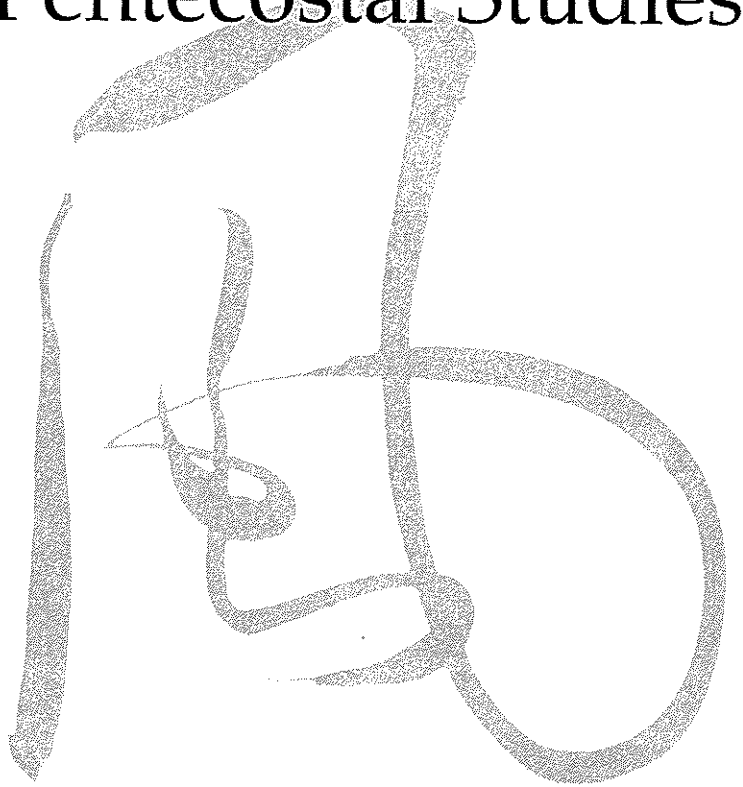
Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies



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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.

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Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies

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EDITORIAL

ARTICLES

[*AJPS* 9:2 (2006), pp. 1-4]

THE HOLY SPIRIT: IN AZUSA STREET, ATHENS AND EDINBURGH

The first International Conference on World Mission and Evangelism for the new century took place in May 2005 near Athens, Greece. Its significance and some radical changes from the previous conferences have been well noted by mission watchers.[1] Two things are of great interest to the global Pentecostal communities: the theme of the conference and the participation of Pentecostal delegates in the conference.

The theme for this thirteenth gathering after the Edinburgh 1910 tradition is: "Come Holy Spirit, Heal and Reconcile." Its pneumatological motif is immediately evident. Moreover, "healing" is a familiar topic, and "reconciliation," even though less apparent than "healing," is equally important to Pentecostals. The common scene at the Azusa Street Mission, at the turn of the last century, demonstrated the reconciliation power of the Holy Spirit. By the theme alone, one can imagine a festive Pentecostal camp meeting with ultra-modern and ear-piercing music. Therefore, it was rather strange to talk about the healing ministry of the Holy Sprit in this Orthodox country by the cobalt blue Mediterranean Sea.

In various discussions in the conference, their interpretation of "healing" in comparison with "cure" was rather striking to many Pentecostals. While we have accepted physical cure as healing, this world Christian community rightly argues that, in spite of the lack of cure, one can overcome sickness and disability through the grace of God. Although Pentecostals expressed their concern that among non-Pentecostal circles, discussion on healing often bypasses the physical and emotional dimensions and quickly moves to social and ethical dimensions, this new interpretation was quite challenging.

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[1] E.g., for an missiologist's evaluation of the conference, see Norman E. Thomas, "Athens 2005: 'Come Holy Sirit — Heal and Reconcile'," *Missiology: An International Review* 33:4 (Oct 2005), pp. 451-60.

The second feature of the conference was the participation of Pentecostal delegates. The list provided by the organizers included at least about two dozen Pentecostal participants, although some "evangelical" delegates, especially from Latin America and Africa, may also be Pentecostals. It was noted that in this conference, unlike in some gatherings, Pentecostals were not lumped together with evangelicals. Furthermore, participation of the Pentecostals in the conference programs was also unmistakable: a Pentecostal keynote presentation, a Pentecostal morning worship, several workshops (called synaxis in this conference) with Pentecostal themes and several plenary testimonies by Pentecostal delegates. This new feature of the conference reflects the mutual recognition of Pentecostal and mainline churches for each other's role in global mission. Occasions such as this naturally provide a unique space and time for fellowship among Pentecostals.

After several meetings, the Pentecostal delegates adopted a formal statement:

A Statement by Pentecostal and Charismatic Participants
in the Conference on World Mission and Evangelism,
Athens, Greece, 9-16 May 2005

> We, the following Pentecostal participants, gathered on several occasions and agreed to adopt the following statement. We do this in order to have a united voice to express our feelings and concerns which we Pentecostals at the conference share.
>
> We would like to express our appreciation to the organizers of the conference for intentionally including a significant number of Pentecostal participants from around the world. Also significant is the participation of selected Pentecostals in various programmes of the conference. We have sensed the genuine openness in the leadership of the conference to the potential of Pentecostal contributions to the future of global Christianity.
>
> We also share a common challenge in these ecumenical gatherings. In spite of the good will of many, we still feel that Pentecostals are often misunderstood, misrepresented, and even unfairly caricaturized. We admit that we Pentecostals are equally responsible for the mutual suspicion and misunderstanding. In the context of healing discussions, for example, we heard more than once of the failure of healing as if these cases represented the entire Pentecostal healing ministry. Although we are fully in support of dialogue between different Christian traditions, we also found that some discussions were uncomfortable to some of us: such as the process of dialogue with other religions and the emphasis on the social dimension of healing over the physical healing as "cure" that is

> prevalent among us, which should have received equal emphasis. Some Pentecostal delegates agreed that the pre-published "Pentecostal" liturgy did not represent their Pentecostal traditions. However, the apology of the leadership of the Spiritual Life Committee was received and the modification of the Friday morning worship was appreciated.
>
> Considering that many of us will be critically probed by our own people because of our personal decisions to participate in this conference, we become aware of this difficult task of bridging the gap between Pentecostals and the wider Christian community. At the same time, we affirm our commitment to the spirit of church unity. With the conviction that the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in recent days is to renew the church and empower it for witness to the world, we, Pentecostal participants, commit ourselves to the reconciling work among God's people and to the meaningful participation in gatherings that promote this unity, as opportunity arises.
>
> Come Holy Spirit, empower us all to be faithful witnesses of Christ!
>
> Friday 14 May 2005
>
> (Signed by Allan Anderson and Wonsuk Ma)
>
> On behalf of the following Pentecostal participants
>
> Allan Anderson, Washington Armas-Benavides, J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, Andreas Franz, John Gichimu, Chris Gnanakan, Young-gi Hong, Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, Mathew Kavunkal, Julie Ma, Wonsuk Ma, Jacinta Maingi, Lian Sian Mung, Ulises Muñoz, Robinson Nainggolan, Opoku Onyinah, Hector Petrecca, Joseph Suico, Gerard S. Valdivia

What does this say to us as Pentecostals? Is this another social "lift" of the Pentecostal movement that we can rejoice over? Do we feel that the World Council of Churches or its related committees should have recognized the Pentecostal contribution to world mission much earlier? Were we, the Pentecostals in the conference, accepting this new recognition with humility or triumphalistic pride? Frankly, would we Pentecostals be open-minded enough to invite Anglicans and Orthodox friends and pay for their way to participate in a Pentecostal gathering, such as Pentecostal World Conference or the Azusa Street Centennial celebrations? Would we be willing to have "their agenda," such as "ecumenism" or "inter-religious dialogue," as the theme for our conference and listen to them?

True Christian spirituality always contains the attitude of humility, and this is increasingly becoming a greater challenge to us as Pentecostalism is now more recognized by fellow Christians and even by the secular world.

As Pentecostalism is celebrating the centennial of the historic Azusa Street Mission of 1906, and also the historic Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 is preparing its own centenary, we may see the two most powerful missionary movements of the twentieth century may meet with each other. This will require the attitude of true "humility and hope" [2] for God's mission. Then what will be the role of Asian Pentecostals who represent the new missionary forces?

W.M.

[2] This is the caption of the public statement of the Preparation Consultation for Edinburgh Centenary, Edinburgh, June 2005, available at http://www.familyma.com/Edinburgh%2005/Edinburgh%202015%20Statement.htm

[*AJPS* 9:1 (2006), pp. 5-16]

JOHANNINE ROOT OF PENTECOSTALISM: JOHANNINE SELF-UNDERSTANDING AS AN ARCHETYPE OF PENTECOSTAL SELF-UNDERSTANDING

Dongsoo Kim

1. Introduction

What is the essence of Pentecostalism? In what respect does Pentecostalism radically differ from evangelicalism and fundamentalism? What are the historical or biblical roots of Pentecostalism? Historical theologian Donald Dayton suggests that the historical roots of Pentecostalism can be traced in Wesleyanism and American revival movements in the nineteenth century.[1] An evangelical theologian Alister McGrath holds that Pentecostalism is not so much different from evangelicalism except for the doctrine of the Spirit-baptism.[2] A biblical scholar Roger Stronstad argues that Lukan theology of Spirit-baptism, which is believed to be the cardinal doctrine of Pentecostalism, is the biblical basis of Pentecostal theology.[3]

This study concerns the biblical (and New Testament in particular) roots of Pentecostalism. Roger Stronstad was a pioneer in this area when he published *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* in 1984. Following in his steps, Gordon D. Fee, Robert P. Menzies and many other scholars have endeavored to find New Testament foundations of Pentecostalism.[4]

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[1] Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987).

[2] Alister McGrath, *Evangelicalism and the Future of Christianity* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995).

[3] Roger Stronstad, *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984).

[4] Cf. Craig S. Keener, *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997); Blaine Charette, *Restoring Presence: The Spirit in Matthew's Gospel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); Paul Elbert,

Whereas scholars may suggest new ideas and concepts regarding the subject, they have been one in believing that biblical foundation of Pentecostal theology is to be primarily found either in the Lukan two volume writings[5] or in Pauline epistles.[6] There have been a few who have tried to find Pentecostal theology in the Synoptic Gospels;[7] there have been few scholars who have tried to find Pentecostal roots in the Johannine writings.[8]

"Spirit, Scripture and Theology through a Lukan Lens: A Review Article," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 13 (1998), pp. 55-75; Archie W. D. Hui, "Spirit-Fullness in Luke-Acts: Technical and Prophetic?," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 17 (2000), pp. 24-38; Gregory J. Leeper, "The Nature of the Pentecostal Gift with Special Reference to Numbers 11 and Acts 2," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 6 (2003), pp. 23-38; Youngmo Cho, "Spirit and Kingdom in Luke-Acts: Proclamation as the Primary Role of the Spirit in Relation to the Kingdom of God in Luke-Acts," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 6 (2003), pp. 173-97.

[5] Cf. Robert P. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); William W. Menzies and Robert P. Menzies, *Spirit and Power: Foundations of Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000); Roger Stronstad, *The Prophethood of All Believers: A Study in Luke's Characteristic Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Paul Elbert, "Pentecostal/Charismatic Themes in Luke-Acts at the Evangelical Theological Society: The Battle of Interpretive Method," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 12 (2004), pp. 181-215.

[6] Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994); idem, *Paul, the Spirit, and the People of God* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996); Steve Summers, "'Out of Mind for God': A Social-Scientific Approach to Pauline Pneumatology," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 13 (1988), pp. 77-106.

[7] Cf. John Christopher Thomas and Kimberly Ervin Alexander, "'And the Signs Are Following': Mark 16.9-20—A Journey into Pentecostal Hermeneutics," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 11 (2003), pp. 147-70; Emerson B. Powery, "The Spirit, the Scripture(s), and the Gospel of Mark: Pneumatology and Hermeneutics in Narrative Perspective," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 11 (2003), pp. 184-98; Robert W. Wall, "A Response to Thomas/Alexander, 'And the Signs Are Following' (Mark 16.9-20)," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 11:2 (2003), pp. 171-83.

[8] There are some exceptions. Cf. Gary M. Burge, *The Anointed Community: The Holy Spirit in the Johannine Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987); Robert P. Menzies, "John's Place in the Development of Early Christian Pneumatology," in *The Spirit and Spirituality: Essays in Honour of Russell P.*

In this scholarly atmosphere, am I too bold to suggest that biblical roots of Pentecostalism can be traced in Johannine theology? At first sight this appears to be fruitless as one cannot find any Pentecostal distinctive practices in the Johannine writings such as exorcism, tongue-speaking, or the spiritual gifts. Yet if one seeks to find the essence of Pentecostalism not in those practices, but in the self-identity of Pentecostal community, I suggest one can find an archetype of Pentecostal self-identity in the Johannine writings.

It is my thesis of this study that a Pentecostal type of self-identity can be primarily found in that of Johannine community among the diverse Christian communities in the first-century. First, this study will argue that the essence of Pentecostalism is to be sought in the self-identity of Pentecostal churches.[9] Further, I will show that both Johannine community and Pentecostal community have similar self-identity as correctives to the established churches. Pentecostal churches are critical to the mainline churches regarding the right relationship with God. Pentecostals pursue right relationship with God through the experience of the Holy Spirit.[10] I will show that this type of community can be traced in Johannine community in the New Testament times.

2. Pentecostal Self-Understanding as a Corrective

2.1 The Essence of Pentecostalism

What is the essence of Pentecostalism? Is Pentecostalism different from the other Christian denominations in its understanding of the Spirit-baptism? Is its emphasis on the experience of the supernatural through the Holy Spirit a trait of Pentecostalism?[11] Is the emphasis on the eager

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Spittler, eds. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (London: T & T Clark, 2004), pp. 41-52.

[9] Cf. Amos Yong, "The Marks of the Church: A Pentecostal Re-Reading," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 26 (2002), pp. 45-67.

[10] Pentecostals find their self-identity in their interest in the right and personal relationship, whereas the Roman Catholics concern right structure of the church and the Reformed churches the right doctrine. Cf. Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), pp. 41-42.

[11] Kenneth J. Archer, "Pentecostal Hermeneutics: Retrospect and Prospect," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 8 (1996), pp. 63-81 (64): "The essence of

prayer essential characteristic of Pentecostalism?[12] Does the tongue-speaking as an initial evidence for the Spirit-baptism mark Pentecostalism? Or is "the passion for the kingdom" the core of Pentecostalism?[13]

True, the above traits are the characteristics of Pentecostal theology. Any single element among the characteristics, however, does not constitute the essence of Pentecostalism. As Pentecostalism is so diverse these days, it cannot be categorized into a single trait.[14] It will be more fruitful to find Pentecostal distinctive in the self-identity of Pentecostal community rather than in its doctrines. Cheryl Bridges Johns has already suggested that essence of Pentecostalism can be primarily found in its self-identity and self-definition.[15]

2.2 Pentecostal Self-Understanding as a Corrective

How can we describe the self-identity of the Pentecostal community? To begin with, in the sense that Pentecostal community seeks the full gospel, latter rain, apostolic faith, Pentecostal spirituality, it started as a revival or a renewal movement.[16] In the sense that it seeks to reform established Christianity, it is a refreshing corrective. D. William Faupel defines Pentecostal movement "as a critique directed at an emerging fundamentalism which was attached itself to the Old Princeton

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Pentecostalism is its persistent emphasis upon the supernatural within the community."

[12] Cf. Dongsoo Kim, "Lukan Pentecostal Theology of Prayer: Is Persistent Prayer Not Biblical," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 7 (2004), pp. 205-17.

[13] Steven J. Land (*Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom*) believes that eschatology is the core of Pentecostalism for the first ten years of the movement.

[14] Cf. W. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997).

[15] Cf. Cheryl Bridges Johns, "The Adolescence of Pentecostalism: In Search of a Legitimate Sectarian Identity," *Pneuma* 17 (1995), pp. 3-17.

[16] Cf. Mark W. G. Stibbe, "The Theology of Renewal and the Renewal of Theology," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 3 (1993), pp. 71-90; Peter D. Hocken, "A Charismatic View on the Distinctiveness of Pentecostalism," in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William W. Menzies*, eds. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 96-106 (102).

Theology."[17] According to Michael Harper, it "was in part a reactionary movement" against sacramentalism of the Catholic churches and against the enslaving of the Spirit to the doctrines of the Protestant Reformation.[18] In other words, one of the *raisons d'etre* of the Pentecostal movement has been a revitalization of established, mainline Christianity. The restoration and revitalization of spiritual power of the apostolic predecessors is claimed to be crucial to revitalize Christianity.

In a sociological term Pentecostal movement can be described as a sectarian movement, not in the sense that it is heretic but in the sense that it is critical against the "orthodoxism" of the established churches.[19] As a sectarian movement Pentecostal community was at odds with the established churches.[20] Importantly, however, it did not go so far as to quit having further fellowship with the other forms of Christianity. At the present time after its centennial celebration, Pentecostalism goes beyond its adolescence into adulthood.[21] It began absorbing in one of the mainline churches. For instance, Pentecostal community as one of the responsible members participated in the ecumenical dialogue with the Catholics, as well as with other Protestant churches. Further, Pentecostal community has an active role to play in the theological scholarship.

3. Johannine Community as a Corrective

My concern in this study is whether or not Pentecostal self-identity as a corrective can be justified theologically. If we can justify Pentecostal

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[17] D. William Faupel, "Whither Pentecostalism?," *Pneuma* 15 (1993), pp. 9-27 (21).

[18] Michael Harper, "The Holy Spirit Acts in the Church, Its Structures, Its Sacramentality, Its Worship and Sacraments," *One in Christ* 12 (1976), pp. 319-28 (320); cf. Veli-Matti Karkkainen, "Church as Charismatic Fellowship: Ecclesiological Reflections from the Pentecostal-Roman Catholic Dialogue," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 18 (2001), pp. 100-21 (106).

[19] I borrowed the term from Charles Augustus Briggs, *Whither? A Theological Question for the Times* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889). He uses "orthodox" in a positive sense and "orthodoxism" in a negative sense.

[20] For sectarian identity of Pentecostalism, see Cheryl Bridges Johns, "The Adolescence of Pentecostalism: In Search of a Legitimate Sectarian Identity," *Pneuma* 17 (1995), pp. 3-17.

[21] Cf. John Christopher Thomas, "Pentecostal Theology in the Twenty-First Century," *Pneuma* 20 (1998), pp. 3-19.

self-identity, in what sense can we do that? Is it possible for us to trace a precedent in the scripture? In this study I suggest that the self-identity of the Johannine community can be a biblical precedent for that of Pentecostal community.

How can we define the self-identity of Johannine community? There are several ways to do it. I attempt to show that Johannine Christianity was a corrective within early Christianity. It was a refreshing corrective and challenge to mainline Christianity in the first century.

3.1 Johannine Self-Identity

In what respects can one find the self-identity of Johannine community? One can find it through Johannine attitude towards the other forms of Christianity in the first century. What appears to be an initial difficulty here is the fact that the Gospel of John does not include any direct confrontational or critical claims against contemporary Christianity. There are, however, some undercurrent implications of the Johannine attitudes against the mainline churches.

Especially, the sophisticated relationship between Peter and the Beloved Disciple (BD hereafter) implies the Johannine stance *vis-à-vis* apostolic Christianity.[22] Further, if scholars reach a general consensus that Peter and the BD are symbolic (or representational) figures for respective communities in John, the pictures of Peter and the BD and the relationship of the two disciples depicted in the Gospel of John will suggest the nature of the relationship between Johannine community and the apostolic. If Peter represents the mainline (or apostolic) church and the BD stands for the Johannine community, the nature of the relationship of the two disciples refers to the attitude of the Johannine community towards the apostolic church.

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[22] There have been divergent suggestions regarding the symbolism of Peter and the BD. For R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), the BD is the representative of the Gentile Christianity, whereas Peter is representative for Jewish Christianity. For David J. Hawkin, "The Function of the Beloved Disciple Motif in the Johannine Tradition," *Lavel theologique et philosophique* 33 (1977), pp. 130-50 (146), Peter represents for the *Gesamtkirche* (the whole church) and the BD the Johannine *Einzelkirche* (a local church). For Alv Kragerud, *Der Lieblingsjunger im Johannesevangelium: Ein Exegetischer Versuch* (Hamburg: Grosshaus Wegner, 1959), pp. 65-67, the BD represents for a pneumatic circle (*Geist*), and Peter is symbolized as ecclesiastical office (*Amt*). For further discussions, see K. Quast, *Peter and the Beloved Disciple: Figures for a Community in Crisis* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), pp. 9-10.

There are two basic and conflicting views currently held with regard to the relationship between Peter and the BD. For some, it can be described as "rivalry, or hostility,"[23] for others, it is "friendship or trust."[24] The real picture of Johannine understanding of the relationship seems to be in between. Or, it is depicted to be deliberately ambivalent? The Johannine community, whose community was identified by the BD, contained elitism over against the mainline church, which was represented by Peter. Yet the Johannine community did not break off communion with the apostolic community. In the words of O. Cullmann, "On the one hand it deliberately maintains its own independence, but on the other it is convinced of the need for mutual supplementation in the common interest."[25]

The story of "visiting the empty tomb" (John 20:1-10) shows it explicitly. There is competition between Peter and the BD to reach the empty tomb first. "The two men running together, but the disciple [BD] outran Peter and reached the tomb first" (v. 4). One can perceive that the Fourth Evangelist gives superiority to the BD. This is confirmed in the following verse where the BD is introduced as "the other disciple who reached the tomb first" (v. 8). Peter had the special position in early Christianity; the BD had the leadership of the Johannine community. This implies that the Evangelist intends to claim the priority of his community *vis-à-vis* the mainline Christianity. Importantly, however, the Evangelist does not intend to detract from Peter. Peter is highly regarded throughout the story. The BD yields to Peter in entering the tomb.

3.2 Johannine Community as a Corrective

3.2.1 Johannine images of the church

We can find the nature of the Johannine community through the images of the community in the Gospel of John insofar as they are reflections of the self-identity of the Johannine community.

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[23] Among others, see E. L. Titus, *The Message of the Fourth Gospel* (New York: Abingdon, 1957), p. 220; Graydon F. Snyder, "John 13:16 and Anti-Petrinism of the Johannine Tradition," *Biblical Research* 16 (1971), pp. 5-15; A. H. Maynard, "The Role of Peter in the Fourth Gospel," *New Testament Studies* 30 (1984), pp. 531-48.

[24] Among others, see O. Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr* (London: SCM, 1953); Quast, *Peter and the Beloved Disciple*, pp. 9-10.

[25] O. Cullmann, *The Johannine Circle* (London: SCM, 1976), p. 55.

The shepherd discourse (John 10:1-18) and the vine discourse (John 15:1-17) are two main texts for Johannine images of the church. The most salient common characteristic of the images is its exclusively Christological orientation. The centrality of Jesus is unmistakable in the images. In both, with the solemn phrase ἐγώ εἰμι, Jesus proclaims that he is the shepherd and the vine. In order to have eternal life and have it abundantly (10:10), the sheep are bound to the shepherd. In order to keep alive, the branches must remain in the vine. The disciples can do virtually nothing without having an organic relationship with Jesus (15:5).

The Christocentric images of the church are not peculiar to John in the New Testament. It is also typically seen in the Pauline images of the church such as the "body of Christ." However, the degree of Johannine Christocentricity cannot be comparable with that in the other New Testament writings. In the Johannine images Jesus himself is the new Israel. Therefore, in John it is only through having intimate union with Jesus that the disciples can be a part of the Church. In Paul, by contrast, Jesus as the head of the body, together with the disciples as the members of the body, represent the church.

Another common characteristic of the images is that the Christocentricity is indivisibly woven into the union between Jesus and each believer. Both images insist similarly "upon the importance of an intimate personal relationship with Jesus."[26] The union is based on reciprocal knowledge and reciprocal immanence, which is to be recognized by love for one another in the community. This reciprocal knowledge is not superficial; it is even patterned to the Father-Son relationship: "just as (καθὼς) Father knows me and I know the Father" (10:15). The Greek word γινώσκω, especially in John, denotes not an intellectual knowledge but a living personal bond between personalities.

The emphasis on the union of each believer with Jesus is shown even more clearly in the vine discourse (John 15:1-17). As no branch can exist without being in living contact with the vine, the necessity of dwelling (or remaining) in Jesus is continuously mentioned (ten times in vv. 4-10). The Johannine phrase μένω ἐν (vv. 4-6) is used to express the close relationship between Jesus and each believer. Here the "dwelling in" is also reciprocal as "knowing" is in the shepherd discourse.

In short, the distinctive character of the Johannine images of the church can be found in their Christological orientation expressed by the

[26] John Ashton, *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 131.

centrality of Jesus and by the emphasis on the personal union of each believer with the head of the church.

How can we interpret this distinctive Johannine expression with regard to the images of the church? Some scholars tried to find such distinctiveness in the concepts of the other religions. This endeavor was proven to be fruitless. Others claimed that such distinctiveness became to be made while Johannine community was fighting against the Jewish authorities. This theory appears attracting in that it explains the Christocentric orientation of the shepherd discourse. However, it does not explain why the theme of individual union of the sheep is woven with the shepherd.

I suggest that we may read from it a corrective voice *vis-à-vis* mainline Christianity in the late first century, the time when the Gospel of John was written. At that time, primitive church was becoming institutionalized; especially the Pastorals evince a development towards the "Great Church." Johannine shepherd discourse could be read against this background. For John the core element of the church was none other than Jesus himself. On the part of the church members, the close individual union of each member with Christ was indeed the *sine qua non* of church life. For John, the vertical relationship must be the basis for the horizontal relationship in the church. Accordingly, this voice was critical to the tendency of the contemporary mainline church, whose direction was headed unfortunately towards institutionalization.

This voice, however, was not so expressively critical as to detract from the mainline church, as is implied where Peter and the BD appear together. It was similar to the voice of the prophets in the Old Testament who had served as corrective to the contemporary Jewish religious tendencies. The fact that the Johannine voice was prophetic can be an explanation why Johannine Christianity was easily incorporated into the Great Church in the second century. Prophets tended to disappear after their missions were completed. I believe that Johannine Christianity was exactly such a case.

3.2.2 Johannine church order

Johannine church order confirms that Johannine ecclesiology can be read as a corrective against the institutional tendency of Christianity in the late first century. As is well recognized, at that time the Pastorals evince the development towards the institutionalization of the church.

The Gospel of John, according to James D. G. Dunn, is the clearest witness to this resistance to institutionalization.[27]

There is no direct reference to church officials in John except for chapter 21, which is considered as a later addition. The term "apostle," obviously an essential office for church order in the New Testament writings, is completely absent in John. The "twelve" (disciples) are mentioned (6:67, 70, 71; 20:24), but they are not depicted as privileged. Although John does not lose the aspect that Peter is the representative of the twelve, he does not give Peter such a prominent position among the twelve, as do the Synoptic Evangelists (cf. Matt 16:16; 17:24; 18:21). Rather the BD makes an appearance as the disciple *par excellence*.

These facts led some scholars to hold that in John there is no concept of any ministry or any office. For example, E. Schweizer claims that John "has no priests or officials. There is no longer even any diversity of spiritual gifts.… There is no church order at all."[28] Admittedly, in John there is no direct reference to church officials. This, however, does not mean that the ministerial idea is completely absent. There are several passages in which a leadership position for mission is implied (4:35-38; 13:20; 21:15-17).

In order to answer the question as to whether there exists church order in John, the qualification of the phrase "church order" is required. If we attempt to find church order similar to that in the Pastorals or in Ignatius of Antioch, we cannot find such kinds of church order in John. But if we recognize that John depicts church order with his own way and expression, we can find it in John.

The most striking characteristic of Johannine church order is that all believers are equally described as disciples; both men and women are equally classified. The "twelve (disciples)" are distinguished from "many disciples," but they are preferably called "disciples." In the words of R. E. Brown, in John, "there are no second-class Christians in terms of status." They are called "brothers" (20:17) or "friends" (15:13-15), the titles which imply democratization of the leadership in the church. What is of crucial importance is not apostleship or church office, but discipleship, "a status that all Christians enjoy."[29]

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[27] James D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM, 1990), p. 118.

[28] E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1961), p. 127.

[29] R. E. Brown, *The Churches the Apostles Left Behind* (New York: Paulist, 1979), p. 91.

This Johannine egalitarianism stands in sharp contrast to the tendencies in late first-century Christianity. At that time church had a tendency to become institutionalized; church order became rigid rather than flexible. Women, in particular, did not have any leading role to play in the church (cf. 2 Tim 3:1-9). In contrast, in John men and women are equally described as the disciples. In John greatness is determined by a loving relationship to Jesus, not by function, office, or even gender.

3.3 Johannine Community and the Mainline Church

Johannine community was a refreshing corrective to the mainline churches in the late first century. It fulfilled its task as a refreshing corrective. Then we cannot trace the history of Johannine community from mid-second century. What happened? It probably became absorbed into the mainline churches after it fulfilled its task.

In a sense, the Johannine voice was a challenge to the mainline Christianity. John was critical against the other Christian groups in terms of its ecclesiology. Importantly, however, John's challenge did not detract from them. John's role was similar to that of the prophets in Israel whose main role was to challenge the contemporary mainline religious tendencies against God and awakened the complacent mass from their slowly fossilizing religiosity. What John had done was to challenge the church to place the living union with Jesus, not only above the fellowship among Christians, but also above church organization. Thus, John's challenging voice, as those of the prophets were, was "from within the heart of the Christian Church."[30]

4. Conclusion

This study is concerned with a biblical root of Pentecostalism. I have shown that Pentecostal self-identity has a precedent in the self-identity of Johannine community. There is another area which is not dealt with in this study, but which can further support my thesis. Johannine and Pentecostal community have in common that both seek their self-identity through the Spirit.[31] In the Gospel of John there is no Christian

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[30] Thomas L. Brodie, *The Quest for the Origin of John's Gospel: A Source-Oriented Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 150.

[31] Cf. D. Moody Smith, *The Theology of the Gospel of John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 79.

community without the Spirit; needless to say, it is likewise in the Pentecostal community.

The New Testament does not provide us with the single model of Christianity. Rather, it reveals to us several different types or ideals of communities, which were formed in different environments where communities were situated. James D. G. Dunn detects several models of the New Testament communities: charismatic (as in Paul's genuine letters), early Catholic (as in Pastorals) and Piestic (as in Johannine Gospel and letters).[32] He suggests that the closest parallel of Johannine Christianity in Christian history was the American Holiness movement in the nineteenth century in that it was characterized by "emphasis on the spiritual experience of the individual, and perfectionist in tendency."[33]

Based on the above observation, am I suggesting beyond credulity to hold that Pentecostal movement had a similar stance to Johannine community with regard to its stance against mainline Christianity and that a biblical root of Pentecostal self-identity can be found in the self-identity of the Johannine community?

[32] James D. G. Dunn, "Models of Christian Community in the New Testament," in *Strange Gifts?: A Guide to Charismatic Renewal*, eds. David and Peter Mullen (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), pp. 1-18.

[33] Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*, p. 199.

[*AJPS* 9:1 (2006), pp. 17-33]

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE WORLD: IN NON-CHRISTIANS, CREATION AND OTHER RELIGIONS

Robert L. Gallagher

1. Introduction

Christians believe in the glorified Christ who poured out his Holy Spirit upon all who belong to him (Rom 8:9). They confess that the Spirit is working throughout the world in churches and on the mission field. However, they often restrict the Spirit's work to within the walls of the church and the fences of the mission compound. Hendrikus Berkhof states, "The impact of the Spirit as the active presence of Jesus Christ in the world is far wider than we are aware."[1]

This paper will compare what selected Protestant theologians say about the work of the Holy Spirit in the world with what Luke says in Luke-Acts. First I will examine Luke's understanding of the Trinity and then discuss the Holy Spirit's work in non-Christians, creation and other religions through the writings of Reformed theologians such as Arnold A. van Ruler[2] and Paul R. Fries.[3] Throughout this paper these findings will be contrasted with the Lukan perspective on the role of the Spirit in the world.

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[1] Hendrikus Berkhof, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1976), p. 100.

[2] Arnold A. van Ruler (1908-1970) was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church and a professor of Dogmatics at the University of Utrecht, the Netherlands.

[3] Paul R. Fries is a professor of Foundational and Constructive Theology at New Brunswick Theological Seminary (Reformed Church in America), New Brunswick, New Jersey, USA.

2. Luke's View of the Trinity

In my reading of Luke-Acts I understand Luke to believe that the person of the Holy Spirit is God, who has come to live in this world through the lives of his people. The Holy Spirit dwelling among and in humanity is the key to Christian living; it is his presence that gives the necessary power to serve Christ in this world. For Luke, the relationship between the Spirit and the work of mission comes from an understanding that the third person of the Trinity is God himself. However, this Gentile writer is not always concerned with precise Trinitarian functions that would satisfy systematic theologians. Instead, Luke intermingles the persons and works of the Trinity within his narrative sometimes without clear delineations (see Acts 20:28). Below are some examples of Luke's style that will illustrate this approach.

The coming of the Holy Spirit on Jesus at the river Jordan has an important position in the mission of the Messiah. Here the narrator depicts Jesus praying while the Spirit descends upon him, and the voice of the Father brings mission exhortation. All three persons of the Godhead are represented at this historic occasion. At the beginning of his messianic ministry, God sends the Spirit on Jesus. The Spirit then initiates and enables the start of Christ's mission (Luke 3:21-23). During the ministry of Jesus in Palestine, the Holy Spirit empowered him to fulfill God's messianic plan. The Lord Jesus went about doing miracles and teaching the kingdom of God until his death in Jerusalem and his subsequent ascension.

According to David Gooding, Luke structures his gospel narrative into three parts—Jesus' doing, teaching and resurrection (see Acts 1:1-2).[4] The second part, the journey of Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem (Luke 9:51-19:44), is full of Jesus' teaching about the way to follow God. It is here that I find the instruction of Jesus concerning the Holy Spirit. In particular, Luke 12:10 indicates that the emphasis is on the supremacy of the Spirit. Christ warns that people may speak against him and it will be forgiven, but that blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven. In the other Gospels, this refers to the action of declaring that the works of the Holy Spirit are satanic. My point is that the Trinity again is represented: Jesus, the Holy Spirit, and God the Father who is the judge. As well as this, the seriousness of the offense against the Spirit

[4] See David Gooding, *According to Luke: A New Exposition of the Third Gospel* (Leicester, UK: InterVarsity, 1987).

as compared with Jesus underlines the importance of the Holy Spirit in the Godhead.

As I understand Luke, the pivotal point in Jesus' journey from heaven to earth and back to heaven is in Acts 2:33. Here the promise of the Father, the Holy Spirit, is sent by Jesus and is seen as proof that God has made him both Lord and Messiah. Peter in his first recorded speech had already declared that every one calling on the name of the Lord would be saved (Acts 2:21). Quoting from Joel 2:32, Peter replaced the name of Yahweh with that of Jesus the Christ. In other words, for both Peter and Luke, Jesus is God.

Another demonstration of Luke's understanding of the Trinity and mission is found in Acts 4. On the return of Peter and John from the Sanhedrin Council, the church in Jerusalem prayed to God. Threatened by the Council to cease all their missionary activity, the church's prayer opens a window into the mindset of the early believers. First, they acclaimed their sovereign creator in control of all situations (Acts 4:24). They then acknowledged the Holy Spirit as the revealer of prophetic truth regarding the Messiah (4:25). And lastly, they spoke of Jesus the servant Messiah who continues to extend his hand to heal through the presence of his followers (4:26-27). All three persons of the Trinity are presented in this prayer, each playing a role in God's salvation history. The result was that the church was filled with the Spirit and began to speak God's word with boldness as they witnessed to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. Here again is the inseparableness of the Godhead in the salvation purposes of God, and the Spirit outworking his mission by way of the apostolic church.

In the next chapter of Acts with the judgment of Ananias and Sapphira, the husband is accused by Peter of lying to the Holy Spirit (Acts 5:3) and God (v. 4) and challenging the Spirit of the Lord Jesus (v. 9). The narrator intertwines the couple's hypocritical action with his Trinitarian understanding. In doing this he declares that both the Spirit and Jesus are God. Lying to one means lying to all three persons of the Trinity; and that the Spirit of God is the resurrected Messiah. They are one and the same.

This awareness by Luke that the Holy Spirit sent from God is Jesus himself is also found in Acts 16. During the second mission journey of Paul through Asia Minor, the party of Paul, Silas and Timothy are forbidden to speak the gospel in Asia by the Holy Spirit (Acts16:6). The next verse has the Spirit of Jesus not permitting the group to preach in Bithynia. In such close proximity, why does the author use different terms to describe the Spirit? Perhaps it indicates that in Luke's thinking

the Holy Spirit is the Lord Jesus who is orchestrating his mission through the people of the Way.

My belief is that Luke places the work of the Holy Spirit and mission in a Trinitarian framework and gives it a priority over the Spirit's work in the church. This movement of the missionary Spirit is evident in the work of Jesus and the early disciples as God used the word and miracles as mission instruments. From my point of view, Luke sees this to be true not only for the Messiah and his followers, but also beyond this to the world. This paper will now survey what selected Protestant theologians believe about the work of the Spirit in the world—in non-Christians, creation and other religions—in comparison with Luke-Acts.

3. The Holy Spirit Working in Non-Christians

3.1 Van Ruler and Fries

The pneumatology of van Ruler brings understanding of the relationship of the Spirit and God's mission among non-Christians. In his theology, there is a strong correlation between mission and the proclamation of the kingdom of God as the kingdom of Christ. This proclamation needs repeating among every nation and in every age.[5] In discussing van Ruler's pneumatology, Fries states that the Dutch theologian describes the works of the Spirit as "the entrance of the God of revelation into all facets and moments of lost heathen existence so that His Kingdom might be established in a number of forms."[6] The Spirit's activity is to bring into "the facets and moments" of fallen existence the message of freedom from guilt and eternal life.[7]

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[5] Arnold A. van Ruler, *Calvinist Trinitarianism and Theocentric Politics: Essays Toward a Public Theology*, vol. 38, Toronto Studies in Theology, trans. John Bolt (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1989), p. 204.

[6] Paul R. Fries, *Religion and the Hope for a Truly Human Existence: An Inquiry into the Theology of F. D. E. Schleiermacher and A. A. van Ruler with Questions for America* (Utrecht, The Netherlands: Door Press, 1979), p. 100, quotes van Ruler, *De Vervulling van de Wet* [The Fulfillment of the Law] (Nijkerk, The Netherlands: G. F. Callenbach N. V., 1947), pp. 129-30.

[7] Van Ruler views the Spirit's activity as Messianic where the church does not confine his work. The Spirit reaches into the political arena and society. Michael Welker, "The Holy Spirit," *Theology Today* 46:1 (1989), pp. 5-20 (13), on the

Like Berkhof, van Ruler does not restrict mission to the church going out, witnessing and being present in the world. The church is, rather, an instrument used by God in his engagement with the world.[8] God's interaction with the world is greater than the activity of the missionary church. Van Ruler elaborates:

> He [God] engages in his own wrestling with every human heart and he participates with profound interest in the great drama, and the great struggle of the nations as they seek to give political, social, economic and cultural shape to life.[9]

God and his kingdom are much broader than that which the church undertakes with her mission. Van Ruler asks if Christians are the only channel between God and his world. To put it differently: Does the world encounter God only through the church's mission? He comes to the conclusion that the Spirit of God is active in this world outside the church, but he does not set boundaries for this action.

For van Ruler, God is busy in his concern for the unchurched.[10] Non-Christians are already in contact with the living God and when the

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other hand, emphasizes the separation of the Messiah, the bearer of the Spirit, from former strategies that obtain political power and public recognition. He says that these patterns of behavior that rejected human pathways to political success were directed toward the forgiveness of sins and the redemption from the power of sin. "Jesus acts to forgive sin by, in the first instance, healing the sick and driving out demons…. When Jesus cures the sick or drives out demons, he intercedes in situations in which we see ourselves condemned to helplessness and feel ourselves paralyzed."

[8] James I. Packer, in Stuart Briscoe, et al., "The Holy Spirit: God at Work," *Christianity Today* 34:5 (1990), pp. 27-35 (27) agrees with van Ruler when he comments, "The New Testament teaches us to think of the Spirit and his ministry in terms of a personal sovereignty whereby he uses us, not we him. My frame of reference here is the Spirit's *personhood* and *mission*. He is a person sent to us to glorify Jesus: to exhibit Christ, to make him known to people and to bring them into fellowship with him. We can not talk about the power of the Spirit to any purpose outside this frame of reference."

[9] Van Ruler, *Calvinist Trinitarianism and Theocentric Politics*, pp. 207-208. See Fries, *Religion and the Hope for a Truly Human Existence*, p. 100.

[10] Lewis Sperry Chafer, *He That Is Spiritual: A Classic Study of the Biblical Doctrine of Spirituality* (Grand Rapids, MI: Academie Books, 1967), pp. 29-31 sees two works of the Spirit to the unsaved world. First, the ministry of the Spirit in restraining Satan's person and projects until the divinely appointed time (2

gospel comes there is a deeper intensity of their relationship to God and his relationship to them. Van Ruler suggests:

> There are depths and mysteries in the nature of humanity and in the riddle of God's involvement with the world which we must carefully and wholeheartedly respect. In all of our mission work, they prompt us to use the evangelistic method of love.[11]

The Holy Spirit is at work preparing people for the gospel. God's Spirit comes to human beings and can be in them. This action of the Spirit opens up human beings for himself, making them ready and capable to receive the good news.[12]

In the words of Fries, "the regenerating God of the Bible shakes the foundations of our lives, destroys our old complacencies and sets us on a new course…. Those whose eyes are attuned to the gospel will see here the incandescence of the Spirit."[13] In regeneration, the proclaimed word

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Thess 2:6-8) when the Spirit will be removed. This will happen when the church is complete. Second, is the ministry of the Spirit in reproving the world of sin, righteousness and judgment (John 16:8-11). This work is to individuals to reveal Christ the Savior whom they may receive or reject and to impute God's righteousness by believing in Christ. Also, the Spirit reveals the judgment of God on the world that Christ has already taken for humanity through the cross. "The Spirit ministers to the world, actualizing to them otherwise unknowable facts which, taken together, form the central truths of the Gospel of his grace." John F. Walvoord, *The Holy Spirit*: *A Comprehensive Study of the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids, MI: Academie Books, 1958), pp. 73-74 contends that the Spirit is engaged in the restraining of sin in the life of the saved and unsaved. In the Old Testament, in the time of Noah the Spirit undertook to restrain the power of Satan and human sin (Gen 6:3). In the New Testament, 2 Thessalonians 2:7 again suggests that the Spirit restrains from sin. Charles Caldwell Ryrie, *A Survey of Bible Doctrine* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1972), p. 74 again mentions this restraint of sin.

