

BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN
PENTECOSTAL HOLINESS AND MORALITY

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1. Introduction

I found out recently that the failures of Jim Bakker, Richard Dortch, Marvin Gorman, and Jimmy Swaggart were actually installment episodes of the same story.¹ It was a most shameful story. I also felt a personal sense of shame because I come from the same denomination as theirs. More than that, I had used Jimmy Swaggart as a role model for my ministry. Because there is no Christian program on our country's television, I used to have friends from overseas bring back videotapes of Swaggart's television programs so that I could show them to my church members. I admired his singing and his strong preaching on maintaining holiness and separation from the world. In fact, I even had a missions team from Jimmy Swaggart's Bible college visit my church and minister at one of our annual church camps. I felt betrayed by these men who had been so wonderfully gifted by God.

Indeed, Pentecostalism has experienced extremely painful failures among its constituents. The failures of tele-evangelists were only the public failures, a kind of a "tip of the iceberg." Working now within the district and national leaderships of my denomination, I have to deal personally with ministry colleagues who have failed morally. We do not seem to have learned from the failures of our more famous brethren. The

¹ For an overview of the roles each played in the others' downfall, the following will suffice: Charles E. Shepard, *Forgiven: The Rise and Fall of Jim Bakker and the PTL Ministry* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1989); Richard Dortch, *Integrity: How I Lost It and My Journey Back* (Green Forest, Arkansas: New Leaf Press); Jim Bakker, *I Was Wrong* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1996); and Charles R. Fontaine and Lynda K. Fontaine, *Jimmy Swaggart: To Obey God Rather than Men* (Crockett, TX: Kerusso, 1989).

Bakker-Swaggart episode happened only about fifteen years ago but we seem to have already forgotten the lessons from that failure.² Of course, we must forgive and forget, but only after we have learned and grown from our failures. It is not sufficient to merely admit, “We have feet of clay. We need God.”

1.1 Balance: A Continuing Issue on Pentecostal Morality

Even in the earliest Pentecostal publications, there were already hints of concerns for the movement’s moral and ethical life. The early Pentecostals, although caught up in a powerful spiritual revival, had the time to take up the issue. In an early issue of *Pentecost*, the following paragraphs were found:

Holy living as taught among modern Christian teachers has meant that in our outward everyday living we shall imitate the life of Christ; that we shall be clean men and clean women; that the purity of our life shall be unquestionable; that in all our acts we shall act like Christ.

This is really Christian ethics and is not scriptural holiness. Holiness of heart and ethics are very closely connected. They correlate and interact. Their right adjustment and mutual development is the problem before us.

At one time in the world’s history, ethics was exalted above inward experience as though purity of heart was caused by holy living. This has been the great error. At another time inward experience was exalted above ethics as though purity of heart existed independent of holy living. For two hundred years the pendulum has swung, first to the one extreme, then to the other.³

The early Pentecostals, therefore, were already seeking for a balance between the spiritual and the behavioral. Recognizing the gap between “inward experience” and “holy living,” they were seeking for balance between external ethics and inward purity of heart. They understood that there was a close connection, correlation and interaction between the two and that the problem is that of a “right adjustment and mutual

² The Muslims have obviously not forgotten Swaggart’s failures. Tapes of the debate between Swaggart and Ahmad Deedat, a well-known Muslim apologist, continues to sell in Malaysia. For all his rhetorics, Swaggart is seen to have lost the debate—in both word and deed. Ng Kam Weng, *Doing Responsive Theology in a Developing Nation* (Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Pustaka SUFES, 1994), p. 17.

³ John G. Lake, “Sanctification and Holy Living,” *Pentecost* 7 (June, 1909), p. 8.

development” of the two. However, Pentecostals have not been completely successful in finding a balance and the “pendulum” continues to swing.

The earlier Pentecostals had an often unwritten but much stronger ethical code. Much of that unwritten code comes from biblical prohibitions. For example, under the heading, “Living Holy, Mortifying Deeds,” *Word and Witness* writes:

Then it is God’s will to “abstain from fornication” (1 Thes. 4:3), and for you to “mortify your members, fornication, uncleanness, ovetousness, anger, wrath, malice, etc.” (Col. 3:5, 8), “seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds” (Col. 3:9). Having been baptized with the Spirit your “body is the temple of the Holy Spirit which is in you, which ye have from God, and ye are not your own” (1 Cor. 6:19). “Therefore present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God” (Rom. 12:1); for the “body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body” (1 Cor. 6:13). “Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from (by abstaining from) all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God” (2 Cor. 7:1).⁴

These biblical prohibitions acted as a holiness code and were translated into specific prohibitions against tobacco, addictive substances, etc. “The Lord is saving drunkards and taking the appetite for liquor and tobacco completely away.... A young man saved from the morphine habit has no more desire for the stuff and gave up his instruments.”⁵ Among most of the early Pentecostal groups, this also covered mundane matters like clothing styles, make-up, entertainment, etc. However, in recent years, the pendulum seems to have begun to swing to the other end where the inward experience is exalted above holy living. William Kay’s survey findings about the changing trends in British Pentecostalism is perhaps representative of a large sector of Pentecostalism today:

...[T]he issue of holiness has been redefined. The possession of a television is no longer sinful and the watching of a film or video is not condemned. Fashionable clothes are acceptable and those who minister to young people show that trendiness and Christian commitment can be

⁴ E. N. Bell, “Living Holy, Mortifying Deeds,” *Word and Witness* (October 20, 1912), p. 2.

