis said, shortly before his death, "Jesus baptized the women exactly like the men, and I say, for the exact same purposes, as the men are baptized so the women are baptized."[61]

4. The Driving Force

The driving force and internal motivation that compelled Robert and Ida Evans to the mission field was, in the words of Charles W. Conn, the "rejuvenating experience he received in 1907"—the baptism of the Holy Ghost. "Even though his ministry was supposed to have ended," says Conn, "the fire of God flamed up in his heart, and he felt that he must go on in His cause."[62]

A year after the Evans' Pentecostal baptism, one of the best, and perhaps one of earliest, biblical/theological statements on the inter-connectedness of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the mission of the church was being written by J. Roswell Flowers (1888-1970), a Midwestern Pentecostal editor/publisher. Flowers was one of the pioneers of the Assemblies of God and founder of the *Pentecostal Evangel*, its official literary organ.[63] In an untitled editorial in the *Pentecost*, a monthly magazine which he first served, significantly as "foreign editor" and later as associate editor,[64] Flowers claimed that:

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[60] Gary B. McGee, "Missions, Overseas (North American)," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, pp. 610-25 (613).

[61] "A Meeting of Minds: Dunn, du Plessis and Hubbard Discuss Charismata," *Theology, News and Notes* 30:1 (March 1983), p. 6.

[62] Conn, *Where the Saints Have Trod*, pp. 49-50.

[63] Gary B. McGee, "Flowers, Joseph James Roswell (1988-1920) and Alice Reynolds (1890-)," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, pp. 311-13.

[64] McGee, "Flowers, Joseph James Roswell," pp. 311-13.

> The baptism of the Holy Ghost does not consist in simply speaking in tongues. No. It has a much more grand and deeper meaning than that. It fills our souls with the Love of God for lost humanity, and makes us much more willing to leave home, friends, and all to work in His vineyard, even if it be far away among the heathen….
>
> 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature,' this command of Jesus can only be properly fulfilled when we have obeyed that other command, 'Tarry ye in the City of Jerusalem till ye be endued with power from on high.' When we have tarried and received that power, then, and then only, are we fit to carry the gospel. When the Holy Spirit comes into our hearts, the missionary spirit comes in with it; they are inseparable, as the missionary spirit is but one of the fruits of the Holy Spirit. Carrying the gospel to hungry souls in this and other lands is but a natural result of receiving the baptism of the Holy Ghost.[65]

This remarkable insight of Flowers, who was not more than 20 years old when he wrote it, signified the symbiotic relationship between the supernatural gifts of the Spirit and world evangelization. Donald Gee (1891-1966), the prominent British Pentecostal leader who served as the first editor of *Pentecost*, the Pentecostal World Conference's quarterly, echoed Flowers' conviction over fifty years later in *Spiritual Gifts in the Work of the Ministry Today* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1963). He said, "There is no need to choose between a passion for souls, and a desire for spiritual gifts. They are mutually inclusive, not exclusive."[66] This "passion for souls" came out of the "driving force" that drove Pentecostals forward in evangelism.

The driving force speaks of the "Pentecostal ethos," the theological/ motivational heartbeat of people like Robert and Ida Evans. From the beginning, Pentecostal missionaries saw themselves as a part of a missionary movement raised up by God to evangelize the world in the last days.[67] McGee rightly asserts that "the history of Pentecostalism

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[65] J. Roswell Flowers, "(editorial)," *The Pentecost*, August 1908, p. 4.

[66] An excerpt from Donald Gee, *Spiritual Gifts and World Evangelization* is found in his chapter, "Spiritual Gifts and World Evangelization," in *Azusa Street and Beyond*, pp. 63-67.

[67] See L. Grant McClung, Jr., "Salvation Shock Troops," in *Pentecostals from the Inside Out*, ed. Harold B. Smith (Wheaton, IL: Victor Books/ Christianity Today, 1990), pp. 81-90.

cannot be properly understood apart from its missionary vision."[68] That missionary vision was forged out of a number of converging streams, reaching back into the holiness movement of the late nineteenth century. Donald W. Dayton's book, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987), is must background reading. The call to overseas evangelism in those days, says McGee, came out of a "close and abiding" three-fold association between:

> [T]he baptism of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking in tongues for an enduement of power in Christian witness, a fervent belief in the premillenial return of Christ and His command to evangelize to the uttermost parts of the earth.[69]

Furthermore, McGee explains, the early pioneers had a missionary understanding of the practice of speaking in tongues, they held a "restorationist" belief that the signs and wonders of apostolic times were being restored in their own time, just prior to the imminent return of Christ, and they insisted that new missionaries for the field must be mobilized immediately.[70]

5. The Torch Is Passed

From the time of his mid-century birth in 1847, until he left for the Bahamas in 1910, R. M. Evans had seen the transition from the Great Century of Protestant missionary advances in the nineteenth century to the Pentecostal century of the 1900s that is still unfolding in great missions power and expansion.