[11] Van Ruler, *Calvinist Trinitarianism and Theocentric Politics*, p. 215.

[12] See Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 1, part 1, eds. Geoffrey W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1962), p. 5.

[13] Paul R. Fries, "Incandescence: Three Meditations on the Holy Spirit," *Perspectives* 4:8 (1989), pp. 4-7 (5). Also, John Wimber quoted in Briscoe "The Holy Spirit: God at Work," p. 27 proclaimed, "The Holy Spirit calls, claims, empowers, energizes, directs, guides, unctions—the whole work of developing converts."

penetrates the human spirit through the work of the Holy Spirit and confronts human rebellion. It is the Spirit that plants the word in the human heart to break it. "The Spirit prepares the heart for the saving Word."[14]

3.2 Luke-Acts

Like the Dutch theologians Berkhof[15] and van Ruler,[16] Luke also does not see the Spirit's activity restricted to the church. In announcing and preparing people for the age of the Messiah, Luke-Acts also shows the work of the Spirit beyond the church. However, for Luke a relationship with God comes only after repentance and subsequent forgiveness of sins. In these steps is the recognition of the Lord Jesus as Messiah and God. The following are a number of instances where Luke sees the Spirit at work among non-Christians.

The first part of Luke's gospel has the Spirit active in announcing the mission of Jesus (Luke 1:1-9:50). All the people involved were part of the old covenant and were waiting for the new age to come. In one sense, they were outside the church. For example, John was filled with the Holy Spirit before birth. Even before he was in the world, he had experienced the Spirit (1:15, 41). Likewise, the Spirit of God came upon Mary (1:35), Elizabeth (1:41) and Simeon (2:25) when they were a part of Judaism. Here we see a foreshadowing of Luke's idea of the missionary Spirit working beyond the boundaries of the church.

In Acts 4:24 the narrator records the prayer of the people of the way after the healing of the disabled man at the Beautiful Gate. Quoting Psalm 146:6 they acclaim God as the maker of the universe and all living creatures. Throughout the history of Israel, God the Holy Spirit presented the truth of the coming Messiah (Acts 4:25). The Spirit used the prophets to speak his message, but Israel continually rejected and persecuted them. It is Stephen who confronts the Sanhedrin Council on this issue, saying that they still persist with this resistance against the Holy Spirit (7:51). In other words, the Spirit was at work within Israel's rebellious history. This role of the Spirit with backslidden Israel may be shown to be the same as the Spirit's role with any godless people.

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[14] Fries, "Incandescence," p. 6.

[15] Berkhof, *Doctrine*, p. 100.

[16] Van Ruler, *Calvinist Trinitarianism and Theocentric Politics*, pp. 207-208.

4. The Holy Spirit Working in Creation

4.1 Van Ruler and Fries

Fries is not advocating a pneumatology [17] where the Spirit is detached from the word, but a theology that recognizes God's presence and action alongside the word.[18] This then enables God to speak through creation, science, philosophy and the arts. In particular, van Ruler sees the Holy Spirit forming a new creation out of the old depraved order. His pneumatology represents an attempt to recognize in all things—the church, the state, culture, history and humanity—the redeeming activity of God through the Spirit.[19] For him, this activity of the Spirit takes place in the whole of creation.[20]

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[17] Karl Barth, *Evangelical Theology: An Introduction*, trans. Grover Foley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1963), p. 58 discusses two ways the Holy Spirit can leave theology and so render humanity devoid of God. The first possibility is to refuse "to be led by him into all truth" because of the suspicion of fanaticism. It is only the Spirit that can illuminate the truth of theology. The second possibility is that theology may realize the necessity of the power of the Spirit which is essential to all Christians, but "fail to acknowledge the vitality and sovereignty of this power which defies all domestication." In this situation theology forgets that the Spirit does whatever he wills. "The presence and action of the Spirit are the grace of God who is always free, always superior, always giving himself undeservedly and without reservation." In concluding, Barth states that "the Holy Spirit is the vital power that bestows free mercy on theology and on theologians just as on the community and on every single Christian." The Christian and the theologian are utterly dependent on the Spirit. Without the Spirit both theology and the Christian are unspiritual.

[18] The Spirit often acts apart from the word of God in salvation. Examples in the scripture are: in the Spirit bringing blessing to the Gentiles (Isa 32:15); the gift of the Spirit equipping the mission of the servant (Isa 42:1); and the Spirit coming upon all peoples (Joel 2:28-29 quoted by Peter in Acts 2:17-21).

[19] I. John Hesselink, "Contemporary Protestant Dutch Theology," *Reformed Review* 26:2 (1973), pp. 67-89 (88).

[20] Van Ruler, *Calvinist Trinitarianism and Theocentric Politics*, pp. 6-7 proposes that the saving act of God through the Holy Spirit is not only seen in the individual, but also in the broad scope of humanity and human activity. Concerning the individual's salvation, he states, "It is the Holy Spirit who, no less than the Son, is God himself and whose outpouring and indwelling is a new

Van Ruler advocates that the redemptive activity of the Spirit intermingles with the sinful existence of the world during what he calls the Messianic "intermezzo."[21] Between the ascension and the parousia there are signs that what once occurred only in Israel is now at work in all existence. Some of these signs of the presence of the Spirit of God in the church are Scripture, preaching, baptism, the Lord's Supper, the conversion of individuals and true experiences in the faith. What is true of the church also becomes true of society as a whole and even of nature, where there are signs of the presence of the kingdom of God.[22] These signs are indicators of the redemptive activity of God, the first fruits of

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act of God of comparable significance to the incarnation; it is the Holy Spirit who makes of man and his acts a bearer and image of God's saving acts." He continues, "The Spirit brings the relation between God and humanity into clear focus and at the same time clearly maintains the distinction between them." Following on from this, van Ruler views the Spirit as also working both in the historical tradition of the church as well as in the personal lives of individuals. "It is in the Spirit that God and humanity, tradition and heart, office and congregation, church and culture, are brought together, but also together in an indissoluble, but not disturbing opposition" (p. 8). Finally, he clarifies, "The Spirit indwells the church both as an institution and a community. But the Spirit also indwells the Christian—in his body as well as in his heart and in his relations with his fellowman. But the Spirit also indwells the people and their cultures which in the course of the apostolic word are and become taken up in the covenant with Israel. The Spirit indwells the *corpus Christi*, the *corpus christiani* and the *corpus christianum*" (cited in Fries, "Incandescence," p. 5, from Arnold A. van Ruler, *Theologisch Werk*, vol. 1 [Nijkerk: G. F. Callenbach N. V., 1969], p. 185).

[21] The ascension is a sign that these last days are the age of an "intermezzo" in which the kingdom of God is both hidden and revealed. That is, it is hidden in its completeness at the right hand of God and yet eschatologically present as the first fruits of the Spirit.

[22] Eugene P. Heideman, "Van Ruler's Concept of the Church," *Reformed Review* 26:2 (1973), pp. 136-43 (137) maintains that van Ruler understands the kingdom of God to be "the ultimate rule and saving activity of God with this world." "In emphasizing the Kingdom of God in its eschatological and soteriological fullness, Van Ruler was thus attempting to maintain the traditional Reformed emphasis on the sovereignty of God over all.... In this age, the Kingdom of God is hidden with the Ascended Lord at the right hand of the Father; it is also present in this world in the powerful activity of the Holy Spirit, who gives signs of its presence in our age."

the ascended Lord. It is in this context that van Ruler speaks of people as being evangelized and of institutions being "Christianized."[23]

Both van Ruler and Fries do not limit salvation to human beings. They see Christ as the cosmic savior of the earth and the universe. As Fries explains, "The full realization of salvation, which involves more than the believer, more than the church, even more than our planet, finally embracing the entire universe comes through him [Christ] at the end of time."[24] In the meantime, the Holy Spirit prepares the creation for that day.[25] The Spirit empowers the word of God to transform the human heart and the world. Thus, social and political concerns should not be held to ransom over against personal concerns. God's Spirit is working in both arenas. If we cannot see the Spirit at work, then our vision needs to be adjusted.

Van Ruler and Fries go further than Luke, when they advocate that the work of the Spirit goes beyond even the unchurched. They view the redeeming activity of the Holy Spirit as not only in the church and in all aspects of unchurched humanity, but also in the whole of creation. They reason that there are signs already present that the redemptive work of the Spirit is ushering in the full salvation of the kingdom of God.[26] Certainly this was Paul's hope "that the creation itself also will be set free from its slavery to corruption into the freedom of the glory of the children of God. For we know that the whole of creation groans and suffers the pains of childbirth together until now" (Rom 8:21-22, NASB).

4.2 Luke-Acts

My reading of Luke-Acts would suggest that the author believes in the restoration of all things, but makes no direct mention of this consummation being connected with the work of the Holy Spirit. In Acts

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[23] Hesselink, "Contemporary Protestant Dutch Theology," p. 89.

[24] Fries, "Incandescence," p. 7. See Romans 8:19-22.

[25] Berkhof, *Doctrine*, p. 96 proposes that the relationship between the Spirit of God and creation is neglected in Christian thinking.

[26] See van Ruler, *Calvinist Trinitarianism and Theocentric Politics*, pp. 6-8 and Fries, "Incandescence," p. 7. Also compare Heideman, "Van Ruler's Concept of the Church," p. 137 and Hesselink, "Contemporary Protestant Dutch Theology," pp. 88-89.

3:19-21, Luke records Peter's plea for repentance to the Jewish audience in eschatological terms:

> Repent therefore and return, that your sins may be wiped away, in order that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord; and that he may send Jesus, the Christ appointed for you, whom heaven must receive until *the* period of restoration of all things about which God spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from ancient time (NASB).

5. The Holy Spirit Working in Other Religions

5.1 Fries, Smith and Bromiley

Fries proposes an expanded view of God in creation as seeing the Spirit at work in all religions, "finding in them new light for our faith." Christians may share their faith, but not judgmentally. If we find things contrary to the Christian understanding of God, then he suggests we need to remind ourselves that God the Spirit is there somewhere preparing the non-Christian.[27] The Christian's conversation with the unbeliever should be one that does "not renounce their religion, but believes for that day when their heart also will be broken apart and the Word will drop in."[28]

Eugene L. Smith[29] argues that one of the most critical issues in the encounter with other faiths is the understanding of the Holy Spirit. He contends that almost every living religion has at the center of its belief a conception similar to the Christian idea of the Holy Spirit. In Smith's thinking, "a deepened understanding of the points of similarity and of

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[27] In Galatians 1:6-8, Paul is prepared to curse anyone who distorts the gospel of Christ, which is very different from what Fries is suggesting here.

[28] Fries, "Incandescence," p. 7. The apostle John challenges this idea in 1 John 5:19-21: "We know that we are of God, and the whole world lies in the power of the evil one. And we know that the Son of God has come, and has given us understanding, in order that we might know him who is true, and we are in him who is true, in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life. Little children, guard yourselves from idols."

[29] Even though Eugene L. Smith was a Methodist/Wesleyan, he was not representative of that tradition. He was a universalist who did not understand the spiritual significance of the cross of Christ.

difference between Christianity and other faiths is one of the most critical needs of the Christian mission."[30]

Smith believes that people outside Christianity display the same qualities of character as manifested by the Holy Spirit within Christians. The results of the Spirit within a person are what Paul calls "the fruit of the Spirit." Smith contends that these results are the same in non-Christians as well as Christians: "There is no necessity in the New Testament for doubting that these are qualities of God, no matter in which of his children they may appear and that their appearance in any of his children is a sign of the presence of his Spirit."[31] According to Smith, every individual has the indwelling Holy Spirit given by the Father: "We meet the Holy Spirit in every person. Our bond of kinship and affection

[30] Eugene L. Smith, "An Inquiry into the Work of the Holy Spirit," in *Basileia: A Festschrift to Walter Freytag*, eds., Jan Hermelink and Hans Jochen Margull (Stuttgart, Germany: Evang. Missionsverlag GMBH, 1959), pp. 372-93 (375).

[31] "An Inquiry into the Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 382. Smith's views on the work of the Holy Spirit do not represent his own tradition. John Wesley's familiar journal entry on his salvation experience is worth repeating: "In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation: And an assurance was given me, that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death," *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*, vol. 14, ed. Nehemiah Curnock (London: Epworth, 1938), p. 475. Again in Wesley's "The Witness of the Spirit, I," *The Works of John Wesley*, ed. Albert C. Outler, Bicentennial ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), p. 274, he describes this assurance of salvation, often referred to by him as "the witness of God's Holy Spirit," as follows: "But what is that testimony of God's Spirit, which is superadded to, and conjoined with, this [testimony of our own spirit]? How does he 'bear witness with our spirit that we are the children of God'? It is hard to find words in the language of men to explain 'the deep things of God.' Indeed, there are none that will adequately express what the children of God experience. But perhaps one might say (desiring any who are taught of God to correct, to soften, or strengthen the expression), the testimony of the Spirit is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given himself for me; and that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God."

with those outside the Christian faith is the indwelling of the Holy Spirit alike within them and us."[32]

Geoffrey W. Bromiley likewise maintains that anything that is good and noble in humanity is due to the result of the Holy Spirit. As he puts it:

> It is true that the breath of God is not immediately and definitively withdrawn from the sinner. It is true that the sinner, too, can think, speak and do many things that bear the mark of the Spirit, that are even a distorted reflection of what may be known of God by his self-revelation in nature and conscience.[33]

In Bromiley's thinking, sinful human beings are still God's creation made in the image of God. Though people are marred by sin, vestiges remain of God's goodness and sovereignty. As such, fallen humankind can still do things that are helpful. Poetry, art, music, scientific discoveries and technologies are all evidence that the Holy Spirit is still enabling fallen humanity.[34] God has not abandoned his fallen creation. Bromiley differs from Smith when he argues that if a person is to know God's saving grace and receive eternal life, then they need to receive the new life of the Spirit.[35] This is only possible through the special grace of the Holy Spirit. "God's definitive purpose for creation, the perfection of his transcendent immanence, is not achieved without the new creation, the new breathing of the Creator Spirit."[36]

From Smith's perspective, "The task of the Christian mission is to enable the Holy Spirit to complete His work in each person within whom He dwells. Our part is to make known to each person the data about

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[32] Smith, "An Inquiry into the Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 389.

[33] Smith, "An Inquiry into the Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 389.

[34] Geoffrey W. Bromiley, "The Holy Spirit," *Christianity Today* 12:23 (1968), pp. 24c-24w (24j) elaborates, "By the Spirit, God is immanent in all his works, each after its kind. Man himself is both body and soul, and God's common grace is to man in his totality, not just to a special part of man that is exclusively or specifically from God."

[35] Bromiley, "The Holy Spirit," p. 24j comments, "Without the special work of the Word and Spirit, man is now excluded from the knowledge and salvation of God."

[36] Bromiley, "The Holy Spirit," p. 24k.

Jesus Christ."[37] That is, as we witness to Christ the Spirit works within us to make our witness effective and works within the other person where he already dwells to prepare them to receive the gospel of Christ. "Part of the Christian mission is the interpretation to each person of the work of the Spirit within them—the Holy Spirit whose redemptive function is the self-effacing witness to Jesus Christ."[38]

Like Bromiley I find these claims of Smith unscriptural since he makes the incarnation and the cross of Christ obsolete. For him, all people have the Spirit of God manifesting the fruit of the Spirit through their lives. God the Spirit is already present in every human being. If this is correct, then why would the early church confront non-Christians to change their religious allegiance to Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior?[39] Smith speaks of Christian mission as enabling the Holy Spirit to complete his work in each person within whom the Spirit is already living. This is again in contradiction to the teaching of the New Testament where "completeness" is found only in the believer (Col 2:10). Paraphrasing Stephen C. Neill, "If everything is the Holy Spirit, then nothing is the Holy Spirit."

5.2 Luke-Acts

In Luke-Acts there is some evidence of the Spirit's activity among non-Christians, and in that sense this involves people from other religions. For Luke these missionary movements of the Spirit are always associated with God's salvation through Jesus Christ. For the Gentile writer, salvation involves repentance and forgiveness of sins with God cleansing the heart through faith in Jesus (Acts 2:38).

One of the clearest examples of Luke's thought on the Spirit and people of other religions is found in Acts 10. The conversion of the Gentile God-fearer Cornelius serves as a platform to promote the notion that the mission of the Jewish Messiah was not just for the Jewish people. The Gentiles were always included in God's purpose of universal salvation (Luke 2:30-32). That is why the Spirit said to a perplexed Peter regarding the emissaries from Cornelius that he was involved in all that was happening (Acts 10:20). This included an angelic visitation to

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[37] Smith, "An Inquiry into the Work of the Holy Spirit," pp. 388-89.

[38] Smith, "An Inquiry into the Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 389.

[39] See Acts 26:18.

Cornelius and a supernatural vision to Peter. In all this it was the Spirit behind the scenes orchestrating the missionary proceedings.

As Peter went into a Gentile house for the first time (10:28), he realized that God had accepted people of all nations who feared him and did what was right (10:35). The Spirit was at work among people of other religions to bring them to God, but for the Jewish Christian leader there were still traditional reservations. It was not until the Holy Spirit fell upon the Gentiles in a manner similar to the Jewish believer's experience at Pentecost that Peter realized the full revelation of the kingdom of God through Jesus (10:44-48). It was while the apostle was speaking about the Messiah that the Spirit descended. "Of him all the prophets bear witness that through his name every one who believes in him has received forgiveness of sins" (10:43, NASB). The Spirit came upon these people of other religions gathered at Cornelius' home because they had believed in Jesus the Christ.

When Peter related this experience to the church leaders in Jerusalem to convince them that God was involved in what had happened (Acts 11:5-17), he described the action of the Spirit on the Gentiles at Caesarea as the same as that on the early Christian disciples at Pentecost. He declared that the gift of the Spirit was given to the non-Jews after they had believed (11:17). Believing by faith in Jesus was the prerequisite of receiving the fullness of the Holy Spirit. In other words, the Gentiles still needed to receive the Holy Spirit through faith in Jesus Christ.

Moreover, in Acts 15 at the Council of Jerusalem, it is Peter alongside Paul and Barnabas who proclaimed that the Gentiles could come to Christ without circumcision or the yoke of the law. Describing the events of Acts 10, Peter was aware that people of other religions believed through the word of God, and thus knowing their hearts, God gave them the Spirit, "cleansing their hearts by faith" (Acts 15:7-11). For Peter, both Jewish and non-Jewish people came to God by believing in the saving grace of the Lord Jesus.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed some thoughts from selected Protestant theological writers about the Holy Spirit and mission in non-Christians, creation and other religions. Van Ruler sees the mission of God beyond the walls of the church with the Spirit of God active in the world, independent of the missionary church. I would agree with van

Ruler up to a point, but find difficulty in fully embracing his next step of reasoning—that non-Christians, who are already in contact with God through the Holy Spirit, receive a closer relationship with him when they hear the gospel. I believe that the Spirit is preparing people for the gospel, but that it is unbiblical to consider any kind of relationship with God without a committal to the lordship of Christ. It would seem that Fries is not opposed to this thinking. He sees the means of regeneration as the word of God penetrating the human heart through the "incandescence of the Spirit."[40]

Both Fries and van Ruler also discuss the work of the Holy Spirit in the whole of creation. Their idea is that the redeeming activity of the Spirit is affecting all aspects of nature and human society. Salvation is not only for human beings, but also for the entire universe. It is, therefore, the task of the Spirit to bring about transformation in human hearts and in the world. It is a short step for Fries to propose that the Spirit of Christ is at work in all religions preparing the non-Christian for the gospel. Smith goes even further when he suggests that the Holy Spirit is working in people of other religions, evidenced by the qualities of their character. He believes that the Spirit is in all humans and is the bonding element between Christianity and other religions. I find Smith's argument on the mission of the Spirit in other religions unscriptural.[41]

I agree with Bromiley that the Spirit of God has left his mark on humanity created in the image of God and that a person needs to receive the new life of the Spirit by believing in Jesus. Smith's view does not include this personal, living relationship with God that comes from faith in Christ alone. Eternal life is the breath of the Spirit into a person's life, after he or she has made a conscious decision to follow the Lord Jesus. This is the teaching of the early church in Acts[42] and the letters of the apostles.[43] As Paul states:

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[40] Peter speaks of this illumination of the Holy Spirit through the word of God in 2 Peter 1:16-21. Also see Titus 3:4-7.

[41] Compare Charles E. van Engen, *Mission on the Way: Issues in Mission Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1996), pp. 254-57, and "Faith, Love, and Hope: A Theology of Mission On-the-Way," in *The Good News of the Kingdom: Mission Theology for the Third Millennium*, eds. Charles E. van Engen, Dean S. Gilliland, and Paul Pierson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1993), pp. 253-263.

[42] See Acts 2:38-39; 3:19-20; 20:21; 22:16.

[43] See Romans 10:17; Galatians 3:1-5; Ephesians 2:4-10; 1 Peter 1:3-5.

> But when the kindness of God our Savior and *his* love for mankind appeared, he saved us, not on the basis of deeds which we have done in righteousness, but according to his mercy, by the washing of regeneration and renewing by the Holy Spirit, whom he poured out upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Savior, that being justified by his grace we might be made heirs according to *the* hope of eternal life (Titus 3:4-7, NASB).

In my opinion, Luke may give some indication that he sees the Holy Spirit working in non-Christians, but it is always in the context of leading them to Jesus. This is always accomplished through repentance of sins and faith in Christ. The narrator of Luke-Acts does not view other religions as having any value in themselves, nor is he concerned with showing the Spirit's relationship with humanity outside faith in the Savior. The Spirit is seen working in people of other persuasions, as they are on the way towards accepting the truth that is in Christ Jesus.

[*AJPS* 9:1 (2006), pp. 35-58]

A PENTECOSTAL PREACHER AS AN EMPOWERED WITNESS

Vincent Leoh

McClendon deals with the anastatic strand of Christian ethics in Part III of his book, *Ethics*.[1] For McClendon, the resurrection of Jesus Christ is the *sine qua non* of the Christian life itself, offering a new way of construing the world and affecting a transformation of human moral life. Water baptism becomes the inception of resurrection morality. McClendon's theoretical chapter shows the moral relevance of the resurrection. The biographical chapter tells of Dorothy Day (1897-1980), founder of the Catholic Worker Movement and a shaper of eschatological peace through participation in life in the Spirit. The application chapter discusses the transformation of human life due to the resurrection, and the centrality of peacemaking for Christians in the light of the eschatological future.

The resurrection of Jesus is indeed the foundation of Christian morality. It lies at the heart of *kerygmatic* proclamation.[2] However, for the purpose of this study, the anastatic strand will be explored in its other two-fold significance, that is, the pneumatic and the eschatological.

The most apt metaphor of the Pentecostal preacher is that of an empowered witness. She or he is a witness to the resurrection of Jesus Christ through the power of the Spirit.

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[1] James McClendon, Jr., *Systematic Theology: Ethics* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1986), pp. 244-328. His anastatic ethics is not a pure resurrection ethics like Paul Lehmann's; rather, to prevent it from falling into Gnosticism, it demands a balance with the body and community ethics (pp. 259, 260).

[2] See Norman Dewey Holcomb, "Preaching and Teaching the Pauline Concept of the Resurrection" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University Divinity School, 1977); Warren F. Taylor, Jr., "The Resurrection: A Study in the History of Preaching" (Ph.D. dissertation, School of Theology at Claremont, 1980).

1. Pneumatic Ethics and the Transformed Preacher

Dying and rising with Christ to new life in baptism and "walking in the Spirit" is the basis of Pentecostal ethics (Col 3:1-17; Eph 4:22-24). The new creation with its ethical ramifications can be characterized as life in and through the Spirit. The Christian no longer lives in the old aeon ruled by the "flesh" but is now transformed by the power of God's Spirit for victorious living and service.

Lovett characterizes Pentecostal ethics as "transformation ethics." The baptism in the Holy Spirit will affect one's life-style. Whether one holds to the Wesleyan Holiness or to the Keswick Holiness view of sanctification, it is generally agreed that the sanctification which the Holy Spirit brings has an ethical dimension. Ethical living involves a consistent walk in the Spirit that produces the fruit of the Spirit or the very character of Christ in the lives of the believers.[3] The Spirit, therefore, is the source of all moral excellencies; and the Spirit-filled life is a life of holiness.

The Spirit is experienced in a two-fold sense. He is the Old Testament *ruach-adonai*—a "power" or divine, energizing, imminent force which transforms persons and empowers them for service. He is also the New Testament *paraclete*—a "person" with whom the believer can enjoy constant and intimate fellowship.

Barnette sees the "spirit-method" of Christianity superior to the "code-method" of Judaism; for a life led by the Spirit has an inwardness, a vitality, a personal quality, a moral responsibility which sets it apart from the realms of magic, legalism, and antinomianism.[4] As a transformed person controlled by the Holy Spirit, the Pentecostal preacher therefore stands apart from his or her counterparts in secular communication. Christian preachers have access to resources that are not available to other communicators; they also live and are judged by a different ethical standard.

The implications of being a transformed Pentecostal preacher are vast indeed. However, any attempt to explicate the ethical dimensions of

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[3] Roger Stronstad, "Unity and Diversity: New Testament Perspectives on the Holy Spirit," *Paraclete* 23 (Summer 1989), pp. 15-28 (28). According to Stronstad the three primary roles of the Holy Spirit are in the areas of salvation, sanctification, and service. Luke's pneumatology emphasizes service; John touches on service and salvation; while Paul deals with all the three roles.

[4] Henlee Barnette, "The Significance of the Holy Spirit for Christian Morality," *Review and Expositor* 52 (Jan. 1955), pp. 20-25.

the activity of the Spirit in the life of the preacher will face many difficulties because, as Burgess points out,

> Pentecostals and Charismatics, whom one might expect to have a keen interest in the doctrine of the Spirit, have been less anxious to define the divine power of the Spirit than to possess it. With their theology of experience, they have shown more concern for the gifts than for the Giver.[5]

2. The Work of the Holy Spirit in Preaching

Hollenweger, perhaps more than any other Pentecostal historian, has clearly recognized the importance of preaching. He asserts that "it is here, in a sphere of liturgy and preaching, that the Pentecostal movement seems to me to have made its most important contribution, and not in the sphere of pneumatology, as is constantly and quite wrongly supposed."[6]

The presence of the Spirit is earnestly sought after in a Pentecostal service; in fact, "it is safe to say that the leadership of the Holy Spirit is assumed as an a priori fact in the act of worship of the Assemblies of God Church."[7] The same may still be said of Pentecostal preaching today as preachers seek to be spiritually sensitive to the leading of the Spirit. Pentecostal preaching and spirituality focus on the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost as a continuing event to be experienced afresh in each preaching encounter.[8]

Pentecostals hold that the only kind of preaching that matters is the Pauline model of preaching—in the power and demonstration of the Spirit (1 Cor 2:1, 4) and "by the power of signs and miracles, through the power of the Spirit" (Rom 15:19). The empowerment of the Spirit, not human eloquence, wisdom, or persuasion, is the inescapable sign of an

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[5] Stanley M. Burgess, *The Spirit and the Church: Antiquity* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984), p. 3.

[6] Walter Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), p. 466.

[7] Frank C. Masserano, "A Study of Worship Forms in the Assemblies of God Denomination" (Th.M. thesis, Princeton Seminary, 1966), p. 74, quoted in William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), p. 349.

[8] J. Rodman Williams, *The Pentecostal Reality* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1972), p. 60.

authentic preaching ministry. The secret of effective preaching is still "not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, says the Lord Almighty" (Zech 4:6). It is the dynamic work of the Holy Spirit that makes Christian proclamation distinctive, glorious, and noble. But one may well ask, how does the Spirit work, speak, or direct the preacher to say and do certain things? What is the manifest presence of God? What are the ethical implications and out-workings of the rhetoric of the Spirit?[9]

Stapleton suggests four ingredients that indicate a true rhetoric of the Spirit: the dynamics of the gospel, its passionate expression by the preacher, artistry of form, and caring for others.[10] He concludes that preaching in demonstration of the Spirit and power occurs when these ingredients come together in the same sermon. However, his preaching effectiveness tests are too general to be of much help here.

In his book *The Holy Spirit and Christian Preaching*, Jones deals with the role of the Holy Spirit in Christian proclamation.[11] He uses the metaphors of light, celestial fire, and "winging home" to denote the activities of the Holy Spirit in preaching. These represent the illumination (insight) of the Spirit, the earnestness (intensity) of the Spirit, and the mediation of the Spirit, respectively. Jones holds that the secret to the power of the Spirit comes with abandonment—a complete "letting-go." It is experienced when the preacher lives a consistent life of humility, obedience, and faithfulness to God.

Smeeton gives us an insight into understanding the work of the Holy Spirit in an individual when he warns of "the twin evils of scholasticism and mysticism that endanger pneumatology."[12] In the first case, the Holy Spirit had been reduced to an abstract, impersonal yet divine force; in the

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[9] Such questions, of course, assume that the charisms of the Spirit are available for the church today. This is in contrast to some commonly-held evangelical theology that rule out the value, even the possibility of manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit in the modern church. See William W. Menzies, "The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology," in *Perspectives on Evangelical Theology*, eds. Kenneth Kantzer and Stanley N. Gundry (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), pp. 67-79 (76).

[10] John Mason Stapleton, *Preaching in Demonstration of the Spirit and Power* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), pp. 14, 21.

[11] J. Ithel Jones, *The Holy Spirit and Christian Preaching* (London: Epworth, 1967), p. 8.

[12] Donald Dean Smeeton, "William Tyndale: A Theologian of Renewal," in *Faces of Renewal: Studies in Honor of Stanley M. Horton*, ed. Paul Elbert (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1989), pp. 163-71 (164).

other instance the Holy Spirit is seen as the direct link between God and humanity and could be experienced supernaturally.

The activity of the Holy Spirit must be seen in relation to Christ. Pentecostal scholars have constantly pointed out that the Spirit always works in cooperation with the believer to reveal the will of God and to magnify Jesus Christ. Ministry in the Spirit is thus a Christocentric ministry. This counters the accusation that Pentecostal preaching is pneumacentric. A Spirit-anointed ministry is also an arena where the Spirit manifests himself as a Person and not merely as a power.

Preparation for preaching involves much more than the technical preparation for a specific sermon.[13] It is ontological, that is, it involves the whole being of the preacher.

Gause has charged that Pentecostals, with their emotion and experience-centered theology, "tend to place their religious commitments and experiences in an unanalyzed vacuum unaffected by other intellectual developments."[14] The Pentecostal movement has, since its inception, produced an anti-intellectualism that revolts against education and anything that threatens to hinder the "flow of the Spirit." This overt disdain toward study and education is due to the Pietist movement which stressed the direct teaching work of the Spirit intuitively on the soul.[15]

The scholarly-pragmatic dualism is also manifested in the Pentecostal's notion that "the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life" (2 Cor 3:6). Pentecostals therefore shun a scholarly approach that is content with expounding biblical truth in an academic manner. The extremes here seem to be that while some preachers, consciously or unconsciously, neglect the work of the Holy Spirit in the preparation process, others stressing the divine activity throw the whole burden on the Spirit and neglect the human dimension.

The de-emphasis of the rational is expressed in the opening lines of Foster's popular book, *Celebration of Discipline*: "Superficiality is the curse of the age. The doctrine of satisfaction is a primary spiritual problem. The desperate need is not for a greater number of intelligent

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[13] It is not the purpose of this study to enter into a detailed consideration of the various principles of homiletics in their relation to the preaching of Pentecostals. The focus here is on ethical issues related to preparation and delivery.

[14] R. Hollis Gause, "Issues in Pentecostalism," in *Perspectives on the New Pentecostalism*, ed. Russell Spittler (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976), pp. 106-116 (114).

[15] Roy Zuck, *Spiritual Power in Your Teaching* (Chicago: Moody, 1972), p. 59.

people or gifted people, but for deep people."[16] John Wimber seems to pit intellectualism against spirituality when he says, "Ministry that stays in the realms of intellectual orthodoxy or humanistic compassion can never know the dynamism of the Holy Spirit."[17]

When it comes to sermon preparation, the anti-intellectual predisposition easily filters through as well. Pentecostals by and large prize a sense of dynamic freedom and sensitive flexibility in their worship and preaching. This has led many Pentecostal preachers to adopt the attitude that little training or preparation is necessary; all that is necessary is to "let the Spirit have his way." In its extreme, a prepared sermon is "un-Pentecostal," and the basic principles of homiletics are rejected as unspiritual. A Spirit-anointed preacher, according to this mentality, is one who preaches without any previous thought or preparation, and without notes, partly because it is believed that the Spirit inspires the preacher directly, and tells him or her what to say.[18]

More than a century ago, even before the birth of the Pentecostal movement, Broadus had pointed out that "the general feeling appears to have been that dependence on the promised blessing of the paraclete forbade elaborate preparation of discourses."[19] The problem of the role of the Spirit and the place of human intellect in preaching, though more obvious and intensified within Pentecostalism, is therefore more than a Pentecostal dilemma. It may be felt in the strong and passionate words of Ralph Riggs who insists on complete dependence upon God:

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[16] Richard Foster, *Celebration of Discipline: The Path to Spiritual Growth*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), p. 1.

[17] John Wimber, *Theological Foundation: The Kingdom of God* (Placentia, CA: Vineyard Ministries, 1984), p. 1, quoted in Byron Klaus, "A Theology of Ministry: Pentecostal Perspectives," *Paraclete* 23 (Summer 1989), pp. 1-10 (9).

[18] See Guy Duffield, *Pentecostal Preaching* (New York: Vintage, 1956), p. 8; Malcolm J. C. Calley, *God's People: West Indian Pentecostal Sects in England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 82-84. Margaret Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), pp. 197, 198 asserts that Assemblies of God preachers have abandoned the older form of anointed preaching and the simple, unlearned pastors of yesteryear have been replaced with educated men who can lead better educated congregations.

[19] John A. Broadus, *Lectures on the History of Preaching* (New York: Amstrong, 1876), p. 47, quoted in Raymond W. McLaughlin, "The Place of the Holy Spirit in Preaching" (Th.D. dissertation, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1950), p. 115.

> Preaching with wisdom of words, with enticing words of man's wisdom, or with excellency of speech which is purely natural is as much an intrusion of the profane into the holy as an admission of a Canaanite into the house of the Lord of Hosts (Zech 14:21).[20]

What Peter Wagner writes of Latin American ministers is generally true of others as well. He says, "Pentecostal pastors are not bookish people who spend hours in the study preparing well-structured sermons." They prefer to be with the people rather than to spend time sermonizing. Wagner goes on to cite John Vaughan's interview with one of Latin America's most effective preachers, Javier Vasquez of Chile's Jotabeche Methodist Pentecostal Church. Vasquez said,

> I don't have time to consult books; I just stand by the Scripture (Mark 13:11)…. I go to the service completely empty; but confident that the Lord will give me the message for the service. So the Lord speaks through me in each service.[21]

At the World Conferences in Paris and London, Donald Gee censured the Pentecostal pastors who expect that a sermon should be solely inspired by the Holy Spirit. He also gave a friendly warning to the Protestant and Anglican theologians who had experienced the baptism of the Spirit:

> Many of you are trained theologians with a good academic background. Do not, now you have tasted spiritual gifts, become fanatical in your repudiation of consecrated scholarship. Let the Spirit of truth set it all on fire and use it for the glory of God. Some of us in our early folly set a premium upon ignorance.[22]

Duffield has also written at great length to balance such an attitude. He distinguishes two special kinds of anointing for Pentecostal preaching. There is the anointing that comes as a result of human preparation, and there is also that blessed prophetic anointing that comes spontaneously as God gives the preacher an urgent, unpremeditated

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[20] Ralph M. Riggs, *The Spirit Himself* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1949), pp. 178, 179.

[21] C. Peter Wagner, *Spiritual Power and Church Growth* (Altamonte Springs, FL: Strang, 1986), pp. 111, 112; John N. Vaughan, *The World's Twenty Largest Churches* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1984), p. 218.

[22] Quoted in Hollenweger, *Pentecostals*, pp. 210-212.

message.[23] True Pentecostal preaching combines both. The Holy Spirit operates both in the study and in the pulpit.

The baptism of the Holy Spirit is not a substitute for careful planning and thoughtful preparation; neither is it a labor-saving device. Furthermore, neither preparation nor education competes with spirituality and "unpreparation" is *not* a sign of being more spiritual.[24] In his attempt to unveil the false or pseudo-spirituality of many preachers, Stringfellow points out, "I suspect spirituality is most often uttered as a ministerial deception, albeit often benignly intended. It then is a trick of clergy enabling something to be said when in truth there is nothing to say."[25]

"What can we say, and why should we say it," Ellul asks, "if everything depends on this unpredictable act of the Spirit of God who blows where he wills and lays hold of whom he wills."[26] But if preaching is "truth through personality," as Phillips Brooks maintained, then God never sets aside a believer's personality. In Pentecostal preaching the human personality is sanctified, enhanced, anointed and taken to a level of effectiveness beyond human finiteness. Therefore, it is imperative for Pentecostal preachers to recognize their dual responsibilities of using their God-given faculties and at the same time yielding to the dynamic unction and power of the Spirit, without which all human efforts would be fruitless.[27]

What LeRoy Bartel has written about the Spirit-filled teacher applies to the Spirit-anointed preacher. Bartel sees preparation not merely as a human activity but one where the presence and power of the Holy Spirit are requested at every step of the process. He writes:

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[23] Duffield, *Pentecostal Preaching*, p. 36. Roy Zuck, "The Role of the Holy Spirit in Christian Teaching," in *The Christian Educator's Handbook on Teaching*, eds. Kenneth O. Gangel, and Howard G. Hendricks (Wheaton, IL: Victor, 1988), p. 35 discounts the latter which he calls "`zapping' with spiritual insight in a mysterious work that is unexplainable or unpredictable." He argues that it places the teaching-learning process in a subjective, mystical realm, neglects the place of the Scriptures, and overlooks other elements involved in the normal learning process. See also Zuck, *Spiritual Power*.

[24] Zuck, "The Role of the Holy Spirit," pp. 33, 34.

[25] William Stringfellow, *The Politics of Spirituality* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), p. 16, quoted in John Schramm, "Intentional Community and Spiritual Development," *Word and World* 8 (Winter 1988), p. 48.

[26] Jacques Ellul, *The Politics of God and the Politics of Man*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 194.

[27] Duffield, *Pentecostal Preaching*, p. 100.

> The Holy Spirit can enhance the teacher's presentation. Plans should be made, methodology mastered, and public speaking skills improved, keeping in mind, however, that the Holy Spirit is able to lift the teacher's efforts to new levels of effectiveness. He can provide the clarity of thought, the stability of emotions, and the personal poise so necessary to persuasive presentation.[28]

Harold Horton criticized the inadequately prepared sermons commonly found in the Pentecostal movement: "You must either have notes in your memory or on paper. If you have neither you have no message and are wasting the time of the flock."[29]

Wayne Oates uses the metaphor of a *resonator*, in contrast to that of an operator, to denote the Christian leader's relation and primary responsibility to the Holy Spirit.[30] The function of a resonator is to receive with true fidelity the impulses of the original tone and intensifies it that all may hear. Preparation thus makes the preacher a better instrument of God's power. Such preparation requires what Oates calls "disciplined naiveté"—an unaffected simplicity and openness that sets aside as much of one's presuppositions as possible in order to allow room for the Holy Spirit to work in even the most informed mind and memory.

A studious attitude toward the word and sensitivity to the Holy Spirit in sermon preparation opens to the preacher the whole range of possibilities of imaginative approaches to preaching. The Holy Spirit may move upon the heart and mind of the preacher to deal in certain topics of needs. Divine wisdom may be brought to bear on crucial individual and societal problems. Pentecostal ethical preaching then must be viewed as a divine-human process and cooperative venture. There must be no dichotomy between intensive preparation and direct illumination. In short, "Pentecostal preaching is the best of one's study

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[28] LeRoy R. Bartel, "The Holy Spirit and the Teacher: False Views of the Holy Spirit's Role," in *The Holy Spirit in Christian Education*, ed. Sylvia Lee (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1988), p. 122.

[29] Harold Horton, *Preaching and Homiletics: Presenting the Scriptural Ideal for All Preachers and Offering Instruction in Sermon-making for All Those Who Are Seeking it*, 2nd ed. (London: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1949), p. 114, quoted in Hollenweger, *Pentecostals*, p. 472.

[30] Wayne E. Oates, *The Holy Spirit in Five Worlds* (New York: Association Press, 1968), p. 101.

and meditation, warmed by the Spirit of God, and made to glow in the heart by the anointing of the same Holy Spirit."[31]

The product of thoughtful preparation may be an outline or sermon structure. While those of the new generation of Pentecostal preachers constituting the "learned ministry" emphasize the written manuscript, a few other Pentecostal preachers may flaunt their "sanctified illiteracy" and view the sketchiest outline as evidence of distrust in the Spirit's guidance.[32]

Both form and content are vital for preaching effectiveness. This is true whether the audience is the highly emotional or the intellectually respectable and sophisticated type.[33] Many early Pentecostal sermons seem to fall into what Davis calls "forms of disorder."[34] Smith's paradoxical "unstructured structure" is perhaps a more accurate description of Pentecostal sermons.[35] By that he meant a structure that the talented speaker did not consciously prepare but appears at the appropriate time.

A theological critique of Pentecostal preaching will take both the rational and the inspirational work of the Holy Spirit seriously. The process of sermon preparation should be initiated by prayer, enlightened by study, strengthened by homiletical techniques, and guided by the Holy Spirit. For the Pentecostal, even after all human preparation has been thoroughly done, the dependence for real success is on the Spirit of God.

3. Sermon Delivery and Emotivist Ethics

Bloch-Hoell sees the Pentecostal movement as a "biblicistic-ecstatic revival movement" which interprets the spontaneous outbursts of religious emotion as manifestations of the Spirit's direct activity.[36]

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[31] Ray H. Hughes, "Preaching, A Pentecostal Perspective," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), pp. 722-24 (722).

[32] See Richard Neuhaus, *Freedom for Ministry* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1956), p. 183.

[33] Kelly M. Smith, *Social Crisis Preaching* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1984), p. 88.

[34] H. Grady Davis, *Design for Preaching* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1958), pp. 2, 3.

[35] Smith, *Social Crisis Preaching*, p. 91.