⁵ “Bible Pentecost: Gracious Pentecostal Showers Continue to Fall,” *The Apostolic Faith* (November 1906), p. 1.

combined. Christian rock concerts have been accepted, and in some assemblies teetotalism has been relaxed. If holiness to the early generation is separation, to the generation of the 1990's it is expressed by attendance at Christian events, by financial giving and by sexual abstinence before marriage.⁶

On moral matters, the survey shows that standards appear to have altered greatly, though no empirical benchmark from any previous survey of the Assemblies of God ministers exists against which the current findings can be compared. Nevertheless, the impression given by the findings on cinema-going (71% disagree with a prohibition), drinking alcohol (51% disagree with a prohibition), social dancing (46% disagree with a prohibition) and sporting activities on Sundays (44% disagree with a prohibition) suggests that a radical change has taken place in social attitudes. Correspondence and articles within early Pentecostal make it highly unlikely that such a large percentage of a previous generation of ministers would have supported such "worldly activities."⁷

As the pendulum swings toward the other end of emphasis on heart purity without the outward "holy living," we Pentecostals need to check ourselves before it gets too late.

1.2 In This Study

As I think about the failures of our famous Pentecostal believers, I think about the gap between what is preached and what is practiced. There is a "sharp divergence between creed and character,"⁸ or between beliefs and behavior. Simply put, Pentecostals do not seem to be able to live out what they preach. Speaking of a gap between creed and character assumes that morality has a theoretical side—that holiness is both doctrinal and practical. Four concepts came to mind as I tried to frame this paper: holiness, sanctification, ethics, and morality. This paper will therefore explore the relationships between these four concepts with the hope of bridging the gap between what we believe and what we actually

⁶ William Kay, "Assemblies of God: Distinctive Continuity and Distinctive Change," in *Pentecostal Perspectives*, ed. Keith Warrington (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), pp. 40-63 (59).

⁷ Kay, "Assemblies of God," p. 62.

⁸ W. T. Purkiser, *Conflicting Concepts of Holiness: Some Current Issues in the Doctrine of Sanctification* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 1953), p. 12.

do. A tentative model will be developed to demonstrate how moral development takes place in a Christian.

From that, an attempt will be made to examine in more detail the role of the Holy Spirit and the place of the Pentecostal experience in the morality of a Christian. The fact that holiness and sanctification feature prominently in Pentecostal spirituality and vocabulary is an indication that this is a fair subject for a Pentecostal to investigate.⁹ Pentecostal-Charismatics have often been stereotyped as being religious phonies.¹⁰ It is incumbent upon us to demonstrate that we do care for real holiness and genuine Christian character. It will therefore be demonstrated that Pentecostalism has more to offer than charismatic demonstrations of power. The Pentecostal experience is very intricately wound also in the development of holiness and morality in the Christian life from the very early days of the modern Pentecostal movement: “As a rule, the people with the richest experience in holiness are the first to obtain the endowment with power. Others must brush up and become joyously clear in holiness. There is no lowering of the standard to make room for the gift of the Holy Ghost. If we did, we should have a spurious, or weak baptism.”¹¹ Pentecostals today must recover that. To that end, my hope is that this paper will be as practical as it is academic.

2. The Key Concepts and Their Relationships

The words, holiness, sanctification, ethics, and morality, though not completely synonymous, are closely related concepts. Holiness and sanctification belong mainly to the vocabulary of religion and spirituality while ethics and morality belong mainly to the vocabulary of social science and philosophy.

⁹ Thomas Zimmerman, “The Reason for the Rise of the Pentecostal Movement,” in *Azusa Street and Beyond: Pentecostal Missions and Church Growth in the Twentieth Century*, ed. L. Grant McClung, Jr. (South Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1986), pp. 58-61 suggested that Pentecostals “lived holy lives” to be among the critical reasons for the success of the Pentecostal movement.

¹⁰ James Randi, *The Faith-Healers* (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1987). C. Samuel Storms, *Healing and Holiness: A Biblical Response to the Faith-Healing Phenomenon* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 1990) gives a good and objective Evangelical response to Randi’s criticism.

¹¹ A. S. Copley, “Sanctification,” *Pentecost* 1:2 (September, 1908), p. 7.

2.1 Holiness and Sanctification

More than any other attribute, holiness comes closest in describing the nature of God.

Holiness seems to express the very ultimate in divine perfection. Consider justice, righteousness, fairness, reasonableness, honesty, spotlessness, piety, sanctity, grace, reverence, awe, use any word and none seem to describe God-like "holiness".... Things can only be holy as they come from Him or are given to Him. Holiness comes by association with (God).¹²

Holiness is therefore a state of being God-like. It is the goal of every Christian. "But just as he who called you is holy, so be holy in all you do; for it is written: 'Be holy, because I am holy'" (1 Pet 1:15-16).