Evans was near 65, the traditional age of retirement, when he commenced his missionary journey. After three productive and foundational years, he was able to pass the torch to younger and capable leaders. In God's providence, new members of the Pentecostal family were born within a few years after the "1910 world of R. M Evans." These, and many like them, became especially prominent in the post-World War II expansion of the Pentecostal movement: Percy S. Brewster (1908-1980), Howard Courtney (1911-), David DuPlessis (1905-1987),

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[68] Gary B. McGee, "Early Pentecostal Missionaries—They Went Everywhere Preaching the Gospel," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 3:2 (Summer 1983), pp. 6-7..

[69] McGee, "Early Pentecostal Missionaries," pp. 6-7.

[70] McGee, "The Azusa Street Revival and Twentieth-century Missions," p. 58.

Joseph R. Flowers (1913-), Tommy Hicks (1909-1973), Melvin Hodges (1909-1988), J. Philip Hogan (1915-), Rex Humbard (1919-); Kathryn Kuhlman (1907-1976), Gordon Lindsey (1906-1973), J.O Patterson (1912-), Oral Roberts (1918-), Demos Shakarian (1913-), Lester Sumrall (1913-), Joseph A. Synan (1905-1984), Milton A. Tomlinson (1906-), C. M Ward (1909-) and Thomas F. Zimmerman (1912-1981).[95] Within the Church of God, outstanding leaders, many with significant missions impact, were also provided from this era: Paul H. Walker (1901-1975), Houston R. Morehead (1905-1990), Wade Horton (1908-), James A. Cross (1911-1990) and T. L. Forester (1911-1990).

Robert and Ida Evans, along with other pioneer missionaries of the Church of God, had a long and valiant heritage from the "Great Century" of evangelical Protestant missions. But, they were not alone since God was raising up a mighty Pentecostal force in the earth. "This third force" in Christianity was thrust forward by the driving force of the power of God experienced in New Testament signs and wonders. In the 1910 world of R. M. Evans, the God of all nations demonstrated that his mission would continue from generation to generation, until the whole earth is filled with his glory.

BOOK REVIEW

David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity Is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2003), hard, 344 pp., ISBN: 0-89526-128-6, US$27.95.

As the new millennium begins, some epoch-making books are also setting out the future of Christianity. *Clash of Civilization* by Samuel Huntington forecasts how the new century will be radically different from the past and how new cultures and religious groups will bring about a new world order. Then, *Next Christendom* by Philip Jenkins brings sharply focused attention to non-western Christianity and its pivotal role in the shaping of twenty-first century Christianity. *Jesus in Beijing* drives this apparently new religious and cultural shift to Chinese Christianity, perhaps the new emerging center of Christian powerhouse.

David Aikrnan is an author, journalist and policy consultant, and is currently a freelance writer and commentator. He served as a Hong Kong correspondent in the 1970s, and subsequently as Beijing Bureau Chief of *Time Magazine* for two years in the 1980s. However, it appears that his serious contact with the Chinese house church movement took place in 1998, and he has since also developed a keen interest in Chinese Christianity in general. The "Introduction" chapter details Aikman's subsequent trips to China as he developed this book. The next chapter is a historical sketch of Chinese Christianity, covering the initial Nestorian contacts in 635, as inscribed in the famous Nestorian stele, until the expulsion of missionaries in 1949.

The next several chapters (chs. 3-6) are a description of the Chinese house church movement, by way of a biographic presentation of leaders. The first of them are the "patriarchs," who began their Christian vocation before the 1949 Communist takeover. They represent the older brave leaders, who link the older Chinese Christians, often marked by the missionary presence, with the new Christian generation, which became apparent around the Cultural Revolution in the 1970s. Their lives are very much that of martyrs. Next are the "uncles," representing the active and younger leaders of the house church network. This younger generation is diverse in their leadership and theological leanings, but they continue the martyr-like spirit. To their credit, the post-1970 Chinese Christians have achieved a dramatic resurgence of Chinese Christianity after a series of attempts to "assassinate" Christianity in China. Next are the "aunts, nephews and nieces," a group of younger and yet talented emerging leaders for the house church networks.

The chapters on the house church network conclude with the "underground" training schools and programs which are producing next-generation leaders, evangelists, church planters and missionaries. As expected, diversity is the rule of the programs, and yet the intense nature of the programs and the commitment of the students and teachers are characteristic. In these chapters, the reader is introduced to the "who's who" in the Chinese house church network.

The next several chapters (chs. 7-12) in a sense continue the historical chapter (ch. 2), in laying out the development of modern Christianity in China. The first two chapters in this section describe the emergence of the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPT) and its struggle, especially during the Cultural Revolution.

The role of Bishop Ding Guangxun in this state church movement receives special treatment by the author. The "tricky circus acts" by Ding and several TSPT leaders, between the state religious policies and genuine Christianity, are presented in an equally delicate manner. Three Self churches and their leaders were subjected to harsh treatment by the state, just as the house churches were, although perhaps less in intensity, and also with the state sanction after the Cultural Revolution.