[36] Nils Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character* (New York: Humanities Press, 1964), p. 2. The ecstatic

Pentecostal preachers have usually been caricatured as pulpit-pounders, strutting all over the platform, shouting at the top of their voices, caught up in a frenzied wave of emotional outburst. Others have characterized Pentecostal sermons and viewpoints as "existential, shallow, or emotional."[37]

Pentecostals have always eschewed stiff, formal, "emotionless religion," "emotionless audience," and "emotionless sermons."[38] Both in its service and its sermons, there has been a heavy emphasis on emotional involvement. In this sense, Pentecostal preaching may sometimes be defined as the powerful and passionate proclamation of God's good news. When compared to the mainstream of Protestant preaching, it is usually more demonstrative.[39]

Stapleton defines passionate expression as referring to the gospel as manifested in the quality of the preacher's sound and movement—in the "temple of the Holy Spirit."[40] A distinct characteristic of Pentecostal preaching is its "forcefulness." The history of preaching provides ample examples where affections (Jonathan Edwards), enthusiasm (Henry Ward Beecher), energy (Broadus), passion, fervency, earnestness, conviction, or ways of expression by whatever names they are called, are urged upon preachers.

The ethical question arises when emotion is stimulated and manipulated to serve its own purpose. Good biblical preaching never kills the Spirit, but allows him to work in and through emotions. In the pejorative sense, emotionalism is of the flesh. There is a distinct difference between the use of emotion in preaching, which is almost always encouraged, and merely being emotional, which is always to be avoided. The former is genuine, passionate, expression of intense feeling in response to significant truth, whereas emotionalism is simulated

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nature of Pentecostalism has led to severe criticisms, one of which is the failure of Pentecostals to "let the emotional stimulus develop into a moral act" (Harvey Clow, "Ritual, Belief, and the Social Context: An Analysis of a Southern Pentecostal Sect" [Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1976], p. 220).

[37] See William G. MacDonald, "Pentecostal Theology: A Classical Viewpoint," in *Perspectives*, p. 62.

[38] Bloch-Hoell, *Pentecostal Movement*, p. 173.

[39] See Bob E. Lyons, "The Word in Worship," in *Pentecostal Worship*, ed. Cecil B. Knight (Cleveland, TN: Pathway, 1974), pp. 77-99 (95).

[40] Stapleton, *Preaching*, pp. 57, 54.

feeling momentarily indulged as an end in itself, or artificial, untrue sentimentalism calling attention to itself and serving its own ends.[41]

In his foreword to Duffield's book, *Pentecostal Preaching*, C. M. Ward expressed his concern for the confusion between the psychic and the spiritual. He writes of Pentecostal preaching, "So much is 'soulishness' today. So much is geared to cater to the feelings. A movement built on this basis cannot long survive a high rate of casualties and prevalent errors."[42]

Some non-Pentecostal preachers have completely disregarded, or minimize at best, the place of emotion in preaching. Barth held that preaching properly originated in divine revelation and had "nothing to do with the preacher's convictions, or his earnestness, or his zeal."[43] Elizabeth Achtemeier urges her homiletics students to exercise emotional restraint.[44] All homileticians will agree that obtrusive shouting, screaming, and cheap emotionalism are out of place in pulpit expression. This does not mean that the gospel is without its emotional or ecstatic concomitants.[45]

Ethical judgment needs to be made concerning what is authentic passion and what is merely pulpit sensationalism. Self-conscious pulpit histrionics is not to be identified with the fire and power of the Holy Spirit. Pentecostals would be quick to agree with Spurgeon when he declared, "even fanaticism is to be preferred to indifference. I had sooner risk the dangers of a tornado of religious excitement than see the air grow

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[41] See MacDonald, "Pentecostal Theology," pp. 62, 64, 65; Jesse K. Moon, *Principles for Preachers*, vol. 2 (Waxahachie, TX: Published by the author, 1976), p. 13; Neuhaus, *Freedom for Ministry*, p. 155; Ralph Lewis, *Persuasive Preaching Today* (Wilmore, KY: Asbury Theological Seminary, 1977), p. 114.

[42] C. M. Ward, "Foreword" for Duffield, *Pentecostal Preaching*, p. 7.

[43] Karl Barth, *The Preaching of the Gospel*, trans. B. E. Hooke (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), p. 16; *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 4 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1957), p. 4, quoted in Stapleton, *Preaching*, pp. 16, 22, 23. Barth was referring to emotional and rhetorical enthusiasm, not "zeal" for the "honor of God."

[44] Elizabeth Achtemeier, *Creative Preaching: Finding the Words* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1980), pp. 34-35.

[45] "Ecstasy," according to Tillich, "has a strong emotional side. But it would be a mistake to reduce ecstasy to emotion. In an ecstatic experience, emotion is driven beyond itself." Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 114.

stagnant with a dead formality."[46] At the same time, Spurgeon was quick to add,

> Let it be carefully remembered that our flame must be kindled from on high. Nothing is more to be despised than a mere painted fire, the simulation of earnestness…. Let the fire be kindled by the Holy Ghost, not by animal passion.[47]

A sense of urgency makes for effective, powerful preaching, but the result of a self-stimulated passion is "like a wet blanket on a fire—a lot of smoke but not much light or warmth."[48] The most appropriate model for Pentecostal preaching, then, is what Michael Novak calls "models of passionate intelligence and intelligent passion."[49]

What constitutes authentic passion? Stapleton identifies the essential ingredient as the preacher's "inner dance" or the activation of energy arising from the discovery by the preacher of the gospel, which a congregation does not see, but which it may certainly sense.[50] The experience-certified theology of Pentecostals will certainly aid this process of preaching felt truths.

Authentic passion is very much linked to the integrity of the preacher. In writing about the "Spirit as Power," Calvin Miller believes that integrity, not earnestness, provides the matrix of power; for "God never champions the lazy mind because the heart is fervent."[51]

A crucial consideration in the aspect of sermon delivery and Pentecostal emotivist ethics is the role of the Holy Spirit within normative

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[46] Charles Spurgeon, *An All-Round Ministry: Addresses to Ministers and Students* (London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1900), p. 173, quoted in James E. Means, *Leadership in Christian Ministry* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989). See especially Means' chapter on "The Ethical Use of Emotion" (pp. 182-84), where the author affirmed the use of strong emotion in preaching but insisted that emotion must be honest; it must not substitute for rationality; it must not manipulate; and it must not become emotionalism.

[47] Spurgeon, *An All-Round Ministry*, pp. 176-77, quoted in Jones, *The Holy Spirit*, p. 47.

[48] Lyons, "The Word in Worship," p. 87.

[49] Michael Novak, *Ascent of the Mountain. Flight of the Dove* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 87.

[50] Stapleton, *Preaching*, pp. 46-48.

[51] Calvin Miller, *Spirit, Word, and Story: A Philosophy of Preaching* (Dallas: Word, 1989), pp. 61, 62.

Pentecostal experience. Some cherish the creative, innovative Spirit manifesting himself in spontaneity, power, and sudden inspiration, causing a higher function than the preacher's mind to take over while he or she is preaching. Others emphasize the Spirit's manifestation in the "fruits" of right belief, moral conduct and ethical action. Gary Burge insists that both are needed. In his enlightening study on New Testament pneumatology, Burge writes,

> If Luke witnesses to the spontaneity and enthusiasm of the early church, Paul describes the need for order and control in the Spirit…. [The] Johannine community's experience of the Spirit offers us an important and necessary balance. Here there was spirituality and sober reflection. There was genuine spiritual fervor.[52]

Ultimately, the claim of anointed preaching and emotivist ethics is that the anointing of the Spirit is not upon human emotions, human experience, or the preacher's voice and gestures; the anointing rather is upon the word of God, quickened in the hearts of both preacher and hearers.

4. The Anointing of the Spirit

There is nothing more prized and held so dearly by a Pentecostal preacher than what is commonly known as the anointing of the Spirit. Thoughtful preparation and passionate delivery according to the canons of homiletics do not, for the Pentecostals, constitute preaching in the real sense. This is because Pentecostal preaching takes place only in terms of the dynamic of the Holy Spirit.[53] Some believe that the Pentecostal experience and the gifts of the Spirit give talent to those who lacked it, and even make competent preachers out of average speakers.[54]

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[52] Gary M. Burge, *The Anointed Community: The Holy Spirit in the Johannine Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), pp. xi, xii.

[53] Ray Hughes, "Preaching: A Pentecostal Perspective," p. 722.

[54] Harold Horton, *The Gifts of the Spirit*, 6th ed. (London: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1960), p. 226. Jose Comblin, *The Holy Spirit and Liberation*, trans. Paul Burns (New York: Orbis, 1989), p. 68 wrote, "In Pauline theology… the power of the Spirit is prominently shown in speech…. In John's theology too, the Spirit produces speech…. The words of the poor speaking in the Spirit are effective."

Preaching should always be directed and empowered by the Holy Spirit—that is the indisputable fact. But what is meant by the anointing of the Spirit has been an arena of disagreement. Moon sizes up the situation when he writes, "Evangelical preachers generally would acknowledge the importance of the anointing of the Holy Spirit for preaching, but deny any ability to define or understand the anointing."[55] As a black preacher said, "I can't tell you what unction is, but I can tell you when it ain't." Sangster discussed this "plus of the Spirit" as a mystic element eluding all explanation but in which the moving power of the sermon unquestionably rests.[56]

In his lectures presented at LIFE Bible College in Los Angeles, Donald Gee defined the anointing as the touch of God upon a preacher.[57] Such a divine touch upon Pentecostal speaking is manifested in supernaturally imparted wisdom and knowledge through revelation. Hughes views the anointing as the "divine element of preaching." It is,

> [T]hat which pricks the human heart and conscience, that which burns the Word first into the minister's heart and then into the consciousness of the listener, and without which the mere human words become powerless and ineffective.[58]

Jesse Moon has a most elaborate definition of the anointing:

> The anointing is the special presence of the Holy Spirit in the life and ministry of a Spirit-filled Christian whereby there is produced: an inspiring awareness, in him, of the divine presence; and an enhancement of his entire faculties (heightened illumination, courage, wisdom, discernment, faith, guidance, memory, vocabulary, emotions, intellect, and physical performance) beyond natural abilities; a

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[55] Moon, *Principles for Preachers*, p. 65.

[56] William E. Sangster, *The Approach to Preaching* (London: Epworth, 1951), p. 81.

[57] Donald Gee, *Spiritual Gifts in the Works of the Ministry Today* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1963); see especially chapter 2 on "Spiritual Gifts for Preaching and Teaching." Gee gave as an extraordinary example of anointed speech the ministry of Smith Wigglesworth, an illiterate preacher who uttered profound truths that went far beyond his natural capacity to comprehend or express. However, Gee was also quick to recognize that the ordinary level of preaching contains varying degrees of truth for which no claim of any supernatural element can be made.

[58] Hughes, "Preaching, A Pentecostal Perspective," p. 722.

> quickening of the Word of God to accomplish its regenerating, healing, edifying, and sanctifying objectives; and an investing of those ministered to with a God-consciousness, spiritual enlivening, and an interest in, acceptance of, and response to the life and ministry of the anointed.[59]

Moon recognizes three dimensions of the Spirit's work in the Christian life and ministry: the general, the anointing, and the supernatural (charismata) works of the Spirit. He sees the "preaching anointing" as on an echelon between the general work of the Spirit (which equates with the anointing of every believer-priest), and the supernatural work of the Spirit. This anointing is not oratorical gift, personal magnetism, eloquence, fluency, utterance, intense emotions, gusto, loudness, bombast, animation, or gymnastics. But the anointing can and will produce these when appropriate. The anointing signifies holiness or separation for God's purpose, and it symbolizes the endowment of the Spirit for ministry. It serves to intensify and enhance the natural abilities of the preacher in the proportion needed for effective delivery and results. It can even overcome certain personal deficiencies, timidity, stuttering, and lack of organizational ability on the part of the preacher. Moon goes on to list the seven requisites to the anointing: divine initiative, divine call to the ministry, faith, prayer, assimilation of God's word, righteous life, and involvement in ministry.[60]

According to James Forbes, the anointing of the Holy Spirit is that process by which one comes to a fundamental awareness of God's appointment, empowerment, and guidance for the vocation to which we are called as the body of Christ.[61] The basic intent of the anointing is the restoration of power and might; it symbolizes and concretizes divine authorization and gives evidence of the impartation of wisdom and knowledge, and the communication of the grace and power of God.

Forbes holds to this strong conviction: The anointing makes the difference! It makes a difference in one's understanding of the context, content, and concept of preaching. In sermon preparation, Forbes suggests "checking in" with the Spirit even before we get started; in sermon development, he believes that the Spirit is with us during

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[59] Moon, *Principles for Preachers*, p. 74.

[60] Moon, *Principles for Preachers*, pp. 64-67, 74-78, 93-98.

[61] James A. Forbes, Jr., *The Holy Spirit and Preaching* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1989), pp. 28, 37.

conception, gestation, and during the moment of delivery.[62] Forbes insists that both traditional preparation for the preaching ministry, and the anointing constitute effective preaching. Combining intellectual preparation and pneumatological affirmations in the sermon development process is what makes Forbes a "Tillichian Pentecostal."

However one may choose to define the anointing, essentially it is a metaphor used to describe the presence of the Spirit. The results of the anointing are as diverse as the activities of the Holy Spirit in this world—results that defy codification. Fundamentally, anointed preaching carries the hearer beyond the limited benefits of the preacher's personality and rhetorical abilities.[63] The anointing should not be limited to lofty moments or conversely, desperate moments of homiletical trouble in the pulpit. It should be present in the individual's study and daily devotions. The anointing of the Spirit gives the sermon a quality of spiritual life which otherwise would be beyond the preacher's own finiteness and ability to produce. The purpose, then, is not merely that the preacher could revel in the sheer ecstasy of God's power, but that he or she would be empowered to bear witness to the word of God.

How does the anointing operate? Some very fearful and disastrous mistakes have been made in Pentecostal traditions. Duffield warns Pentecostal preachers that it is fundamentally wrong to say, when a person is exercising any gift or operation of the Spirit or preaching under the anointing, that it is the Holy Ghost speaking.[64] Pushed to its logical conclusion, such thinking would mean that a Spirit-anointed sermon is infallible and there would be no room whatsoever for disagreement. Undeniably, in some cases it appears that God gives even the materials or contents of the sermon to speak, truths which the preacher has never thought of before. At other times the Spirit may cause the speaker to exercise the prophetic gifts. But in most instances, the Spirit only empowers, grants enlightenment of divine truths, or quickens the understanding as one speaks (or as the congregation listens). Such inspiration is accomplished through the personality of the person being anointed. This great "inner quickening" is then expressed in varied

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[62] Forbes, *The Holy Spirit and Preaching*, pp. 15, 16, 42, 84, 85.

[63] James E. Massey, *The Sermon in Perspective: A Study of Communication and Charisma* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976), p. 105 defines an anointed preacher as "an agent of mediated meaning, on the one hand, and mediated presence, on the other."

[64] Duffield, *Pentecostal Preaching*, p. 61.

manners—sometimes with great forcefulness, and at other time in the softest whisper.[65]

It is in this area of expression that the greatest ethical problem arises. The ministry has sometimes been discredited because of spurious claims to the anointing. Many Pentecostal preachers at the beginning of the sermon would remind the congregation from time to time that a particular sermon was "given by" the Spirit of God. While not discrediting such claims, it is also not uncommon for the Pentecostal preacher to use the anointing for human gains in this manner. As an active instrumentality of the Holy Spirit, it is the preacher's responsibility to look "first to himself as to whether he is using the Holy Spirit to produce a magic trick of his own or whether he has renounced the hidden things of ungodliness wherein he would seek to 'use' the Holy Spirit."[66]

Charles Parham, one of the early Pentecostal leaders, held to the view of a pre-Pentecost anointing. In his sermon on "The Difference between the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and the Anointing—Spooks," he maintained that the anointing grants illumination and understanding of the word of God, whereas the baptism of the Holy Spirit is given as a power to witness. The result of the anointing is, contrary to some popular manifestations today, decency, order, and propriety. Parham concluded, "…all our public services should be for the edification of the church, not to get worked up into an animalism creating magnetic currents tending to lust and free love rather than purity."[67]

Genuine Pentecostal preaching and morality, then, are both cognitive and emotive. It is a matter of moral feelings and intuitions as well as rational standards; it is a matter of personal experience as well as reasonable reflection. All these activities are carried out under the influence of the Spirit, the Pentecostals would emphasize.

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[65] Duffield, *Pentecostal Preaching*, p. 35 warns of the common practice of some preachers: "Sometimes when the Spirit's quickening has not been there, some have made sure that the volume and the movements were, thinking to deceive people into believing that they were under the anointing."

[66] Oates, *The Holy Spirit*, p. 101.

[67] Donald W. Dayton, ed., *The Sermons of Charles F. Parham* (1911; rpt. New York: Garland, 1985), p. 73.

5. Basis for Authority

The source of the preacher's authority involves some profound claims. The problem of authority is fundamental to Pentecostalism. More than any of his or her counterparts in other denominations, the Pentecostal preacher is prone to say, "the Lord spoke to me," or "the Spirit said," thus claiming divine authorization or legitimation for one's message and leadership. Personal experience in the Spirit is almost as powerful and as valid a source of Pentecostal authority as the Scripture.

Pentecostals generally follow the evangelical tradition in claiming primacy of the Bible as the source of authority and the proclamation of it as the primary task. While there may be some disagreement concerning experiences in the Spirit, there is harmony regarding the central message of Christian proclamation—that is the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The gospel, however, is not transmitted to contemporary preachers mechanically. Rather, the Spirit causes the word to come alive and anew in the heart of believers.

Acts 15:28 is a favorite Bible verse for the Pentecostals—"It seemed good to the Holy Spirit, and to us." But how does the Spirit of God speak? The Pentecostal tradition of openness to the gifts of the Spirit like prophecy, tongues, interpretation, discernment of spirit, word of wisdom, and word of knowledge, admits the possibility, and even likelihood, that God does speak to individuals who are spiritually sensitive. The preacher who claims "the Lord told me" cannot therefore be dismissed out-of-hand; yet, at the same time, the congregation need not accept blindly such a message, for the injunction of the Scripture is to try the spirits (1 John 4:1) and to judge the prophecy (1 Cor 14:29). As Richard Champion points out, not everyone who claims to speak for God has heard from God. Some are misled; others are dishonest. Claiming to speak for God and having truly heard from Him are not necessarily one and the same thing (cf. Matt 7:22, 23; Gal 1:8).[68]

Others have sounded similar words of warnings from biblical studies. Holman, for example, is of the opinion that Matthew in his gospel was addressing a charismatic community and the passage in Matthew 7:15-23 exposes false *charisma* and charismatic pretenders (those involved in ministries of prophesying, exorcising demons, and

[68] Richard Champion, "And to Us," *Pentecostal Evangel*, August 20, 1989, pp. 3, 23. Champion's safeguard is the word of God and a multitude of counselors.

working miracles).[69] The prominence of the terms *skandalon* and *skandalidzo* in the gospel suggest religious or moral failure. Holman concludes that Matthew is mainly concerned about those who justify their standing in the godly community on the basis of their charismatic credentials at the expense of adhering to the ethics of Jesus and the kingdom of God.

The preacher's authority, charismatic credentials aside, is based on the truth of the Christian message. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Truth, who, Jesus promised, will guide the believer into all truth (John 16:13). Neuhaus is right when he says,

> Dogmatism and authoritarianism will always have their appeal…. The antidote, however, is not a timorous tentativeness but preaching that is marked by genuine authority. Genuine authority comes from the truth that we have made our own.[70]

But this, again, only leads to an experientially-based concept of authority. Sociological concepts of religious experience may be helpful in clarifying what the Pentecostals mean by an "experience of God" and then base their authority upon such experiences.[71]

Peter Berger is one of the few sociologists who have attempted to describe how religious experience can serve as the source of religious authority.[72] He separates religious experiences as either an experience of the supernatural (outside of space and time) or an experience of the sacred ("utterly other"). Both encounters produce startling but certain insights. Such transcendental experiences are not uncommon among Pentecostals, despite Berger's hypotheses about their rarity, if not

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[69] Charles L. Holman, "A Lesson from Matthew's Gospel for Charismatic Renewal," in *Faces of Renewal*, pp. 48-63 (49, 52, 55).

[70] Neuhaus, *Freedom for Ministry*, p. 175.

[71] See Mary Jo Neitz, *Charisma and Community: A Study of Religious Commitment within the Charismatic Renewal* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1987), pp. 96-111, for the Charismatic concept of an "experience of God." Poloma has also done extensive sociological studies on the experiential dimension of the Pentecostal phenomena, especially among Assemblies of God adherents (Poloma, *Crossroads*).

[72] Peter Berger, *The Heretical Imperative* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1979), pp. 33, 42-44; cf. William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Collier, 1902); Neitz, *Charisma*, p. 99.

complete disappearance, among modern humanity.[73] The basis of authority, according to Berger, is no longer one's own experience but those experiences "domesticated" through social processes of group consensus and social control in traditions and institutions. Berger's phenomenological methodology favors an inductive or experiential approach to religion. He sees Christianity as limited to providing deductive options (of conservatism), or the reductive options (of liberalism).

Like all ghetto inhabitants, Pentecostals have developed their own jargon to relate their experiences to their own worldviews. Phrases like "the Lord spoke to me," "led by the Spirit," "the Spirit is saying," "I feel the Spirit's presence" are uttered freely from Pentecostal pulpits every Sunday morning. Such a Pentecostal language is very different from a non-Pentecostal and often departs from conventional meaning.

Pentecostals and Charismatics often interpret the world through their spiritual senses. This is based on an ongoing relationship with God—talking to the Lord and listening with one's spiritual ears to what he has to say. It is believed that the Lord speaks in natural as well as supernatural ways. God speaks to people through Bible readings, prayers, sermons, prophecies, songs and music, dreams and visions, books, other people, one's own conscience, physical senses, daily events, a "still small voice," as well as an audible voice in some rare instances. All these constitute Pentecostal realities and an experience with God. Such varied means of the way God speaks to an individual poses the problem of discernment. Neitz points out that "eventually, almost any experience can be interpreted as bearing a message from the Lord. Experiencing the Lord comes to pervade everyday life."[74]

For the Pentecostals, praying in the Spirit, praising God and waiting upon the Lord are vital parts of conversing with God directly and receiving guidance for daily living. Such a spiritual exercise may be verbal or it may be an inner dialogue carried out at any time and in any place. Confirmation of God's direction is usually granted through an

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[73] Margaret M. Poloma, and Brian F. Pendleton, "Religious Experiences, Evangelism, and Institutional Growth with the Assemblies of God," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28 (1989), pp. 415-43, for example, maintain that ecstatic religious experiences among the Pentecostals (such as glossolalia, prophecy, "slain in the Spirit," and divine healing) have institutional consequences in facilitating behavior that promotes church growth and vitality to the movement.

[74] Neitz, *Charisma*, p. 120.

inner peace. Other indications or special signs of God speaking and making known his will may be evident as well, in a procedure that is commonly referred to as "putting out Gideon's fleece" (Judg 6:36-39). This way of understanding how the Lord speaks to a person places a great emphasis on the end results.

Within the Pentecostal context, then, when a preacher claims that the Lord has spoken to him or her and "God gave me this message," it does not immediately meet any resistance from the congregation. The final test, of course, lies in the result of the sermon. If God has indeed spoken to and through the preacher, the message will bear "fruit."

6. The Results of Pentecostal Preaching

The question being wrestled with in Pentecostal circles is, not what the sermon is, but what it does, or what happens when the sermon is preached. Lyons voices the conviction of most Pentecostal preachers when he writes, "Pentecostal preaching is bound to produce results…. When it [the word of God] is preached in the power of the Spirit it just will accomplish something in the hearts of those who hear."[75] For this reason, Lalive says that "a good Pentecostal preacher is well worth hearing, for he has a genius for communication; his preaching is not a lecture but a dialogue."[76]

The chief concern of a Pentecostal preacher in a service where the word has been preached is that it does not elevate human methods over God's. There must be the recognition that only the Spirit can accomplish the spiritual goals in Christian proclamation. The danger in this teleological approach is that people's faith may be based on the results that Pentecostal preaching produces rather than on the word of God.[77] The faithful reaffirmation of the gospel is actually part of the Barthian legacy, "wherein we ask if the power of our preaching derives from the gospel rather than from mere rhetorical power."[78]

One of the characteristics of the word of God preached is that it is ethical. It is concerned with motivation, behavior, values and

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[75] Lyons, "The Word in Worship," p. 88.

[76] Christian d'Epinay Lalive, *Haven of the Masses: A Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile* (London: Lutterworth, 1969), p. 53.

[77] Duffield, *Pentecostal Preaching*, p. 46.

[78] Quoted in Stapleton, *Preaching*, p. 15.

relationships and will, through the Holy Spirit, achieve ethical ends.[79] In other words, the linguistic act of preaching will result in subsequent empowerment for life and ministry. In this respect, it behooves the preacher to ask, "Were all the people ministered to? Was the presence of Jesus Christ made real in the lives of people who were in the service?.... Did the service enable the persons to be better prepared for life's situations?"[80] For McLaughlin, the outstanding results of preaching in the power of the Holy Spirit include the conversion of sinners, the edification of the saints and the growth of evangelism and missions.[81] Admittedly, these, and the other criteria given above, are general tests of preaching effectiveness that apply to all preaching. What then do Pentecostals specially look for as a result of their preaching?

One of the distinctive results in Pentecostal preaching is measured in utilitarian terms. Pentecostal preaching is successful when the people feel good, blessed, spiritually nourished and motivated to serve God.[82] Pentecostal preachers might not go as deeply into the biblical texts as their counterparts in mainline churches do, but the response of the listeners will indicate that they have been "touched" in general or specific ways.

Another expectation of Spirit-anointed preaching is a duplication of the phenomenal results as promised in the gospel of Mark and set forth in the Book of Acts.[83] "Signs and wonders" and other supernatural evidences will follow an anointed ministry. When the word of God is preached with power and under the anointing of the Holy Spirit, it is commonly held that there will be a manifestation of spiritual gifts. Healings may take place, deliverances may occur, the needs of the congregation will be met in supernatural ways or they will at least be

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[79] Chevis F. Horne, *Dynamic Preaching* (Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1983), pp. 117, 118.

[80] Lyons, "The Word in Worship," p. 98.

[81] McLaughlin, "The Place of the Holy Spirit in Preaching," pp. 263, 264.

[82] Wagner, *Spiritual Power*, p. 112.

[83] Mark 16:11-18. Pentecostals have traditionally opted for the longer ending of Mark. See Stanley Horton, "Is Mark 16:9-20 Inspired?" *Paraclete* 4 (Winter 1970), pp. 7-12; L. W. Huntado, "Mark, Gospel of," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, pp. 573-83; Gary McGee, "Assemblies of God Overseas Missions: Foundations for Pentecostal Growth," *Missiology* 16 (October 1988), pp. 427-37 (436).

ministered to, and people will develop an awesome respect for spiritual things.[84]

McGee attributes the phenomenal missionary growth and success in the Assemblies of God to the ardent Pentecostal belief that the apostolic signs and wonders of the Holy Spirit will follow the proclamation of the Gospel.[85] Such a blend of pneumatic and premillennial expectancy and a forthright, radical dependence on the restoration of apostolic power has provided a bedrock of authority in the Pentecostal proclamation of the gospel. Perhaps this is one reason why Stendahl calls the Pentecostal movement a "high-voltage religion" for breakthrough purposes.[86]

Michael Harper, on the other hand, warns of "hot dog" Christianity which exists when, for the sake of entertainment and thrills, claims are made which cannot be substantiated and are based on spurious foundations. In every aspect of the work of God, the Pentecostal preacher must be cautious of the lure of sophisticated lack of common sense, and unsophisticated naiveté. As Harper advocates,

> Both doctrine and experience, word and Spirit, must go together, [*sic*] biblical doctrine testing, interpreting and controlling our experience, and experience fulfilling, incarnating, and expressing our beliefs. Only so can we avoid the two extremes of a dead, rigid and barren orthodoxy, or an uncontrolled, unstable, and fanatical emotionalism.[87]

One of the most important criteria of the work of the Holy Spirit in preaching is the exaltation of Christ. With the possibility of spectacular manifestations of the power of God in and through anointed ministry, it is very easy for people to get their eyes on the gifted minister instead of on Jesus Christ.[88] Ultimately, a genuine Spirit-anointed and God-blessed ministry is neither anthropocentric nor pneumacentric. It is Christocentric!

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[84] See Hughes, "Preaching, A Pentecostal Perspective," p. 724.

[85] McGee, "Assemblies of God Overseas Missions," pp. 428, 435.

[86] Krister Stendahl, "The New Pentecostalism: Reflections of an Ecumenical Observer," in *Perspectives*, pp. 194-207 (205).

[87] Michael Harper, *Three Sisters: A Provocative Look at Evangelicals, Charismatics, and Catholic Charismatics and Their Relationship to One Another* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale, 1979), p. 129.

[88] Duffield, *Pentecostal Preaching*, p. 79.

[*AJPS* 9:1 (2006), pp. 59-82]

HISTORIOGRAPHIC APPROACHES TO ASIAN PENTECOSTALISM

Deborah Kaye Cole

1. Introduction

As a growing number of Asian Pentecostals are writing their own histories, there is a need for research that seeks to describe historiographic approaches to documenting and writing histories that are applicable to the Asian Pentecostal context that can serve as a helpful resource for this important task of historical research and writing. To date, there has been very little evaluative study conducted regarding the methodology of writing Asian Pentecostal history, and information on Asian Pentecostal historiography is almost nonexistent.

The following study investigates the historiographic approaches that are relevant to the writing of Asian Pentecostal history. This study provides an overview of the analytic approaches to understanding the history and origins of the Pentecostal movement used by Augustus Cerillo and examines the applicability of these historiographic approaches for writing Asian Pentecostal history.

Andrew Walls says that we seem to be standing "at the threshold of a new age of Christianity, one in which its main base will be in the Southern continents and where its dominant expression will be filtered through the culture of those continents."[1] The Third World, the Two-Thirds World and the newer term, the South, are commonly used as interchangeable terms.[2] Allan Anderson notes that, "The 'southward swing' is more evident in Pentecostalism than in other forms of

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[1] Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), p. 22.

[2] Dale T. Irvin, *Christian Histories, Christian Traditioning: Rendering Accounts* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1998), pp. 27, 73.

Christianity."[3] He estimates that due to remarkable church growth in the last century in Asia, Africa and Latin America, 75 percent of Pentecostals today live in the Third World and that at least 80 percent of the members of the Assemblies of God live in the Third World, with only 8 percent living in North America.[4]

In light of these powerful statistics, it is perhaps disheartening to note the reality that Allan Anderson observes concerning the writing of Pentecostal history as documentation of this remarkable church growth worldwide. "The writing of the global history of Pentecostalism, at least in the English language, has mostly reflected a bias interpreting the history from western, and predominantly North American, perspectives."[5] As a result, Anderson draws attention to a grave issue that now faces Pentecostal historiography today, which is that "... the vital role of thousands of indigenous workers in the early Pentecostal movement particularly in Asia and Africa, was ignored, overlooked or minimized."[6] He adds,

> The historians and chroniclers of the past have sent thousands of Pentecostal labourers to their unnamed graves. The historical processes leading to the fundamental changes in global Pentecostal demographics must be charted accurately. Hopefully, however, it is not too late to correct past distortions. In much of the writing of Pentecostal history until the present day, the 'objects' of western missionary efforts, now the great majority of Pentecostals in the world, remain marginalized.[7]

It is not too late to hear the voices of Asian Pentecostals and to correct past distortions in the history of Pentecostalism in hopes of addressing the grave issue of omission in Pentecostal historiography today that has been noted above by Allan Anderson. Historians, particularly from the West, must recognize "that Christianity now simply *is* world history" and that there is "an emerging cadre of Christians from

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[3] Allan Anderson, "Revising Pentecostal History in Global Perspective," in *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, eds. Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (Oxford: Regnum Books; Baguio City, Philippines: APTS Press, 2005), pp. 147-173 (151).

[4] Anderson, "Revising Pentecostal History," p. 151.

[5] Anderson, "Revising Pentecostal History," p. 147.

[6] Anderson, "Revising Pentecostal History," p. 150.

[7] Anderson, "Revising Pentecostal History," p. 152.

outside Europe and North America" who are writing world church history.[8]

There is a great need across Asia for the continued emergence of primary and secondary source materials and historical works written from an Asian perspective to document the growth of the Pentecostal movement in various Asian countries and contexts. In his 1983 article, "Suggested Areas for Further Research in Pentecostal Studies," Russell Spittler drew attention to the fact that "More regional histories of Pentecostalism are necessary, particularly of third world areas."[9]

William W. Menzies poses a challenging question to all twenty-first century Pentecostals, "Will Pentecostals be able to hand on to the next generation a solid rationale for their belief and practice?"[10] He provides an encouraging affirmative answer to his own question, particularly directed towards Asian theologians, as he says,

> In the midst of dynamic growth, now seems to be an auspicious time for young Asian theologians to establish an agenda of important issues, and to stake out areas for reflection, discussion, and writing. You can be instruments of God to keep this great revival on a constructive course![11]

As the Pentecostal church in Asia continues to grow and as Asian theology continues to develop as part of this solid rationale for belief and practice that will be handed to the next generation of Asian Pentecostals, a parallel call should go forth for solid historical accounts of the development of the Pentecostal movement and Pentecostal denominations in Asia that can serve as the setting for Asian theology much like a gemstone is set in a ring. We must each recognize our own

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[8] Mark A. Noll, "The Challenges of Contemporary Church History, the Dilemmas of Modern History, and Missiology to the Rescue," *Missiology* 24 (January 1996), pp. 47-64 (51).

[9] Russell P. Spittler, "Suggested Areas for Further Research in Pentecostal Studies," *Pneuma* 5 (Fall 1983), pp. 39-57 (50).

[10] William W. Menzies and Robert P. Menzies, *Spirit and Power: Foundations of Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000), p. 9.

[11] William W. Menzies, "Frontiers in Theology: Issues at the Close of the First Pentecostal Century" (paper presented at the 18th Pentecostal World Conference, Theological Symposium for Asian Church Leaders, "Asian Issues on Pentecostalism," Yoido Full Gospel Church, Seoul, Korea (September 21, 1998), p. 30.

historicity, "the fact that we are ourselves a part of history, not only a product of past history but also a potential agent for history in the future."[12] We are linked to the past and to the future in the present. Now is the time to correct omissions and distortions in Pentecostal historiography.

2. Historiographic Approaches to Pentecostalism

From looking at the existing body of Pentecostal historiography, four general theories of causation or origin of North American Pentecostalism can be extracted. Augustus Cerillo labels these interpretive methods the providential approach, the historical roots approach, the multicultural approach and the functional approach.[13] Each approach "answers a slightly different set of questions and analytic concerns; each provides a slightly different angle of vision from which to view Pentecostalism's beginnings. Each has its strengths and weaknesses."[14] Cerillo notes that historians usually use more than one approach or a combination of approaches in their writing.[15] The following is a descriptive overview of each of these four approaches, including a brief synopsis of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach.

2.1 Providential Approach

The providential approach seeks to find God's divine, sovereign role in history with a particular focus on the work of the Holy Spirit in people and events in Pentecostal history. The early Pentecostals who wrote history using this approach "simply viewed Pentecostalism as a spontaneous, providentially generated, end-time religious revival, a movement fundamentally discontinuous with 1900 years of Christian

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[12] Beverley Southgate, "Intellectual History/History of Ideas," in *Writing History: Theory and Practice*, eds. Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner, and Kevin Passmore (London: Hodder Arnold, 2003), pp. 243-260 (248).

[13] Augustus Cerillo, "Interpretive Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins," *Pneuma* 19 (Spring 1997), pp. 29-52 (30). See pages 31-49 of Cerillo's article for an in-depth look at each of these approaches with relevant literature cited for each.

[14] Cerillo, "Interpretive Approaches," p. 50.

[15] Cerillo, "Interpretive Approaches," p. 30.

history."[16] More contemporary uses of the providential approach focus on God's divine role in history working in and through humans as well as society and culture.[17] In studying the providential approach, William Kay has come up with two important contentions regarding Pentecostal history: first, Pentecostal history assumes that God is at work; and second, Pentecostal history cannot be written without referring to God.[18]

While most, if not all, Pentecostals would have no trouble accepting Kay's contentions as legitimate, it should be noted that because a providential approach must be accepted by faith, "it cannot be verified by research and interpretive methods commonly accepted within the historical profession."[19] The value of this approach in persuading those outside the Christian faith is often limited, then. But, as Christians and as Pentecostals, we cannot abandon our core values and convictions in order to be accepted or validated by others. As Kay notes, "If we treat such [miraculous] events as non-providential and do our best to find explanations for them which neither invoke God nor require anything beyond a naturalistic world view, then we run the risk of reinterpreting pentecostal history beyond the recognition of those who participated in it." [20] The divine work and move of the Holy Spirit is crucial to Pentecostalism and consequently will be reflected in the history of Pentecostalism.

The providential approach does tend to be the most prominently employed approach by the first generation of Pentecostals reflecting on and writing their own history. It can sometimes neglect historical and/or sociological factors that have had an impact on events and can tend to see the activities of men and women as insignificant, which can be a

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[16] Cerillo, "Interpretive Approaches," p. 32.

[17] Augustus Cerillo, Jr. and Grant Wacker, "Bibliography and Historiography of Pentecostalism in the United States," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess et al. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 382-405 (399).

[18] William K. Kay, "Three Generations On: The Methodology of Pentecostal History" (a paper presented at the Society for Pentecostal Studies 20th Annual Meeting, Christ for the Nations Institute, Dallas, Texas, November 8-10, 1990), p. 2.

[19] Augustus Cerillo, "The Beginnings of American Pentecostalism: A Historiographical Overview," in *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, eds. Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler and Grant Wacker (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 229-259 (237).

[20] Kay, "Three Generations On," p. 1.

shortcoming of this approach if used alone.[21] While accepting William Kay's contentions that Pentecostal history cannot be written without presupposing God is at work and that God must be referred to when writing Pentecostal history, which are strengths of the providential approach, given the shortcoming that can sometimes appear in works using only the providential approach, perhaps it would be helpful to use other historiographic approaches that highlight the activities of men and women in the process of historical events as well. The providential approach used in combination with other approaches will allow us to see history in terms of God's sovereign activity as well as God's interaction and involvement in the affairs of men and women.

2.2 Historical Roots Approach

The historical roots approach, also called the genetic approach, seeks a link and continuity between Pentecostalism and the past usually along theological and social streams. In the study of North American Pentecostalism, most historians use this approach, which "tends to stress the continuity of 20th-century Pentecostalism with 19th-century religious and social developments: the Pentecostal revival is seen as part of a continuous flow of revivalistic religion that spanned both sides of the turn of the century."[22] The early use of this approach tended to stress either the Wesleyan holiness roots or the non-Wesleyan or Reformed roots as influences on Pentecostalism. A strength of this approach is that it allows the continued search for links to the past to keep going as new historical information and insights become available. Shortcomings of this approach if used alone include the tendency to neglect the contributions of each unique environment and setting where Pentecostalism grew and may also neglect the significance of God's activity and moves of the Holy Spirit in history,[23] which are likely to be emphasized by the providential approach.

2.3 Multicultural Approach

The multicultural approach focuses on the role and contributions of ethnic, racial and non-white minorities in the development of

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[21] Paul Lewis, personal correspondence with author, August 2003.

[22] Cerillo, "The Beginnings of American Pentecostalism," p. 237.

[23] Lewis, personal correspondence with author, August 2003.

Pentecostalism. Many revisionist theories, particularly those highlighting the role and experiences of African-American Pentecostals, have arisen that have challenged much of the predominately white Pentecostal history.

David D. Daniels reports on the results of a dialogue held in 1993 between African American and Hispanic Pentecostal scholars to discuss the experiences of Black and Hispanic Pentecostals for the purpose of participating in joint scholarly projects to reflect on multiculturalism and Pentecostalism. Such reflection, Daniels suggests, would advance the multicultural interpretation of Pentecostalism in the United States and would expand the analysis of Pentecostalism from "overemphasis on the white wing of the movement to an analysis which captures the variety and vitality of Pentecostalism in the twentieth century." [24] Daniels goes on to add that, "A multicultural emphasis in the historiography could encourage the use of a range of primary and secondary sources, crossing racial and ethnic lines to study U.S. Pentecostalism rather than generalize about U.S. Pentecostalism primarily from white Pentecostal life."[25]

Although there is a lack of agreement among historians regarding the outcomes of this approach, it does provide new ways to think about Pentecostal history from many different points of view and helps "clarify the social, theological, and political diversity that exists within the various white, black, and ethnic pentecostal groups."[26] One shortcoming of this approach is that it can tend to make the variable of race and race relations the focus of the history,[27] which can overshadow the Pentecostal historical events themselves and could tend to be divisive rather informative.

2.4 Functional or Social-Analysis Approach

The functional approach, sometimes called the social-analysis approach, looks at the historical setting in terms of its social, economic and psychological dimensions and how all of these factors affected the Pentecostal movement and those who joined it. Social history offers

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[24] David D. Daniels, "Dialogue between Black and Hispanic Pentecostal Scholars: A Report and Some Personal Reflections," *Pneuma* 17 (Fall 1995), pp. 219-228 (224).

[25] Daniels, "Dialogue," p. 225.

[26] Cerillo, "The Beginnings of American Pentecostalism," p. 401.

[27] Lewis, personal correspondence with author, August 2003.

historians a broader view of the past because it seeks to analyze cause and effect between economics, society and politics.[28] Though social history as a historiographic approach has a long history itself, it became more common after World War II as

> Social historians studied human collectivities and movements in the past, as well as social structure and change. They analysed demographic, economic and social processes, and the ways they interacted. World-views, mentalities and 'cultures', standard of living and everyday life, the family, associations and other social groupings became objects of inquiry.[29]

"Social history initiated the study of classes—especially the working class—as an emancipatory project."[30] Those who study Pentecostal history through the lens of social history will usually take one of two views and either focus on Pentecostalism's appeal as an escape for the psychologically unhealthy or socially dysfunctional members of society, which tends to offer a rather negative view of Pentecostalism, or focus on the power of Pentecostalism to liberate and empower its followers who were usually marginalized in society, which tends to offer a more positive view of Pentecostalism.[31] Thus, the emancipatory effect of Pentecostalism may be seen in different classes of people in society.

Augustus Cerillo explains that,

> By seeking to connect Pentecostalism to its cultural setting, and Pentecostal adherents to their place in the nation's social and economic structure, the functional view rigorously attempts to understand Pentecostal thought and practice in order to learn why and how it appealed to those who joined the movement.[32]

In addition, this approach focuses on the movement itself in terms of its core values and beliefs as well as organizational and institutional

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[28] Thomas Welskopp, "Social History," in *Writing History: Theory and Practice*, eds. Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner, and Kevin Passmore (London: Hodder Arnold, 2003), pp. 203-222 (209).

[29] Welskopp, "Social History," p. 205.

[30] Welskopp, "Social History," p. 205.

[31] Cerillo, "Interpretive Approaches," pp. 46-47.