Sanctification is a more difficult word to define because of the theological and doctrinal baggage that the word carries. For those from the Wesleyan tradition, the word describes the crisis experience subsequent to regeneration where the original sin nature is eradicated. Quite often, it is used interchangeably with "Christian perfection."¹³ It is also known as "the perfect love," "the second blessing," "the second work of grace," "Christian holiness," "holiness," "scriptural holiness," "second blessing holiness," "Canaan Land experience," "heart purity," "entire sanctification,"¹⁴ "second cleansing,"¹⁵ etc. The crisis event of sanctification is also often identified with Holy Spirit baptism.¹⁶

¹² Alex W. Ness, *Holiness* (Toronto: Christian Centre Publications, n.d.), p. 18.

¹³ John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 1966).

¹⁴ J. Kenneth Grider, *Entire Sanctification: The Distinctive Doctrine of Wesleyanism* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 1980).

¹⁵ Russell R. Byrum, *Holy Spirit Baptism and the Second Blessing* (Guthrie, OK: Faith Publishing House, n.d.).

¹⁶ Purkiser, *Conflicting Concepts of Holiness*, pp. 64-69 argues that Holy Spirit baptism and "entire sanctification" are one and the same because biblical evidences suggest that 1) both are the heritage of believers only; 2) both are wrought by the Spirit; 3) both are given on the same conditions; 4) both accomplish the same results; and 5) both have similar root meanings.

Most of the earliest leaders (e.g., William Seymour and Charles Parham) of the modern Pentecostal movement were from the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition. They continue to recognize sanctification as a crisis experience but they separated it from Holy Spirit baptism. Among the four blessings that Seymour recognizes in the atonement, he clearly separates “sanctification” from the Holy Spirit baptism.¹⁷ He defines sanctification separately.

Sanctified from all original sin, we become sons of God.... Then you will not be ashamed to tell men and demons that you are sanctified, and are living a pure and holy life free from sin, a life that gives you power over the world, the flesh, and the devil. The devil does not like that kind of testimony. Through this precious atonement, we have freedom from all sin, though we are living in this old world, we are permitted to sit in places in Christ Jesus.¹⁸

Charles Parham has a similar Wesleyan-Holiness idea of sanctification but elaborates on the element of growth in holiness: “Holiness is a growth. Sanctification is a work of grace, an instantaneous operation, but holiness is the life you enter into through the grace of sanctification.”¹⁹ Parham goes on to say that, “holiness has no bounds, no limits in its growth and development.”²⁰ There was therefore, for the earliest leaders of the modern Pentecostal movement, a three-stage Christian experience (regeneration, sanctification, and Holy Spirit baptism), but holiness is seen as the continuing goal rather than an immediate consequence of sanctification.

It was William Durham who first repudiated the teaching of sanctification as the “second work of grace” among early Pentecostals. He taught what is known as the “finished work” of Christ on Calvary. His teaching led to a new stream of Pentecostalism distinct from that of the Wesleyan-Holiness stream: the non-Wesleyan, Baptist, or Keswickian

¹⁷ Four blessings are: 1) Forgiveness of sins; 2) Sanctification; 3) Physical Healing; and 4) Baptism with the Holy Spirit. “The Precious Atonement,” *The Apostolic Faith* (September 1906), p. 2.

¹⁸ “The Precious Atonement,” p. 2.

¹⁹ Charles F. Parham, “Sanctification,” in *Selected Sermons of the Late Charles F. Parham and Sarah E. Parham*, ed. Robert L. Parham (Baxter Spring, Kansas: Apostolic Faith Bible College, n.d.), pp. 51-63 (55).

²⁰ Parham, “Sanctification,” p. 55.

stream. In this non-Wesleyan scheme,²¹ sanctification is a process and not a necessary prerequisite for Holy Spirit baptism.²² The controversy that erupted from Durham's teaching led to Durham being locked out of the Azusa Street Mission by Seymour.²³ After the Assemblies of God was organized based on Durham's understanding of sanctification, the "finished work" doctrine became the majority view of Pentecostalism by the end of the 1920s.²⁴

However, it must be understood that, despite the differences, both streams of Pentecostalism emphasize the Christian goal of personal holiness. The difference is the manner in which the goal of holiness is arrived at. The difference can perhaps be seen in the varying degrees of responsibility placed on the divine and the human elements in arriving at holiness. Oftentimes, Pentecostals who are from the non-Wesleyan stream accuse those from the Wesleyan stream of shirking their personal responsibility for holiness by claiming an "entire sanctification" that comes by divine grace. However, those who are from the Wesleyan tradition feel that those from the non-Wesleyan tradition continues to blame their weaknesses on human depravity when in fact it could have been completely removed by the grace of sanctification. Therefore, both streams of Pentecostalism really believe in human participation in developing Christian holiness and moral character.

Sanctification and holiness are intricately bound etymologically. Both come from the same Greek word, *hagios*. And, no matter how we may theologially schematize sanctification and holiness in the Christian life, we cannot place them on different continuums. They both belong to

²¹ For the purpose of this paper, the terms "Wesleyan" and "non-Wesleyan" will be used loosely to refer to the two broad streams of Pentecostalism with differing views on "sanctification."

²² R. M. Riss, "Finished Work Controversy," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), pp. 306-9 (308).

²³ Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1980), pp. 150-51 suggests that this was the beginning of the end for the Azusa Street revival: "Brother Seymour... with his trustees decided to lock Brother Durham out. But they locked God and the saints out also.... I secured Kohler Mission temporarily, and the 'cloud' moved with us.... Here the 'cloud' rested. God's glory filled the place. 'Azusa' became deserted."