Chapter 9 showcases the Wenzhou as China's "Jerusalem." These adventurously entrepreneurial Wenzhous, with their exceptional business skills, have become successful overseas business people. As the province became the most Christianized in China, the Wenzhou not only demonstrated a unique model of compromise between the "underground" churches and the provincial administration, but also made the province the "Antioch" of China, the missionary launching pad. The author closely ties the next chapter to the previous: "Back to Jerusalem," the ambitious missionary impulse of the Chinese house church network. Although the origin of this concept may trace back to the pre-1949 era, the organized effort is a recent one. It is encouraging to see that this missionary movement has the potential to bring the diverse house church groups together as a united force.

The last chapter of this group of chapters ends with a good presentation of the Catholic Church in China. Because of its ecclesial tie with the Vatican, its history appears to be more brutal, producing a strong network of unofficial churches, in addition to the recognized Three Self Catholic church.

The next three chapter groups (chs. 12-14) are miscellaneous topics, although by no means less important. The chapter on persecution (ch. 12) has its unique value in providing information about major cults. The next chapter drives the author's agenda home: the spread of Christianity

among young urban professionals, such as artists, writers, and academics, with their potential to influence the entire society. This is where the author sees a major shift of the rural and grassroots nature in the major Christian force in China. The following chapter (ch. 14) introduces three foreign individuals and English teachers, along with an orphanage ministry by foreign entities, with their significant influence in the shaping of Chinese Christianity. The book concludes with a short chapter (ch. 15) of the author's insights toward the future: the future of Chinese Christianity, its influence on society and on the world. Aikman, in spite of his carefully tentative attitude toward the future, expresses his strong belief that China, through its Christian influence, will become the most powerful deciding factor in the balance of global power.

This book is extremely well written with many first-hand witnesses and extensive research. His presentation of many house church leaders, house church groups, and their institutions, such as training schools, are detailed and vivid in description. Aikman's journalistic expertise shines here.

To many non-China experts like myself, there is a natural wonder whether his dazzling conclusions will ever be contested. And, at the same time, the author's disclosure of many individuals and church groups may come with risk. It was said not long ago that, because of this book, several house church leaders were rounded up by the police.

It is also apparent that the author tried to be fair to the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) churches. Often, we have heard the "demonizing" tendency of some authors about these recognized churches. Granted, the clear Christian commitment of leaders like Bishop Ding is questionable, in the context of the state's demand for priority loyalty; but it is also true, as this author has presented, that the genuineness of Christian faith among many TSPM churches cannot be denied.

What is significant, particularly to the readers of this journal, is the author's general conclusion that several house church networks have exhibited Pentecostal/charismatic characteristics in their beliefs and worship. In this regard, he highlights the role of Dennis Balcombe in influencing the several house church networks with Pentecostal beliefs and worship (pp. 273-74 in particular). Aikman shows how, from the early 1980s, Balcombe began to make contacts with the house church networks and introduced Pentecostal doctrines and worship. However, whether the "Pentecostal" or charismatic elements of these house church networks can be attributed to him, to such a degree as the author argues,

is being contested.[1] In fact, it is possible that the church is naturally charismatic, if there is little theological interference, particularly in the non-western world, and Christianity in China seems to epitomize this argument.[2]

Another powerful presentation of this book is the missionary orientation of Chinese house church Christianity. Their commitment to the "Back to Jerusalem" movement provides reasons why we can expect a forceful role of these churches in the next generation of mission. Missiologists have for some time predicted that China will be the next missionary superpower.

What is also significant is the development of missionary awareness among Chinese Christians, and this came, not through any missiological programs from outside, but through intuitive theological development. Again, this proves that the missionary impetus is part of the church's instinct.

This book is an excellent resource for those who are interested in Chinese Christianity, its struggles, heroic resurgence of spiritual power, explosive expansion and vision beyond China. The world church is now given the task of carefully standing by the side of this unique church, and assisting it to fulfill its destiny. The so-called "developed" churches should not dare to impose their structure and ethos on what the Holy Spirit has been carefully developing in China.

Reading this book not only "stuffed" me with a wealth of information, but also challenged me as an Asian Christian. It was indeed a spiritual experience for me. The giant is finally awakening and we may see the next Christian and missionary superpower rising right in this part of the world. Do you think of China and wonder what God is doing in the largest country in the world? More importantly, do you want to be a part of the exciting future of Asian Christianity centered around China? Read this book, prayerfully!

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[1] E.g., Luke Wesley, *The Church in China: Persecuted, Pentecostal, Powerful* (Baguio City, Philippines: APJS Books, 2004), p. 98.

[2] See, Wonsuk Ma, "Asian Pentecostalism: A Religion Whose Only Limit Is the Sky," *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 25:2 (2004), pp. 191-204 (199-20).

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