[32] Cerillo, "Interpretive Approaches," p. 46.

structures and programs.[33] This approach, along with the multicultural approach, shares "a more positive and optimistic evaluation of Pentecostalism's power to liberate and empower the disinherited—farmers, workers, and minorities." [34] One shortcoming of this approach if used alone is that it tends to blend into issues related to Pentecostal theology and related questions such as "What is a Pentecostal?"[35] This question, then, would need a theological explanation in addition to contextual and historical understanding for its answer.

As shown in the brief descriptions of these approaches, each has its own unique contributions to Pentecostal historiography. However, each has its own unique shortcomings when used alone and can miss important factors that are relevant and valid in the other approaches for interpreting the origins and historical beginnings of the Pentecostal movement. Together or in combination, these approaches provide a more comprehensive synthesis of the historical story of Pentecostalism.[36]

3. Historiographic Approaches to Asian Pentecostalism

Can the various approaches to Pentecostal history described above be useful for the study and writing of Asian Pentecostal history? The tentative answer is yes, but the approaches will not likely be viewed through the same lenses as North American Pentecostalism. Cecil M. Robeck, a former editor of *Pneuma*, writes, "In North America, at least, there appears to be a tendency to read all other Pentecostals in the same way we read ourselves…as essentially mono-cultural with little if any legitimate divergence in Pentecostal thinking world-wide."[37] In applying the approaches to Pentecostal history to the study of Asian Pentecostal history, issues may surface that are significant for the Asian context that may not be as applicable for other contexts. There may also be approaches to Asian Pentecostal history that are not applicable in other contexts. One such likely approach is a reconstructionist or revisionist

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[33] Cerillo and Wacker, "Bibliography and Historiography," p. 405.

[34] Cerillo, "Interpretive Approaches," p. 47.

[35] Lewis, personal correspondence with author, August 2003.

[36] Cerillo, "Interpretive Approaches," p. 52.

[37] Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "Taking Stock of Pentecostalism: The Personal Reflections of a Retiring Editor," *Pneuma* 15 (Spring 1993), pp. 35-60 (45).

approach, which will be added to the discussion along with the other approaches.

3.1 Providential Approach

As the providential approach is applied in the interpretation of Asian Pentecostalism, historians can look at how early Asian Pentecostal Christians defined Pentecostalism. What role did the miraculous and the supernatural play in the development of Asian Pentecostal churches? The providential approach provides the foundation for the discussion of important supernatural experiences of Pentecostalism such as speaking in tongues, healings and deliverances, prophecies, visions and other miracles.[38] The following are examples of works that highlight the work of the Holy Spirit in the Philippines, Indonesia and South Korea.

Julie Ma focuses on the importance of the work of the Holy Spirit and power encounters among the Kankana-ey people of Northern Luzon, Philippines for planting churches and for the development of the Assemblies of God in the area in her book, *When the Spirit Meets the Spirits*: *Pentecostal Ministry among the Kankana-ey Tribe in the Philippines*.[39] Conrado Lumahan notes the role of the Holy Spirit and the supernatural in the planting of Assemblies of God churches in the Ilocos Region of Northern Luzon, Philippines. Healings, baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues were all part of the Pentecostal experience of early Assemblies of God churches that were planted.[40]

Gani Wiyono discusses the power of God over demonic power in the ministry of an Assemblies of God tribal chief in Buru, Indonesia, which led to many people accepting Jesus Christ as Savior.

> Therefore the Pentecostal message and practices that boldly declared the victory of God over the power of darkness became attractive to

[38] Everett A. Wilson, "They Crossed the Red Sea, Didn't They? Critical History and Pentecostal Beginnings," in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel*, eds. Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Carlisle, UK: Regnum Books, 1999), pp. 85-115 (90).

[39] 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. 77-82.

[40] Conrado Lumahan, "Facts and Figures: A History of the Origin and the Developments of the Assemblies of God Churches in Southern Ilocos Region" (Th.M. thesis, Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio City, Philippines, March 2003), pp. 88-93.

> many Indonesians, both believers (non-Pentecostal Christians) and unbelievers (Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, or tribal religionists.[41]

Jashil Choi wrote a book, *Korean Miracles*, which contains her teaching on fasting and prayer. Numerous testimonies from Korean Christians of healings, deliverances, power encounters and experiences with the Holy Spirit are recorded as the results of fasting and prayer. Though the book is not dated, it appears, from references to the "Hippy movement in America and Europe" in the preface and from the tables listing the church growth and general statistics of Yoido Full Gospel Church from 1978, to have been written in the late-1970s, with many of the testimonies dated in the early 1970s. In the preface, Choi writes, "By faith you can see the great power of the Holy Spirit working through you. This amazing spiritual power also has spread all over the globe, awakening a spiritual desire in the hearts of men."[42] This is now a wonderful primary historical document that shows the tremendous work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of Korean Christians.

3.2 Historical Roots Approach

The historical roots approach is likely applicable to the study and writing of Asian Pentecostal history, however the roots may not always be identical with those of North American Pentecostalism. Pentecostalism in many Asian countries has been traditionally linked with North American Pentecostalism and its historical roots in the 19th and 20th century revival movements, often seen as a by-product of missionary endeavors of North American Pentecostals. But, as Allan Anderson notes, "One of the greatest disservices we do the worldwide Pentecostal movement is to assume that this is a 'made in the USA' product."[43] We must look at other roots of causation within Asian cultural contexts that prepared the way for Pentecostalism. Are there

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[41] Gani Wiyono, "Pentecostals in Indonesia," in *Asian and Pentecostal*, pp. 307-328 (311).

[42] Jashil Choi, *Korean Miracles* (Seoul, Korea: Young San Publications, n.d.; La Canada, CA: Mountain Press, n.d.), preface.

[43] Allan Anderson, "Signs and Blunders: Pentecostal Mission Issues at 'Home and Abroad' in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Asian Mission* 2 (September 2000), pp. 193-210 (203).

legitimate continuities with the past and even ancient Asian Christianity that can be traced apart from North American roots?[44]

Harvey Cox has written his observation of Pentecostal worship practices in a comparative manner with that of other faiths:

> On a global basis, Pentecostals incorporate into their worship patterns the insights and practices of other faiths – shamanic trance, healing, ancestor veneration – more than any other Christian movement I know of, albeit, frequently without realizing it. Pentecostalism, I have come to believe, is "catholic" and universal in a way most Pentecostals do not recognize and many might even deny.[45]

Making a similar comparison, Walter Hollenweger and David Martin, along with Cox, propose that Pentecostalism is at its root, shamanism in Korea.[46] The legitimacy of this view is questioned by Korean Pentecostals themselves, such as Wonsuk Ma.[47] Allan Anderson and Hwa Yung also have questions regarding this view of Korean Pentecostalism.[48] Allan Anderson states, "Whether this is conscious syncretism or the influence of the 'aura' of shamanism and the joint acknowledgement of the world of spirits is debatable."[49] He adds, "If

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[44] Irvin, *Christian Histories*, p. 27.

[45] Harvey G. Cox, Jr., "Some Personal Reflections on Pentecostalism," *Pneuma* 15 (Spring 1993), pp. 29-34 (31).

[46] See Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), pp. 99-105; and David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (London: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 160-162; and Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995), pp. 213-41.

[47] See Wonsuk Ma, "Asian (Classical) Pentecostal Theology in Context," in *Asian and Pentecostal*, pp. 59-91 (71-72).

[48] See Allan Anderson, "The Contextual Pentecostal Theology of David Yonggi Cho," in *David Yonggi Cho: A Close Look at His Theology and Ministry*, eds. Wonsuk Ma, William W. Menzies, and Hyeon-sung Bae (Baguio City, Philippines: APTS Press, 2004), pp. 139-148; and Hwa Yung, "The Missiological Challenge of David Yonggi Cho's Theology," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 7 (January 2004), pp. 57-77 (75-76).

[49] Allan Anderson, "The Pentecostal Gospel and Third World Cultures" (a paper read at the 28th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Evangel University, Springfield, Missouri, March 16, 1999; database on-line, available at

Pentecostal pastors sometimes appear to be functioning as 'shamans,' it is simply because they are responding to the needs arising from a shamanistic world."[50] Anderson rightly points out the importance of reflecting on the fact that there is an "enormous difference between interacting with shamanism (as Korean Pentecostals do) and becoming shamanistic."[51]

The understanding of the spirit world and being attuned to this dimension is a characteristic of a large percentage of Asians. Did this spirituality and spiritual understanding pave the way for the Pentecostal movement in Asia in a similar way that the holiness movements of the late nineteenth century paved the way for North American Pentecostalism at the turn of the twentieth century? If so, how? William W. Menzies feels that in Western apologetics there is the need to open people up to the possibilities of spiritual realities beyond the physical, natural and secular. This is not necessary in Asia, as he observes,

> In much of Asia, there is a surprising cross-current of belief that somehow meshes concern for the immediate and the practical with the notion that there is, indeed, a spiritual realm that overshadows the concrete world. Apparently most Asians already are prepared to accept the fact of spiritual reality. This has made it relatively easy for Pentecostals to reach animistic cultures. By demonstrating that the God of the Bible, the risen Lord, has offered to intervene in the problems of life, not only for the eternal issues, but also for the immediate practical needs of health and harvest, Pentecostals have been able to get inside the felt-needs of tribal peoples.[52]

Commenting on the reality of the spirit world in Korea, Africa and Latin America, Allan Anderson observes,

> It may be appropriate to consider Korean Pentecostalism as a culturally indigenous form of Korean Christianity interacting with shamanism, just as African Pentecostalism is in constant interaction with the African spirit world, and as Latin American Pentecostalism encounters

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http://www.artsweb.bham.ac.uk/aanderson/Publications/Pentecostal_gospel_.htm , September 6, 2005), p. 5.

[50] Anderson, "The Contextual Pentecostal Theology of David Yonggi Cho," pp. 144-45.

[51] Anderson, "The Contextual Pentecostal Theology of David Yonggi Cho," p. 148.

[52] Menzies, "Frontiers in Theology," p. 25.

> folk Catholicism and Brazilian spiritism. Those who censure Korean Pentecostals for their alleged "shamanism" often fail to see that the parallels with ancient religions and cultures in their practices are also continuous with the Biblical revelation of the gospel. Furthermore, Pentecostals usually define their practices by reference to the Bible and not to traditional religions. They see their activities as creative adaptations to the local cultural context.[53]

What other historical roots of Asian Pentecostalism may be found in Asian historiography? From Korean historiography, we see different interpretative approaches emerging regarding the roots of Korean Pentecostalism. Yeol-Soo Eim notes that Pentecostal missionaries from abroad did not enter Korea until 1928 and that "Pentecostal distinctivenesses such as healing, gifts of the Spirit, and supernatural miracles were manifested even before the arrival of Pentecostal missionary [*sic*]."[54] Eim then offers a look at three roots of Korean Pentecostalism: "the revival meetings in the beginning of this [twentieth] century, the prayer mountain movement in the 1950's, and the coming of the Pentecostal denominations from abroad after 1950."[55] Eim's first Korean root notes the well-documented revivals and outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Korea during the early years of the first decade of the 20th century from 1903-1907. This revival movement is also the subject of a detailed study done by Myung-Soo Park, who similarly traces the roots of this Korean movement to the late-nineteenth century worldwide revival movements, like the "Wesleyan Holiness movement and [the] Keswick convention in America and England."[56]

Taking a different interpretative approach, Chong Hee Jeong, in an effort to define Pentecostalism in a new way towards greater self-

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[53] Anderson, "The Pentecostal Gospel and Third World Cultures," p. 6.

[54] Yeol-Soo Eim, "The Roots of Korean Pentecostalism" (a paper presented at the 18th Pentecostal World Conference, Theological Symposium for Asian Church Leaders, "Asian Issues on Pentecostalism," Yoido Full Gospel Church, Seoul, Korea, September 21, 1998), p. 31.

[55] Eim, "The Roots of Korean Pentecostalism," p. 32.

[56] Myung-Soo Park, "'The Korea Pentecost': A Study on the Great Revival of 1903-1907 in the Relationship with Contemporary Worldwide Revival Movement" (a paper presented at the 18th Pentecostal World Conference, Theological Symposium for Asian Church Leaders, "Asian Issues on Pentecostalism," Yoido Full Gospel Church, Seoul, Korea, September 21, 1998), p. 100.

understanding as part of worldwide Pentecostalism,[57] has written an article, "The Korean Charismatic Movement as Indigenous Pentecostalism," where his focus is to reinterpret the Korean Charismatic Movement as indigenous Pentecostalism rather than exploring roots to worldwide western movements. Jeong, after his own reading and research, feels that "Classical Pentecostalism and the western revival movements had a limited impact on Korean Pentecostalism."[58] He argues that, "Because of a different process of Korean church history (quite unlike American Pentecostalism), Korean Charismatic movements do not follow Classical Pentecostalism chronologically."[59] He adds that, "The Korean field was already being prepared through the [Korean] Charismatic Movement (1903-1907) before the first Classical Pentecostal missionary arrived in 1928."[60] Jeong observes two broad historical divisions in Korean Pentecostalism, the Charismatic Movements (1910s-1940s) and the Pentecostal denominations (1950s-1980s) and expresses the belief that the coming of the Holy Spirit to Korea and Korean culture and history have provided roots for the Korean Charismatic Movement and the church in Korea to grow, not Western missionary endeavors.[61]

The interpretations of the roots of Korean Pentecostalism offered by Eim, Park and Jeong highlight the diversity that exists among Korean historians regarding their own roots. These three examples are also positive testaments to the developed nature of Korean Pentecostal historiography, which can be a useful model for other nations.

3.3 Multicultural Approach

The multicultural approach to the study of Asian Pentecostalism allows for the focus of the role and contributions of ethnic minorities in the development of Pentecostalism. Allan Anderson notes that expressions of African American spirituality such as the participation of the entire congregation in worship, hand clapping, oral liturgy and healing were "fundamental to early Pentecostalism and remain in the movement to this day. The African roots of Pentecostalism help explain

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[57] Chong Hee Jeong, "The Korean Charismatic Movement as Indigenous Pentecostalism," in *Asian and Pentecostal*, pp. 551-571 (554).

[58] Jeong, "The Korean Charismatic Movement," p. 552.

[59] Jeong, "The Korean Charismatic Movement," p. 552.

[60] Jeong, "The Korean Charismatic Movement," p. 552.

[61] Jeong, "The Korean Charismatic Movement," pp. 552, 562.

its significance in the Third World today." [62] What impact did Pentecostalism have among the ethnic and tribal minorities of Asian countries? What diversity exists among the various Pentecostal groups in Asia? What accounts for this diversity? The multicultural approach can help shed light on such questions.

Cin Do Kham provides an account of the Pentecostal revival among the Chin (hill tribe) people of Myanmar with a particular focus on the northern Chin state. He notes the important role that the traditional religion, animism, plays in Chin life and that it is "closely intertwined with everything—from planting of the crops to births, marriages, deaths and festivals."[63] The existence of spirits and demonic beings was central to their religious beliefs and practices, and animal sacrifices were common due to these beliefs. In the early 1970's an evangelistic team of national Christians held crusades that resulted in great revival, salvations, speaking in tongues, healings and miracles among the Chin tribe. Revival has continued since then, and today 90 percent of the Chin tribe are Christians. [64] Kham, a Chin himself, highlights some of the lasting impacts of the revival among the Chin people. They have found freedom from the fear of evil spirits and have replaced their animistic beliefs and practices and secular songs with churches and worship services. Chin young people are preparing themselves for full-time ministry, and Chin Christians give generously to missions, supporting more than three hundred missionaries all over Myanmar.[65]

Saw Tint San Oo has also noted the spread of the gospel in the tribes of Myanmar that began with a Chinese evangelist who crossed from Southwest China in the early 1930s to minister to the Lisu people in the Kachin State of Northern Myanmar.[66] Ministry among the villages of the

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[62] Allan Anderson, "The Origins, Growth and Significance of the Pentecostal Movements in the Third World" (a paper given at a postgraduate seminar, University of Leeds, November 1997; database on-line, available at http://artsweb.bham.ac.uk/aanderson/Publications/origins.htm, September 6, 2005), p. 3.

[63] Cin Do Kham, "The Untold Story: The Impact of Revival Among the Chin People in Myanmar (Burma)," *Journal of Asian Mission* 1 (September 1999), pp. 205-222 (206-207).

[64] Kham, "The Untold Story," p. 221.

[65] Kham, "The Untold Story," p. 221.

[66] Tint San Oo Saw, "The Indispensable Mission: The History of the Assemblies of God Theological Education in Myanmar" (Th.M. thesis, Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio City, Philippines, May 2003), pp. 19-20.

Lisu took place throughout the 1930s and 1940s; then Lisu evangelists ministered the gospel to the animistic Rawang people.[67] In the late-1940s, Lisu and Rawang evangelists ministered to the Law Vo people.[68]

The reports of Kham and Saw show how the impact of the gospel and the Pentecostal message have transformed tribal people in Myanmar. It is significant to note that these Christians then reached out to other people and other parts of Myanmar with the message of freedom and power.

3.4 Functional or Social-Analysis Approach

In applying the functional approach to Asian Pentecostal history by looking at the socioeconomic and cultural aspects of Pentecostalism, one might ask, what kinds of communities did Pentecostalism create in particular Asian contexts? What was the social makeup of early Asian Pentecostals? Who was most receptive to the Pentecostal message and why? What was church life in the body of Pentecostal believers like? Did the church have genuine indigenously Asian Pentecostal core values and beliefs, as well as culturally appropriate organizational structures and programs? Or, were they imported from somewhere else? In understanding the complex nature of the Asian context, insights from Rodrigo Tano may be helpful as he notes, "Asia is a complex mosaic of diverse cultures and situations."[69] He goes on to highlight several factors that contribute to this complexity:

> Among these are: 1) the resurgence of indigenous religions; 2) the struggle for a fuller life, which often contends with various forms of oppression; 3) the challenge posed by oppressive ideologies and secular worldview; 4) the impact of scientific and technological development, which influences all three factors above; 5) the tension between traditional values and social change brought about by the process of secularization and modernization; and 6) authoritarian regimes and the limitation of liberties.[70]

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[67] Saw, "The Indispensable Mission," pp. 21, 23-24.

[68] Saw, "The Indispensable Mission," p. 26.

[69] Rodrigo D. Tano, "Toward an Evangelical Asian Theology," in *The Bible and Theology in Asian Contexts: An Evangelical Perspective on Asian Theology*, eds. Bong Rin Ro and Ruth Eshenaur (Taichung, Taiwan: Asia Theological Association, 1984), pp. 93-117 (101).

[70] Tano, "Toward and Evangelical Asian Theology," p. 101.

Wonsuk Ma makes similar observations, while adding to those of Tano.

> The traditional Asian context includes orality…, relational orientation, emotive/affective thought patterns, community-oriented society, religious pluralism and others. The contemporary Asian context is more complex. It includes, but definitely is not limited to, the coming of the post-colonial era, the rapid socio-economic changes, pluralistic religious context, the rise of religious fundamentalism, the rapid cultural change, changes in family and social structures, the fall of communism, the rise of nationalism, the recent economic crisis, the globalization of communication with the explosion of information via Internet, racial conflicts, and others.[71]

These factors, as well as others, that exist in the Asian context will likely be important to consider and investigate when considering history from the functional or social-analysis approach.

Joseph Suico, a Filipino theologian, notes the social impact of Pentecostalism in the Philippines that has been the focus of a growing body of sociological research in the Philippines. Suico observes that, "Although the movement is gaining more acceptance among the middle and upper class people, its social impact is still much felt among the marginalized masses in the Philippines."[72] He goes on to add,

> The Pentecostal movement in the Philippines has established structures that empower the poor and the marginalized to have a greater voice and participation in the system. An ordinary Filipino whose opinion is not normally heard, upon conversion acquires a sense of worth, new meaning for life, new disciplines for work and new models for family life. Since the Pentecostals put emphasis on active participation of lay people in the ministry, a convert has opportunity to develop his or her skills for articulate communication and group organization.[73]

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[71] Wonsuk Ma, "Hollenweger's *Pentecostalism*: An Asian Reflection" (a paper presented at the 18th Pentecostal World Conference, Theological Symposium for Asian Church Leaders, "Asian Issues on Pentecostalism," Yoido Full Gospel Church, Seoul, Korea, September 21, 1998), p. 178.

[72] Joseph Suico, "Pentecostalism: Towards a Movement of Social Transformation in the Philippines," *Journal of Asian Mission* 1 (March 1999), pp. 7-19 (15).

[73] Suico, "Pentecostalism," p. 16.

Suico also notes that Pentecostalism has also had a strong impact on Philippine society through the rebuilding of families that have experienced disruption either socially or economically. In addition, Pentecostalism offers Filipinas [Filipino women] the opportunity to use their spiritual gifts to serve in the ministries of the church and to even be ordained in many Pentecostal denominations.[74]

Conrado Lumahan notes four socio-cultural factors that have contributed to church growth among the Assemblies of God in the Ilocos Region of Northern Luzon, Philippines. The nature of a "family oriented society" is such that new churches have been started as a result of follow-up ministry to relatives of church or clan members.[75] "Small groups interrelationship" or the distinct identity of social units with common culture and language has contributed to the planting of churches.[76] "Social changes" themselves have helped create a positive attitude toward change as people want changes from poverty and corruption they experience in their lives; thus, they are open to new churches being planted, which is another form of change.[77] The "power-oriented" nature of Filipinos who are already familiar with the spirit world allows them to be open to healings and deliverances from demonic power and other power encounters, which they find appealing in the Pentecostal message of churches that are planted.[78]

3.5 Reconstructionist or Revisionist Approach

While it is valuable and useful to build upon existing Pentecostal historiography, Asian Pentecostals should not be limited in their view of the past. Simon Chan states it well saying, "…Pentecostals must not simply be content with telling their own hundred year old story. They must develop a catholic perspective, see their own story as part of the on-going story of the one holy, catholic and apostolic Church."[79] As part of the recounting of their own stories, Asian Pentecostals may likely need to correct omissions and perhaps even distortions that exist in the current

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[74] Suico, "Pentecostalism," pp. 15-16.

[75] Lumahan, "Facts and Figures," p. 79.

[76] Lumahan, "Facts and Figures," pp. 79-80.

[77] Lumahan, "Facts and Figures," p. 80.

[78] Lumahan, "Facts and Figures," p. 80.

[79] Simon Chan, "Whither Pentecostalism?" In *Asian and Pentecostal*, pp. 575-586 (585).

historical record of Asian Pentecostal history. An accounting of people and events which have been minimized or overlooked in the historical record to date will need to be given. A reconstructionist or revisionist approach to Asian Pentecostal history may be helpful to accomplish this task.

Douglas Brown feels that we need to apply "the principle of criticism" to historical research. "This means no effort to interpret history is beyond critical review and revision."[80] Criticism helps clarify the interpretation of historical evidence.[81] Colin Brown points out the value of interpretation from different vantage points:

> No single account can show exhaustively the course of history as it happened, for no single account can look at everything from all points of view. The most that the historian can do is to look at his or her subject in relation to certain questions. The historian then has to leave it to others (or come back to the subject) to bring out other aspects of the subject. By putting different accounts together, we may be able to obtain a better understanding of events, personalities, and issues than we could if we just looked at them from one vantage point.[82]

A reconstruction seeks to study existing facts in a new way and allows data to be rearranged, which allows for a different view of a situation. This different view or revision, then, will likely become the "new norm," while the older version will likely fade behind the newer one.[83] "It is important to remember that reconstruction does not remove what we know but aids in better assessment."[84]

According to Colin Brown, writing history using a revisionist or reconstructionist approach is like constructing models using sources from the past as well as the writer's own understanding of the events and his or her skill. The new model that is constructed will not be identical to the

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[80] Douglas E. Brown, *When Past and Present Meet: A Companion to the Study of Christian Thought* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987), p. 34.

[81] Brown, *When Past and Present Meet*, p. 35.

[82] Colin Brown, *History and Faith: A Personal Exploration* (Grand Rapids, MI: Academie Books, 1987), p. 55.

[83] Thomas V. Taylor, "Church History Revisited," in *Interpretation and History: Essays in Honour of Allan A. MacRae*, eds. R. Laird Harris, Swee-Hwa Quek and J. Robert Vannoy (Singapore: Christian Life Publishers, 1986), pp. 253-271 (258).

[84] Taylor, "Church History Revisited," p. 259.

original because it will have its own shape and design but will give an indirect picture of the original.[85] He adds that,

> It is not that the latest critical reconstruction necessarily supersedes all earlier models or that the primary accounts can ever be dispensed with. But neither can we avoid making our reconstructions, whether they be technical and critical or unreflective. What critical reconstruction does is to attempt to correct unreflective understanding and to see earlier accounts in new perspective and depth.[86]

The writer of the revision seeks "to show what is wrong with the misleading models and to help build more accurate ones and to interpret them correctly."[87]

S. Immanuel David describes this as a three-step approach to writing history: first is critiquing the existing historical writings in terms of facts and developments; second is recovery of sources that have been ignored or that relate to the people involved; and third is reconstructing or including the information from these sources to construct something new through the process.[88] While there are many positive aspects to a reconstructionist or revisionist approach, it should be noted that one shortcoming of this approach is that many people will not accept the reconstruction or revision as established fact but will always tend to view it as hypothetical.[89]

A major contribution of revisionist or reconstructionist history in writing Asian Pentecostal history would be to tell the stories of the Asian participants in the worldwide growth and expansion of Pentecostalism, not simply as objects of mission history in a passive voice, but as active participants with the Holy Spirit, and in some cases with Western missionaries, with powerful voices, ministries and experiences of their own. Cecil Robeck notes that, "Increasingly Pentecostals around the world are beginning to rise up and move to positions of leadership and

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[85] Brown, *History and Faith*, p. 59.

[86] Brown, *History and Faith*, p. 59.

[87] Brown, *History and Faith*, p. 77.

[88] S. Immanuel David, "Church History: History as Lived by Christian People," *Asia Journal of Theology* 2 (April 1988), pp. 106-108 (107).

[89] Taylor, "Church History Revisited," p. 258.

influence that compete with the long tradition of North American Pentecostal dominance."[90] As Allan Anderson observes,

> Most of Pentecostalism's rapid expansion in the twentieth century was not mainly the result of the labours of missionaries from North America and western Europe to Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was rather the result of the spontaneous indigenization of the Pentecostal message by thousands of preachers who traversed these continents with a new message of the power of the Spirit, healing the sick, and casting out demons. This may be one of the most important reconstructions necessary in Pentecostal historiography.[91]

Anderson goes on to offer a succinct depiction of what he feels the end result of revisionist or reconstructionist Pentecostal history should be:

> The revising of the history of Pentecostalism in the twenty-first century must be undertaken, not by emphasizing the missionary 'heroes' of the powerful and wealthy nations of the world, but by giving a voice to the people living in the world's most marginalized parts.[92]

Masakazu Suzuki notes omissions and exclusions of twelve missionaries from the pre-WWII history of the Japan Assemblies of God in his article, "A New Look at the Pre-War History of the Japan Assemblies of God."[93] He lists the names of those who were omitted and offers four possible reasons for their deletion from the history of the Japan Assemblies of God.[94] He suggests that, "Many of the ambiguities and deletions are still untouched areas and remain topics calling for further study."[95] Thus, the revisionist approach could be helpful in further studies of Pentecostalism in Japan. Suzuki suggests that

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[90] Robeck, "Taking Stock of Pentecostalism," p. 59.

[91] Anderson, "Revising Pentecostal History," p. 158.

[92] Anderson, "Revising Pentecostal History," p. 166.

[93] Masakazu Suzuki, "A New Look at the Pre-War History of the Japan Assemblies of God," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 4 (July 2001), pp. 239-267 (242).

[94] Suzuki, "A New Look," pp. 257-58.

[95] Suzuki, "A New Look," p. 266.

> One way of correcting this problem might be first to trace the history of the different missions and churches started by each of the missionaries and their native workers and then examine how these ministries related and inter-related. If such a task were indeed possible, and if it were successfully carried out, we would then retrieve the complete, clear historical picture.[96]

Paul Tsuchido Shew also notes the omissions and misconceptions in the current historical record of Pentecostalism in Japan and states that, "The history of the Pentecostal movement in Japan as it is known today is scarcely more than myth and rumor."[97] Through using primary documents, Shew gives an outline of the ministries of the earliest Pentecostal missionaries in an attempt to correct omissions in the secondary documents and "revise the general understanding of the history of Pentecostals in Japan."[98] This is also a primary focus of Shew's Ph.D. dissertation, "History of the Early Pentecostal Movement in Japan: The Roots and Development of The Pre-War Pentecostal Movement in Japan (1907-1945)."[99] Suzuki and Shew both show the relevance and importance of the revisionist or reconstructionist approach to Asian Pentecostal history.

4. Conclusion

As has been previously stated, any one of these historiographic approaches to Asian Pentecostalism if used alone misses important issues that are addressed by the other approaches. "All the approaches to origins are important in comprehending the complexities of the phenomenon, especially in its non-western context."[100] A holistic approach combining

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[96] Suzuki, "A New Look," p. 266.

[97] Paul Tsuchido Shew, "A Forgotten History: Correcting the Historical Record of the Roots of Pentecostalism in Japan," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 5 (January 2002), pp. 23-49 (27).

[98] Shew, "A Forgotten History," p. 47.

[99] Paul Tsuchido Shew, "History of the Early Pentecostal Movement in Japan: The Roots and Development of the Pre-War Pentecostal Movement in Japan (1907-1945)" (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary School of Theology, 2003), p. 15.

[100] Paul A. Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions: A Pentecostal Contribution to Contemporary Mission Theory* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1985), p. 43.

the "divine-vertical dimension" as well as the "human-horizontal analysis" gives a more holistic understanding.[101] A variety and combination of these historiographic approaches to Asian Pentecostalism will provide fuller understanding of the broader historical picture of Pentecostalism in Asia.

There is unlimited room for additional histories to tell the stories of Asian Pentecostals. The diverse historiographic approaches possible to Asian Pentecostal history answer different questions and offer unique insights that can help lift historical facts off the page to create a more holistic and three-dimensional view of history, contribute to a developing Asian Pentecostal historiography, and help offer a more complete view of Pentecostalism worldwide. "Thousands of precisely defined case studies from a variety of points of view and methods, based on careful historical, sociological, and anthropological research are needed."[102] This research on historiographic approaches to Asian Pentecostalism has shown that there is room for a multiplicity of opinions and snapshots from different angles that can help create a more panoramic view of Asian Pentecostal history as each individual contribution adds its own unique contribution to the whole.

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[101] Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions*, p. 45.

[102] David. D. Bundy, "Bibliography and Historiography of Pentecostalism Outside North America," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess et al. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 405-417 (417).

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A CHALLENGE TO PENTECOSTAL MISSION IN JAPAN

Noriyuki Miyake

1. Introduction

Although it has been more than four hundred years since the first Catholic missionary came to Japan and more than one hundred years since the first Protestant missionaries brought the gospel into Japan, the percentage of Christians in all the population of Japan is less than one percent.[1] It seems that Christianity is totally ignored or rejected by most Japanese.

Why do the Japanese not believe in the gospel? It is very significant to examine the reasons for stagnation of evangelism in Japan and come up with effective strategies to win the Japanese people.

Needless to say, the Pentecostal movement has been powerful in spreading the gospel all over the world since the movement began in the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet, while this movement has impacted Christianity in Japan to some extent, it must be recognized that over 99% of the Japanese have not accepted Jesus Christ. For "[t]he priority for reason-for-being of the Assemblies of God is to be an agency for evangelizing the world,"[2] Japanese Pentecostalism should bear the fruit of the mission in Japan. Japan's situation asks, "Is there any advantage for Pentecostals for evangelism in Japan? If so, what is the advantage of Pentecostal mission?"

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[1] According to *Christian Year Book 2004* (Tokyo: Kirisuto Shimbunsha, 2004), the total number of Protestant churches is 8,083 and the number of members is 617,053. The Orthodox Church has 73 churches with 25,916 members. The Catholic Church has 1,027 churches with 477,624 members. The percentage of all Christians is 0.8%.

[2] V. M. Karkkainen, "Missiology: Pentecostal and Charismatic," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess et al. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 877-85 (877).

2. Japanese Religious Thinking

In order to win people to Christ, we need to know their worldview, such as their religious thinking. Only when their religious thinking is studied, then we can probe the reason for the difficulties of evangelism in Japan.

"The Japanese are among the most religious or least religious people on earth, depending on whom you talk to or how you define 'religious.'"[3] Much research and observations about Japanese religious thinking explore this statement. While about 70% of Japanese think of themselves to be "irreligious" (*Mu-Shukyo*),[4] the gross number of members of the religions to which Japanese belong is well over the total population of Japan.[5] For example, in Japan during New Year celebrations, about 80% of the Japanese visit Shinto shrines for the blessing of the year and this rite is called *Hatsumode*.[6] At the same time, it is often said that when Japanese abroad are asked their religion, they are puzzled for an answer, because many do not think of themselves as believing in a particular religion.[7]

To understand Japanese religious thinking, we must know that there is a difference in the concept of religion between the ordinary Japanese and Christians. If "religious" means to believe in a particular doctrine like the Christian faith, then many Japanese do not think they are

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[3] Malcolm B. Davis, ed., *Japan: Insight Guides* (Singapore: APA Publications [HK], 1992), p. 71.

[4] Toshimaro Ama, *Nihonjin wa Naza Mu-Shukyo Nanoka* [Why Do Japanese Have No Religion?] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1999), p. 8. See also Kenji Ishii, *Gendai Nihonjin no Shukyo* [Today's Japanese Religion] (Tokyo: Shinyosha, 1997), p. 7.

[5] Kenji Ishii, *Gendai Nihonjin no Shukyo* [Today's Japanese Religion] (Tokyo: Shinyosha, 1997), p. 118. According to this research, the total members of all the religious organizations are 215 million, while the total population of Japan is 126 million.

[6] E.g., see, Hidetoshi Kato, "Nihon no Kamigami" [Popular Deities of Japan], in *Nihon no Kokoro 1 Bunka to Dento* [Inside the Japanese: Culture and Tradition], ed. Corporate Secretariat Division of Nippon Steel Corporation (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1992), pp. 2-3.

[7] E.g., see, Ama, *Nihonjin wa Naza Mu-Shukyo Nanoka*, pp. 11-12. and Ishii, *Gendai Nihonjin no Shukyo*, p. 124.

religious. And yet, if it means to believe in something supernatural or something awesome, it seems that many of them definitely are religious.

Here are some characteristics of Japanese religious thinking.

2.1 Participation in Religious Events

Ordinary Japanese respect participating more than believing. For Japanese, participating in religious events such as *Hatsumode* (visiting a Shinto shrine for blessing the year, normally during the first three days of January) and the *Obon* festival (a memorial service for household ancestors at the middle of August) is very important. Also, there are many traditional rituals based on Japanese folk religion such as special religious observances for the pregnant woman, birth (*omiya mairi*), early childhood (*Shichi go san*), marriage, and death.[8] It seems that ordinary Japanese do not sense the truth by knowing the teachings of religions, but sense religious truth by practicing some religious rituals.

2.2 Plurality

Ordinary Japanese do not think it unnatural or un-right to have plural religions. For a long time, Japanese have accepted other religions which came from other countries (mainly from China via the Korean Peninsula), adding them to their own folk religions. When they received a new faith, the Japanese did not deny their own folk religions, but rather they changed a new faith to some extent so that they could easily incorporate it. For example, the Japanese adopted Buddhism in the sixth century without denying Shinto, which was originally based on Japanese folk religion, and began to use the rituals of Buddhism for aspects of ancestor worship that Shinto could not adequately cover.[9] Although it seems that only Christianity struck against this Japanese religious pluralism and was rejected, some events from Christianity such as

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[8] Soboku na Gimon Tankyukai [Simple Questions Research Association], ed., *Eigo de Hanasu Zatsugaku Nippon* [Japan Trivia] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1998), pp. 166-67.

[9] Ama, *Nihonjin wa Naza Mu-Shukyo Nanoka*, pp. 50-55. Also Yasuo Yuasa, *Nihonjin no Shukyo Ishiki* [Japanese Religious Thinking] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1999), p. 120. See also Kazuo Osumi, "Nihon Niokeru Shukyo-Sinto Bukkyo no Seiritu to Heiritu" [Religion in Japan: The Interweaving of Shinto and Buddhism], in *Nihon no Kokoro 1 Bunka to Dento* [Inside the Japanese: Culture and Tradition], pp. 14-27.

Christmas and St. Valentine's Day are now deeply rooted into Japanese lives. Ordinary Japanese do not think it a contradiction to go to shrines at the New Year one week after they celebrate Christmas.

2.3 Sense of Belonging

Japanese have a sense of belonging by participating in religious rituals. In other words, for the Japanese, religions (Shinto and Buddhism) have provided the ties that in turn formed the village community and the household. Japanese have been obliged to belong to two groups: one to the local village community (*mura*), and the other to a household (*ie*). Shinto shrines have been the center of each village community. Buddhist temples have been the facilitator of ancestor worship. As previously mentioned, however, the main reasons are not from their beliefs, but a kind of social pressure. Mark R. Mullins, a professor at Meiji Gakuin University, analyzes this as follows:

> Most Japanese naturally participated in the annual festivals and rituals of the local Shinto shrine and Buddhist temple. Participation in religious events and rituals was primarily motivated by the sense of duty and obligation that accompanied membership in a household and community, not by clearly defined beliefs or exclusive creeds.[10]

We can say that Japanese religious thinking is closely related to a sense of belonging.

2.4 Worldly Benefits (*goriyaku*)

Japanese religious thinking tends to seek for worldly benefits (*goriyaku*).[11] For instance, Japanese get talismans from temples and shrines for their entrance examinations, road safety, easy birth, healing, prosperity of business, and other life events.

While Japan has become one of the most developed countries in the world, many folk beliefs are still affecting Japanese thinking and acting. For instance, the ages 25 and 42 for men and 19 and 33 for women are thought to be the years that an individual is most likely to experience

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[10] Mark Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, Nanzan Library of Asian Religion and Culture, 1998), pp. 7-8.

[11] Masami Katsumoto, *Nihon no Shukyo Gyoji ni Dou Taiou Suruka* [How Do we Deal with Japanese Religious Events?] (Tokyo: Inochi no Kotoba, 1990), p. 38.

calamities or misfortunes (*yakudoshi*).[12] To avoid the misfortunes, many people of these ages go to the shrines to be prayed for or to get talismans. Divination is popular among many Japanese. Words or expressions associated with or considered to bring bad luck are strongly avoided. It is not unusual to see Japanese do something for luck.

2.5 Challenges for the Mission

There is no concept of the absolute in the Japanese religious thinking. Traditionally, they have accepted any religious truth into their culture (except for Christianity) and even modified the teachings for them. For most Japanese, a religious truth is not what they have to follow, but what they can employ for their own benefit. It is difficult for Japanese in their mindset to grant that there is the absolute and only God who rules everything. This point is the biggest challenge for the mission of Christianity.

The way of recognizing religious truth by the Japanese is also totally different from the one for the westerners. Japanese accept or understand religious truth not by intellectual studying but by acting out rituals. Unless they can participate and experience something, they never believe in the truth.

Another significant point of Japanese religious thinking is that for Japanese, the import of believing in a religion is close to the import of belonging to a community. Belonging to a household means believing in Buddhism; belonging to a village community means believing in Shinto. Ordinary Japanese cannot separate a religion from a community or group they belong to, and vice versa.

3. Improper Approaches to Japanese

Reviewing the discussion above, I want to suggest several reasons why mission strategies of the church have not been a success in gaining the lost as expected. There seem to be some improper approaches in reaching out to the Japanese. I mainly present three major problems.

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[12] *Keys to the Japanese Heart and Soul*, ed. Eibun Nihon Daijiten [English-Japanese Dictionary] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1996), pp. 226-27.

3.1 Absolute First

One of the biggest reasons why many Japanese cannot accept biblical truth is that there is no concept of absoluteness in their minds. Japanese have historically granted there is religious truth without denying their former faiths. When Buddhism was introduced to Japan in the sixth century A.D., Japanese did not deny their original Shinto and skillfully made both religions compatible. In the same way, the Japanese accepted Confucianism and other philosophical thoughts from China. Japan even granted western civilization entrance after the opening of the country in the nineteenth century. The Japanese succeeded in acquiring foreign notions without grasping a fraction of their conventional values. Over all, since Japanese do not possess the concept of absoluteness, they can easily receive foreign thoughts and sometimes even change them into suitable ones for the Japanese.[13]

Japanese cannot understand the basics of the biblical faith because they are polytheists and tend to deny absolute existence. "For Japanese, such belief that God is the only one is not 'truth,' at least not meaningful truth, no matter how veritable this belief may be."[14] If we insist on absolute Christian concepts at first to Japanese, we may see that many people will become upset or cannot accept the concept. Japanese just do not or cannot believe in the biblical faith concept all at once. At the same time, I am not saying that teaching the absoluteness of Christianity is not necessary. Needless to say, it is imperative to fix biblical truth as absolute truth in the minds of Christians. What I will say is that, if we consider that acceptance of the concept of absoluteness is the entrance of mission for Japanese, we might find that the beginning of Christian faith is too narrow for most ordinary Japanese to enter.

It may be better to think that it takes time for Japanese to understand biblical faith as indispensable because of their existent views. Therefore, it may not be wise to urge the Japanese to believe in the biblical truths such as the absolute and only God, original sin, and the notion of salvation at the first stage of evangelistic encounters. Even if many Japanese deny believing in Jesus Christ as their own Savior at the first step, they may just be confused. If we conclude that they reject the truth

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[13] Reiji Oyama, *Nihonjin to Kirisutokyo no Juyo* [Japanese and the Acceptance of Christianity] (Tokyo: Yogunsha, 1995), p. 89.

[14] Makito Nagasawa, "Religious Truth: From a Cultural Perspective in the Japanese Context," *Journal of Asian Mission* 4:1 (March 2002), pp. 43-62 (44).

at that time, we might be tempted to abandon contact with them from that point.

It is crucial to assume that it takes time to make Japanese fully understand Biblical truth. Therefore, it might be good to allow Japanese to go through the gateway of Christian fellowship first and give them biblical truth step by step through their experiences in church.

3.2 Intellectual Approach

As stated before, Japanese by nature receive religious truth through experience such as participating in rituals. And yet, many Japanese think of Christianity as a knowledge-centered religion. We must understand that biblical truth, based on knowledge, is very important for Japanese Christians to live in a pagan society like Japan. However, if we present the gospel as no more than knowledge, we notice that many of the Japanese do not have an interest in the gospel. Makito Nagasawa, a Japanese minister, makes the following suggestion about the mission for reaching Japanese:

> In the Japanese context, truth is experiential and personal. Truth as philosophical or conceptual, separated from feeling, is almost meaningless to the Japanese. Thus they are looking for communities in which spiritual experiences are tangible and real. We have to start with personal experience.[15]

As he says, it is vital that we introduce the gospel as something we can experience. Did Jesus preach the gospel as just knowledge? When the disciples of John the Baptist asked Jesus who Jesus was,

> Jesus answered and said to them, "Go and tell John the things you have seen and heard: that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, the poor have the gospel preached to them (Luke 7:22, NKJ).