²⁴ Riss, "Finished Work Controversy," p. 308.

the same continuum of the Christian's spiritual journey on earth and beyond.

2.2 Ethics and Morality

"Philosophers for centuries and psychologists more recently have failed to achieve consensual agreement on a definition [of morality]."²⁵ So, it is also necessary to define the word, *morality*, in the context of the purpose for this paper before proceeding further with this paper.

The dictionary defines morality as "ethical wisdom; knowledge of moral science," and "the doctrine or branch of knowledge that deals with right and wrong conduct and with duty and responsibility; moral philosophy, ethics."²⁶ Morality is thus seen as being similar, or even synonymous, with ethics. However, for the purpose and scope of this paper, the emphasis will be on morality as a behavioral and practical virtue. Perhaps a comparison between morality and ethics will help define the idea of morality for this paper. Ethics is principle-centered; morality is conscience-guided. Ethics is more of a science; morality is more an art, a skill. Ethics has to do with the *theories* relating to the validity, viability and hierarchy of virtues. It is usually not so concerned how these virtues are internalized to become an integral part of a person's character. Ethics is what one should do. Morality is what one actually does in a given situation. Ethics is issue or task-oriented; morality is relationship-oriented. In a way, we can say that Jesus did ethics when he proclaimed the Sermon on the Mount, but moved past ethics to morality when he proclaimed the New Commandment to love one another. Thus, morality is seen in this relationship-based, practical dimension. For the purpose of this paper, we may perhaps equate the word *morality* with *Christian character*.

2.3 Summary

The practical goal of balanced Christian holiness will therefore be to move from "holy talk" to moral character. Along the way, the issue of

²⁵ Peter D. Lifton, "Personological and Psychodynamic Explanations of Moral Development" in *Handbook of Moral Development*, ed. by Gary L. Sapp (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1986), pp. 55-73 (56).

²⁶ Lesley Brown, ed., *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), p. 1827.

ethics will have to be encountered but ethics is not the final end in itself. Unless we live out our ethics, we do not yet have a moral character; no matter how biblical our ethical formulations may be. Whatever happens to the spiritual realm of our personhood must bear fruit in the day-to-day market places of earthly life. If “entire sanctification” does not express itself in good Christian character, “entire sanctification” becomes “holy talk” and empty religiosity. The Bible demands fruits of repentance and faith that result in good works (Matt 3:8-10; Eph 2:8-9; James 2:14-18). Pentecostals are strong in preaching against immorality but have a weak educational and organizational structure for moral development. It seems like a case of “the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.” The next section will suggest some reasons why Pentecostals have so easily failed in the department of moral character development among their constituents.

3. Some Challenges toward Moral Character Development within Pentecostal Spiritual Traditions

To be fair, most Pentecostals are genuinely concerned with morality; particularly, within their own constituencies. The General Presbytery of the Assemblies of God, U.S.A. acted firmly in deciding on the cases of the above-mentioned high profile failures. They did not bow to political and financial pressures. Pentecostals are not so naïve to be unaware of the fact that the lack of morality among its members hurt the church’s mission. But, the issue of this paper is not so much one of enforcing discipline after the moral failures. More helpful would be for Pentecostals to have prevented these failures from happening. There is obvious fervor to condemn and punish sin but there are, within Pentecostal spiritual tradition, some inherent challenges to moral character development.

3.1 Pentecostal Separatism

The church’s assumptions about the relationship between morality and spirituality affect its approach to the subject of moral development. This is somewhat related to the questions of differentiating between the secular and the sacred; and defining the dynamics between them.

The strong Pentecostal other-worldly outlook contributes in part to a belief in a separation between morality and spirituality, often leading to the opinion that the church’s task has to do with the spiritual; relegating morality to the home and the secular schools. Spirituality is then usually seen as being on a higher plane than morality so that it is more important for the Christian to be spiritual than to be moral. Having an opinion like

this, Pentecostals can fall into the mistaken notion that their sole commitment on the “sacred” elements of spirituality is sufficient and more praiseworthy than having their focus cluttered with “secular” concerns of moral character development.

Paradoxically, the lack of effort in moral character development within Pentecostalism could also be due to overconfidence in the relationship between morality and spirituality. It assumes that developing spiritually will automatically result in moral development. Morality is seen as an automatic product of spirituality. Based on this opinion, Pentecostals then focus their attention on spiritual development instead of moral development.

3.2 Pentecostal Spontaneity

Pentecostal worship and church life are marked by an openness to the sovereign move of the Holy Spirit. They have a historical disdain for organized religion, which they consider as “ecclesiasticism and sectarianism.”

The brethren already on do not want any mere sectional body, but a thoroughly representative one, including at least all parts of the United States and Canada. To this end any modification will gladly be made to suit other wise brethren, just so long as they will stand with us against Ecclesiasticism and sectarianism. We refuse to become sectarian.²⁷

Any rule of order or conduct was therefore viewed with suspicion, which was the reason why the Assemblies of God did not initially have a proper constitution until forced by circumstances to adopt one. In such an environment, a formal approach to ethical or moral issues may not be enthusiastically received.