The ministry of Jesus was total and was accompanied by something visible and tangible. In other words, it was something that humans could experience. Therefore, if we present the gospel as something which one can experience, we may be able to see the Japanese people becoming interested in it.

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[15] Nagasawa, "Religious Truth," pp. 55-56.

Pentecostal ministries have the advantage in this matter. They can preach the gospel, proclaiming the experience and the work of the Holy Spirit. The gospel that we preach must involve the experiences of biblical truth so that people will know that Christian faith is not merely knowing but also experiencing.

3.3 Disregarding the Japanese Nature of Group-Orientation

The last inadequate mission approach is forcing people to leave the community to which they belong. The Japanese are a group-oriented people. They fear being isolated from their communities of family, school, and work place. On the contrary, perhaps unconsciously, it seems that the traditional mission approach by the Christian church is to encourage people to move away from their communities. "In Japan, people do not act according to the standard that they regard as right. They always watch other people and think that it is better to do what other people do."[16] For the people who are not in Christian homes, they cannot imagine being a Christian, not because of denying the Christian faith, but because of being unable to leave their community, especially their families. "In fact, membership in Japanese religious organizations has typically been by families and not by individuals."[17]

One Japanese pastor points out as follows: "It is necessary for Japanese to have one more decision other than the decision to believe in the Gospel. This is the decision to join the church. This is one more difficult and crucial phase."[18] For Japanese, it is vital whether it is worthy to belong to the church. In other words, a local church should be a community which gives comfort and is easy to join. It is not sensible to make the unchurched afraid of cutting off their former lives before they find the church can be a replacement for community. Unless church provides the unchurched with a safe and a comfortable community in which to belong, we will not see people willing to enter a church.

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[16] Reiji Oyama, *Nihonjin to Kirisutokyo no Juyo* [Japanese and the Acceptance of Christianity] (Tokyo: Yogunsha, 1995), p. 103.

[17] Timothy Dale Boyle, "Communicating the Gospel in Japanese Cultural Terms: Practical Experiments at the Shintoku Kyodan Church" (Doctor of Ministry diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1986), p. 67.

[18] Makito Goto, "Nihon Senkyo-Gaku ga Toriatsukaubeki Han-i Nitsuite" [About the Range What the Japanese Missiology Should Deal with], in *Senkyo-Gaku Riidingus* [The Readings of Missiology], KMRC Mission Series, ed. Mitsuo Fukuda (Hyogo, Japan: RAC Network, 2002), pp. 151-63 (153).

4. Suggested Mission Approaches

The fundamental mistake seems to come from a wrong premise. We have believed that we have to make people go through the following process in order to become saved.

To hear → To understand → To believe

This process shows that we have to lead people into hearing the gospel at first, understanding it, and then believing in it. Yet, if we try to push people through this procedure, we must push them to accept absolute truth at the first stage. This approach is knowledge-centered and does not consider the fear of being isolated from community.

In other words, this approach is quite individualistic. Even if it does work in western cultural society, it does not always work in Japan which is traditionally group-oriented. My suggestion is that the process for becoming a Christian for Japanese should be as follows:

To belong to → To experience → To believe

For many Japanese, accepting a faith means to belong to some community. While westerners find their identity in their belief, Japanese find their identity in the place to which they are attached. Unless they find a place in which to belong, they cannot fully think about faith. And, unless they feel that they are accepted, they never open their hearts. Then, as I mentioned, experience is very crucial for Japanese religious thinking. Japanese cannot grasp a sense of faith until they experience something religious.

Next, let us think about the type of place to which we bring people. We might have had a premise about evangelism up until now, that is, an assumption that we must bring people into a church. (We may be able to say that it is “a place under God’s control.”) Yet, there are high walls for Japanese to climb over to enter a church.

If we regard evangelism as a one-time event, we will lose many souls. It is not true that Japanese do not want to believe in Christ, but they need some time to overcome their own worldviews. If we push them to decide right away, many of them cannot do so, and both we and they may have to give up.

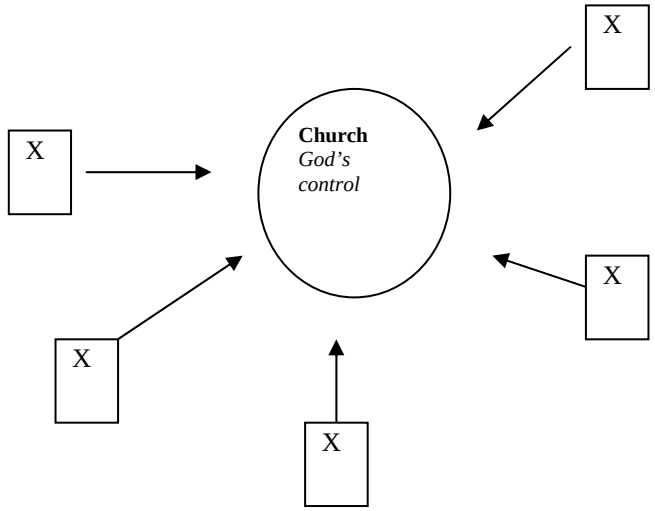

Figure 1 X=an individual. We try to make people come into a church, but there are high walls around a church.

To solve this problem, how about having a concept of "a pre-church?"

People cannot be a member of God's kingdom unless they confess that Christ is Lord. And yet, the Holy Spirit can influence even those who are not involved in a church. Jesus mixed with many people who did not know who He was. He ate meals with those who were ignored, discriminated against, and regarded as sinners; He just plunged into the crowd. Then, Jesus healed and liberated many who were suffering from sicknesses and evil spirits.

Thus, we can bring our Christian fellowship outside of a church and receive the unchurched into it. In the fellowship arena, we can make developing human relationships a first priority before we preach the gospel. We should understand them before they understand us. At the same time, we should expect the Holy Spirit to lead us and powerfully act in the spiritual community.

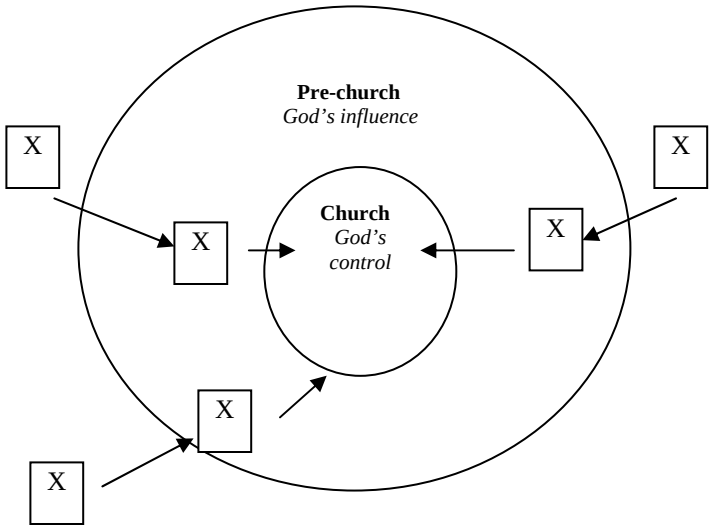

Figure 2: An individual can be led into Pre-church and then into Church.

In the field of God's influence, people can take time to think about the Christian faith without any pressure. Then, we can encourage them to decide to follow Jesus Christ and become a member of the body of Christ. Needless to say, we have to enlarge the realm of God's influence as large as we can so that many people will come into the fellowship.

4.1 Fellowship with Love

In the field of God's influence, we should expect that people will see a spiritual community where people can be open, feel accepted and loved. Mitsuo Fukuda, a missiologist, points out that "In the Japanese context, the mission/pastoral ministry which makes much of human relationship is the functional approach."[19] I agree with this idea. Before we preach the gospel, we should hear their voice and develop the human

[19] Mitsuo Fukuda, *Bunmyakuka Kyokaino Keisei* [Developing a Contextualized Church as a Bridge to Christianity in Japan] (Shizuoka, Japan: Harvest Time Ministries, 1993), p. 216.

relationship. We should invite people to come to our fellowship, because people are seeking a place where they can feel befriended, loved, and accepted. We should show the presence of God's love from the beginning. If we can present the Christian community by showing them how we love, help, and serve each other, we can remove their fear and prejudice, and thus encourage them to join the community in which the Holy Spirit exists.

The most important point is that we should present communities that meet the needs of the unchurched Japanese people. Although Japan seems to be a sophisticated and relatively wealthy country, there are many serious social problems, just as there are in other countries. It can be said that many of the problems are based on problems in human relationships. Many people are suffering from broken relationships with others and I believe that we can and should help them restore their injured hearts and minds.

4.2 Experience of the Holy Spirit

Once in the fellowship, we can expect that people will experience something spiritual. We should express ourselves to each other and share even our problems and needs. We minister and pray for one another. When we have a fellowship filled with the Spirit, we can anticipate that even non-believers can feel God's power.

Blessing can be a powerful message. The Japanese church has tended to emphasize only "notional domains," such as eternal life and deliverance from sin and not so much on specific living needs. However, people long for worldly benefits such as health, financial success, and protection from evil by religion. When they find that God can answer their requests, they will desire to have contact with the God of Christianity. We should expect that the Holy Spirit will meet their physical, emotional, and spiritual needs.

Needless to say, a power encounter is one of the most effective points that non-believers can experience. Even in Japan, a sophisticated and high technology society, many people are (consciously or unconsciously) aware of spiritual reality. "The appearance of new religions which emphasize healing, miracles, ancestor worship, spells, and good or evil genius, and the boom of fortune telling, occult, and New-age movement show the Japanese original worldview."[20] In the

[20] Mamoru Ogata, *Nikkan Kyokai Seicho Hikaku Bunka to Kirisutkyoshi* [The Comparison of Japanese and Korean Church Growth, Culture and History of Christianity] (Yamanashi, Japan: Hope Shuppan, 1997), p. 310.

depth of their minds, people believe in invisible spiritual power. We should expect that people will see that Christian faith has spiritual power.

4.3 Accepting the Truth

The next stage is the truth encounter. When they realize that they are accepted and loved, and experience God's work in their lives, they finally are ready to be taught biblical truth. It is important to open the Bible together and help them to understand the truth step by step.

On this point, I would like to suggest that we should begin with what is relevant to their needs. What are their problems in life? Do they have a problem in their marriage, in their interpersonal relationships, or with their children? We should focus on what they need or what they want to know. Then, let us connect these problems with the Bible. In general, Japanese respect the Bible, even if they have a negative image of Christianity and the church. Ordinary Japanese know that the Bible is the oldest sacred book, and that it has produced many cultures, great arts, and life teachings. We can show that there are answers to our life problems in the Bible. By finding solutions from the Bible, people come to know what a Christian is little by little.

We should encourage them to do something specific that the Bible says about their daily lives. We should not make the word of God just a book of knowledge. "It is more appropriate for the Japanese to define the Bible as the canon designed for teaching, which is to be practiced, rather than teaching which is to be accepted as beliefs."[21] It is necessary for non-believers to realize that when they put the word of God into practice, they will experience God's love and power and be blessed. There are many teachings that change the Japanese worldview in the Bible and by experiencing God's word in their daily lives, Japanese can recognize what they should follow.

Then, we can introduce them to who Jesus Christ is. We do not lead them into a religion, but to Jesus himself. If they become aware of Jesus and the power in the Christian life, they may then pursue the purpose of their lives. It is meaningful to help them discover how Jesus can be concerned with us in our specific daily life. We must tell them why we need Jesus, how Jesus saves us, where Jesus brings us, what Jesus expects us to do and other basic teachings. It goes without saying that we should expect the Holy Spirit, who points to the cross of Jesus Christ, to lead them into the full presence of God during the sharing of the Word.

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[21] Nagasawa, "Religious Truth," p. 59.

4.4 Modeling of Lifestyle

Lastly, we should conclude this process by demonstrating a model of a Christian who powerfully walks in this world. "In the context of fellowship with Christians, they will see a living example of the new life and how it works."[22] Many Japanese are seeking for a visible model, as many are oppressed with anxiety about such things as the future, family, finances, human relationships, low self-esteem, and addictions. If Christians can show the unchurched how they live free in this world and what the difference between Christian and non-Christian is, people will desire to be like Christians. They will follow a model Christian who really lives in this world and deals with actual problems, and when they realize that faith in Christ Jesus is the key, they will decide to follow him. This is the moment of believing and becoming a member of the Church.

As pointed out, it is difficult for Japanese to take large steps toward an unknown realm all at once. Human relationships may make them move toward the Christian faith step by step. As we have seen, we need to change the paradigm of evangelism. And the most important point in that is reliance upon the Holy Spirit. "There are no rules and regulations for mission, because Spirit leadership is central."[23] Only the Holy Spirit knows the needs of the lost and can touch their lives. The Bible tells us that God has set eternity in human hearts (Ecc 3:11). Even Japanese have a longing for spiritual eternity and it is imperative that we do not overstep the authority of the Spirit.

5. Concluding Remarks

I conclude that one of the biggest reasons why Christianity does not penetrate Japanese minds is that the conventional approach of Christian mission does not seem to fit the ordinary Japanese religious mind. That is to say, we may have been trying to force the Japanese to accept the Absolute God as the first step within an intellectual approach.

We need to first present a community filled with true love and power. If Japanese can find a community to belong and experience God's existence in the fellowship of Christians, they can easily understand that

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[22] Nagasawa, "Religious Truth," p. 61.

[23] Clark H. Pinnock, *Flame of Love: A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (Downers Grove IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996), p. 145.

Christianity is meaningful to them. I believe that the spiritual community has the power to attract lost people and if we can meet their physical and mental needs with love and power from God, we can open their hearts. When people realize that the true love and power that they are seeking are in the Christian community, they will want to join and will eventually open their hearts to the good news. If they can see and touch what God is doing, through Christian fellowship, they will come to understand that they need Jesus Christ as their Savior.

I believe that there is an essential key Scripture for Pentecostal mission in Japan. The Book of Acts describes the first Christian community as,

> And they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in the breaking of bread, and in prayers. Then fear came upon every soul, and many wonders and signs were done through the apostles. Now all who believed were together, and had all things in common, and sold their possessions and goods, and divided them among all, as anyone had need. So continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they ate their food with gladness and simplicity of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily those who were being saved (Acts 2:42-47, NKJ).

The first Christians eagerly learned the word of God and prayed together (v. 42). There were signs and wonders in the Christian fellowship (v. 43); their needs were met through each other (vv. 44-45), and they had joy (v. 46). I especially would like to stress that they had favor with people who were outside the Christian community, and daily people were being saved (v. 47).

We can say that the first Christian community was attracting people who were outside the church. If we can build a real Spirit-filled church like the first Christian fellowship described in the Book of Acts, we can make the Pentecostal movement a great influential Christian movement in Japan.

[*AJPS* 9:1 (2006), pp. 99-125]

TAKING THE LOGIC "A LITTLE FURTHER": LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY REFERENCES TO THE GIFT OF TONGUES IN MISSION-RELATED LITERATURE AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON EARLY PENTECOSTALISM

Gary B. McGee

"The power to acquire a foreign language in such a degree as to make the student a powerful speaker before a native audience is, undoubtedly, 'a gift of God,'" according to an article entitled "The Gift of Tongues for Missionary Service," published a decade before Charles Parham and his students at Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas testified to the divine bestowal of at least seventeen languages in January 1901.

> It cannot be produced by the severest application, and therefore stands upon the same basis as any endowment of a high order. The possession of this gift does not, indeed, exempt the holder from making great efforts, but it facilitates and makes possible the use of a "strange tongue" with oratorical power.[1]

To the author, achievement of fluency in another language entailed more than the memorization of vocabulary words and the wizardry of pronunciation, it involved some measure of God-given enablement. But how much? The author had barely opened the door for this discussion before he abruptly turned to the problems faced by missionaries in

[1] Reprinted from *The Christian* (U.K.) as "The Gift of Tongues for Missionary Service" in the *Illustrated Missionary News*, April 1, 1891, p. 58. This article in *The Christian* came on the heels of the debate discussed in the pages below. It would have been published sometime between January 1890 and March 1891, before it was reprinted in the *Illustrated Missionary News*. Unfortunately, issues of *The Christian* are currently unavailable (at least in North America) for the years 1890-1893.

language study (for example, finding tutors).[2] Others, however, with less caution heeded the direction of an otherworldly compass on how the Christian world mission might be accomplished and pointed to the possibility of God instantaneously conferring the necessary proficiencies, fashioning Mark 16:17 ("And these signs will accompany those who believe…they will speak in new tongues") into a virtual guarantee for the applicant with sufficient faith. Confronted by the Babel of the world's languages, some had contended from the time of William Carey that the church needed a replay of the Day of Pentecost to provide missionaries with the requisite languages.[3]

This essay reviews selected articles in mission-related periodicals and books, prominent in the Trans-Atlantic connection among evangelicals, produced in the last two decades of the nineteenth century that mention the gift of tongues. It further analyzes how such discussions influenced early Pentecostalism.[4] Although a few stories from this period tell of missionaries receiving divine assistance in their language studies,[5] the focus centers on the anticipation of languages supernaturally endowed without instructional assistance.

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[2] "Gift of Tongues," p. 59. At a time when aids for language study were limited and few missionary language schools existed, the means of attaining such preparation received increasing attention. For example, see J. C. R. Ewing, "The Intellectual and Practical Preparation of the Volunteer," *The Student Missionary Appeal: Addresses at the Third International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions Held at Cleveland, Ohio, February 23-27, 1898* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1898), pp. 70-71.

[3] The issue surfaced on the occasion of the famous rebuke of John Ryland to William Carey: "Young man, sit down, sit down. You're an enthusiast. When God pleases to convert the heathen, He'll do it without consulting you or me. Besides, there must first be another Pentecostal gift of tongues!" Ryland quoted in S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey, D.D., Fellow of Linnaean Society* (New York: George H. Doran, 1923), p. 50. For an insightful study on the gift of tongues in Christian history, see George H. Williams and Edith Waldvogel [Blumhofer], "A History of Speaking in Tongues and Related Gifts," in *The Charismatic Movement*, ed. Michael P. Hamilton (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 61-113.

[4] The sources for this study have been limited to English-language publications.

[5] For example, see Rosalind Goforth, *Goforth of China* (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, n.d.; originally published in 1937), pp. 87-88.

1. Premillennial Urgency and Language Proficiency

At the first international gathering of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM) in 1891, Ellen Cushing, a veteran missionary to Burma (Myanmar), offered this advice to the volunteers who might be "in a hurry to go quickly to their field of work":

> Remember that if you are to evangelize the world in this generation, there are a great many unlearned, unwritten languages for you to dig out. You must have the ability to dig out the language, construct an alphabet, translate the Bible, make a dictionary, do all the preparatory work, before your brothers with less preparation can come and be evangelists in that language.[6]

Whether among the college and university volunteers who attended this convention or the thousands of other women and men dedicating their lives to missions, there were many young missionaries "in a hurry to go quickly" and Cushing's advice reminded them of the slow road ahead of them.

It seemed the whole world had opened up for travel, adventure, economic investment, and preaching the gospel. The complexity of motives pushing this surge of western imperialism ranged from greed to national glory to gospel proclamation.[7] Reflecting on the unprecedented opportunities the global scenario offered the church to fulfill the Great Commission (Matt 28:19-20) before the impending return of Christ, American mission promoter Arthur T. Pierson wrote *Crisis of Missions* in 1886 to rally Christians to action. "It is our solemn and mature conviction that before the close of this century the gospel might be

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[6] Mrs. J. N. (Ellen) Cushing quoted in *Student Mission Power: Report of the First International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, Held at Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., February 26, 27, 28 and March 1, 1891*, p. 157. (Reprinted by William Carey Library, Pasadena, CA, n.d.)

[7] Charles W. Forman, "A History of Foreign Mission Theory in America," in *American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective*, ed. R. Pierce Beaver (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1977), pp. 83-86.

brought into contact with every living soul," he averred.[8] "We have reached the most critical point in missionary history."[9]

The available literature indicates that both desperation to master foreign languages[10] and, particularly, the premillennial urgency to encircle the globe with the gospel message encouraged the belief that God would dispense languages. "The disappearance of the gift of tongues has occasioned no little disquiet in the minds of many, especially those who have supposed that this gift was originally bestowed for missionary purposes," wrote James Thoburn in 1894, the pioneer Methodist bishop for India and Malaysia.[11] Certain radical evangelicals who had earlier taken inspiration from the "faith principle" in missions, as they interpreted Jesus' commission to the disciples in Matthew 10:9-10, now hoped for the spectacular displays of God's power referred to in Mark 16:17-18 (NIV):

> And these signs will accompany those who believe: In my name they will drive out demons; they will speak in new tongues; they will pick up snakes with their hands; and when they drink deadly poison, it will not hurt them at all; they will place their hands on sick people, and they will get well.

Claims to the reception of languages for missionary evangelism can be traced back to Mary Campbell in the West of Scotland Revival in 1830, an event influenced in part by the teachings of the controversial Presbyterian preacher Edward Irving.[12] Believing she had obtained

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[8] Arthur T. Pierson, *The Crisis of Missions; or, The Voice Out of the Cloud*, 4th ed. (London: James Nisbet, 1886), p. 326. See also A. B. Simpson, "Can the World Be Evangelized in Ten Years?" *Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*, April 1, 1892, pp. 220-221.

[9] Pierson, *Crisis of Missions*, p. 273.

[10] Following a twenty-month tour of overseas missions and observing the long delay that new missionaries faced in preaching caused by their having to learn difficult languages, Congregational pastor Edward Lawrence reported, "Some have been disposed to pray for the gift of tongues." See Edward A. Lawrence, *Modern Missions in the East: Their Methods, Successes, and Limitations* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1895), p. 147.

[11] J. M. Thoburn, *Missionary Addresses* (Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts, 1894), p. 179.

[12] David W. Dorries, "West of Scotland Revival," in *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess et al. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 1189-1192.

Turkish and the language of the Palau Island group in the Pacific Ocean, she stated, "If God has promised to furnish his servants with every necessary qualification, what have they to do but step into the field, depending on Him for all?" [13] Though Campbell's newfound proficiencies remained untested, her logic mirrored that of the radical evangelicals and their Pentecostal children.[14]

2. References in the 1880s

In a startling account printed in 1881, the *New Zealand Christian Record* told how Miss C. M. Reade of the Highways and Hedges Mission had received "Hindostani" (Hindustani) as a "gift of tongues" for preaching, and through this gift she also gained revelatory insight into the Islamic religion that would assist her in preaching to Muslims.[15]

> One month she was unable to do more than put two or three sentences together; while the next month, she was able to preach and pray without waiting for a word. Those who heard her could only say with herself, "It was a gift from above."[16]

The Highways and Hedges Mission, founded by Reade's father, had close ties to the Christian Brethren, a movement known for its

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[13] Cited from a letter of Mary Campbell in Robert Herbert Story, *Memoir of the Life of the Rev. Robert Story* (London: Macmillan, 1862), p. 202.

[14] Speaking in tongues occurred among believers in India beginning in 1860 in a revival sparked by the Irish awakening of 1859. As the impact of the revival rippled from Tirunelveli westward to Travancore in the following years, instances of speaking in tongues were recorded. However, these appear to have been viewed as "unknown" tongues with no connection to preaching. For more information, see G. H. Lang, *The History and Diaries of an Indian Christian (J. C. Aroolappen)* (London: Thynne, 1939), pp. 193-203.

[15] On the Highways and Hedges Mission, see Miss C. M. Reade, "Punrúti Mission," *The Missionary Conference: South India and Ceylon, 1879* (Madras: Addison, 1880), pp. 421-23.

[16] "A Gift of Tongues," *New Zealand Christian Record*, April 14, 1881, p. 11. North American Pentecostal writers seem to have been unaware of the story, probably because of its publication in New Zealand. J. E. Worsfold of the Apostolic Church of New Zealand refers to it in his *History of the Charismatic Movements in New Zealand* (Bradford, Yorks: Julian Literature Trust, 1974), p. 82.

premillennial eschatology. Her familiarity with the Hindustani language should also be taken into consideration, a factor that sets her apart from later persons who said they hoped to be given languages of which they had no knowledge.

In the same year, the potential restoration of tongues attracted a much wider audience with the publication of *The Ministry of Healing: Miracles of Cure in All Ages* by Adoniram J. Gordon, an advocate of faith healing, prominent pastor, and Baptist mission leader. Not surprisingly, Mark 16:17-18 merited special attention: "This rich cluster of miraculous promises all hangs by a single stem, faith," wrote Gordon. God never intended for miracles to cease, "nor is there any ground for limiting this promise to apostolic times and apostolic men."[17] While his main interest centered on the prayer of faith for the sick and he fails to explain how tongues would function, his examination of Mark 16 and 1 Corinthians 12-14 led him to conclude that the "gifts of tongues and of prophecy...do not seem to be confined within the first age of the church."[18] The popularity of the book undoubtedly prompted radical evangelicals to put more stock in the "promises" of Mark 16, thus helping to set the stage for a far-reaching anticipation of supernatural interventions.[19]

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[17] A. J. Gordon, *The Ministry of Healing: Miracles of Cure in All Ages* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, 1881), p. 22.

[18] Gordon, *Ministry of Healing*, p. 55. Reflecting the diversity of opinion over what the restoration of the gift of tongues might mean, Gordon's friend, Arthur T. Pierson, wrote: "In the Acts of the Apostles, two great aids were granted to the witnessing Church: first, the gift of *tongues*, which fitted the heralds to reach strange peoples without the slow mastery of a foreign speech; and, secondly, the gift of *healing*, which made even opponents favourably disposed toward the herald who first brought such help to the body. In a natural way, the lack of these supernatural gifts is now compensated. Christian scholarship has so far outrun the best learning and training of those earlier days, that grammars and dictionaries of all the leading languages and dialects can be supplied to the student…. Within the hundred years past, at least one hundred tongues that had before no literature, not even an alphabet, have by missionaries been reduced to writing. And the Word of God, in over three hundred dialects, now, like a perpetual Pentecost, speaks to the nations, so that each man may in his own tongue read the wonderful works of God. This reduction of the world's languages to a written form, to a scientific form, is God's modern gift of tongues." Arthur T. Pierson, *The New Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1894), p. 382. See also p. 18.

[19] Gordon, *Ministry of Healing*, p. 22.

The appeal to these verses did not escape the watchful eye of New Testament scholar and Union Seminary professor Marvin Vincent: "'Healing through the prayer of faith,' says Mr. Gordon, 'stands on an entirely different basis from such miracles as raising the dead, turning the water into wine, and *speaking with unknown tongues*.' But in Mark [16] the promise, 'they shall speak with new tongues,' is given, *on Mr. Gordon's own expressed admission, to them that believe*, as an inheritance for all time." Taking the logic of Gordon's exegesis "a little further," Vincent pointedly noted "this miracle of speaking with tongues...is nevertheless included in the promise to *all* believers."[20] Indeed, the appeal of Gordon and other radical evangelicals to the promise of physical healing in the disputed longer ending of Mark (16:9-20),[21] the gift of healing in 1 Corinthians 12:9, and other New Testament passages, virtually forced them to argue for the availability of the gift of tongues as well.

Expectancy of tongues surfaced with three members of the Cambridge Seven of athletic fame in England when they arrived in China in 1885 to serve with J. Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission. Sailing with Taylor up the Han River, C. T. Studd and Cecil and Arthur Polhill set aside their Chinese grammar books and prayed for the Pentecostal gift of the Mandarin language. After they reached Hanzhong, they encouraged two young missionary women to do the same. By this time infuriated with their behavior, Taylor scolded them: "How many and subtle are the devices of Satan to keep the Chinese ignorant of the gospel.

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[20] Marvin R. Vincent, "Modern Miracles," *Presbyterian Review* 15 (July 1883), pp. 484-85.

[21] For a discussion of the textual problem, see Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 226-29. The issue was intensified for radical evangelicals when the *English Revised Version* (New Testament in 1881) and the *American Standard Version* (1901) called attention to the questionable textual underpinning of Mark 16:9-20; see F. F. Bruce, *The English Bible: A History of Translations from the Earliest English Versions to the New English Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 148-49. Radical evangelicals and Pentecostals vigorously defended the longer ending; see Gordon, *Ministry of Healing*, pp. 245-46; "Shall We Reject Jesus' Last Words?" *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), October 1906, p. 3, col. 1; and Arthur W. Frodsham, "The Sixteenth Chapter of Mark: How God Vindicates His Word in the Last Days," *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 28, 1923, p. 9. E. F. Baldwin also refers to the integrity of the text in "The Question of the Hour—Foreign Missions," *The Christian*, February 15, 1889, p. 132.

If I could put the Chinese language into your brains by one wave of the hand I would not do it."[22]

"We waited on the Lord, believing He would teach us, as He taught the 120 at Pentecost, and fulfill in us Mark xvi. 17, 18," confessed Studd, but "He has now, after some time, shown us that at present He means us to study; they did not understand us at all at first at [Hanzhong]—thought us idle fanatics, I fancy—but the Lord has now removed the misunderstanding, praise God."[23] As they began their arduous lessons in Mandarin, Studd and the Polhill brothers would probably have agreed with the sentiment expressed by another veteran missionary at the 1891 SVM conference, "The romance of missionary life will not last very long."[24]

The possible restoration of the gift of tongues arose again in 1888-89 during an uproar over whether the instructions of Jesus in Matthew 10:9-10 established the sole divinely commanded paradigm for Christian missions. An American missionary to North Africa, E. F. Baldwin, had submitted a series of seventeen articles to *The Christian*, a prominent British weekly reflecting Keswick views on Christian spirituality. Printed under the banner, "The Question of the Hour—Foreign Missions," he authored them in response to an earlier article entitled "Can Pentecost be Regained?" and directed his attention to the mission dynamics of the primitive church.[25]

"Ah! that was the golden age of missions," sighed Baldwin, standing proudly on his soapbox of thinly veiled contempt for denominational mission hierarchies and traditional mission methods.[26]

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[22] J. Hudson Taylor quoted in A. J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century*, Book 6 (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), pp. 375-76.

[23] C. T. Studd, "Trumpet Calls to Britain's Sons," in *The Evangelisation of the World, a Missionary Band: A Record of Consecration, and an Appeal*, 3rd ed., ed. B. Broomhall (London: Morgan & Scott, 1889), p. 53. Cecil H. Polhill, who joined the Pentecostal movement in 1908 and founded the Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland a year later, never mentions this expectation in his memoirs (available at the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, Springfield, Mo.).

[24] Ella J. Newton quoted in *Student Mission Power*, p. 157.

[25] "M.," "Can Pentecost be Regained?" *The Christian*, November 23, 1888, pp. 1086-87; for an important editorial explanation, see "Notes and Comments," *The Christian*, November 30, 1888, p. 1107, col. 2.

[26] A Southern Baptist minister from North Carolina, E. F. Baldwin and his wife and eleven children went to North Africa in 1884 under the auspices of the (English) Kabyle Mission after his application to the Board of Foreign Missions

> The heralds consulted not with flesh and blood. They knew neither committee nor comity.... They and their Divine Master were not in need of the patronage of the great. These power-filled heralds could not have wrought on lines marked out by human wisdom.[27]

Passionately arguing for a return to the simpler apostolic methods of the New Testament church, he contended that better results would come from missionaries who modeled their lifestyles after the disciples and prayed for miracles.[28] The ensuing debate over his proposals and the possibility of miracles churned for more than a year, drawing the notice of other periodicals, as well as a chorus of opponents.[29]

Among Baldwin's readers, London doctor James Maxwell, secretary of the Medical Missionary Association, took exception not only to the notion that miracles of healing might accompany evangelism, but that such an open-ended restoration of apostolic methods might prompt some to look forward to the reappearance of the gift of tongues. In the Acts of

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had been turned down and his appeals before the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Baltimore earlier in the year had failed. The Convention stated: "We regret that neither our Board or that of the Missionary Union could see its way clear to undertake just now a mission to the Kabyles"; quoted in Willy Normann Heggoy, "Fifty Years of Evangelical Missionary Movement in North Africa, 1881-1931" (Ph.D. diss., Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1960), pp. 70-71. For more information on Baldwin, see E. F. Baldwin, "My Call to Foreign Mission Work, My Journey, My Support," *The Gospel in All Lands*, April 1885, pp. 160, 162-64; idem, "Evangelization of North Africa," *The Gospel in All Lands*, April 1885, pp. 155, 157-60; idem, "The Jews of Morocco," *Missionary Review of the World*, N.S. I (September 1888), pp. 692-93.

[27] "A Missionary" [E. F. Baldwin], "The Question of the Hour—Foreign Missions," *The Christian*, January 11, 1889, p. 26.

[28] "A Missionary" [E. F. Baldwin], "The Question of the Hour—Foreign Missions," *The Christian*, January 4, 1889, pp. 12-13; February 8, 1889, pp. 110-11.

[29] Those offering limited affirmation included Arthur Pierson, editor of the *Missionary Review of the World*, and Andrew Murray, a South African Dutch Reformed theologian and mission advocate. An editorial in Pierson's *Missionary Review of the World* stated: "Without giving our endorsement to every sentiment of Mr. Baldwin in those letters, we confess to a large measure of sympathy with his general position"; "Editorial Notes on Current Topics," *Missionary Review of the World*, N.S. IV (January 1891), p. 71; see also A. T. Pierson, untitled note, *Missionary Review of the World*, N.S. II (July 1889), p. 548. For a reference to Murray's "warm appreciation" of the articles, see "Editorial Note," *The Christian*, July 26, 1889, p. 664.

the Apostles, the latter represented a "wonder, associated especially with new ingatherings of believers, and indicated...the purpose of the Spirit, not only that every believer should be a confessor and witness for Christ, but also that the Gospel should be diffused among all peoples, and in every tongue."[30] Although Baldwin had sidestepped the issue of tongues, Maxwell charged him with looking for "faith-tongues and faith-healings" at the very moment when the "present methods," including medical missions, have been "crowned...in heathendom with ever-increasing tokens of [God's] blessing."[31] Obviously, Baldwin like Gordon could not escape the logical implications of his appeal to the miraculous happenings promised in Mark 16, without making him responsible for "folly and fanaticism" in the eyes of his critics.[32]

Ironically, his most strident adversary proved to be Fanny Guinness, editor of the *Regions Beyond*. She and her husband, H. Grattan Guinness, had been leaders in the faith missions movement and co-founded the Regions Beyond Missionary Union. In her estimation, Baldwin's extremely ascetic application of faith missions smacked of the controversial proposals that Edward Irving had laid before the London Missionary Society in 1824 and published a year later as *Missionaries After the Apostolic School*.[33] Irving called on missionaries to follow literally the instructions of Jesus in Matthew 10 and trust in God alone for their support.

Both Guinness and Eugene Stock, editorial secretary of the Church Missionary Society, grimaced at the similarity of views. The linkage of Baldwin with Irving—"a fanatic and a heretic"—meant that he had "gone quite off Evangelical and Scriptural lines" in the opinion of Stock.[34]

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[30] James L. Maxwell, M.D., "Modern Medical Missions: In Reply to 'A Missionary,'" *The Christian*, March 1, 1889, p. 177.

[31] Maxwell, "Modern Medical Missions," p.177.

[32] Mrs. H. Grattan (Fanny) Guinness, "Missionaries According to Matt. X," *Regions Beyond*, September and October 1889, p. 283.

[33] Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions: From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1994), pp. 34-40, 43.

[34] Stock noted, "In 1889, a series of articles appeared in *The Christian*, which turned out to be in the main a reproduction of Irving's sermon [to the London Missionary Society]. They had a similar effect on many minds, for a time. It is worth noting that the writer, like Irving, soon afterwards went quite off Evangelical and Scriptural lines." Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899-1916), vol. 1, p. 282n. Idem, "Foreign Missions in the New Testament," *Church Missionary*

Guinness alleged that Irving's interpretation of Matthew 10 was "closely connected" to "his later faith in modern miracles, and in the revival of the gift of tongues." [35] Regrettably, "craving after the supernatural, so common in the Church just now" had stirred the recent interest. Unfortunately, "good people" could be led astray because of an unhealthy curiosity in "claims [of] direct inspiration or the gift of tongues, or miraculous interpositions, or even miracle-working power, in a way that Scripture does not warrant *nor experience justify*."[36]

Though not a party to the squabble with Baldwin, church historian Philip Schaff addressed the "Miracle of Pentecost" and the gift of tongues in the third edition of his *History of the Christian Church* published in 1889, while the debate still roiled. "[The gift of tongues] passed away gradually with the other extraordinary or strictly supernatural gifts of the apostolic age," he wrote, but people later misunderstood it to mean the "miraculous and permanent gift of *foreign* languages for *missionary* purposes." Schaff then declared that the "whole history of missions furnishes no clear example of such a gift for such a purpose." Interestingly, he had listened to "Corinthian glossolalia" ("unknown tongues") on one occasion at an "Irvingite congregation" in New York City. "The words were broken, ejaculatory and unintelligible, but uttered in abnormal, startling sounds, in a state of apparent unconsciousness and rapture, and without any control over the tongue, which was seized as it were by a foreign power." His friend and colleague at Union Seminary, Charles Briggs, had noticed the same phenomenon when visiting the main Irvingite church in London a decade earlier.[37]

Intelligencer and Record XIV N.S. (May 1889), pp. 296-305. Stock also wrote a series of articles in *The Christian* in response to Baldwin beginning with the article: "The Question of the Hour—Foreign Missions," April 5, 1889, pp. 290-291.

[35] Guinness, "Missionaries According to Matt. X," September and October 1889, p. 280.

[36] Mrs. H. Grattan (Fanny) Guinness, "Missionaries According to Matt. X," *Regions Beyond*, April 1889, p. 111.

[37] Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 1: *Apostolic Christianity*, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889), p. 237.

3. References in the 1890s

Another failed restoration of the gift of tongues occurred shortly after in 1890 when members of the Kansas-Sudan movement reached Sierra Leone.[38] Encouraged by George Fisher, a YMCA mission enthusiast who had been influenced in part by the preaching of Grattan Guinness at a summer Bible conference, nine young Kansans dedicated their lives to African missions. Arriving on the East Coast, they stayed at A. B. Simpson's missionary hostel in New York City before they boarded the *City of Chicago* for Africa.[39] Their confidence in the faith principle and anticipation of physical healings reflected that of other radical evangelicals. Sadly, several died within a few weeks of reaching their destination, having refused to take quinine.[40] Headlines about young men and women dedicating their lives to missions and then dying because of their embrace of faith healing embarrassed leaders of the faith missions movement.

Virtually all the articles written about the outcome of the Kansas-Sudan movement focused on the tragedy and extreme views on faith missions and faith healing.[41] Yet one contemporary observer of the mission scene and a noted linguist, Robert Needham Cust, reported they had initially assumed they would be given the gift of tongues. Such bizarre behavior could only be attributed to "hare-brained excited young men, full of so-called zeal, empty of all experience, [and] ready to adopt the last new hallucination, such as Faith-healing, Pentecostal gift of

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[38] Robert Needham Cust, *Essay on the Prevailing Methods of the Evangelization of the Non-Christian World* (London: Luzac, 1894), p. 107. For a recent discussion on the Kansas-Sudan movement, see Dana L. Robert, *Occupy until I Come: A. T. Pierson and the Evangelization of the World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), pp. 178-81.

[39] News note, *Bombay Guardian*, September 6, 1890, pp. 3-4. See also, J. M. S., "The Soudan Missionary Movement," *Missionary Review of the World*, N.S. III (July 1890), p. 555; "Missions," *Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*, August 15, 1890, pp. 92-93.

[40] F. F. Ellinwood, "The Faith Element in Missions," *Missionary Review of the World*, N.S. III (December 1890), pp. 944-49.

[41] True not only in mission periodicals, but also in the coverage of New York City and Kansas newspapers. For example, in the reprint edition of an article from the *New York Sun* (August 17, 1890) in the *Topeka Daily Capital* (August 20, 1890), the new title in the Topeka paper reads: "A Sad History: the Experiences of Our Topeka Missionaries."

vernacular languages, *claiming* a sick person of God, and talking of their work being *owned by God*."[42]

Some laid the blame for their deaths at the doorstep of Simpson, one of the best-known proponents of faith healing and founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. In their opinion, the Kansans had left Topeka without belief in faith healing and then embraced it while they resided at his hostel.[43] Probably troubled by Fisher's connection to the ministry of her husband, disturbed by the teachings of the healing movement, angered over the tragic events that had transpired, and recognizing the same radical ideas that Baldwin had proposed, Fanny Guinness now adjusted her editorial sights and took aim at Simpson's "foolish, false, and mischievous doctrines."[44]

"Dr. Simpson," she charged, "thinks we need these 'signs,' and asks, 'What right have we to go to the unbelieving world and demand their acceptance of our message *without* these signs?" Lamentably, "he thinks too, like Irving before him, that we may expect, and are even beginning to see, a restoration of the gift of tongues." She then quotes him as saying, "Instances are not wanting now of its apparent restoration in missionary labours both in India and Africa." To Guinness, such statements lacked any foundation: "[Simpson] does not cite any instance of this, nor are we acquainted with any! We did indeed hear of a dear young enthusiast who tried to learn Chinese by prayer and faith without study, but we heard also that he did not succeed, and that, perceiving his mistake, he soon adopted the usual course."[45]

It is true that Simpson had endorsed—in fact, "cheerfully accept[ed]"—the "severe logic" of Mark 16: "If you expect the healing of the sick, you must also include the gift of tongues and the power to overcome malignant poisons…. We cannot afford to give up one of the promises." Hence, "We see no reason why a humble servant of Christ,

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[42] Cust, *Essay on the Prevailing Methods*, p. 197.

[43] For his rebuttal to the charge, see A. B. Simpson, "Editorial," *Christian and Missionary Alliance Weekly*, November 7, 1890, pp. 274-275.

[44] Mrs. H. Grattan (Fanny) Guinness, "Faith-Healing and Missions," *Regions Beyond*, January 1891, p. 32.