3.3 Pentecostal Simplicity

When the subject of moral character development becomes “overly philosophized,” it loses its appeal to Pentecostals. Pentecostals generally have a lack of interest for anything that sounds like intellectualism, particularly in less practical fields like philosophy. Therefore, even though there have been studies on moral development, they have not caught the interest of Pentecostals. In any case, this process of

²⁷ “Missionary Presbytery,” *Word and Witness* 10:5 (May 20, 1914), p. 1.

philosophizing has resulted in morality becoming more theoretical and less practical. It is perhaps indicative of the extent of this process that we find many more books on ethics than on morals today. Philosophical ethics has replaced practical morality. There is a need to make the concepts simple enough to be transmittable to the grassroots level of the church; and to give morality practical relevance at the market place. Norma Haan questions the usefulness of research that does not take into consideration the “morality of everyday life”:

Surprisingly little is known in a systematic sense about everyday morality and how it functions and develops in lives across time and place. Most psychologists have so far avoided the moral question or treated it only in “scientific” ways.... Our reluctance to admit the centrality of moral commitment in the lives we study—and indeed, the moral commitments underlying almost all our research—distorts theories and findings. Furthermore, we cannot turn to moral philosophers for solutions, for they too wait for a psychology of morality to circumvent their essentially ideological impasse.²⁸

3.4 Pentecostal Evangelicalism

The Protestant doctrine of salvation by grace through faith has opened the door somewhat for a libertine, antinomian attitude. Christianity is thus viewed as a “heart” religion and any requirement to obey a set of rules or laws is often viewed negatively as “works.” Pentecostalism has inadvertently opened that door even further with its experiential and individualistic approach to the Christian faith. And, the emphasis on the enabling power of the Holy Spirit often meant that the church relinquishes whatever role it has in moral development to the Holy Spirit. When the church is unable to hold the right tension between grace and works, between individual accountability and corporate identity, etc., it cannot be effective in moral development.

3.5 Pentecostal Individualism

Morality is supposed to find its theoretical anchor in ethics. However, in an increasingly pluralistic world, ethics has floundered. Ethicists tend to “bite more than they can chew.” In an age where

²⁸ Cited by Tod Sloan and Robert Hogan, “Moral Development in Adulthood: Lifestyle Processes,” in *Handbook of Moral Development*, pp. 167-81 (168).

“tolerance” and “inclusivism” are expected, there is a tendency to avoid absolutes lest they be seen as personal, religious or cultural biases. This relativism has is often exacerbated in Pentecostalism because of the strong emphasis on the individual. There is often no recognizable code of ethics to provide morality its needed foundation. However, Brenda Munsey rightly concedes that even “the scientific study of morality cannot be philosophically neutral.”²⁹ Unfortunately, the church at large has also not been strong enough in its assertion of its “biblical bias,” and chose, more often than not, to remain on the sidelines in the development of ethics.

3.6 Pentecostal Bifurcation of Power and Purity

In our efforts to find validity for the distinctives of our faith, classical Pentecostals have sought a bifurcation of the soteriological and missiological dimensions of the Spirit’s work. Pentecostal hermeneutics are generally experiential so that when we find people who are less than perfect getting baptized in the Holy Spirit and performing great signs and wonders, we propose that the Holy Spirit baptism is not an indication of spirituality but only an enduement of power to perform the missiological task. Unfortunately, we appeal to the imperfect model of the Corinthian church to prove that charismatic power can be available without holy living.³⁰ Robert Menzies, in arguing for a Lukan authority independent from Paul, also had to concede that there is no link between holiness and the Holy Spirit baptism.³¹ In so doing, we move holiness away from the ambit of the Pentecostal experience. Such a dichotomy, however unintentional, has often placed power away and ahead of purity.

3.7 Pentecostal Loss of Restorationist Identity

²⁹ Brenda Munsey, “Cognitive-Developmental Psychology and Pragmatic Philosophy of Science,” in *Handbook of Moral Development*, pp. 92-106 (92).

³⁰ William W. Menzies and Robert P. Menzies, *Spirit and Power: Foundations of the Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000), pp. 201-207. It should be noted that the Corinthian church consisted of a mixed group of individuals, some of whom are living lives of the highest moral character while others may not. It may be too simplistic to conclude that because the charismata are present in the Corinthian church, those with immoral lives can exercise the charismata.

³¹ Menzies & Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, pp. 201-207.

While we may not want to admit it, the fact remains that Pentecostals (and most of the larger church as well) have an increasingly weak commitment to right living. While it may be unfair to stereotype Pentecostals as such, there are still cases of Pentecostal phonies. As we begin to forget our roots as a restorationist movement, we will also lose sight of the apostolic ideals of self-sacrifice and martyrdom. Wesley C. Baker describes well how much the motives for right living has changed through the course of church history:

To the question, "Why do you follow Christ?" the early disciples would have answered, "Because we love and trust him. In following him and leading the kind of life that would please him, we find the whole purpose of living." But to the medieval Christian or to the post-Reformation Protestant Christian, the answer to that same question might honestly be, "We have to, to save ourselves from condemnation." A second question, "Why do you live a life of moral quality?" would have brought this from the early disciples: "We want to, to honor him whom we love, though we know he doesn't require it of us. Yet it is our privilege to witness to his love by loving others." Again, the later Christians would say, "We have to. That's what it means to be a Christian."³²

When the church works on the wrong motives, it is hitting on the wrong end of the nail. It is little wonder the church is not encouraged by its work in moral development.

3.8 Pentecostal Aversion to Behavioral Sciences

Moral development is rightly seen as belonging to the field of psychology, which is a field that many Pentecostals are not comfortable with. For example, Jimmy Swaggart has strongly denounced psychology as being from the devil. To be fair, even the larger church world often finds difficulty in accepting inter-disciplinary engagements in its theologizing.³³ In rejecting the behavioral sciences, Pentecostals are in fact denying the non-spiritual dimensions of the anthropological make-up.

³² Wesley C. Baker, *The Open End of Christian Morals* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967), p. 26.

³³ Robin Gill, *The Social Context of Theology: A Methodological Enquiry* (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray, 1975).

A simplistic, overly-spiritualized anthropology does not provide a strong theological framework for moral character development.

3.9 Summary

The main issue is therefore, the presence of a functional gap between holiness and morality. Theological jargon and ethical polemics may have often masked the reality of our failures. We need to talk bluntly on the issue if we are to get out of this quagmire. Pentecostals need to develop an understanding of moral development from both a spiritual and psychological perspective. There needs to be a practical model for developing right moral actions (in the behavioral sense; not in the “activist” sense) in the Pentecostal church. And for this model to work, it must be simple and systematic so that it can be understood and easily taught. The model must also indicate both the spiritual and behavioral dynamics that translate Christian ethics into moral action, holding the right tension between absolute and relative elements. It should also not treat lightly the work that has already been done in the secular studies of moral development.

4. A Tentative Model for an Integrative Approach to Christian Moral Character Development

The philosophical underpinning of this model is that *moral action causes moral development*. Teaching helps. Prayer helps. But there is no growth unless an individual responds to real moral situations. True morality must be tested in the real world.³⁴ Every time the individual avoids a moral action, he/she regresses in morality. Every time the individual presses toward a moral action, he/she grows morally. And, when we allow a feedback mechanism that is both biblical and Spiritual, we will develop a strong morality that is *at once Christian and Pentecostal*. The main concern of this model is with morality in its behavioral dimension and how that can be developed in the church today. This model not only translates the *is* into the *ought* but also translates the

³⁴ In this respect, we need to distinguish between “moral reasoning” and “morality” *per se*. Moral reasoning may be calibrated on the basis of answers provided to a series of cleverly designed questions. However, to be able to make good moral choices on paper does not automatically mean a good and courageous moral choice in a real life-situation.

ought into the “done!” A diagrammatic illustration of the proposed model is presented in the appendix.

4.1 Three Stages in a Moral Action

If the church is to actively work on moral development within its constituents, its members—especially its leaders—have to understand the dynamics of morality. These dynamics are to be more than cognitive although it may begin with the cognitive. In fact, it must go even beyond merely the affective dimension. A proper understanding of the “light” and “salt” concepts must include the behavioral dimension. The behavioral dimension is often the result of the affective dimension,³⁵ which in turn is dependent on the cognitive. They are therefore not independent of each other; although, for the sake of expedience, this section describes each of them independently. The next section of this paper will examine some of the dynamics in the relationships between the stages. These three dimensions total up to “personhood.” It may be seen as being somewhat parallel to the biblical concepts the “mind” (cognitive), “emotion” (affective) and “will” (behavior).

4.1.1 The Cognitive Dimension: *Apprehension*

This stage is probably the most-studied recently. “There is little doubt that cognitive-developmental theory has emerged as the predominant theoretical framework in the study of moral behavior, moral judgment, and moral conduct.”³⁶ The cognitive dimension stage is the mental *apprehension* of the moral situation. The moral situation begins the chain process toward a moral action. Not all situations demand a moral response because not all situations are moral situations.

Lawrence Walker suggests that the cognitive dimension involves two components: “(a) the *interpretation* of the moral problem, and (b) the *resolution* of the problem by *choosing* an appropriate action.”³⁷ However, Walker’s component (b) overlaps with the affective-decision stage of the model presented in this paper. It is probably more appropriate to classify

³⁵ Liam K. Grimley, “A Cross-Cultural Study of Moral Development” (Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1973), pp. 2-3 breaks up this dimension into “emotional and judgmental aspects.”

³⁶ “Introduction,” in *Handbook of Moral Development*, p. 3-10 (3).

³⁷ Lawrence Walker, “Cognitive Processes in Moral Development,” in *Handbook of Moral Development*, pp. 109-45 (111). Emphases are mine.

“choosing” as being mainly in the affective dimension. If “resolution” refers to a totally intellectual exercise, it is part of the cognitive-apprehension stage as well. The cognitive-apprehension stage therefore is where the individual intellectually interprets and resolves a moral situation. For the Christian, this is where Christian ethics (as a formal discipline) takes place. However, there is no moral action until this is brought through to the third stage where a decision of the will is made.

4.1.2 The Affective Dimension: Evaluation

The affective-evaluation stage is that of the emotion and conscience. However, Grimley’s suggestion of the “emotion of guilt, that is, of self-punitive, self-critical reactions of remorse and anxiety after transgression of cultural standards”³⁸ as a criterion of internalization is certainly lopsided and overstated. Guilt is not the only emotion guiding moral action toward the behavioral dimension. To associate conscience only with guilt is one-sided. A healthy Christian conscience is not merely the avoidance of guilt feelings.