[45] Guinness, "Faith-Healing and Missions," p. 31. Guinness does not cite the source for Simpson's statement. While he made a similar remark in his book, *The Gospel of Healing* (periodical articles first published in book form in 1885), I have not been able to locate the earlier source to which Guinness refers. The "young enthusiast" was probably C. T. Studd since the Guinnesses had close ties to J. Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission.

engaged in the Master's work, may not claim in simple faith the power to resist malaria and other poisons and malignant dangers. To a greater or less extent the gift of tongues has been continuous in the Church of Christ, and along with many counterfeits has undoubtedly been realized in the present generation."[46]

Despite Guinness's rebuke to Simpson, interest in tongues persisted in the Alliance. In an article published in February 1892, he referred to "much earnest inquiry into the real meaning of this apostolic gift, and not a few intending missionaries are hoping and praying, and even believing for the bestowal of this gift upon them, to enable them to preach the Gospel to the heathen."[47] Among them were William W. Simpson (no relation to A. B. Simpson) and William Christie, graduates of Simpson's training school for missionaries, who landed in China in May, intent on evangelizing Tibet. Like Studd and the Polhill brothers, their exuberant trust in Mark 16:17 (as well as Mark 13:11) prompted their prayers for Mandarin and Tibetan.[48]

Several months later at the Alliance's New York convention, Simpson told the faithful, "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." Confident of the biblical promises, he added, "We are praying for the special outpouring of the Spirit in connection with the acquiring of foreign languages." But, perhaps bruised by Guinness's censure and thinking of the failure of the two missionary recruits (Simpson and Christie) to miraculously obtain the languages, he cautioned against the "dangers of Irvingism," aware that "every little while [the idea] is so easily taken up that some persons are called even in these days to a kind of apostolic ministry, and to receive some sort of personal gift."[49]

Simpson openly wondered if missionaries had the right to expect foreign languages for preaching the gospel without diligently studying

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[46] A. B. Simpson, *The Gospel of Healing*, rev. ed. (Harrisburg: Christian Publications, 1915), p. 57. Simpson does not provide an example.

[47] A. B. Simpson, "The Gift of Tongues," *Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*, February 12, 1892, p. 98.

[48] W. W. Simpson, "Letter from Shanghai, China," *Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*, July 1, 1892, pp. 13-14.

[49] A. B. Simpson, "Connection between Supernatural Gifts and the World's Evangelization," *Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*, October 7 & 14, 1892, p. 227.

the languages. Yet, both in the early church and the modern church, God had given individuals this gift for preaching, "but this did not become a permanent gift, and we advise our dear friends to be fully persuaded in their own minds before they commit themselves to a theory which might bring to them great disappointment."[50] Though he cited no examples of such remarkable occurrences in the modern church, he spoke of missionaries in China who, through divine enablement in their study of Mandarin, had been able to preach within a few months.

Because God conceivably could do anything for the seeker who "claimed the promises" with robust confidence, Simpson struggled to resolve the dilemma that his radical stance on "faith" had engendered: "Should God give [the language] immediately to the faith of any of them, by the miraculous answer to prayer, we should greatly rejoice and should not question it, but we do not feel authorized to encourage them uniformly to expect it."[51] Wanting to avoid the dangers of "excess and fanaticism," and once again distancing himself and the Alliance from Irving, he contended several weeks after the convention closed that one could still find the "middle ground of supernatural reality and power, where we may safely stand, as far on one side from the excesses of Irvingism as it is on the other from the coldness of unbelief."[52]

By 1898, Simpson's confidence that in rare instances and with sufficient faith some missionaries might receive the languages had waned, knowing of missionaries who "have been saved from this error." With language instruction and heaven's blessing, they quickly mastered and preached in the language. Those who proposed that the Alliance "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," did not foresee that the results would surely lead to "wild fanaticism and bring discredit upon the truth itself."[53] Less than a decade later, Simpson again would face turbulence in the Alliance over

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[50] Simpson, "Connection," p. 227.

[51] Simpson, "Connection," p. 227. Simpson then noted, "Even in the early church an interpreter was frequently required…when the gift of tongues was exercised."

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

[53] A. B. Simpson, "The Worship and Fellowship of the Church," *Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly*, February 9, 1898, p. 126; see also, idem, "The Supernatural Gifts and Ministries of the Church," *Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly*, January 19, 1898, pp. 53-54, 67.

the gift of tongues, resulting in differences of opinion that would have far-ranging effects on the organization.

4. Astonishing Claims

Those looking for a success story of a missionary actually having a gift of language cheered at the news of Jennie Glassey, upon whom the Holy Spirit purportedly had bestowed thirteen African dialects, in addition to Mandarin.[54] What's more, reports circulated that her proficiencies had been corroborated by knowledgeable bystanders.

A native of Missouri, she had come into contact with Canadian Baptist evangelists Walter and Frances Black who were conducting services in the rural part of the state where she and her mother lived.[55] A Presbyterian of Scottish descent, Glassey told them she had been baptized in the Holy Spirit on March 23, 1894. A year later, at eighteen years of age, she moved to St. Louis and stayed with the Blacks who were engaged in "home missionary work" in conjunction with a local congregation.

Unlike others, Glassey said that the call to be a missionary and the promise of an African language followed her Spirit baptism. On July 8-9, 1895 in St. Louis, she received several African dialects (Housa, Croo, and "Khoominar"[?]) in a vision. "The Spirit," as described in a newspaper account, "unrolled before her eyes [a] long scroll covered with strange characters. These were in the Croo language. The [S]pirit read them most rapidly, and she read after him. First the psalms...and then the Bible. So rapid was the reading that she feared she could not remember all, but has done so, and speaks the Croo language with grace and fluency." Her ability to speak Khoominar was verified, "because the Lord said it was [Khoominar]."[56]

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[54] "Tarry Until," *Tongues of Fire*, March 1, 1897, p. 38.

[55] Walter S. Black had been born in Salem, Nova Scotia and graduated with a B.A. from Acadia College (now University) in Wolfville, NS in 1889 and from Newton Theological Institution (now Andover Newton Theological School), Newton Centre, Mass. in 1892. After graduation, he and his wife Frances pastored Baptist churches in Massachusetts and Minnesota before moving to St. Louis, Mo. for two years. See Edward Watson Kirkconnell, ed., *The Acadia Record (1838-1953)*, rev. ed. (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University, 1953), p. 34.

[56] "Mission Work," *Amherst (N.S.) Daily News*, December 9, 1895, p. 1. I have not been able to identify the "Khoominar" language.

Soon afterward, the Blacks received Khoominar, according to Mark 16:17, when members of the St. Louis congregation laid hands on them in prayer. While they could converse with Glassey in the language and answer her questions, they curiously lacked the "power of interpretation" and did not understand what was spoken. Nonetheless, the experience brought them a call to Africa as well.[57] Leaving St. Louis, the Blacks and Glassey went to Connecticut and then on to Amherst, Nova Scotia where their recently attained notoriety furnished them the opportunity to share their testimonies and plans to an overflow crowd at the YMCA in December. During their brief visit, Glassey gained the "Chinese language" and visited two "Celestials" (Chinese) at a local laundry who indicated they recognized the language.[58]

Traveling as "faith missionaries," the threesome sailed to Liverpool, England and arrived there on January 7, 1896, with plans to book passage for Sierra Leone. As it happened, they remained in Liverpool for two years due to insufficient funds and resided at the home of W. H. Archer, an English evangelist who directed the Bethel Mission. In the meantime, several American periodicals branded their miraculous claims as fraudulent, a charge not easily dismissed after Glassey refused to allow her languages to be examined by a representative sent to England by a Christian organization in America.[59]

Such opposition did not deter their confidence in miracles. In fact, Glassey received more amazing gifts: seventeen new teeth, including "*five fullgrown* [sic] white teeth [that] filled old vacancies during a half hour's heavy sleep,"[60] handicraft skills, especially "practical needle work;" and newfound ability in instrumental music. "Those who know how unproficient she was in all those things when she left her home," said Walter Black of the hapless Glassey, "need no further proof that she

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[57] "Mission Work," p. 1.

[58] From a news item published in the *St. John (N.B.) Daily Sun*, December 30, 1895, reprinted in "Tongues of Fire. Other Tongues," *Tongues of Fire*, April 15, 1896, p. 59.

[59] "Going on Still," *Tongues of Fire*, April 1, 1897, pp. 54-55. Glassey wrote (p. 54): "It is no wonder the Lord would not permit me to verify the gift of tongues when there were so many volumes of prayer ascending to God for us. Do you know while [the representative] was trying to compel me to do as *he* said, I felt as if I was held by such an unseen force I dare not move."

[60] Frances F. Black, "God Also Bearing Them Witness," *Tongues of Fire*, June 15, 1897, pp. 97-98.

has been divinely taught, for all these gifts are as unnatural to her as the gift of tongues."[61]

The story of this unusual missionary party might have died in obscurity had not Frank Sandford, an evangelist and founder of the Shiloh religious community near Durham, Maine, publicized it in his *Tongues of Fire* newspaper. "Such is the account of the Pentecostal method of learning foreign languages for the proclamation of the gospel," declared Sandford. Christians who had the faith to try the "purely Holy Ghost machinery" of Mark 16:17-18 could achieve quickly the Great Commission, since, he huffed, neither "20,000 nor 100,000 missionaries of the common sanctified type will [ever] evangelize this globe."[62]

Sandford became acquainted personally with Glassey and the Blacks in Liverpool and invited them to join him on his way by ship to Palestine.[63] For whatever reason, they abandoned their immediate plans for Sierra Leone and disembarked in Palestine at the beginning of July 1898. They may have resided in the region (Jerusalem and Syria) until 1904. Virtually nothing is known about their activities there except that the relationship with Sandford ended shortly after their arrival.[64] Although interest in the gift of tongues flourished for a time at Shiloh, Sandford had no place for it in his vision for the means of world evangelization.[65]

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[61] Letter from Walter S. Black to Frank W. Sandford quoted in "Commit Thy Way," *Tongues of Fire*, June 15, 1898, p. 93.

[62] "Tongues of Fire. Other Tongues," pp. 58-59.

[63] Frank S. Murray suggests that the Blacks and Glassey visited Shiloh on their way from St. Louis to Amherst, N.S. in *The Sublimity of Faith: The Life and Work of Frank W. Sandford* (Amherst, NH: Kingdom Press, 1981), p. 180. While this may have happened, the correspondence with the Blacks and Glassey, which Sandford published, indicates that they were not personally acquainted; for example, see "Tongues of Fire. Other Tongues," p. 58.

[64] Sandford returned to the United States in August 1898. The tenure of the Blacks in Palestine possibly lasted until 1904. In that year, Walter Black once more began pastoring Baptist churches: Moscow and Black Foot, Ida., Innisfall, Alta., New Westminster, B.C., Redlands, Calif., and Calgary, Alta. His last pastorate was a small mission in Los Angeles, Calif., where he died in 1929. "Deaths," *Los Angeles Times*, May 7, 1929, p. 24. It is uncertain whether Glassey continued living in Palestine or had returned with the Blacks to North America by 1904. There is no indication that the Blacks or Glassey ever identified with the Pentecostal movement.

[65] Shirley and Rudy Nelson, "Frank Sandford: Tongues of Fire in Shiloh, Maine," in *Portraits of a Generation: Early Pentecostal Leaders*, ed. James R.

The passionate conviction about Christ's imminent coming and certainty of supernatural power had energized late nineteenth-century radical evangelicals.[66] In important respects, their approaches to mission and trust in the restoration of "signs and wonders" (Acts 5:12) stood as a protest against the influence of modernity on the mission enterprise and concomitant emphasis on the "civilizing" of heathen peoples. The seemingly endless fund raising, growing mission structures and policies, and resources deployed on institutions (schools, orphanages, clinics), downplayed what they considered to be the paramount objective of missions.[67] "Let it be understood," thumped E. F. Baldwin, "that the simple preaching of the Gospel alone is the fulfilling of the [Great] commission."[68]

Interest in the gift of tongues also displayed the pragmatic impulse of radical evangelicals and revealed a dynamic that blurred naiveté with exuberant faith in God's power to accomplish the humanly impossible.[69] Since conferred languages conceivably could be verified, this left no

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Goff, Jr. and Grant Wacker (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2002), pp. 68-69.

[66] See A. J. Gordon, "Pre-Millennialism and Missions," *Watchword*, April 1886, pp. 30-35; cf., Pierson, *The New Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 298-99.

[67] E. F. Baldwin described the constant call of mission agencies for "men and money" as a disgraceful "exaltation of gold" and a "departure from Christ's simple and unencumbered methods laid down for the conduct of his work in enlarging the frontiers of his kingdom" in "The Question of the Hour—Foreign Missions," *The Christian*, January 4, 1889, p. 12. For an insightful discussion of missionary funding, see Valentin H. Rabe, "Evangelical Logistics: Mission Support and Resources to 1920," in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 56-90.

[68] "A Missionary" [E. F. Baldwin], "The Question of the Hour—Foreign Missions," *The Christian*, February 8, 1889, p. 110.

[69] Though their anticipation of miracles generally kept them on the margin of the nineteenth-century Protestant missions movement, the following served as articulate spokesmen for missions. Gordon, A. B. Simpson, Studd, the Polhill brothers, Sandford, and Walter Black were all college or university graduates, with several of them having attended or graduated from seminary (Gordon, Simpson, Sandford, and Black). William Simpson and William Christie had studied at the Missionary Training College in New York City and Charles Parham spent two years at Southwest Kansas College. While the information on Baldwin does not mention his educational training, his many periodical articles suggest an above average level of learning for his time.

room for unknown tongues or the connection to the baptism in the Holy Spirit that Pentecostals would later trumpet.

5. The Missional Influence

The broad conversation on the apostolic paradigm of faith missions and the availability of miracles—specifically healing through the prayer of faith—had logically opened the door to the gift of tongues. The missional nature of this two-decades-long discussion profoundly influenced the course of Pentecostalism when it arose after the turn of the twentieth century, indicating that more than any other factor tongues set the Pentecostals apart from their radical evangelical parents. The emerging legacy appears in many places, especially in the teachings of Charles Parham on Spirit baptism, as well as in key developments in the Christian & Missionary Alliance.

5.1 Parham and the Pentecostal Baptism

Information about Glassey gleaned from a St. Louis periodical caught the attention of Kansas holiness preacher, Charles Parham. In his *Apostolic Faith* newspaper in 1899, he said that she "could read and write, translate and sing the language while out of the trance or in a normal condition, and can until now. Hundreds of people can testify to the fact, both saint and sinner, who heard her use the language."[70] In April of the next year, he reported that "Bro. and Sister Hamaker are now in Beth-el [Healing Home] to labor for Jesus until He gives them an heathen tongue, and then they will proceed to the missionary field."[71] Residing at the heart of Parham's operation in Topeka and devoting themselves to prayer for the conferral of a language, the Hamakers surely heightened his curiosity about the gift.[72]

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[70] Charles F. Parham, "The Gift of Tongues," *Apostolic Faith* (Topeka), May 3, 1899, p. 5. Parham's source was an article in *Everlasting Gospel*, published in St. Louis, Mo. by H. W. Peffley. Thus, he may not have read the letters published by Sandford in *Tongues of Fire*. A reference to Glassey in Parham's *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 2d ed. (Baxter Springs, KS: Apostolic Faith Bible College, 1902, 1910), p. 29, indicates that his knowledge of her activities was limited.

[71] News note, *Apostolic Faith* (Topeka), April 1, 1900, p. 7, col. 2.

[72] James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), p. 73.

In late June 1900, Parham journeyed to Shiloh to meet Sandford and visit his Holy Ghost and Us Bible School. There he heard speaking in tongues for the first time, when several students came down from their vigils in the prayer towers.[73] His expectations of Mark 16:17 and Acts 2:4, the news about Glassey, the presence of the Hamakers at the Beth-El Home, and his experiences at Shiloh, confirmed that tongues as languages could be restored. He also knew of the widespread interest in such a possibility: "We have heard of a Bible School that made most marvelous claims in regard to the Baptism of the Holy Spirit," he recalled in 1902. "Like many individuals...[have] said: We have received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, but as we are bent upon the world's evangelization, we must have this. This Bible School sought in vain, month after month for the speaking in other languages."[74]

In October 1900, Parham opened Bethel Bible School, modeled on the Shiloh school, with the hope of producing a new diaspora of Spirit-filled missionaries who would leave Topeka for the ends of the earth. By this point his re-conceptualizing of the Wesleyan holiness baptism in the Holy Spirit had fully matured with the uniquely added "Bible evidence" of speaking in tongues. The reception of the global languages would mark the onset of the end-times,[75] the sealing of the bride of Christ, and provide the means for the speedy evangelization of the world.[76] On January 1, 1901, the anticipation became a reality for Parham and his students. The first to speak in tongues, Agnes Ozman, received the Chinese language. "We will not have to wait until we master the foreign languages," Parham told a bewildered reporter from the *Kansas City Times*, because "God will give us the power to speak so that we will be understood."[77]

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[73] C. W. Shumway, "A Critical Study of 'The Gift of Tongues'" (A.B. diss., University of Southern California, 1914), p. 165.

[74] Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, p. 35.

[75] Charles Nienkirchen discusses the historical vision of early Pentecostals in "Conflicting Visions of the Past: 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. 119-133.

[76] Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, p. 78.

[77] Parham quoted in "Story of His Belief. Rev. Charles Parham Tells How He Learned His Religion," *Kansas City Times*, February 4, 1901; reprinted in *The Topeka Outpouring of 1901*, rev. ed., ed. Larry Martin (Joplin, MO: Christian Life Books, 2000), p. 252.

The languages from the testimonials of the Topeka revival included Assyrian, Bohemian, Bulgarian, Chinese, French, German, Hindi, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, Yiddish, and Zulu.[78] Along with these, participants at the later Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles, California (1906-09), impacted by Parham's teachings through his former student William J. Seymour, spoke of receiving Bengali, Chippewa, "Esquimaux," Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Tibetan, and sign language, among others.[79]

Unlike the radical evangelicals discussed previously, Parham had invested his holiness understanding of Spirit baptism with tongues. To the former, the gift of tongues would signify that God still performed miracles and would bestow languages. When this failed to happen, missionaries like C. T. Studd and William Simpson simply returned to their books. Their confidence had not been built on Spirit baptism, but on God's providence. Neither did they suggest that God intended for every believer to have such languages; tongues were for missionaries. In contrast, Parham's linkage of tongues with Spirit baptism added a dramatically innovative dimension, one that would form the direction of Pentecostal theology and spirituality for years to come. By insisting that every believer should have this experience, he pressed the logic much farther than had other radical evangelicals.

For the first seven years of the Pentecostal movement, the contours of his theology of Spirit baptism went largely unchallenged. In due course, Pentecostals modified their perception of the purpose of tongues. After Alfred and Lillian Garr, the first missionaries from Azusa Street to reach a foreign country, discovered in Calcutta their inability to preach in their newfound languages, they reformulated Parham's Bible evidence doctrine in early 1907. Though still perceived to be unlearned foreign languages or, as Alfred Garr added, the unknown "languages of angels" (1 Cor 13:1), their function changed from preaching to ecstatic prayer in the Holy Spirit as the source of empowerment for evangelism and missions.[80] Tongues then remained an indispensable component of Spirit baptism.

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[78] For the reported claims to divinely bestowed languages at Topeka, see Martin, *Topeka Outpouring*, pp. 235, 244, 247.

[79] News note, *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), September 1906, p. 1, col. 4.

[80] A. G. Garr, "Tongues. The Bible Evidence to the Baptism with the Holy Ghost," *Pentecostal Power* (Calcutta), March 1907, pp. 2-5; idem, "Tongues in the Foreign Field" ("A letter from Bro. Garr"), *Confidence* (Special Supplement), May 1908, pp. 1-3. For a more complete discussion, see Gary B. McGee, "The

With this adjustment, Pentecostals no longer needed authentication of their languages, the scientific affirmation of which had eluded them since 1901.[81] Tongues as a form of prayer naturally demanded a major revision of the previous understanding of Mark 16:17 and Acts 2:4, signaling that Pentecostals had crossed the Rubicon into the Christian mystical tradition, while retaining the missiological intent of baptism in the Holy Spirit.[82] Ironically, the demise of the former certainty of tongues for preaching left their actual meaning in question.[83] From their

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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.

[81] Nevertheless, in the years that followed, Pentecostals eagerly cited many instances where knowledgeable bystanders recognized the tongues being spoken. However, examples of Pentecostals being able to speak *at will* in their newfound languages proved difficult to find. An early Pentecostal editor, J. T. Boddy, wrote: "When a person finds himself, without any effort on his part, able at once to speak in a language or languages, which he never learned, (and in many cases these languages have been recognized by persons acquainted with them, thus proving them genuine) then it must be by a power outside of themselves…."; "The Gifts of the Spirit," *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 17, 1920, p. 6. For anecdotal evidence of recognized languages, see Stanley H. Frodsham, *With Signs Following: The Story of the Latter Day Pentecostal Revival* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1926), pp. 208-29; Ralph W. Harris, S*poken by the Spirit: Documented Accounts of "Other Tongues" from Arabic to Zulu* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1973).

[82] Simon Chan, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 40-72. According to Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 54, "Pentecostals inherited these cues and intensified them by making tongues and other forms of ecstatic behavior normative. In short, the momentum and direction of radical evangelical *culture* effectively predetermined that Holy Ghost ecstasy would emerge sooner or later." In reference to Mark 16:17, Pentecostal scholars in the second half of the twentieth century generally ignored the passage in their expositions of baptism in the Holy Spirit and Pentecostal spirituality. For recent Pentecostal scholars who affirm the missiological nature of the Pentecostal baptism, see William W. Menzies and Robert P. Menzies, *Spirit and Power: Foundations of Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000), pp. 69-83.

[83] Pentecostal writers usually chose to analyze the effects of tongues in spiritual empowerment, but not the actual function of tongues in personal spirituality. For example, see A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues: What Is It?" *Confidence*, May 1910, p. 11. Exceptions to this include the recent study by New Testament scholar Anthony D. Palma, *The Holy Spirit: A Pentecostal Perspective*

perspective, radical evangelicals suspected that Pentecostals had been deceived: Were unknown tongues of satanic origin?[84]

5.2 The Christian & Missionary Alliance

The gift of tongues had garnered more sustained attention in the Christian & Missionary Alliance than in any other mission-related organization. It captured the imagination of visionaries like Simpson who longed to see the gospel message announced around the world before Christ returned. Conversely, he had wrestled publicly for almost two decades with the issues that would encircle such a restoration: the rationale for tongues and also if their manifestations required the gift of interpretation (1 Cor 14:13-19).[85]

Though word of the Azusa Street revival sparked Pentecostal revivals in the Alliance,[86] Simpson and other radical evangelical revivalists had provided the tinder. While the *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles) newspaper, published by the leaders of the Azusa Street revival, still told of missionaries on their way overseas utilizing their new languages as late as the fall of 1907,[87] Alliance Pentecostals did not highlight always their experiences of tongues as preparation for

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(Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 2001), pp. 140-48; also, theologian Frank D. Macchia, "Sighs Too Deep for Words: Toward a Theology of Glossolalia," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 1 (October 1992), pp. 47-73.

[84] Grant Wacker, "Travail of a Broken Family: Radical Evangelical Responses to the Emergence of Pentecostalism in America, 1906-16," in Edith L. Blumhofer, et al., eds., *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 36-37.

[85] For example, see Simpson, "The Supernatural Gifts and Ministries of the Church," pp. 53-54, 67; "The Worship and Fellowship of the Church," pp. 125-27.

[86] "Revival Notes," *Christian and Missionary Alliance Weekly*, April 7, 1906, p. 212. The most extensive discussion on the Pentecostal revivals in the Alliance can be found in Charles W. Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1992), pp. 81-100; but one is also well served by Paul L. King, "Pentecostal Roots in the Early Christian & Missionary Alliance" (Part 1), *Assemblies of God Heritage* 24 (Fall 2004), pp. 12-17; (Part 2) 24 (Winter 2004-05), pp. 32-33.

[87] "Pentecostal Missionary Reports," *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), October to January 1908, p. 1, col. 4. Nevertheless, the faithful at Azusa were also reformulating Parham's doctrine of Spirit baptism as evident in "Pentecostal Notes," *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), September 1907, p. 3, cols. 3-4.

preaching.[88] Even as particular "branches" of the association were "seriously disrupted" by outgoing parties of missionaries who believed they had received the necessary languages and some new Alliance missionaries had been tempted "to abandon the study of the native language and wait vainly for some supernatural gift of tongues," this prospect did not appear to reflect the prevailing opinion, whether among the Alliance faithful in North America or their missionaries in China and India who spoke in tongues.[89]

Recounting his Spirit baptism in early 1907 at Homestead, Pennsylvania, Alliance pastor J. T. Boddy said that for weeks afterward, he was "more or less intoxicated in the Spirit and flooded with tongues without number, expressed in messages, poetry, praise, prayer and songs of the Spirit."[90] Likewise, reporting on the revival at the Chicago branch, Alliance insider William T. MacArthur penned, "The tongues they speak in do not seem to be intended as a means of communication between themselves and others, as on the Day of Pentecost, but corresponds more closely with that described in the 14th [chapter] of I Corinthians...and seems to be a means of communication between soul and God."[91]

Another noteworthy example comes from a report prepared by the principal of the Missionary Training Institute at Nyack, New York. William C. Stevens related that when the school year began in the fall of

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[88] Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement*, pp. 81-88.

[89] A. B. Simpson, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Christian & Missionary Alliance*, May 27, 1908, p. 12; see also, W. A. Cramer, "Pentecost at Cleveland," *Christian and Missionary Alliance Weekly*, April 27, 1907, p. 201; F. E. Marsh, "The Gift of Tongues," *Living Truths*, May 1907, pp. 261-62 (account of tongues at Alliance Hall in Newcastle, PA); A. B. Simpson, "Annual Report of President and General Superintendent of the C. and M.A.," *Christian and Missionary Alliance Weekly*, June 15, 1907, p. 222; "Editorials," *India Alliance*, August 1907, p. 19. For the Pentecostal revival in India among Alliance missionaries, see M. B. Fuller, "India," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Christian & Missionary Alliance*, 1908, pp. 139-141; Mrs. W. M. Turnbull, "Another Chapter About Dholka," *India Alliance*, May 1908, p. 130. One of the most insightful articles on the issue of tongues came from China missionary Robert A. Jaffray, who had experienced speaking in tongues himself: "Speaking In Tongues—Some Words of Kindly Counsel," *Christian and Missionary Alliance Weekly*, March 13, 1909, p. 395.

[90] J. T. Boddy quoted in Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, p. 45.

[91] William T. MacArthur, "The Promise of the Father and Speaking with Tongues in Chicago," *Christian and Missionary Alliance Weekly*, July 27, 1907, p. 44.

1907, "there was much demonstration and in many 'tongues.' Had these movings been from the wrong quarter, we might have had serious times. But never has the Faculty had to sit in council over the matter. . . . The result has been a deepened mutual confidence, love and respect in all our body."[92] Whether known or unknown languages, the notion of their use for preaching did not occupy the discussion; the leaders had been down that road before.

For A. B. Simpson and many of his colleagues, the "most pernicious error" in circulation came from those who mandated tongues as the "necessary test of our having received the Holy Ghost, and come into the fullness of Christ."[93] Nevertheless, a sizable contingent of Alliance members disagreed with them, seeing tongues as normative to Spirit baptism, and beginning in 1907 left to identify with Pentecostalism. Their involvement added to the doctrinal stability of the movement, impacted the character of its ministerial and missionary training schools, and extended the list of Pentecostal missionaries.[94] Others of the Alliance faithful who spoke in tongues, however, accepted Simpson's critique and remained in the organization.[95]

Pentecostals insisted that speaking in tongues, now signifying the "inspired utterance" experienced by the 120 on the Day of Pentecost and to which Paul refers in 1 Corinthians 14:2 ("anyone who speaks in a tongue does not speak to men but to God...he utters mysteries with his spirit"), brought a heightened intimacy with the ministry of the Holy Spirit. This has distinguished the piety of Pentecostalism. "Everyone that gets the baptism gets power," lauded an unnamed writer in the *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles). "It is a continuous power. It comes down from heaven. The Lord sings and speaks through you in another tongue. . . . [It

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[92] Wm. C. Stevens, "Report from the Missionary Institute," *Eleventh Annual Report*, p. 82.

[93] A. B. Simpson, "Gifts and Grace," *Christian and Missionary Alliance Weekly*, June 29, 1907, p. 302.

[94] Former Alliance members were especially influential in the fledgling Assemblies of God; see Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), p. 134. For the influence of the Alliance on Pentecostal ministerial and missionary training institutions, see Lewis Wilson, "The Kerr-Peirce Role in A/G Education," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 10 (Spring 1990), pp. 6-8, 21-22; Michael G. Owen, "Preparing Students for the First Harvest: Five Early Ohio Bible Schools," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 9 (Winter 1989-90), pp. 3-5, 16-19.

[95] Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement*, pp. 122-30.

is] the third Person of the Trinity upon your soul, that reveals Christ and takes the things of the Father and shows them unto you."[96] Presbyterian missionary Antoinette Moomau said the transformation of the Pentecostal baptism created within her the ability to "preach the everlasting gospel in the power and demonstration of the Spirit and to truly go out on the faith line and to minister day and night, sometimes unto the hungry multitudes in the face of fierce opposition."[97]

6. Conclusion

Beginning in the 1880s, and especially in the years from 1888 to 1892 when North American Protestant missions expanded exponentially, the otherworldly logic of radical evangelicals pressed supernatural expectation ever farther in their march toward the evangelization of the world, charting a path that differentiated them from other Christians who did not share their unbridled confidence in the potential of miraculous happenings. In the end, they were forced to rethink the relevance of Mark 16:17 and instructed their missionaries to learn the "new tongues" of their respective mission fields with the assistance of the increasing number of grammars and dictionaries of foreign languages, undeniable evidence of the blessings of modernity in scholarly translation work. Notwithstanding, Pentecostals discovered spiritual dynamics in tongues-speech that would noticeably impact the Christian world movement.

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[96] "Pentecostal Notes," p. 3, cols. 3-4.

[97] Antionette Moomau, "China Missionary Received Pentecost," *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), October to January 1908, p. 3, cols. 3-4.

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NEW PATTERNS OF FORMATION IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ROLE OF CATHOLIC CHARISMATIC RENEWAL

Peter Hocken

This article examines how currents of renewal, particularly the charismatic movement, have been leading to new patterns of Christian formation within the Roman Catholic Church. I will look first at the overall context; secondly, at the first stage of reform and renewal in Catholic formation (1965–85) and then at the more recent period (1985 to the present). Finally, I offer some reflections on differences between Evangelical and Roman Catholic patterns of formation.

1. The Overall Context

Any consideration of changes in the Roman Catholic Church in recent times has to start from the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). Pope John XXIII had called the Council as an instrument for the renewal of the Catholic church.[1] Two words have been used to capture the goal of the Council: the French word *ressourcement* and the Italian word *nggiornamento. Ressourcernent* refers to a recentering of the Catholic tradition through a return to the sources, biblical and patristic; *nggiornamento* means an updating, a making relevant and effective of the Christian message in the world of our day. This renewal was to be both biblical and Christocentric, expressed first in a renewed liturgical worship, that would be communal and participatory. It would take seriously the dignity of every human person, and emphasize the call to holiness of all the baptized.

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[1] According to post-Vatican II Roman Catholic teaching, both the church and the Jewish people abide in covenant with God. We both therefore have missions before God to undertake in the world.

The reforms of the Second Vatican Council had their most dramatic effects in Catholic worship, with an immediate change from Latin to local languages, and in relations to "non-Catholics" (both Christian and non-Christian) with the decision for relationship and dialogue rather than hostility and denunciation.

The Council ratified and encouraged developments in the Catholic Church that had been gaining momentum in previous decades. These included the rise of new movements, predominantly of lay people, seeking a deeper Christian life and a greater impact on society. It deepened the commitment to biblical studies and biblical scholarship within the Catholic Church. It encouraged the vision of a renewal of the Church leading to a renewal of society and of culture.

2. The First Stage of Reform and Renewal in Catholic Formation (1965–85)

When the Council ended in December 1965, the Catholic Church faced a massive task of implementing its decisions. This task involved extensive institutional reform; for example, the revision of all the liturgical books and ceremonies, the setting up of new departments and committees,[2] the re-shaping of theology in the light of the Council's teaching, the revision of patterns of formation in the seminaries and religious houses.

The old textbooks of scholastic theology were no longer needed. Instead, more time would be given to biblical studies, to a dogmatic theology rooted in the scriptures, in touch with the whole tradition and in dialogue with the contemporary world, to a pastoral formation paying greater attention to conditions in the world. In consequence, the patterns of Catholic formation changed immensely in the ten years following the Council.

Another change in Catholic education was an openness to the writings of others, whether other Christian scholars, particularly biblical exegetes and historians, or non-Christian authors, often from the behavioral sciences. This new openness also made possible a learning from Evangelical Christians, though this developed more slowly.

[2] At the international level, this included the establishing in the Vatican of what are known as Pontifical Councils for promoting particular goals and relationships: the Pontifical Councils for the Laity. for the Promotion of the Unity of Christians. for the Family, for Justice and Peace, for Inter-Religious Dialogue. for Culture, for Social Communications.

Meanwhile, new movements in the Catholic Church continued to expand and to multiply [3] Ranked among these, though essentially different in character,[4] is the Catholic charismatic renewal (CCR), which manifested an explosive growth from its origins in 1967.

CCR was organized around the foundational experience of baptism in the Spirit as a personal submission to the lordship of Jesus Christ, manifested in the spiritual gifts or charisms listed in I Corinthians 12:8-10. Its major forms of expression were prayer groups, sometimes inter-denominational, and communities — generally called covenant communities — some of which also had a Protestant component within a Catholic majority. The communities, particularly in the United States, quickly became the organizing and promotional centers for CCR, producing magazines, books and courses of formation. The first formation instrument was the Life in the Spirit seminars, produced by the Word of God Community in Ann Arbor, Michigan, a seven-week course to prepare people to be baptized in the Spirit. In contrast to the later Alpha course, which is directed to the unchurched,[5] the Life in the Spirit seminars presupposed a knowledge of basic Christian teaching and sought to bring alive in the heart what had only been communicated to the head.

Since the communities represented a more committed and structured way of life, their members needed formation beyond the Life in the Spirit seminars. Various highly practical courses, taught by community leaders, were developed under the heading of "Foundations," touching on family life, prayer together, upbringing of children, and finances. Much of this new teaching was influenced by Protestant charismatic sources, covering areas on which there had been very little teaching in Catholic circles.[6]

[3] For example, Focolari (Italy), Cursillo (Spain), Neo-Catechumenate (Spain), Comunione e Liberazione (Italy), Foyers de Charitt (France), Oasis, later Light-Life (Poland).

[4] The major difference in CCR from other new Catholic movements is that CCR had no human founder, and so had to discover its own identity and significance over a period of years.

[5] P. Hocken, "Alpha Course," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (NIDPCM), eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Maas (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), p. 312.

[6] The interaction of Protestant and Catholic practical teaching can be seen clearly from the early issues of *Pastoral Renewal*, a magazine begun in 1976 by the Word of God Community in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Already in this period, we can see how several emphases of the Second Vatican Council became realities in CCR. I would signal out four aspects:

2.1 Bible-based Spirituality

The Council put an end to the lingering Catholic suspicion that the promotion of Bible-reading was Protestant and dangerous. "Access to sacred Scripture ought to be open wide to the Christian faithful."[7] However, it takes more than an official decree to change the habits of centuries. The huge increase in regular Bible-reading by Catholics owes much to CCR, which has awakened a thirst for the Scriptures among millions of ordinary Catholics.

2.2 Charisms

The Council's teaching on charisms also prepared the way for CCR: "Whether these charisms be very remarkable or more simple and widely diffused, they are to be received with thanksgiving and consolation since they are fitting and useful for the needs of the Church."[8] Here again it is in CCR that a teaching has become a manifest reality in the life of the Catholic Church.

2.3 Lay Leadership

The Council's teaching on the church sought to provide a theological basis for the active role and responsibility of every member of the Church: "the laity—no matter who they are—have, as living members, the vocation of applying to the building up of the Church and to its continual sanctification all the powers which they have received from the goodness of the Creator and from the grace of the Redeemer."[9] This equipping was rooted theologically in baptism.

In the new spiritual movements, and particularly CCR, Catholic lay people began to enter into positions of leadership. Most CCR prayer groups and communities are led by lay people, who give teachings, care

[7] *Dei Verbum* (1965), para. 22.

[8] *Lumen Gentium* (1964), para. 12. Charism here means all forms of divine grace given to some for the benefit of others, including but not limited to the spiritual or charismatic gifts.

[9] *Lumen Gentium,* para. 33.

for the members and pray over them for healing and other forms of blessing.

2.4 Evangelization

Evangelization was not a major emphasis in the documents of the Council, but it was in the logic of its teaching: in the emphases on the scriptures, on the laity,[10] on the Trinitarian mission of the church and in the paragraph on the charisms. It was Pope Paul VI's letter on Evangelization in 1975 that brought this issue to the forefront in Catholic consciousness.[11]

While Paul VI's letter did spur Catholic discussion of evangelization, the new movements and CCR were the main instigators of new evangelistic initiatives. The Word of God Community promoted campus evangelism in several countries, and the Emmanuel Community in France initiated street evangelism in central Paris.

The 1970s saw immense ferment in the Catholic Church. All in this ferment saw their renewal efforts as inspired by the Second Vatican Council. It was as though the Council had taken the lid off a tightly controlled system, and the new freedom was being exercised in many directions—theological, pastoral and spiritual. In these years the behavioral sciences were having a great influence in western countries. As a result, much pastoral work and spiritual writing was motivated by psychological insights and methods. There was a widespread assumption that the renewal of the church would come about through re-thinking, both theological and pastoral. At the same time, the new movements, including CCR, were developing within their own limited circles new patterns of formation with a more spiritual emphasis. Many were increasingly uncomfortable with the post-Vatican Two patterns of theological and pastoral formation, which they saw as too intellectual, and insufficiently rooted in a biblical conversionist spirituality.

[10] One paragraph does, however, mention the laity's role in evangelization: "Therefore, even when occupied by temporal affairs, the laity can, and must, do valuable work for the evangelization of the world." *(Lumen Gentium,* para. *35).* See also *Apostolicam Actuositatem* (1965), para. 6.

[11] This letter is known by the first words in the Latin original as *Evungelii Nuntiandi* (1975).

3. New Developments (1985 to the present)

3.1 New Context

The struggles of the 1970s had been between the protagonists of Vatican Two and the minimalists, who interpreted the reforms of the Council in restrictive terms. By 1985, it was clear that the protagonists of the Council were divided between the real "liberals" and those whom Cardinal Suenens of Belgium called the "radical center."

By the 1990s the Catholic scenery had changed. Largely by way of reaction to liberal "unbelief' and questioning of traditional doctrinal and moral formulations, there has grown up a range of conservative currents, the more moderate of which find some expression within CCR. The major characteristic of this neo-conservatism among Catholics is the desire to recover pre-Vatican Two emphases and patterns of devotion. It tends to be unenthusiastic about ecumenism, and to encourage a self-contained Catholicism uninterested in positive relations with other Christians. It tends to favor a triumphalist style in the presentation of Catholic history and Catholic life and to ignore Vatican Two's integration of the teaching on Mary into the teaching on the church, exalting again individualistic forms of devotion to Mary. It also tends to hark back to old models of church-society relationship, and to play down Catholic social teaching on matters of social morality, justice and peace. These milieux are not normally sensitive to the "irrevocable covenant" with the Jewish people,[12] and may even manifest anti-Semitic tendencies.

During this period, the liberal wing has been in decline, as its supporters have "greyed" and have largely failed to attract the younger generation. This is particularly evident in the failure of many religious congregations of sisters to attract new recruits.[13] Increasingly the main struggle at the heart of the Catholic Church is between the "radical center" and a conservative restorationism. In terms of education and formation, much is at stake in this struggle. At its core is the issue of a biblical renewal that is Christocentric and conversionist. A biblically-

"This was one of the most revolutionary teachings of Vatican Two, found in *Nostra Aetate* (1965), para. 4.

[13] The religious orders and congregations that have been attracting newcomers are the more contemplative orders, devoted above all to a life of worship and prayer, some new congregations with a radical life-style, such as the Missionaries of Charity founded by Mother Teresa of Calcutta, and some new congregations that have grown up within CCR.

grounded spirituality aimed at personal and ecclesial conversion is not high on the agenda of conservative Catholics, but is absolutely central to authentic renewal.[14]

3.2 The Role of John Paul 11

The pontificate of John Paul 11 (1978-2005) has had a significant impact. While his critics often argued that he was a conservative trying to undo the work of the Second Vatican Council, Pope John Paul saw his task as the implementation of the authentic renewal mandated by the Council. While wanting to undo the damage done by those who appealed to "the spirit of the Council" but who ignored its actual teachings and decisions, John Paul II was, in his overall understanding and vision, the chief protagonist of the "radical center."

John Paul II produced an extraordinary quantity of teaching, of which the core is found in his fourteen encyclical letters. As Pope, he was concerned to defend the heritage of traditional teaching, but he was committed to its recentering on the person of Jesus Christ.[15] John Paul II did much to foster a new integration of doctrine and spirituality, which he saw as most strongly embodied in the new Catholic movements.

Pope John Paul had a big impact on youth through the World Youth Days (WYD), a development that his biographer George Weigel calls "one of the signature initiatives of his pontificate."[16] WYD is an event lasting several days, drawing hundreds of thousands, even sometimes millions, of young people, in which John Paul II always participated personally.[17] The Catholic youth impacted at the WYDs are often those who enroll for the new patterns of formation.

[14] This does not mean that there are not deeply spiritual people among conservative Catholics, nor that they have no interest in conversion of life. But their focus is more on traditional piety than on the scriptures.

[15] See, for example, his first encyclical, *Redemptor Hominis* (1979).

[16] George Weigel *Witness to Hope* (New York: Harper-Collins, 1999), p. 493.

[17] The World Youth Days held under John Paul II, took place in Rome, Italy (1985), Buenos Aires, Argentina (1987), Santiago de Compostela, Spain (1989), Czestochowa, Poland (1991), Denver, USA (1993), Manila, Philippines (1995), Paris, France (1997), Rome, Italy (2000), and Toronto, Canada (2002). Pope Benedict XVI followed his predecessor's example by participating in the WYD in Cologne, Germany (August 2005).

3.3 New Developments

A second major change from the mid-1980s is the emergence of new institutions and programs corresponding to the developing situation. Both the radical center, who are committed to biblical, liturgical and spiritual renewal, and the more conservative groupings, who are more focused on inherited Catholic practices and emphases, have been developing their own institutions of education and their own programs of formation. Many within both these camps were feeling that the existing institutions were not delivering the goods they wanted. Alongside attempts to renew the existing institutions, renewalists have sought to develop new models of education and formation faithful to the vision and the documents of the Second Vatican Council, with a strong Christocentric teaching and a biblical conversionist spirituality.

There are three main areas of identifiable need. The first is for renewal in the training for ordained ministry; the second is the provision of over-all Christian college education and formation for non-ordained ministry (in Catholic language, lay education and training); and the third is for short-term training for practical service.