But, the evaluative dimension is not merely the conscience. It is also the reflection of the individual’s central allegiances. Accordingly, the inner levels of worldview have been described as the affective and evaluative levels.³⁹ The Christian reflects his/her allegiances by the feelings expressed in a moral situation. This level acts as a bridge between the cognitive and behavioral dimensions. It gives meaning to the behavioral dimension.

4.1.3 The Behavioral Dimension: Decision

Not all decisions result in action. In some situations, non-action could be more moral. Furthermore, we do not always get to do what we have willed. But, moral action is not so much the act but the will. Aristotle describes moral virtue as “a state of character concerned with choice.”⁴⁰ Commenting on Aristotle, Mortimer J. Adler describes “moral virtue... [as] a habit of willing and choosing, not [merely] a habit of

³⁸ Grimley, “A Cross-Cultural Study of Moral Development,” p. 2.

³⁹ Paul G. Hiebert and R. Daniel Shaw, *The Power and the Glory: A Missiological Approach to the Study of Religion* (A working manuscript, n.p., n.d.), pp. 29-32.

⁴⁰ Mortimer J. Adler, *The Time of Our Lives: The Ethics of Common Sense* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1970), p. 252.

acting in a certain specific way.”⁴¹ So, the behavioral-decision stage is more than the legalistic “surface morality” of merely keeping rules and obligations. It demands that the individual chooses by an act of will to do the right thing.

Sloan and Hogan define the motive for moral action: “The occasion for ‘moral action’ arises when conflicts, dilemmas, or problems occur in attempts to harmonize ideal self-presentations with the constraints of practical situations.”⁴² In the Christian model, the “ideal self-presentation” is represented by the Christian’s image of Christ. The Christian motive is then to live out the image of Christ with the constraints of practical situations.

4.2 Relating the Three Stages

Norman A. Sprinthall’s lament that “there is a genuine decalage, or systematic gap in development *vis-à-vis* the affective domain”⁴³ is particularly pertinent here. Sprinthall’s comments refer to the lack of research into the dynamics between the cognitive and affective but the same can be said of the relationship between the affective and the behavioral dimensions. For this model to be effective, we need to investigate the relationships between the stages and how the moral action process chain can be facilitated along the “systematic gaps.”

4.2.1 Bi-directional Relationships

We can assume a process in moral action that begins with the cognitive dimension and moves into the affective dimension before being translated into a behavior. The model, however, is also “bi-directional” in that there are cybernetic or feedback loops so that the affective dimension also informs the cognitive dimension; and the behavioral dimension also informs the affective and the cognitive dimensions. Behavior and its results strengthen or weaken our convictions and thus affect our cognitive and affective dimensions.

4.2.2 Between Apprehension and Evaluation: The Bible

⁴¹ Adler, *The Time of Our Lives*, p. 252.

⁴² Sloan & Hogan, “Moral Development in Adulthood,” p. 167.

⁴³ Norman A. Sprinthall, “Affective Processes,” in *Handbook of Moral Development*, pp. 146-66 (146).

In the secular approach to moral development, the facilitation factor for the gap between apprehension and evaluation would be formal ethics. However, the Christian individual has the Bible. As intimated earlier ethics has a tendency to be relativistic these days so that the moral action process can get bogged down in uncertainties between the two stages of apprehension and evaluation. A strong commitment to the teachings of the Bible is necessary to provide anchor for Christian morality. Despite the mood of the times, there is a place for dogmatics and absolutes.

4.2.3 Between Evaluation and Decision: The Holy Spirit

“Studies show that correlation between belief and behavior are often very low. But, this may be because we are testing explicit or stated beliefs. If we take into account unconscious beliefs and ideology, the correlation may be much higher.”⁴⁴ Statements like this challenge the moral development effort in the church. Bridging the gap between cognition-affection and behavior is one that must be done by the power of the Holy Spirit. The human will coupled with the power of the Holy Spirit is a potent force that the church has often failed to release. Pentecostals should be keenly aware that the Holy Spirit power is the power to “*be*” (Acts 1:8).

4.2.4 Moral Character from Moral Actions

There is perhaps too much of an emphasis on moral character without recognizing that moral character is basically an accretion of moral actions over a period of time. Perhaps, breaking down the noble goal of moral character into chewable bites of moral actions could help Christians face the challenge of right living with more confidence. As Christians are being helped to win small battles, they can see themselves as victorious. Moral action develops moral life and adds up to moral character.

4.3 Contextual Factors Impinging on the Moral Action Process Chain

The stages of a moral action are not only related to each other, they are also related to the contexts of the moral action. As suggested earlier, there needs to be a moral situation to trigger the moral action chain. The flow of the process through this three-stage chain is dependent on the

⁴⁴ Hiebert & Shaw, *The Power and the Glory*, p. 187.

contextual factors. Sloan and Hogan complain of a “decontextualization” of the moral experience in moral development research.⁴⁵

4.3.1 *The Intellectual Factors*

How much one knows affect the chain of moral action. It affects how one apprehends moral situations. This in turn affects how one evaluates and decides. It is important for the church not to underestimate its teaching ministry. People simply cannot be moral unless they first know. Charles M. Sheldon’s classic *In His Steps* implies that morality is honestly asking the question: “What would Jesus do?” and then doing what one honestly thinks Jesus would do.⁴⁶ Jack V. Rozell’s *agape* model requires the answer to the question: “What is the loving thing to do?” But, these all require knowledge; knowledge about how Jesus lived, knowledge about what *agape* is really like.