Of these areas, the first is common to renewalist and conservative groupings. It is also global in its application. In the second, the United States has been setting the pace, because the Catholic Church employs more full-time lay people in the USA than in any other country, and demands professional qualifications. The conservative groupings also have a strong interest in college education. The third area of practical training for lay people, particularly youth, is booming in the new movements, particularly CCR. These new patterns of formation generally focus on evangelization and related needs such as intercession, community formation and leadership. Because such needs are universal, and do not depend on high levels of education, new patterns and programs are springing up all over the world, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

3.4 New Patterns of Formation

I focus here on the third area, because it is significantly new for the Catholic Church and because it is developing strongly within CCR. A major impulse was given by Fr. Tom Forrest, an American leader in CCR, with his vision for the 1990s to be declared a "decade of evangelization."[18] Fr. Tom realized that there was nowhere for aspiring Catholic evangelists to be trained. As a key element in his project called Evangelization 2000, he launched a campaign to establish schools of evangelization. Current statistics are not available for the total number of Catholic schools of evangelization, but in 1995 Evangelization 2000 estimated a figure of 1,100 around the world.[19] In 1998, over 400 were reported from Brazil.[20] In early 2000, 150 coordinators of schools from 40 different countries met together in Rome. Many were established in Latin America, through the work of a Mexican layman, Jose Prado Flores, who was really the Catholic pioneer of schools of evangelization, having founded La Escuela S. Andres in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1980, before serving as Latin American director of Evangelization 2000 until 1993. One of the first schools in Africa was the Know and Tell the Gospel Catholic School of Evangelization in Ghana.[21] These schools would typically be directed by a full-time lay leader, some of whom then acquired a much wider ministry, as with Mark Nimo of the Ghana school in Takoradi.

Some Catholic Bible colleges have been founded within CCR. One of the first was founded in Mumbai (Bombay), India, in 1979. Another is the John Paul II Bible School begun at Radway, Alberta, Canada, in 1984.[22]

A major influence in CCR in the 1990s was the collaboration between Jose Prado Flores, Fr. Emilien Tardif, a French Canadian priest with a major healing ministry[23] and Fr. Ricardo Arganaras, an Argentinian priest working in Italy, founder in 1978 of a renewal community, Koinonia Giovanni Battista. Their cooperation gave rise in

[18] In 1987, Fr. Tom Forrest established an office in Rome for Evangelization 2000. A magazine under the same title was produced for some years until the source of their funds dried up. Fr. Forrest stated in 1987, "I believe we are on the verge of the collapse of Communism" (*International* Newsletter ICCRO XIV:1 [Jan-Feb 1988], p. 5.)

[19] See Kristina Cooper "Schools of Evangelisation," ICCRS Newsletter XXI:4 (Sept-Dec, 1995), p. 3.

[20] See Art Cooney. "Proclaiming the Good News through Catholic Schools of Evangelization," *CharisCenter* USA Newsletter 23:4 (Oct-Dec, 1998), p. 7.

[21] See ICCRS Newsletter XXIII:4 (July-August, 1997), p. 4. By then, 99 participants had been trained in 7 schools.

[22] See International Newsletter ICCRO XII:5 (Sept-Oct, 1986), p. 4.

[23] See P. D. Hocken "Tardif, Emilien" in NIDPCM, pp. 1114-15.

1994 to the KeKaKo schools (KeKaKo meaning Kerygma, Karisma, Koinonia). From Prado Flores came especially the kergymatic emphasis, from Fr. Tardif came the emphasis on charisms (a Catholic version of signs and wonders accompanying evangelization) and from Fr. Ricardo came the emphasis on Koinonia or community. The KeKaKo framework found expression in a number of courses of formation: the Paul course on how to evangelize others, the Philip course for evangelizing the unconverted, the John course on how to be a disciple of Jesus, the Apollos course on how to teach the scriptures. Koinonia Giovanni Battista continues to give a priority to evangelization and the formation of evangelists, and has run schools of evangelization in many countries, including USA (California), Mexico and India.[24]

Many new formation initiatives for young Catholics have come out of France. The larger charismatic communities such as Emmanuel[25] and Chemin Neuf have had a major influence: Emmanuel with its summer conferences at Paray-le-Monial and Chemin Neuf with one-year residential formation courses and the Cana course as a ministry to married couples with an evangelistic dimension. But the French work most focused on youth has come from Fr. Daniel-Ange, a monk for over 20 years, over half of them in Rwanda, then a participant in the beginnings of CCR in France in 1973, after which he lived as a hermit for 8 years, before hearing a call to give himself to the evangelization and formation of young people. In 1984, he founded a school of prayer and evangelization for young people between 18 and 28 years of age called "Jeunesse-Lumiere" (JL, "Youth-Light"). JL concentrates on formation in personal prayer, in community life, in communal liturgy and in evangelization. It combines elements from monastic wisdom and practice, from charismatic renewal and from evangelical experience (Daniel-Ange had been deeply challenged by YWAM's evangelistic

[24] Koinonia Giovanni Battista now has five branches in Italy, two in Slovakia, and one each in Czech Republic and Poland.

[25] Emmanuel's first school of evangelization was held in Paris in 1984, and moved to Paray-le-Monial in 1988. A second was begun at Birkenstein, Germany in 1991. See Bernard Peyrous and Hervé-Marie Catta, *Le Feu et l'Espérance* (Paris: Editions de l'Emmanuel, 1995), pp. 192-94.

impact)[26]. Young people are asked to give one or two years of their life to JL.[27]

In Italy, the dominant form of charismatic renewal in the Catholic Church is known as Rinnovamento nello Spirito Santo (RnS, "Renewal in the Holy Spirit"), which is quite highly organized and draws 25,000 to 30,000 people to its annual spring conference in Rimini. RnS has developed a national school of evangelization, together with a project called "Colonna di Fuoco" ("Column of Fire"), a kind of think-tank for renewing the methods and language of evangelization, focusing on alienated and neglected sectors of society.[28]

In the USA, from 1981 the St. Paul Catholic Youth Center in St. Paul, Minnesota, developed National Evangelization Teams (NET), specializing in ministry to high school students. In 1988, NET spread to Australia, and subsequently to New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and Singapore. NET training includes instruction in Christian personal relationships, Catholic disciplines, the power of the Holy Spirit, Christian character, prayer and Scripture, the content of evangelization, and basic evangelization skills.

Two significant youth training initiatives in the Catholic world have sought to adapt YWAM-style Discipleship Training Schools to the Catholic context. In 1985, two leaders Anna and Mario Cappello from the Glory to God Community in Malta established the International Catholic Program for Evangelization mission (ICPE). ICPE establishes communities of full-time missionaries, who themselves evangelize and train evangelists. They began with school centers in Malta and New Zealand (Wellington); but it has been steadily expanding with fully functioning centers in Germany (Allerheiligen), Philippines (Manila), India (Bangalore) and Poland (Czestochowa), with a new one in development in Indonesia (Jakarta).[29] ICPE claims to have trained 185,000 people, mostly young, up to the present.

The second instance has come directly from YWAM leaders seeking to develop renewal programs for use in a Catholic context combining

[26] See Frédéric Lenoir, *Les Communautés Nouvelles* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), p. 253.

[27] In the first four years of JL, 130 youth from ten nations had passed through their formation: Lenoir, *Les Communautés Nouvelles*, p. 247.

[28] See Salvatore Martinez, *Sulle Orme dello Spirito* (Rome: Edizioni Rinnovamento nello Spirito Santo, 2002), p. 305.

[29] ICPE is also establishing a hospital complex in Ghana.

practical discipleship-leadership formation with Catholic sacramental understanding.[30] This led to the concept of Kerygma Teams, whose Discipleship Training Schools have the following aims:

1) KT is committed to helping foster a new lay missions movement among Catholics by challenging Catholic laity - and in particular the youth - to become actively involved in world missions, and through offering them concrete avenues of service.
2) KT aims to promote the 're-evangelization' of the Catholic world. This would involve not only communicating the basic Gospel message (kerygma), but also helping to build new Catholic and ecumenical communities and fellowship groups, which can take on and nurture the newly evangelized.
3) KT desire to help make practical instruction about discipleship, ministry, missions, community and lay leadership development more available to Catholics through offering various training resources. These will include mission trips. short and long-term training programs, symposiums, magazines, books, periodicals and tapes.
4) KT is committed to spread a vision for true spiritual unity among Christian leaders and groups, and to demonstrate this through collaborative Christian projects that cross national, cultural and church lines.
5) KT will encourage the emergence of young Catholic lay-leadership for missions and communities through offering programs designed to develop & enhance the specific skills needed for these areas.[31]

Kerygma Teams are now functioning in Austria, Ireland (Dublin), Australia (Sydney), India (Pune), Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands (Helmond), Slovakia (Bratislava), Lithuania (Klaipeda) and the USA.

4. Differences between Evangelical-Pentecostal and Catholic Formation Patterns

There are some obvious contrasts between the formation patterns among Evangelicals and Pentecostals on the one hand and the Catholic

[30] The key leaders in the development of Kerygma Teams were Bruce Clewett (Austria) and Rob Clarke (Ireland).

[31] "Kerygma Teams Discipleship Training School Prospectus" (Pune, India, 2003), p. 4.

Church on the other. However, with the new patterns of short-term training emerging in CCR, there are obvious common concerns and emphases (on personal conversion, on evangelization, on a love of the Scriptures, on intercession) as well as a range of differences. This final section will identify and reflect upon some of these differences.

In Evangelical and Pentecostal circles, almost all formation programs have originated in the English-speaking world, particularly the United States. In the Catholic Church, many significant initiatives have arisen in other linguistic settings (e.g., JL in France, the KeKaKo courses, RnS in Italy).

Formation programs are geared to the church environments they aim to serve. Perhaps the biggest difference between Evangelical Christianity and the Catholic Church concerns what people are evangelized into: in the case of the Catholic Church, into one worldwide communion with a high level of coherence and a clear-cut authority structure. Evangelization and initiation are into an historical body with a long-standing tradition: traditions of liturgical-sacramental worship, traditions of doctrine and theology, traditions of pastoral organization, traditions of spirituality, traditions of church law.

4.1 Liturgy and Sacraments

The Catholic liturgical renewal of the twentieth century has been restoring a more biblical balance between body, soul and spirit. This moves Catholics away from a widespread mentality of despising the body, and treating it as irrelevant to spiritual life. In Catholic formation arising within CCR, there is a concern to integrate the spontaneous "open to the Holy Spirit" character of charismatic worship with the corporate richness of inherited liturgy. In JL, the great feasts of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, together with the preparatory seasons of Advent and Lent, are celebrated together. JL structures each week according to the Passover of Jesus: each Thursday evening, the Eucharist is followed by a communal meal; each Friday there is silence and intercession for the world; each Saturday they celebrate the liturgical evening prayer of the resurrection,[32] and Sunday is the day of the Lord, with particularly festive worship.

[32] This consists of a hymn, psalms and biblical canticles, a biblical reading, the song of Mary (Luke 1:46-56), intercessions and closing prayer. There can be scope for spontaneous prayer and praise.

The liturgical-sacramental understanding, not to be reduced simply to ritual, leads to a different way of interpreting spiritual experience. The symbolic signs make present the whole saving work of Jesus; the signs of baptism and Eucharist, for example, point to the fullness of the age to come and the totality of the work of redemption. But the fullness that is signified is only partially realized in the present celebration. The work and the presence of the Holy Spirit is always more than we are conscious of. In this way, charismatic Catholics are giving a fresh importance to lived experience, but are trying to avoid the dangers of basing everything on experience, and of reducing experience to personal feelings or to private interiority.

4.2 Doctrine and Theology

The new Catholic programs coming out of predominantly Catholic countries usually have a higher theological-historical content than their Protestant counterparts. The courses originating in the English-speaking world are generally more pragmatic, as can be seen from the emphases of NET and Kerygma Teams. This reflects a greater element of Catholic-Evangelical interaction as well as the cultural pragmatism of the Anglo-Saxon world.

Modem Catholic teaching distinguishes between the initial proclamation of the gospel, what Evangelicals call evangelism, and catechesis, the formation of the person who has accepted Jesus Christ.[33] Catholic schools of evangelization necessarily include an element of catechesis in their training. This involves to some degree covering the whole creed, and maybe extending to areas of Catholic social teaching.[34] Essential here is the training in basic proclamation of the gospel, we might say evangelism before catechesis. Otherwise, there is the danger of giving young people a system of theoretical teaching, without bringing them to decisive conversion by the preaching of the core message.

4.3 Spirituality

Strange as it may seem to other Christians, the heritage of Catholic spirituality is not well-known among Catholics themselves, even among

[33] On this distinction, see particularly the Vatican Congregation for the Clergy document *General Directory for Catechesis* (1997), paras. 47, 49 and 61.

[34] For example on the order of society, the dignity of the human person, justice and peace, human rights, the place of family and work.

priests. The awakening of new life in the Spirit provokes an interest in the witness and teaching of great Christian masters from the past. Some of the new charismatic communities in Europe are cultivating a familiarity with classical spiritual wisdom, and a more conscious relating to the tradition. For example, classical Catholic spirituality speaks of three phases in spiritual growth: the purgative stage of purification, the illuminative stage of inner enlightenment, and the unitive stage of perfect or spousal union with the Lord. Some Catholics see the charismatic experience as changing the order, but not the elements: baptism in the Spirit brings an element of illumination to believers, who may be far from mature, who require a subsequent purification before the heights of spiritual union are reached.

As someone blessed to have contact with both Evangelical-Pentecostal and charismatic Catholic patterns of formation, I am convinced that a greater interaction between the two can only be an enrichment for all concerned.

[*AJPS* 9:1 (2006), pp. 143-161]

A STUDY OF STRATEGIC LEVEL SPIRITUAL WARFARE FROM A CHINESE PERSPECTIVE

Samuel Hio-Kee Ooi

1. Introduction

Since the 1990s terms like "strategic level spiritual warfare" (SLSW), "territorial spirits," and "spiritual mapping," with its "new strategy" imported in the name of spiritual warfare and evangelism, are spreading among Christian churches throughout the world, and this is no exception in Chinese churches in Southeast Asia, including Sabah, Malaysia where I live. I moved to Kota Kinabalu, Sabah to teach in a seminary more than two years ago. This city is filled with a mixture of indigenous people groups, including Kadazan, Dozon, Murut, etc, and Chinese, as well as Muslim Malay. That many of the indigenous groups are Christians does not mean a total discard of their traditional animistic worldviews and practices. Chinese popular religious practices[1] are common and different gods are worshipped in Kota Kinabalu as in other Chinese communities.[2] Spirit possessions are frequently heard of. And during Chinese New Year season this year, one of my students had a "battle" with the spirit of Guan-yin (觀音), a Bodhisava contextualized in Chinese Buddhism, who possessed her elder sister's body. Another

[1] The writer understands that scholars of Chinese religions nowadays prefer the designation "common religion" rather than "popular religion." In this article both will be used. The former will be used if it is to represent the view of the common study of Chinese religions, while the latter is used especially when connotation of superstition is hinted.

[2] Once in one of my lectures touching on Buddhism, I invited a Christian who used to be a follower of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism before he became a Christian two years ago. He shared how he carried out rites at home more than two-thirds of the days in one year for religious purposes, of which one is to attain to a level in meditation where one can see and communicate with gods, such as Buddha, Bodhisava and others.

student in my "World Religions" class shared about his friend and co-worker in a plantation camp some years ago. This friend was a planchetter (ji-tong, 乩童) and whenever the spirit came to him, he would quickly take off all the metals on his body, just before he was completely taken over by the spirit.

Chinese Christians, having converted from Chinese religions to Christianity and being introduced into a new belief system, are losing their old beliefs, but they are not able to hold on to a westernized Christianity which has dismissed what Paul Hiebert defines as the middle realm,[3] and which I would term as the "world of spirits." Nevertheless, Paul Hiebert himself does not approve of the practice of SLSW.[4] It is clear that one's relationship with the "spiritual world" ceases or is cut off as one enters into the kingdom of God in Christ. But for those who take a further step in trying to figure out how these two realities relate to one another, they often find the church owing them a teaching that is biblically sound and relevant to them. Apparently, a theological and contextual gap must be bridged, and a conceptual and experiential void must be filled up. This is how SLSW ideas find their way into Chinese Christian churches today and why a contextual theological reflection from a Chinese perspective is needed.

This article will not be an exhaustive study of all related issues pertaining to SLSW.[5] The writer will first introduce the teachings of

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[3] Paul Hiebert, "The Flaw of the Excluded Middle," *Missiology* 10 (January 1982), pp. 35-47. See Van Rheenen, *Communicating Christ in Animistic Contexts* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), pp. 54-55.

[4] See Paul Hiebert, "Spiritual Warfare and Worldview" (http://www.lausanne.org/Brix?pageID=13887), checked: August 19, 2005.

[5] Similar review of SLSW teachings from a Malaysia perspective is Jeffrey Oh Siew Tee, "Spiritual Warfare: A Challenge Facing the Malaysia Church," *Malaysia Baptist Theological Seminary Theological Journal* 2 (April 2004), pp. 39-52. The article shows its sympathy on SLSW, but rejects its mechanistic view on spiritual world and equally mechanistic approach for intercessory prayers. For more detail discussion on the theology and presupposition in SLSW teaching from an Asian perspective see Wai Kiong Chung, "Territorial Spirits: A Study" [Chinese], *Pastor Journal* 10 (Nov 2000, Hong Kong), pp. 123-50. I agree with Chung's position, although my focus is more on how such a teaching inclines to resemble a Chinese monolithic-pantheistic worldview. Recent papers dedicated to the study of spiritual warfare or territorial spirits can be found on Lausanne Committee of World Evangelization, www.lausanne.org, especially the papers presented in the "Deliver us from Evil Consultation" held at Nairobi, Kenya in 2000. Two papers in the consultation are worth mentioning: "Gaining Perspective

SLSW, followed up by a brief introduction to the hierarchical pantheism system in Chinese popular religion, the practice of demon-casting performed in Chinese shamanism, namely by "planchetter" (ji-tong) and "shaman-master" (fa-shi, 法師), which will be concluded by making a few comments on the similarities and differences between these two systems.

2. Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare

The concepts of SLSW, "territorial spirits," and "spiritual mapping"[6] are advocated by George Otis,[7] Peter Wagner,[8] Cindy Jacobs,[9] and many others who associate themselves with the New Apostolic Movement/Reformation camp.[10]

The technical term SLSW first appeared in the books of the above three advocates in the early 1990s.[11] In their books they propose a

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on Territorial Spirits" by A. Scott Moreau, and "Some Issues in a Systematic Theology That Takes Seriously the Demonic" by Hwa Yung. Both papers show concern on SLSW. The former one has a moderate critique and does not approve of its "strategic" idea and techniques.

[6] The three quoted names are indeed interchangeable. See C. Peter Wagner, ed., *Breaking Strongholds in Your City: How to Use Spiritual Mapping to Make Your Prayers More Strategic, Effective, and Targeted* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1993).

[7] For example, *The Twilight Labyrinth* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997).

[8] For example, *Warfare Prayer: How to Seek God's Power and Protection in the Battle to Build His Kingdom*, Prayer Warrior Series (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1992); *Churches That Pray* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1993).

[9] For example, *Possessing the Gates of the Enemy: A Training Manual for Militant Intercession*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Chosen, 1994).

[10] See Clinton E. Arnold, *Three Crucial Questions about Spiritual Warfare* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997), ch. 3. These three figures are just the prominent among those who join the Spiritual Warfare Network (SWN). For my discussion of New Apostolic Reformation/Movement, see Hio-kee Ooi, "Old Wine in New Wineskins: A Preliminary Study on the New Apostolic Movement and the Challenge of Complexity Leadership," *Hill Road* 7:2 (Dec 2004), pp. 145-68.

[11] See also the summary of Charles H. Kraft, "Contemporary Trends in the Treatment of Spiritual Conflict," in *Deliver Us from Evil: An Uneasy Frontier in Christian Mission*, eds. A. Scott Moreau, et al. (Monrovia, CA: World Vision International, 2002), pp. 177-202, and for related bibliography, his footnotes.

spiritual warfare for effective evangelism based on testimonies they have heard, mainly from what happened in South America. In brief, the teaching of SLSW swirls around two basic concepts: "territorial spirits" and "strongholds."

2.1 Territorial Spirits

According to the teaching of SLSW, there are specific evil spirits that rule over a community, village, town, city or country. They are called "territorial spirits." The spirits of the particular areas always have power and authority over the people to keep them in bondage, sin and darkness, sometimes to the extent that even the gospel itself cannot penetrate before they are "identified," "bound," "overcome" and "rebuked" in prayer.[12]

According to another Christian website dedicated to this study, SLSW "is a popular charismatic method of casting out demons from geographical locations or territories."[13] The demonic control of the spirits over one geographical area can even be identified on three levels, namely: first, the "ground-level" demons, which possess people; second, "occult-level" demons, which empower witches, shamans, and magicians; and the final, "strategic-level" demons, which are the most powerful of the three. The last ones are said to rule over certain large regions or territories.[14] However, whether the area is large enough to be claimed by a "strategic level" demon is not clearly defined. It is pointed out that the demon's main purpose is to hinder people from coming to Christ.[15]

According to Peter Wagner in a symposium on power evangelism at Fuller Theological Seminary, "Satan delegates high-ranking members of the hierarchy of evil spirits to control nations, regions, cities, tribes, people groups, neighborhoods and other significant social networks of

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Kraft endorses a great deal of the spiritual mapping, prayer walk and SLSW teachings, as long as these are not a "fast-foods" evangelism.

[12] David Stamen, "Territorial Spirits" (http://homepage.ntlworld.com/russ01uk/clients/dstamen/terrspirits.htm), checked: June 4, 2004.

[13] See "Just Give Me the Facts New Apostolic Reformation," Age Two Age—A Discernment Ministry, 2000-2002 (http://www.agetwoage.org/ApostolicJustFacts1.htm), p. 13, checked: June 4, 2004.

[14] "Just Give Me the Facts New Apostolic Reformation," pp. 13-14.

[15] See Chung, "Territorial Spirits: A Study," pp. 127-29.

human beings throughout the world. Their major assignment is to prevent God from being glorified in their territory, which they do through directing the activity of lower-ranking demons."[16] Thus, we can infer that a troop of Satan's delegates—evil spirits and demons—"keep the people in their geographical area in darkness, bondage and sin."[17]

2.2 Strongholds

Although there are other Scriptures SLSW promoters use to support the theory,[18] among them 2 Corinthians 10:4-5 is the most direct passage that speaks about "strongholds." According to Cindy Jacobs, the strongholds could be 1) a personal stronghold, 2) a stronghold of mind and thoughts, 3) a stronghold of ideas and concepts, 4) a stronghold of occultism, 5) a stronghold in society, 6) a stronghold in a city and a church, and lastly 7) a stronghold where Satan is.[19]

It should be understood that all these strongholds are interrelated. A personal sin can become a stronghold for Satan in one's life, and that could in turn lead he or she to more lies and deceptions from Satan, and further on into occultism, superstitions etc. And if this experience does not only just happen to an individual, but overwhelmingly to many in a community, a city, or a nation, one can infer that the strongholds of Satan are really present and need to be smashed down through prayers. And that's where and when SLSW should be applied.

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[16] Excerpted from John D. Robb, "Strategic Praying for Frontier Missions," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement*, Study Guide (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1997), pp. 1-8. See Sandy Simpson and Mike Oppenheimer, compile, "C. Peter Wagner—Quotes & Notes" (http://www.deceptioninthechurch.com/wagnerquotes.html), checked: June 4, 2004.

[17] Stamen, "Territorial Spirits."

[18] Scriptures often used: Dan 10; Rev 12; Jer 1:9, 10; Ezek 4:1-3; Deut 12:2 (high places); Matt 12:22-30; 16:15-20; Mark 5:1-19; Acts 19, 13:4-12; 2 Cor 10:3-4, etc.

[19] Cindy Jacobs, "Facing Strongholds," in *Breaking Strongholds in Your City* [Chinese], ed. C. Peter Wagner, trans. trans., Xiao-fen Shen (Taipei: Elim, 1998), 1998), pp. 61-69.

2.3 Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare

With the ideas of strongholds and territorial spirits combined comes the idea of SLSW. To carry out SLSW, it is equal to taking some necessary steps to demolish or uproot the strongholds: first, seek the name of the ruling spirit and identify its territory; second, seek the function of demons in a particular area; third, if demons occupy a neighborhood, perform a "prayer walk;" and if the demon controls a city, a "praise march;" and if a demon exercises power over a region, a "prayer expedition;" and if a demon rules in a nation, a "prayer journey." The technical name for seeking and digging out the locations and powers of demons is "spiritual mapping." "Spiritual mapping" is the process of discovering the exact location of the demons' domain.

To complete the SLSW, "Identification Repentance" is also required. It is practiced in order to discover the sin and guilt that allow the demon to build footholds in an area. Repenting for that sin is necessary to break the grip of demons in an area.[20]

Therefore, it is understood that the theory's rationale for bringing people to Christ is to smash down these "strongholds," or to conquer and crash down the enemy.

3. Territorial Spirits: An Illustration from Two South American Cities

It seems clear that to Peter Wagner and others, levels of territorial spirits can be discerned, though they never clarify how one hierarchy in one city or area can vary from another; and also seem to have no problem with having one god or spirit positioned on one level, at one time and area, while categorized in another level at some other time and area. For example, in one article collected in the book he edited, *Breaking Strongholds in Your City*,[21] the story of a South American city, La Plata, is being told. It is diagnosed and discovered that the chief power of darkness in the city is the god of freemasonry—Jah-Bal-On. He is the "strong man" (Matt 12:29) in this city, together with a spirit of lust, spirit of violence, spirit of witchcraft, spirit of living death, and godmother Mary. Besides, the Egyptian god Osiris and goddess Isis also have a strong influence in the city. However, the record does not reveal if the

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[20] Jacobs, "Facing Strongholds," pp. 61-69.

[21] See C. Peter Wagner, ed., *Breaking Strongholds in Your City*, pp. 166-73 (The page number is according to Chinese edition).

god of freemasonry is given a higher rank only incidentally in this city or perennially in the court of Satan, when comparing this data to that which was found in another city, Resistencia, where San La Muerte (the spirit of death), Pombero (the spirit of fear), Currpi (the spirit of sexual perversion), and Piton (the spirit of witchcraft)—the four heavenly principalities—were at first found, followed by two other spirits: the spirit of freemasonry and the heaven mother Mary. With the exception of the spirit of fear and the spirit of violence each belongs to the respective city; all the other spirits are either similar or the same. The difference is that the spirit of freemasonry was thought to be the chief power of darkness in La Plata, while the spirit of witchcraft was actually giving commands to the evil powers in the city of Resistencia.

Thus, the two groups of spirits in the two cities do not reveal anything about how and with what criteria the ranking of different gods is assigned. We may ask, is there any criterion at all or is it not the dominant sin in the particular area which determines the "power" in charge of the respective area. Can Satan not freely delegate one "lackey" to rule in one city as a higher ranked spirit, and in another as a lower ranked spirit?

SLSW advocates claim that, although Jesus Christ has defeated the enemy Satan on the cross, and in principle all people are proclaimed delivered from the bondage of death and sin, in reality, one has to realize there are "strongholds" in many areas, either in the personal or community, or geographical, like a village, town, a city or a country. And to actually deliver someone from the bondage and the rule of Satan, one has to break the strongholds with the mighty power of God through prayers. From diagnosis to demon casting and purification of the land, the whole process of "exorcism" is colored with shamanism and what Harvey Cox terms as primal experience.[22] Is it a return to the primitive?

In the following, I will introduce the hierarchical ranking pantheon system in Chinese popular religion and show how demons are bound and cast by Taoist priests using talisman and abracadabra in rites, a practice which is accepted by common Chinese people. The similarities and differences between this Chinese demon casting rite and SLSW will be pointed out.

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[22] Harvey Cox, *Fire of Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), pp. 213-40.

4. Pantheistic Cosmology in Chinese Popular Religion

It is a fact that in the Chinese context, shamanism never ceases to exist. The practice can be traced to the ancient Shang Dynasty and even earlier. The worship of spirits and ancestors was actively practiced in Southern China, the so-called nan-man (the Southern barbarian, 南蠻), also called the land of Chu (楚). Literature, like Songs of the South (Chu-chi, 楚辭) and The Book of Songs (Shi-zhing, 詩經), reveals such respect of religious life to us.[23] Although the history of the religions of Chinese people went through an age of reason, symbolized by Confucianism, the shamanism was never extinguished. It survives especially among the folks in the form of legends, stories, folklores, and most significantly in religious practices of the popular religion, which is a mixture of shamanism and the ethical norms of the three religions, shan-jiao (三教), namely Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism.

The study of Chinese religions by most scholars differentiates the prominent shan-jiao from the popular/common religions. It is also noted that there is a diffusion of shan-jiao and the common religions.[24] However, to the common people, with whom a traditional god is affiliated, such is not significant. Though there may be many generally claimed Taoist gods, they are in fact housed under shan-jiao, from where studies show, gods with respective hierarchical positions originate.

5. Hierarchical Pantheon in Taoism Tradition as shown in the Picture of True Deities in Positions

The predecessors of Taoism can be traced to the belief of mortal immortality in the middle Warring States period (戰國) after the fourth century B.C.E, the Huang Lao Tao (黃老道) in later Han dynasty, and further bloomed into the earliest religious Taoism: The Way of Great Peace (Tai Ping Tao, 太平道) found by Zhang Jiao (d. 184 C.E.) and The Way of Five Pecks of Rice (wu-tou-mi-tao, 五斗米道) by Zhang Ling, also named Zhang Tao-ling (34-156 C.E.).

Religious Taoism prospered in the turbulent period when China was divided into North and South China, around the fourth and fifth

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[23] Julia Ching and Hans Kung, *Chinese Religions and Christianity* (London: SCM, 1993), pp. 19-26.

[24] For a very brief explanation of how three religions diffuse into "one" Chinese religion, see Ching & Kung, *Chinese Religions and Christianity*, pp. 224-25.

centuries. Around that period in the Liu Sung Dynasty (420-479), T'ao Hung-ching (陶弘景, 456-536), the founder of the Mount Mao sect (茅山宗), diagramed one of the earliest diagrams, The Picture of True Deities in Positions (真靈位業圖).[25] According to Taoist scholar Zhao-guang Ge, the Picture shows how the historical figures and heroes were first deified as ghost gods (鬼帝), and again promoted and installed as heavenly gods. In the pantheon, less could become more, simple more complicated, complicated more well structured, and what is lacking can be supplemented.[26]

Again, according to the Picture of True Deities in Positions, the pantheon could be leveled into seven horizons. The first horizon is led by the First Principal (元始天尊); the second by the Lord of the Great Way (大道君); the third by the Lord of Golden Great Ultimate (太極金闕帝尊); the fourth by the Lord of the Most High (太上老君); the fifth by Zhang-feng (張奉); the sixth by the Lord of Middle Mao (中茅君); and the seventh by the Great Emperor of the Underworld (酆都北陰大帝).[27] It is understood that in each horizon there are many other gods under the leadership of the main god.

In Chung-Man Ng's study, dealing with the mythological cosmology in Chinese popular religion, he describes a three layer cosmology: the upper world where the gods live, albeit Taoists or Confucian, and Buddhist; the middle world where the normal people, the religious people, or the potential gods-to-be live; and the underground world or the hell where the judgment for evil men is passed on.

In the respective worlds, there are officials of different ranks in charge of different matters, such as, to decide that one who offends the heaven rule must be downcast to the middle world; or, who to be sentenced in the underground world must go through an eighteen-level hell; or who to return to the middle world by reincarnation, or to be reinstalled to heaven from the middle world. Of all the officials, some are overseeing the seasons and weather; some the sickness, some the

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[25] For the concise development of Taoist religion, see Xiaogan Liu, "Taoism," in *Our Religions*, pp. 231-89.

[26] See Zhao-guang Ge, *Taoist Religion and Chinese Culture* [Chinese] (Taipei: Tung Hwa, 1989), p. 76. For a fuller account of the expansion of Taoist pantheon, see Liu, "Taoism," pp. 55-77.

[27] See Ge, *Taoist Religion and Chinese Culture*, pp. 57-61.

morality, and some the passage to the three worlds.[28] Situated at the upper world, the central figure is Yu-huang-da-ti, The Jade Emperor, who belongs to the Confucian system. He sits in the middle heavenly palace and is in charge of everything in these three worlds, and his officials are sent to all three worlds. Besides the Jade Emperor, Tai-shang-lao-jun (太上老君) lives at the Dou-shuai-gong (Dou-shuai Palace, 兜率宮) and occupies the East zone; while to the North is the Yuan-shih T'ien-tsun (元始天尊), the First Principal, who has Yu-shu-gong (玉虛宮) as his palace. These two belong to the Taoist system. To the West and South are Buddhist zones where one will find Buddha Ru-lai (如來) seated at the Western Pure Land, while Guan-in Bodtshisava is seated at the South-Sea.

The hierarchical pantheon does not demonstrate such just in religious Taoism. It is absorbed, developed and transmitted in Chinese popular religion.

6. Hierarchical Monolithic Pantheon Developed in Chinese Popular Religion

Borrowing the words from Zhi-ming Zheng, a scholar of religion in Taiwan, this kind of hierarchical pantheon found in Chinese peoples' beliefs can be called "hierarchical monolithic pantheism."[29] According to this system, people do not believe in one god like the monotheists, neither do they believe in a fixed system of a hierarchy of gods, but in a multi-dimensional hierarchical pantheistic world. The pantheon can be rearranged and recomposed according to one's own affiliation of belief. According to Zheng, in this system, gods can be added according to needs and adjustments, such as when a group of people move to a new place, or when a village faces a catastrophe and it is finally resolved with

[28] See Chung-man Ng, "The Mythological Cosmology in Chinese Popular Religion" [Chinese], in *Tradition and Belief*, ed. Florence Tam and Walter Leung (Petaluma, CA: Chinese Christian Mission USA, 1995), pp. 91-117 (96-97).

[29] See Zhi-ming Zheng, "The Hierarchical Monolithic Pantheism of Taiwanese Folk Religion" [Chinese], in *The Origin of Taiwanese Gods* (Taipei: Chung Hwa Ta-tao, 2001), p. 171. The translation of the titles of Zheng's paper and book are temporary. He does not agree with the designation of pantheism for the religious system in Chinese common religion (pp. 180-81).

intervention or deliverance by some god never before known.[30] This is reaffirmed in Taoist tradition.

The designation of area or territory of which to be in charge, by one or another god in Chinese pantheon, would impress a western SLSW teacher with how much one resembles the other. Or, would they? There is also a resemblance in Greek mythology and pantheon, which they are either ignorant of or certainly have neglected. Nevertheless, before more reflection is given, we will turn to one more aspect of Chinese popular religion.

7. Demon Casting in Chinese Popular Religion: Planchetter and Shaman-Master

Exorcism was not innovated just recently in Christian history. However, with the idea of "territorial spirits," SLSW goes much further away from the tradition. We have discussed "territorial spirits," and we hope to shed light on the idea of "exorcism" or "demon casting" in SLSW by looking at the practice of demon casting in Chinese popular religion. Readers will see how it resembles the steps used by SLSW.

In this section, I will mainly refer to the study of Dong Fang-yuen, a scholar of religion in Taiwan.[31] In his article "Planchette and Shaman-Master: Shamanism in Taiwan," he introduces who the planchetter and shaman-master are. The former, according to Lin Yu-tang's *Chinese-English Dictionary for Modern Usage*, "planchette (乩) in fu-ji (扶乩) is a traditional form of divination whereby the spirit, when invoked, writes characters on a sand pan by means of a stick attached to a horizontal piece supported by two persons serving as mediums."

7.1 Ji-tong and Fa-shi in Demon Casting

According to Fang-yuen Dong, ji-tong is a spirit medium. It is believed that a ji-tong is a special chosen person. His work is to cause himself, by incanting the spirit, to move into a trance and ecstatic state, and to be possessed by the spirit. Then he can become a medium or

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[30] Zheng, "The Hierarchical Monolithic Pantheism," p. 171.

[31] See Fang-yuen Dong, "Planchetter and Shaman-Master: Shamanism in Taiwan" [Chinese], in *Taiwan Folk Religion*, rev. ed. (Taipei: Evergreen, 1984), pp. 247-66.

diviner to channel the living and the dead, to foretell, and even to tell luck. The normal way a ji-tong shows the revelation to the seeker is by writing on a sand pan with a particular stick. He can prescribe some healing therapy, cast out demons and evil spirits.

Besides ji-tong, fa-shi, a shaman-master is usually also an expert in talismanic and abracadabra writings used for protection, demon casting, peace, etc. In the above case, he usually works together with the ji-tong. Approached by fellow people, they will both collect information and background of the people concerned before a rite can be announced and done.[32]

Now, as the family member of the sick approaches ji-tong, he or she will be told that the deceased relative of the sick is suffering in the underworld, that it is he or she who has caused him trouble and made him sick. Being told the cause, the family member will ask the fa-shi to perform the rite. Fa-shi is to lead all the relatives and family members to present a memorial to Ksiigarbha Bodhisattva and dong-yue-da-di (東嶽大帝), Great Lord of the East Mount. The team first goes to the hell. It is said that the soul of the sick is captured by the deceased spirit and is lost in the hell. The shaman-master is supposed to negotiate with Yama-raja (閻羅王), the chief official of the hell to release the soul of the sick. And along the road to the hell, there are police officers and guards who require the burning of silver paper money for bribery, and of course, some golden paper money for Yama-raja. After the soul has left the hell, the family member will communicate with the spirit of the dead.

After this has been done, the shaman-master will go into trance, the family member is allowed to ask the spirit of the dead, how is life in the hell, believing that the spirit has already possessed the master. Nevertheless, what is uttered by the spirit is, as a matter of fact, very blurred; the master is to provide the interpretation. The communication stops whenever the family thinks that the matter is settled.

7.2 Four-step Ritual in Demon Casting by a Ji-tong

The process of demon and evil casting can be outlined into a four-step ritual, according to Fang-yuen Dong, namely, 1) cast the demon and fry it in the hot pan (捉妖炸油鍋), 2) seeking a successor (討嗣), 3) making a substitute (製替身), and 4) sacrifice to the offended gods (祭煞).[33] I will not go into detail to elaborate on these, but rather will

[32] Dong, “Planchetter and Shaman-Master,” p. 259.

[33] Dong, “Planchetter and Shaman-Master,” pp. 255-56.

concentrate on the next point, which really helps us to understand more about SLSW.

7.3 Fa-shi's Duty of the "Transfer of Troops"

Fang-yuen Dong has listed a few duties of a fa-shi. Worth mentioning is the third duty naming diao-ying (調營), "transfer of troops." According to Dong, this is to transfer the heavenly troops—the soldiers and the generals, and to command the shaman to cast away demons. The troops are divided into five camps: East, West, South, North, and Central, led by generals, each with hundreds of thousands of troops. The general of each camp is General Zhang of the East with green face, carrying green flag; General Liu of the West with white face, carrying white flag; General Hsiao of the South with red face, carrying red flag; General Lian of the North with black face, carrying black flag; and General Lee (the Prince) of the Central with yellow face, carrying yellow flag. The Central General in the highest god among all.

In Chinese religious Taoism and common religion, it is a tradition to appropriate the geographical azimuth compass: East, West, South, North, Central to symbolize the five elements, wu-xing (五行): metal, wood, water, fire, and soil. The body is a miniature universe, and the world as well. The gods are assigned to different posts according to the azimuth compass in the universe. Therefore, the heavenly troops listed above reflect the same idea.

As will be noted, these generals and troops reflect the idea of a spiritual world very close to that which is developed by SLSW teachers. Religious symbols and myths, according to different traditions, may be the cause of the difference. It is interesting that such a spiritual world is one of the areas which the scriptures have not mentioned as much, as compared to other themes; but here one can see a spiritual world that a SLSW teacher is developing that approximates the Chinese pantheon.

8. SLSW and Demon Casting in Chinese Hierarchical Monolithic Pantheism: A comparison and Critique

Readers have seen how close the Chinese pantheistic belief system resembles today's SLSW practice. Here I will summarize two similarities: the ranking in spiritual realm, and the clear steps used as ritual to cast out or expel the demons.

8.1 The Ranking in Spiritual Realm

The spiritual world, as taught by SLSW representatives, is nicely knitted with a Christian semantic to include angels and demons believed to be composed of different ranks. Therefore, with the increasing names and numbers of spirits, whether with higher or lower ranks, old or new, SLSW teaching resembles the teaching in Chinese popular religion. It is not a coincidence that the teaching regarding territorial spirits has been taught first in a South American context, where popular Catholicism with a mixture of animism and Catholicism are practiced.

Is the spiritual world found in Chinese religions in any way similar to "territorial spirits," or the casting and binding of evil spirits similar to what is taught in SLSW? Have the promoters of this SLSW teaching, by inventing new strategy for binding the powers of territorial spirits, in fact fallen victim to an old strategy of the devil; that is, fallen into the deception of this father of lies, as one of the critiques on the website has ridiculed?[34] It is quite sensible to point out that the demons which possess people and create deaths, can be classified as the "Ground-Level" demons, while ji-tong, the pranchetter and fa-shi, the shaman-master, can be classified with SLSW theory as the "occult-level" demons which empower witches, shamans, and magicians.

We have mentioned the cosmology miniature universe and its respective relationship to the symbols of wu-xing, hierarchical monolithic pantheon as proposed by Zhi-ming Zheng, the "Picture of True Deities in Position," and the three layers Confucian-Buddhist-Taoist pantheon illustrated by Chung-man Ng. Compared to these, SLSW is still very primitive in its form in terms of the hierarchical system. Any scholar or student of the Chinese religious system would acknowledge its drifting nature, namely the adding and promoting of new gods and removing of some old ones. The system is complicated and yet drifting; and SLSW should in no way come close to this complication, and should in no sense develop such a spiritual system. To make SLSW a Christian practice, its teachers should be aware of the forbidden steps the Bible has clearly stated. If the drifting and superstitious nature in the Chinese pantheistic system, albeit its ability for religious function to reward, compensate, etc., cannot find objective truth, why then should the SLSW teachers, with a very weak biblical foundation, venture into this "foreign" land.

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[34] Stamen, "Territorial Spirits," p. 26.

8.2 Clear Steps as Ritual to Cast out or Expel Demons

The strategy developed by SLSW by "prayer walk," "praise march," "prayer expedition" and "prayer journey" is under question if these steps are deemed necessary in order to literally shake the strongholds, exterminate, and wipe out the devils in particular areas. It is taught by the New Testament that the devils exist, but are spiritual beings. The fight against them is thus spiritual. The "kingdom now" theology is often criticized for its eschatology. It is not my intention to discuss it here in detail, but suffice it to know that this theology emphasizes a realized eschatology, loosing the two poles tension of the New Testament "already-but-not-yet" eschatology. The kingdom of God thus taught is a visible reign by the church on earth as the manifested sons of God and especially manifested by the apostles and prophets.

Deemed as such, the battles are visible, the process is visible, and the victory is visible. All the prayer walks and expeditions are visible forms of fighting the battles for the kingdom to come. But the spiritual world should not be understood in the three dimensional physical perspective. The spiritual world is in another dimension. Evil spirits can possess an object, for example, an idol; they can reside in it as in a human being. Buildings and sites that are dedicated to evil spirits can only signify anything and manifest any power because people are giving that authority over to them. Likewise, they can have power over people because there are rooms, like thoughts filled with sinful ideas where the evil spirits are legitimately qualified to dwell in.

The spiritual world should not be measured according to physical principles. Thus, the tramping down of the enemy is not necessarily done in the prayer walk. It can be done at home, targeting somewhere far away. And since we do not really understand whether their ranks are perennially assigned in the spiritual realm, we do not simply fire demons as if we know they are of the higher ranks. The hierarchical system in Chinese common religion does not show a consistent ranking, though there are some major gods, but the status has been fluctuating in history. The evidences quoted from Peter Wagner's book also do not support any consistent ranking of the gods.

9. A Theological Reflection

9.1 Gods in the Old Testament and Sovereignty of Almighty God

We can find similar cases in biblical narrative. For instance, Baal is named differently in different cities as Baal-hermon, Baal-hazor, Baal-gad, or Baal-peor. It is believed that Baal was the highest god in the Canaanite areas, which controlled the fertility of the land.[35] It is also a warrior god as well as a storm-god.[36] While there were other gods like Chemosh of Moab, Milkon of Ammon, Melgart of Tyre, and Eshmun of Sidon, the rankings of these gods are not known. Some gods were named, not after the names of the territories where they were situated, but after the duties they were in charge of. Ilib is, for example, in charge of ancestor worship; Hadd, of thunderstorm; Yam, of the sea; Mot, death, and Rephesh, of the plague. Like Chinese people, Canaanites could worship many gods at the same time.[37]

Clinton points out that in the Old Testament, idols are frauds, rebellious angels or evil spirits who want to be God. No matter how much these idols claim their rights and claim to have control over nations, cities, territories, and the sea, or to have possessed the power of death, fertility, and thunderstorm, they are not God.[38] The implied theology of the sovereignty of one God in the narratives unambiguously excludes the possibility of any actual sovereignty of these Canaanite gods as the strongholds of these cities.

9.2 Sin and Possession: A Psychological Link

It is taught in the Bible that sin is the crucial problem in people's lives. According to Paul's understanding, sin manifests itself in different forms: envy, murder, strife, deceit, malice, gossip, hatred, slander, insolence, arrogance, boastfulness, disobedience, faithlessness, senselessness, heartless, ruthlessness, rage, anger, bitterness, greed, impurity, sexual immorality, lust, evil desires, idolatry, etc.[39] These echo

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[35] Arnold, *Three Crucial Questions*, p. 231.

[36] Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), pp. 42-44, 47, 49-52.

[37] Arnold, *Three Crucial Questions*, p. 231.

[38] Arnold, *Three Crucial Questions*, p. 232.

[39] See Rom 1:29-31; Eph 4:31; Col 3:5.

in Jesus' teachings. And Jesus points out that all these evils come from inside and make a man unclean.[40]

Is it possible that the spirits that possess different individuals are truly the spirit of rage, spirit of promiscuous, spirit of lust and so forth? Theologically, it is sound to state that spirit possessions are usually related to sin.[41] And whatever names the spirits may be given and whatever they are, they highly depend on the psychological and spiritual condition of the people they possess. A spirit of lust could possess one if he or she is indulging in the sin of lust, building a "house" for the spirit to live in and manifest itself as the spirit of lust. Our body is the house of the Spirit of God, and could also be the house for other spirits. But if the same spirit goes to another person who is bound by the sin of hatred, it will become the spirit of hatred. Therefore, it is understandable that an exorcist can cast out as many different spirits as one might have; but the truth is: as there are many sins, there are as many spirits. The former determines the latter.

The Apostle Paul elaborates sin in personified terms. He says that as sin comes into this world, it brings death. Likewise, as it comes into one's life, it brings death into that person. Now all who have sins are under the power of death, which is described by Paul as the king and lord in one's life. The body taken hold of and controlled by sin is called the body of sin. It looks alive, but it is only a slave of sin. It has no right over itself. Sin claims to have this body. And as long as the sin is not dealt with, the person cannot claim to have this body. This body belongs to the sin. To the sin, it is alive; but to God it is deemed dead. So the body does whatever sin wants it to do. Paul says that the body can only be redeemed when the power of sin is canceled. The only way to cancel that is through the death of Christ on the cross.

Moreover, whoever submits to sin is the slave of sin. And death reigns in one through the power of sin.[42] It is interesting to note that in the Epistle to the Romans, Paul does not attribute the bondage of human beings to Satan, or to "the powers of this dark world and the spiritual

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[40] See Mark 7:21-22.

[41] Compared to the western theological seminary, lecturers in Asia are more readily qualified in answering these sorts of questions. There is a contextual reflection from an Asian theologian showing similar tendency and concern. See Yung Hwa, "A Systematic Theology That Recognizes the Demonic," in *Deliver Us from Evil: An Uneasy Frontier in Christian Mission*, eds. A. Scott Moreau, et al. (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 2002), pp. 3-27.

[42] The above elaboration is taken from Romans 5-8.

forces of evil in the heavenly realm," as illustrated in Ephesians 6, but to sin.

10. Conclusion

The above attempt is preliminary. However, my aim is two fold: to point out the similarity between SLSW teaching and that in the Chinese common religion and to offer reflections from a theological and biblical perspective.

For many generations, exposure and contact with the spiritual realm was deemed a prohibited act by most Chinese evangelical believers, who believed that the gods, the spirits of the dead, the spirits of the ancestors, are all evil spirits in disguise; and having turned to Christ, converted Christians have entered the realm of God, from darkness unto light. Thus, once liberated from the grasp of the old gods, and having denounced the physical and visible idols, the power of darkness and Satan could no longer take hold on their lives. Christians do not need to re-enter into the spiritual realm to bind the "evil spirits" whom they once venerated, and certainly not to say they must look for the overlords of these spirits for a battle at a higher level. Christ has already won the victory once and for all. One has already participated in the victory when one accepts salvation.

Now as SLSW is being widely promoted, could it be possible that what is being taught is less of a biblical principle and more a result of exposure to the Eastern mysticism of transcendental meditation and others, leading the western society and some Christian churches into the Eastern spiritual worldview that embraces a concept of hierarchical ranking of spiritual beings, which is nothing new to Chinese people.[43] Is this direction a progression or a regression?

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[43] For analysis of how western society been exposed to eastern mysticism and has deviated from biblical Christianity, I refer to Dave Hunt's *The Cult Explosion: An Expose of Today's Cults and Why They Prosper* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House, 1980). Hunt and McMahon's accusation of Cho on being supportive of Eastern mysticism is refuted in Allan Anderson, "The Contextual Pentecostal Theology of David Yonggi Cho," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 7:1 (January 2004), pp. 5-6. See also Dave Hunt and T. A. McMahon, *The Seduction of Christianity: Spiritual Discernment in the Last Days* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House, 1985), pp. 20, 33, 102, 143-145 (pages as quoted by Allan Anderson). I came across A. Scott Moreau, "Gaining Perspective on Territorial Spirits" (http://www.lausanne.org/Brix?pageID=13884), checked: August 18,

While SLSW teaching is blooming around the world, should not one also take note of how some of its teachers have made room for the possible encounter with well-intentioned spirits--spirits of dead prophets, albeit Old Testament prophet Elijah and American prophetess Kathryn Kuhlman, and angels who are ready to "help" Christians? Benny Hinn, the recognized apostle and prophet in the circle of the New Apostolic Roundtable and the International Coalition of Apostles, has publicly shared his contact with Old Testament prophet Elijah and Kathryn Kuhlman in many visions.[44] Are these spirit encounter experiences any different from the Chinese encounters with the dead through the rite of the shaman-master?

Noticing these similarities, would not a study of the Chinese religious system shed some light to the contemporary understanding of the spiritual world? If SLSW is true, then designating different levels of spirits/gods in a city, a region, or a country, through its teaching would be more than welcome to Chinese people, for that would affirm their belief system as well. They would at least perceive it as a "Christian version" of a pantheistic view of the different levels of gods. Moreover, the same view would certainly also fit with the Hindu pantheistic view which sees all gods as manifestations of the Brahma, whereas one is at a higher or a lower level, as long as some people see it works for them.[45] But what then is so unique in Christianity?

2005, upon revision of my article, and found his reference to the similarity of SLSW and Hinduism shares my own viewpoint.

[44] See G. Richard Fisher with M. Kurt Goedelman, "Benny Hinn's Move into Necromancy: Faith Healer Claims Contact with the Dead Foretells New Direction for His Ministry," *The Quarterly Journal* 17:4 (1997) available at Personal Freedom Outreach website (http://www.pfo.org/bhnecro.htm), checked: Jan 8, 2006. Also "Hinn," in *Let Us Reason Ministry* (http://letusreason/hinn.htm, 2002), checked: June 4, 2004.

[45] About *Hinduism*, see Cybelle Shattuck, *Hinduism* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1999); Arvind Sharma, "Hinduism," *Our Religions* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), pp. 3-67; see also T. M. P. Mahadevan, *Outlines of Hinduism* [Chinese], trans. Huang-zhou Ling (Taipei: Tong Ta, 2001).

Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang, eds., *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, Regnum Studies in Mission and Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies Series 3 (Oxford: Regnum Books and Baguio: APTS Press, 2005), paper, xvi + 596 pp., ISBN: 1-870345-43-6.

This is the first collaborative book on Asian Pentecostalism, edited by two scholars from Birmingham University, England. The essays in this collected volume are written to examine the reality of the Pentecostal movement in Asia. This work is a result of the International Conference on Asian Pentecostalism organized by the Graduate Institute for Theology and Religion, Birmingham University, England on September 17-20, 2001.

The combination of these two editors is very interesting. Allan Anderson is known as one of the world's leading scholars in Pentecostal studies. Presently he is the Director of the Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies Department at the University of Birmingham. Edmond Tang comes from the same university but specializes in Asian studies. On one hand, Anderson is the representative of Pentecostal scholarship, while, on the other hand, Tang is the representative of scholarship of Asian theological studies. Both are highly respected scholars in their fields.

Basically, the main content of this book can be divided into three parts. The first part (chs. 1-7) is very important because it sets the theological tone of the whole book. Walter Hollenweger opens this part by challenging western churches and missionaries to listen to what Asian Pentecostal theologians have to say. David Martin, a sociologist from England, plainly shows the challenges that Pentecostals in Asia are facing nowadays from a more sociological perspective. Hwa Yung, a Methodist scholar who has been paying close attention to the growth of Pentecostalism in Asia, presents an essay which discusses the idea that indigenous Christianity has a lot of similar characteristics with Pentecostalism. He calls them "Pentecostal-like" Christians. Wonsuk Ma in his essay clearly demonstrates the situation of the Asian context, which Pentecostal churches have to face today. Another interesting essay is written by Amos Yong, an Asian Pentecostal scholar who lived in the west most of his life. Yong does a fascinating comparative theology between a Buddhist understanding of demonic powers and a Pentecostal understanding of spiritual warfare. It is interesting to note here that, in the middle of a theological discussion, Julie Ma comes with a different flavor. She presents an essay that discusses how Asian women have

played an important role in Pentecostal ministry. This part is ended with Anderson's provocative essay that strongly argues for the need of a revision of global Pentecostal historiography. According to Anderson, Pentecostal historiography has been done from a heavily North American perspective.

The second part of this book (chs. 8-24) discusses specific issues and uniquenesses of Pentecostalism in several Asian countries. This part is divided by the editors according to geographical category: South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. From Southeast Asia, Michael Bergunder and Roger Hedlund write on Pentecostalism in India. Paulson Pulikottil explores the contribution of Ramakutty Paul, who is a Dalit (the fourth caste in Indian society), to Indian Pentecostal churches. From Southeast Asia, each country is written about by a different author, such as Chin Khua Khai (Myanmar), Tan Jin Huat (Singapore), Gani Wiyono and Mark Robinson (Indonesia), Joseph Suico, Lode Wostyn, and Jeong Jae Yong (Philippines). From East Asia, Pentecostalism in China is written by Gotthard Obalau, Deng Zhaoming, and Edmond Tang. Pentecostalism in Japan is represented by Paul Shew, and Korean Pentecostalism is exposed by Lee Young-Hoon, Hyeon Sung Bae, and Jeong Chong Hee.

This book is closed with two writings by Simon Chan and Anderson. Chan points out some main issues, such as the definition of Pentecostalism, contextualization/syncretism, spiritual warfare, etc., that are raised by other essays in this book. At the very end, Anderson sums up this book with a short epilogue that basically contrasts Asian Pentecostalism and western Pentecostalism.

In my opinion this is an excellent and well-written/edited book that should be a representative of Asian Pentecostalism in an academic, as well as a practical, world. It is also important to note here that Pentecostalism in Asia has been established for more than seventy years, but there have not been any writings that exhaustively investigate it. Therefore, the appearance of this book should be welcomed.

As a teacher at a Pentecostal school who grew up in Asia, I found that this book has been written with an honest academic and objective presentation of Pentecostalism in Asia. I discover through this book that there are many similar things between Pentecostalism in my home country, Indonesia, and other countries. This really amazed me while I was reading this book. Perhaps because of the geographical closeness between my country and those other countries, we have many things in common. I learned many things from this book, as it gives full and deep theological, pneumatological, ecclesiological and practical reflections on Asian Pentecostalism. I am now equipped with plenty of information and

details from each country. Besides that, I also began to realize that Pentecostalism is growing in my Asian context because of its ability to fit nicely into Asian religiosity. Even before "classical Pentecostalism" came from North America, Yung, Ma, Hedlund and Zhaoming prove that Pentecostal spirituality and religiosity already existed in Asia. They rightly call it "indigenous Pentecostal."

Let me give my comments on one crucial thing that is strongly highlighted by most of the authors in this book, and that is, "defining Pentecostalism." Anderson, Ma, and several others, give a broader and more generic definition. Undeniably, this is a provocative and interesting thing to bring into discussion. However, I am somewhat puzzled by the implications and benefits of defining in a broad and generic way. Is it theologically or ecclesiologically necessary to broaden our definition of Pentecostalism? What is the purpose of it? Is there any practical benefit that we can get from this broader definition? Or is this only limited to the level of "theological" discussion? Do we have to include indigenous movements as Pentecostals only because they have the same phenomenon as we do? Can we not just categorize them with the term Yung has used, as "Pentecostal-like" Christians? I think perhaps this is a better way to describe these indigenous Pentecostal movements. By calling them "Pentecostal-like," it implies that we still maintain the classic definition of Pentecostalism, but at the same time acknowledge them as brothers and sisters. I think that Simon Chan has sharply pointed this out:

> I think it would be a mistake if one should think that the new [the broader] explanation should replace the old [the narrower], or that it is somehow 'better' than the old because of certain questionable assumptions commonly associated with the latter view. The fact that the older view has been associated with race bias and a colonialist mindset does not, for that reason, make it invalid (p. 576).

It seems to me that if our definition is too inclusive, then perhaps we will lose a clear picture of Pentecostal identity. What makes someone Pentecostal? In the old definition, at least the theological boundaries are very clear (e.g. doctrine of initial physical evidence and subsequence).

Furthermore, one small technical thing that I need to expose here is the uncompleted editing of materials. There is at least one essay that is not fully edited yet, and that is Wonsuk Ma's essay, especially on pages 81 and 89 (note 50). I would like to suggest that it will be better, in the next printing, if these unedited elements could be corrected.

However, I must admit that this book has brought a fresh wind to the discussion on the importance of Pentecostalism in Asian Christianity. This kind of book is needed for showing what Asian Pentecostalism really is. We have heard about Asian Pentecostalism from a more western perspective, and also most of the writings on this subject matter are very fragmented. This book is undeniably significant because it is the first comprehensive book that deals with Asian Pentecostalism written by Asian writers. Therefore, I would strongly recommend this book to seminarians, pastors and Christian workers who are interested in knowing more about the development and issues surrounding Pentecostalism in Asia.

Ekaputra Tupamahu

French L. Arrington, *Unconditional Eternal Security: Myth or Truth?* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 2005), paper, 211 pp., ISBN: 1596840579, $11.99.

A series of previous studies has addressed the issue of whether Christians can willfully return to the practice of sinning, from which the saving grace of Christ has delivered them, and still be saved, e.g., I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God* (1974); D. and R. Bassinger, eds., *Predestination and Free Will* (1986); C. Pinnock, ed., *Case for Arminianism: The Grace of God, the Will of Man* (1989); J. Volf, *Paul and Perseverance: Staying In and Falling Away* (1990); and M. Pinson, ed., *Four Views on Eternal Security* (2002).

Against this background, *Unconditional Eternal Security: Myth or Truth?* adopts a distinctly pastoral approach with analysis of relevant texts in the OT, the synoptic Gospels, Johannine writings, Acts, and the letters of Paul, Hebrews, James, Peter and Jude.

Arrington briefly examines the historical origin of the debate but does not venture off into philosophical considerations and rationalistic speculations. The strength of this textual focus lies in a persuasive rhetorical expertise that has been honed in other equally well-written efforts, such as the co-editorship of the *Life in the Spirit New Testament Commentary* (1999) with R. Stronstad, which may serve as an accompaniment to J. W. Adams et al, eds., *Life in the Spirit Study Bible* (2000). In *Unconditional,* each relevant text is expounded with contextual clarity so that when it comes time for a summary, readers can

understand how reliable conclusions follow from commonsense argument.

In the OT, Arrington suggests that God's choosing Israel as His people offers no guarantee in itself of individual eternal security and that OT writers did not teach that God determines in advance the actions of an individual, rather obedience to God and His law are of undeniable importance. In the Synoptics, the urgency of steadfast endurance (Mark 13:13), the warning against the danger of committing an unpardonable sin (Luke 12:8-12) and the warning of offenses (Matt 18:6-14) are teachings to be taken seriously in that "A major concern of Jesus was the perseverance of believers. Apart from a life of faith, there is no guarantee that believers will persevere, but their salvation is never in doubt if they continue steadfast in the faith" (p. 56). In Johannine material, abiding is a vital aspect of faith, illustrated by the parable of branches abiding in the vine and of being cut off and cast aside for burning. The warning of 2 John 7-11 "expresses the possibility of believers going astray and losing their salvation" and "Scripture leaves no doubt that a Christian can experience a spiritual death (1 John 5:16)" (p. 77).

Arrington finds perseverance of lifestyle in Acts 2:42-43. While here grace is behind the experience of salvation and personal devotion to Christ, "The Holy Spirit compels no one to believe. God calls everyone to salvation, but He predestinates no one to eternal life" (p. 92). When it comes to Spirit-reception (Acts 5:32), the Spirit continues to be given to obedience of faith, "Therefore, God's dealing with humankind is free of arbitrariness and caprice. We must affirm that divine grace works throughout the Christian life. If at any point we accept it or reject it, the choice is ours. Nothing in the book of Acts teaches that it is impossible for a believer to reject salvation and be lost. The receiving and keeping of salvation is a matter of faith" (p. 93).

In Paul's letters, perhaps Arrington's topical headings may give a clue to his interpretation and necessary emphases. In each undisputed letter he treats systematically the topics of "God's Action in Salvation," "God's Protection of the Believer," "Temptations and Dangers of Falling Away," "Falling Away into Sin," and the "Possibility of Failure to Keep the Faith." In this discussion there is an underlying sense of solid attention to context, a respectful sense of discursive coherence combined with an appreciation of Paul's consideration of himself as being a steward of mysteries instead of a "word only" or "rational rock" interpretive style. *Unconditional*'s sober pastoral exposition is made plausible due to an evident underlying expectation of authorial

connectedness,[1] instead of undue deference to a "make it fit" interpretive style.[2] For example, the "in you" (*ek humin*) of Phil 1:6 is a case in point; attention to contextual descriptions of addressees at 1:1, 10, 27, 29, *passim*, is implicitly understood in contrast to rationalistic extraction of Phil 1:6 to "make it fit."

In the Pastoral Epistles we are offered able discussion on "The Doctrine of Election," "Falling Away of Believers," which might have been entitled "Does Paul Expect to See Demas in the Afterlife?" and "The Doctrine of Endurance." Most germane to an examination of unconditional security is the letter to the Hebrews, where three facts are emphasized: God is actively faithful in caring for his people; the heavenly Jesus (not disconnected from the earthly Jesus) intercedes on behalf of believer-disciples; and contemplation of Christ's life and sacrifice provide an incentive for perseverance (pp. 150-53). There are strong exhortations to persevere (Heb 3:12) and solemn warnings not to fall away (10:36), evidence that "The writer knows that faith in Jesus Christ is not merely a matter of 'right beliefs,' but it is also a serious matter of Christian discipleship and obedient living. To underscore this truth, he portrays Christian life as a great marathon race (12:1-3). This race is not quick and short-distanced. It demands persistence for a long distance, and it requires overcoming many obstacles along the way, and in no way is this race uncharted. Jesus is the lead runner, the pioneer of our faith. He is our supreme model for endurance and persistent trust in God." Obstacles and dangers include the pressure to accept false teachings (by inference paleoreformed teaching with a mythological aura), the ever-present temptation to sin and, above all, growing weary.

In conclusion, Arrington, who firmly believes that disciple-believers should be confident of their eternal life, finds slogans like "Once saved always saved" to be both misleading and at odds with the outlook of biblical writers (pp. 180-90). Unconditional eternal security can dangerously downplay the need to press on with a godly life and diminish the importance of discipleship, thereby giving a false, unbiblical, and ultra-rational assurance that may be a real hindrance in

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[1] As advocated in the principles advanced by Adele Berlin, "A Search for a New Biblical Hermeneutics: Preliminary Observations," in *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference*, eds. J. S. Cooper and G. M. Schwartz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), pp. 195-207.

[2] As challenged by Ted M. Dorman, "The Case against Calvinistic Hermeneutics," *Philosophia Christi* 19 (1996), pp. 39-55.

times of weakness (p. 188). Col 1:22, 23 serves to score the final point that at Christ's return a people holy and blameless, with faith firmly established and steadfast, will be welcomed by the heavenly Jesus into immortality.

This very readable study will assist pastors who seek the spiritual well being of their flock and are concerned on their behalf for an eternal outcome befitting a race well run. After each of the nine chapters readers are given a list of study questions to enable further discussion and promote learning. A brief bibliography, together with indices of texts and topics complement the volume.

Paul Elbert

Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies, eds., *The Spirit and Spirituality: Essays in Honour of Russell P. Spittler*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series 24 (London and New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), paper, xviii + 323 pp., ISBN: 0-826-47162-5, US$ 45.00.

Scholarly interest in Pentecostal studies is increasing. *The Spirit and Spirituality,* edited by Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies to honor a Pentecostal scholar Professor Russell P. Spittler, is a welcome contribution to the building of bibliography in Pentecostal studies. The collection of essays in this twenty-fourth volume of the Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series covers a wide range of writings on Pentecostal spirituality that deal with "biblical," "theological" and "historical" topics. The contributors come from different Christian backgrounds and they are from different parts of the world. Although not all of them are Pentecostals or Charismatics, they are friends, colleagues, and former students of Prof. Spittler. In addition to the collection of essays put together by the editors, the titles of the publications of Russell Spittler were collected and presented in this volume.

Robert E. Cooley who is a long time friend of Spittler gave a tribute to the honoree depicting his knowledge of him. Cooley also describes Spittler in terms of his scholarly pursuit and his administrative skills. For Spittler, a good leader should have "God's mission" as a vision. Moreover, for the honoree, "the sovereignty of God" must be the umbrella of Christian leadership. Lastly, the direction of his kind of leadership is led by "the centrality of the Word of God" (pp. 2-3).

Richard J. Mouw portrays Spittler as "a theological educational leader" in Pentecostal studies (p. 4). Mouw reviews the leadership positions held by Spittler in different Christian institutions and praises him because of his "integrity" and "*pastoral* sensitivities" (p. 5, italics are original). In addition he shows how Spittler places theological education in high academic standards.

The article of Walter J. Hollenweger entitled "Critical Loyalty" is most interesting. It captures the attitude of the honoree to his Pentecostal group called the Assemblies of God. Hollenweger admires Spittler for his pursuit as a scholar and his bravery to distinguish Pentecostalism from Fundamentalism. Hollenweger argues that the inerrancy of Scripture doctrine and the belief that speaking tongues is the initial evidence of Spirit baptism are not based on the Pentecostal roots. It is also noteworthy how Hollenweger sees the kind of ecumenical spirit of Spittler who never lost his Pentecostal testimony can do a miracle of reconciliation between Catholics and Pentecostals. Students of Spittler followed his critical thinking, such as Brinton Rutherford who argues that David du Plessis is "historically unreliable" but "theologically relevant" (p. 11). In conclusion, Hollenweger urges Pentecostals to do critical study of the Bible as Rutherford did in du Plessis. For Hollenweger, the critical study of the Bible is similar to what Rutherford did to the biography of du Plessis. Thus, Hollenweger encourages the Pentecostals to use biblical criticism in their study of the Bible and be critically loyal to their movement (pp. 13-14). Cooley, Mouw and Hollenweger are very appreciative of Spittler's contributions to the larger Christian world.

Leslie C. Allen's "Types of Actualization in the Psalms" is the first article on the "biblical perspectives" part of this book where he argues that the Israelites' feasts provided direct connections to the revelations of God throughout their history. The book of Psalms expresses the spirituality of Israel in their temple processions, festive adulations and yearly pilgrimages actualizing the manifestation of God's might and remembering his mercy to every generation.

Wonsuk Ma, one of the editors of this volume, looks at the equipping nature of Spirit baptism in Luke-Acts through the lenses of the Old Testament. Ma traces the traditions in the Old Testament that talked about the Spirit. In particular he argues persuasively how the writer of Luke-Acts made selected Spirit passages at his disposal that results to the understanding of the Spirit in his writings is equipping for leadership and prophesying. Thus, Ma contends: "Had Luke intended to relate baptism in the Holy Spirit to conversion, he would have used the spirit tradition

of creation rather than the 'charismatic' spirit traditions" (p. 40). The other editor of the volume, Robert P. Menzies, probes the place of John 20:22 in the Pentecostal pneumatology. Menzies makes a strong case that John synthesized the pneumatologies of Paul and Luke. For Menzies the late dating of John would make him aware that the Spirit is instrumental for regeneration, and "a theologically distinct experience" that equips the believers to be witnesses for Jesus (p. 52).

Max Turner's "The Churches of the Johannine Letters as Communities of 'Trinitarian' *Koinōnia*" explores the concept of the word "fellowship" in the New Testament. He applies the concept of *koinōnia* particularly on the epistles and the Gospel of John. Turner maintains that "the divine communion" is the measurement of the true Christian community that is in fellowship with the Father and his Son. The last article in the biblical studies part is Walter C. Kaiser's exposition of Ephesians 5:15-21. Kaiser expounds this passage pointing out that the Spirit should be allowed for his work on the spiritual maturity of believers. This means that a believer should continuously encounter the infilling of the Spirit.

Daniel E. Albrecht's study on the forms and peculiarities of Pentecostal worship opens up the second part of the book. Albrecht's understanding of the faith expressions of the Pentecostals in their worship to God correctly points out how Pentecostal worship is perceptive of people's needs and that "God is concerned" to meet those needs (p. 73). Likewise, he says it right, that the Pentecostals experience real love and fellowship in a worship service because of their sensitivity to the Spirit (p. 79). Amos Yong attempts to come up with a theology of discernment using a broad structure of Christian pneumatology. Yong surveys the biblical material that talks about discernment of spirits. He presents what he believes are two kinds of discernments, the exercise of the spiritual gift of discernment and the discerning of the internal characteristic of anything that can be observed concretely or phenomenologically by human senses. Murray W. Dempster writes a longer article than others on the moral implication, social justice significance and ethical value of glossolalia. In his well-argued article, he shows how speaking in tongues not only symbolizes but also facilitates the awareness that "the divine-human glossolalic encounter implies that Pentecostal ethics is a theocentric ethics" (p. 119).

The contribution of William W. Menzies is a Pentecostal scholar's contemplations on human suffering. Menzies sketched a God-centered framework in viewing suffering. He declares that God can change suffering "into an instrument of value" (p. 148) and that believers should

constantly pray pending the Lord makes it known "that he has another purpose in hand" (p. 149). The title "Theology of the Cross: A Stumbling Block to Pentecostal/Charismatic Spirituality?" of Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen's essay provides a reflection of Pentecostal triumphalism in connection with Martin Luther's theology of the cross and the Christian faith. The theology of Luther is important for Kärkkäinen in relationship with Pentecostal spirituality because the crucifixion of Jesus demonstrates "the final evidence of the fact that God assumed the responsibility over evil" (p. 162). Frank D. Macchia's piece is a review of Karl Barth's appreciation of Spirit baptism. Barth, according to Macchia, understands Spirit baptism as "a *functional* Christology" with his Christocentric pneumatology becoming a mere participative meaning in the incarnational aspects (p. 169). However, Macchia thinks that Barth's view can be integrated with the Pentecostal understanding of Spirit baptism if conversion is understood as "involving an empowered turn to the world as well as empowered turn to God" (p. 175).

The third part of this Festschrift for Prof. Spittler is a compilation of historical studies on the impact of the Pentecostal experience to the different Christian communities and people. Deborah M. Gill in her "The Disappearance of the Female Prophet: Twilight of Christian Prophecy" exposes that the reason why Montanism is condemned by the early church is not because of its heretical teaching, but because of its approval of women as leaders. Gill argues that prophetesses vanished in the early church due to their suppression by the patriarchal church hierarchy.

Mathew S. Clark claims that the Pentecostal movement should take the Anabaptist precedent seriously. The Pentecostal view of the scripture is closer to that of the Anabaptists than the Evangelicals. Thus, hermeneutically speaking, like Anabaptism, Pentecostalism's "ethos lies not [in] doctrine, but [in] practice and experience" (p. 208). The longest article in the book is written by Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. His historical study of the Assemblies of God developing a magisterium is a wake up call to the denomination's curtailing of the academic freedom of its scholars. Robeck carefully documents the suppression of alternative voices in explaining the sign of Spirit baptism. His article ends with an appeal for "more tolerant of and open to one another's contributions" in the Assemblies of God (p. 252).

The contributions of Peter Hocken on the French Pastor Louis Dallière, Rick Howard on the South African ecumenist David du Plessis and Julie Ma on the Korean prayer mountain pioneer Jashil Choi bring insightful studies in the lives of influential Pentecostals in this generation. Although all of them have already departed from this world,

they left their imprints to many Pentecostals. Dallière left a prophetic legacy of boldness, while du Plessis's ecumenical influence in the wider church community is still felt until this day; and Choi's example of praying and fasting is not only a model to emulate, but it made a direct influence on the largest Church in the world. The last three authors give short biographies of these Pentecostal giants of faith, concluding the volume with positive contributions of real people who experienced the reality of the Pentecostal gift. Dallière, du Plessis and Choi provide testimonies of what the Spirit can do to individuals who will allow him to fill their lives with his very presence.

The essays in this book are well written and well arranged. The editors are to be commended for putting together a volume that deals with the Pentecostal understanding of spirituality in relationship with the experience of the Spirit of God, both in the biblical communities and contemporary Christian communities and individuals. The essays are sympathetic to the Pentecostal experience of the Holy Spirit.

This volume is for general Christian readership; however, Pentecostal ministers and church workers will find the collection of materials in this book instructive. It is indeed also a profitable read for theological students and professional scholars. It is a collection of essays on Pentecostal understanding of spirituality that will certainly finds its influence among those who are interested in the work of the Spirit in the lives of believers. The articles are not only informative and provocative, but also at times revealing and revolutionary against the traditional understanding of Christian piety and Pentecostal spirituality. Even non-Pentecostal Christians will gain spiritual benefits and profound insights in what this collection of essays has to offer.

Roli G. dela Cruz

Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *An Introduction to Ecclesiology: Ecumenical, Historical and Global Perspectives* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002), paper, 238 pp., ISBN: 0-8308-2688-2.

This book, written by the Finnish Pentecostal theologian Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, is a volume following the format of surveying a specific theological field; in this case, it is a descriptive comparative ecclesiology. Some of his other works of this type are: *Pneumatology: They Holy Spirit in Ecumenical, International and Contextual Perspectives* (Baker Academic, 2002); *Christology: A Global Introduction* (Baker Academic, 2003); *An Introduction to the Theology of Religions: Biblical, Historical*

& Contemporary Perspectives (InterVarsity, 2003); and *Doctrine of God: A Global Introduction* (Baker Academic, 2004).

An Introduction to Ecclesiology is divided into three sections, each with introductory and concluding remarks. The first section is focused on "ecclesiastical traditions." He summarizes the ecclesiologies of what he considers to be the seven main ecclesiastical traditions: Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, Free Church, Pentecostal/Charismatic and ecumenical. In each chapter he interacts with sources from within the respective tradition (e.g., Vladamir Lossky and Kallistos Ware from the Eastern Orthodox tradition; Yves Congar and Karl Rahner from the Roman Catholic tradition) as well as noted secondary sources on the tradition or on a representative of the tradition (e.g., Paul Althaus and Tuomo Mannermaa on Luther).

The second section focuses on leading contemporary ecclesiologists, where he summarizes the works of seven prominent theologians' writings on ecclesiology. Kärkkäinen highlights each writer's specific perspective of ecclesiology: John Zizioulas' communion ecclesiology; Hans Küng's charismatic ecclesiology; Wolfhart Pannenberg's universal ecclesiology; Jürgen Moltmann's messianic ecclesiology; Miroslav Volf's participatory ecclesiology; James McClendon's Baptist ecclesiology; and Lesslie Newbigin's missionary ecclesiology. Each chapter is mainly based upon a major work by the respective author on ecclesiology (e.g., Hans Küng's *The Church*; Lesslie Newbigin's *The Household of God*) with important secondary resources included where applicable (e.g., Stanley Grenz's *The Reason for Hope: The Systematic Theology of Wolfhart Pannenberg*; Richard Bauckham's *The Theology of Jürgen Moltmann*).

The third section is on contextual ecclesiologies. This section emphasizes ecclesiologies that developed outside the classical western theological tradition. This is not intended to say that they were not influenced by this western tradition; rather, the purpose is to look at the ecclesiological theological perspectives in a more global perspective. Kärkkäinen likewise divides this section into seven chapters which are: "The Non-Church Movement in Asia," "Base Ecclesial Communities in Latin America," "The Feminist Church," "African Independent Churches," "The Shepherding Movement's Renewal Ecclesiology," "A World Church" and "The Post-Christian Church as 'Another City'." The author interacted with either the main or some of the main proponents of the ecclesiology (e.g., Kanzo Uchimura for the Non-Church movement in Asia; Letty Russell and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza for the feminist church), or with the secondary sources available on the movement

(especially Allan Anderson for the African Independent Churches' ecclesiology).

In general, I have found Kärkkäinen's book to be lucid, and arresting; the concepts are clear and concise. The footnotes are kept to a minimum, yet enough are given to clarify and point to the sources involved. Further, considering the vast amounts of material covered in order to adequately delineate each ecclesiology, the flow was easy to follow without being simplistic. I have found the outline and structure to be readily accessible, and accommodating. I also found the inclusion of the major ecclesiastical traditions, the main European and North American ecclesiologists and other global ecclesiologies as well as a broad range of secondary sources to be both refreshing and daunting. Refreshing in that it reminds us of the nature of the Church universal; daunting in that it seems to be an overwhelming task. The question is, "Was Kärkkäinen able to fulfill this task?"

In any book of this type there will always be criticisms. First, I would have found it useful to include an extensive bibliography. This was not an absolute necessity with the Names Index, but it would have been helpful.

Second, concerning the chapter entitled "The Non-Church in Asia," can this really be classified as an "Asian" ecclesiology? Or is it purely a Japanese one? Further, since this is mainly based on Uchimura and his compatriots, how influential or representative is this ecclesiology in Asia or Japan? Perhaps if Uchimura's position was compared with Watchman Nee's anti-denominational position and the developing "indigenous church" movement in China, the similarities could show a broader ecclesiology found in East Asia.

Third, in the chapter dealing with the Pentecostal/Charismatic ecclesiological tradition, I was surprised at the exclusion of the ecclesiological works by Simon Chan.[3] I can only assume that these were unavailable at the time that his manuscript had to be at the publishers. Further, I wondered at the exclusion of the classical Pentecostal French Arrington's three volume *Christian Doctrine: A Pentecostal Perspective* and the Charismatic J. Rodman Williams' three volume *Renewal Theology* in at least a citation or footnote, since both are the only noted Pentecostal/Charismatic theologians to produce multi-volume systematic

[3] "Mother Church: Toward a Pentecostal Ecclesiology," *Pneuma* 22:2 (2000), pp. 177-208; *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series 21 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

theologies. However, I likewise have to assume that their formulations did not fit the parameters of Kärkkäinen's intentions for this volume.

Fourth, I also noticed that, although briefly mentioned (p. 190), the division between the moderate feminist voices like Letty Russell and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza and the more radical voices of Mary Daly and Rosemary Radford Ruether, who do not include male voices in their theological endeavors, is not given the prominence that appears in some of the literature. Kärkkäinen mentions that "men can also be feminists if they are willing to advocate for women" (p. 187). Although this sentiment is agreed upon by the moderate voices, it is not accepted by the radical voices that call for the liberation from ecclesiastical structures, epistemic systems, etc., since they are tied to the oppressive masculine, patriarchal systems, ways of knowing, etc. Further, I wonder if the feminist theologians would have been pleased to have their ecclesiological contributions as being called "theologically most pregnant" (p. 164).

Fifth, whereas I found that I was very much in agreement with the inclusion of almost all of the above-mentioned ecclesiologies and ecclesiologists, I was unsure of the reason for the inclusion of the Shepherding movement, unless as a populace movement. The prominence of this movement was felt mainly in the 1970s and the early 1980s. However, it can be seen that this same basic pattern is still found in various church groups in North America, and elsewhere. Many of those have also included Watchman Nee's *Spiritual Authority* into their resources to legitimize their ecclesiology. Perhaps on this level, the influence of this movement is still felt, and maybe even stronger and broader today.

Sixth, even though they were a little earlier in the twentieth century than this study is trying to survey, I still would have liked to see more interaction with the works of Emil Brunner, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Likewise, I would have liked to see an interaction with the ecclesiology of Carl Braaten. To be fair, Brunner, Bonhoeffer, and Braaten are mentioned, but a more detailed interaction would have been helpful since these theologians are important resources in a variety of theological discourse including ecclesiology. Also, I would like to have seen at least a citation on Thomas C. Oden and his work, *Life in the Spirit*, which is the third volume of his significant systematic theology. I can only assume that he was not included since he purposely articulates the "traditional" or "un-original" position looking at a consensus throughout church history with an emphasis on the early church, thereby he is not promoting a new position or way of looking at ecclesiology.

The intention of these criticisms should by no means suggest that the current volume is anything less than a great accomplishment. As a whole, I find this book to be a good comprehensive survey of the current theological field of ecclesiology. As such, it would be an excellent survey to use in advanced Bible college classes or in a seminary. The huge task that Kärkkäinen set before himself to adequately compare the multiple, global ecclesiologies of the contemporary world is in fact fulfilled admirably, and thus this work will fill a great void in the area of theological textbooks.

Paul W. Lewis

CONTRIBUTORS

Deborah Kaye COLE (hcolefamily@aol.com, P.O. Box 377, 2600 Baguio City, Philippines) is a D.Min. candidate at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary and is a missionary with Assemblies of God World Missions, USA, currently serving in the Philippines.

Roli G. DELA CRUZ (rolidelacruz@yahoo.com, P.O. Box 377, Baguio, Philippines), a Filipino Pentecostal, teaches New Testament at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Paul ELBERT (pelbert@alltel.net) is an adjunct professor at the Church of God Theological Seminary, Cleveland, TN 37311, USA.

Robert L. GALLAGHER (Robert.L.Gallagher@wheaton.edu, Wheaton College Graduate School, 501 College Ave. Wheaton, IL 60187), formerly a Pentecostal executive pastor in Australia and a theological educator in Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific, is Assistant Professor of Intercultural Studies, Wheaton College Graduate School, Wheaton, IL, USA.

Peter HOCKEN (peterhocken@hotmail.com) is a Roman Catholic scholar resident in Vienna, Austria.

Dongsoo KIM (dk204@unitel.co.kr, 111 Yongi-dong, Pyeongtaek, Kyunggi-do, Korea) is Professor of New Testament at Pyeongtaek University, Korea and teaches New Testament and Pentecostal Studies as guest lecturer at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Vincent LEOH (vleoh@yahoo.com, P.O. Box 499, Jalan Sultan, 46760, Petaling Jaya, Selangor Darul Ehsan, Malaysia) is Senior Pastor of Glad Tiding Assembly of God, Petaling Jaya, West Malaysia and also serves as General Superintendent of the General Council of the Malaysian Assemblies of God.

Paul W. LEWIS (aldridge@securenym.net, P.O. Box 377, Baguio, Philippines) served as the Global University Director for Northern Asia and Director of the Asia Pacific Research Center at Asia Pacific

Theological Seminary, and currently is the incoming Vice President of Academic Services at the same seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Gary B. MCGEE (gmcgee@agts.edu, 1435 N. Glenstone Ave., Springfield, MO 65802, USA) is Professor of Church History and Pentecostal Studies at Assemblies of God Theological Seminary, Springfield, MO, USA. He has also served as Visiting Professor of Church History at Southern Asia Bible College, Bangalore, India.

Noriyuki MIYAKE (noriyuki_2002_99@yahoo.co.jp, 1-16-9 Nishinippori Arakawa-ku Tokyo, Japan 116-0013) ministers at Grace Gospel Christ Church, Tokyo, Japan and will be teaching at Central Bible Collage, Tokyo, Japan.

Samuel Hio-kee OOI (samuelooi@stssabah.org, 26 Jalan Pinggir, Off Jalan Istana, 88400 Signal Hill, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia), is Lecturer of Systematic Theology in Sabah Theological Seminary, Sabah, Malaysia. He also teaches Christian Ethics and World Religions.

Ekaputra TUPAMAHU (ekaputrat@gmail.com, S P.O. Box 58, Malang, East Java, Indonesia) teaches Theology at Satyabhakti Advanced School of Theology, Malang, Indonesia.

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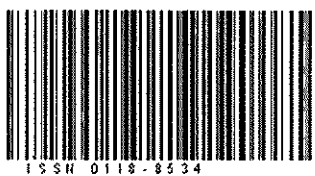

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For North America: Paul Elbert, Church of God Theological Seminary, Cleveland, TN 37320-3330, USA (Email: pelbert@alltel.net)

For Southeast Asia (except Philippines) and South Asia: Woon Khang Tan, TMG International, DM01, Blok D, Suria Office, Jalan PJU 10/4A, Damansara Damai, 47830 Petaling Jaya, Malaysia (tanwk8@yahoo.com)

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