4.3.2 *The Social Factors*

J. Kellenberger argues for his comprehensive model for morality, which he calls “relationship morality.” This model brings together human morality and religious morality. He says, “human sin morality and religious sin morality are not only compatible but are continuous with one another.”⁴⁷ Kellenberger believes that relationships (among humans; and between humans and God) are the cause and motive for morality. He is one of many who recognizes the social aspect of morality. Rest, Bebeau, and Volker suggests that “[morality] arises from the social condition because people live in groups, and what one person does can affect another.”⁴⁸ Even Confucian morality is dependent upon and directed toward social relationships.

4.3.3 *The Psychological Factors*

Lewis B. Smedes, in the introduction of his book *Mere Morality* comments that “morality is woven into the fabric of our humanness...

⁴⁵ Sloan & Hogan, “Moral Development in Adulthood,” p. 167.

⁴⁶ Charles M. Sheldon, *In His Steps* (New York: Books, n.d.).

⁴⁷ J. Kellenberger, *Relationship Morality* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), p. 338.

⁴⁸ James Rest, Muriel Bebeau, and Joseph Volker. “An Overview of the Psychology of Morality,” in *Moral Development: Advances in Research and Theory* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986), pp. 1-27 (1).

[and it] emerges from what we are as human beings.”⁴⁹ So, we cannot deal with morality without dealing with our personality make-up. Lifton describes the personality as “personological and individual differences.”⁵⁰

4.3.4 *The Religious Factors*

Despite Kohlberg’s assumption about the “autonomy... independence and self-sufficiency of morality,” most social scientists and laymen see a dependence of morality on religion.⁵¹ R. M. Hare succinctly illustrates the effects of religion on morality:

What was it that happened to St. Paul when he stopped being an ordinary Jew and became a Christian? There may be a more recondite answer to this question; but... one obvious thing that happened to him was that his ideas about what he ought to do (his principles of action, or, in a wide sense, his moral principles) changed radically. And this is also true of lesser converts. Part of what it means to stop being a drunkard or a cannibal and become, say, a Methodist, is that one stops thinking it right to consume gin or human flesh.⁵²

The manner in which religion affects moral action is seen in at least four ways: 1) *motivational*, that is, religion provides the motive for moral action; e.g., heavenly rewards; 2) *metaphysical*, that is, like everything else, morality is dependent on God; 3) *causal*, that is, religion gives rise to morality; and 4) *logical*, that is, morality is drawn from or inferred from religion.⁵³ While there may be disagreements on the manner in which morality is dependent on religion and the extent of the dependence (e.g., logical dependence could be seen as *necessary* or simply *sufficient*), the dependence, however tenuous, is a matter of fact. In fact, so closely is

⁴⁹ Lewis B. Smedes, *Mere Morality: What God Expects from Ordinary People* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), p. vii.

⁵⁰ Lifton, “Personological and Psychodynamic Explanations,” p. 57.

⁵¹ Ernest Wallwork, “Morality, Religion, and Kohlberg’s Theory,” in *Moral Development, Moral Education, and Kohlberg: Basic Issues in Philosophy, Psychology, Religion, and Education*, ed. Brenda Munsey (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press), pp. 269-97 (272).

⁵² Cited by Wallwork, “Morality, Religion, and Kohlberg’s Theory,” p. 272.

⁵³ Wallwork, “Morality, Religion, and Kohlberg’s Theory,” pp. 273-74.

religion identified with morality that moral norms have been referred to as “ethico-religious norms.”⁵⁴ Even Kohlberg seems to have conceded to this:

I have argued that the answer to the question, “Why be moral?” at this level entails the question, “Why live?” (and the parallel question, “How face death?”) so that the ultimate moral maturity requires a mature solution to the question of the meaning of life. This in turn, is hardly a moral question *per se*, it is an ontological or religious one.⁵⁵

Perhaps the church will do well to recognize that morality needs religion to have meaning. Secular psychologists have already recognized that. Right living has no meaning apart from God or some conceptions of ultimate reality. James 1:27 defines “pure and faultless religion” in moral terms: “to look after orphans and widows in their distress.” The Christian religion is not only a spiritual religion. It is also a moral religion.

5. The Pentecostal Advantages

Despite the earlier allusion to the lack of enthusiasm for the issue of morality among Pentecostals, Pentecostals do have advantages in pursuing a moral lifestyle; especially when a good understanding of moral character development is already in place. The key is to keep an equal emphasis on both holiness (as a spiritual reality) and morality (as a practical reality). Despite the functional gap between inward holiness and outward moral character, I am still convinced that there is a mystical but real connection between the sanctified (used loosely, not just in the crisis Holiness sense) life and outward morality. However, we must ensure that morality does not stay as a “taken-for-granted,” tangential issue of Pentecostalism.

5.1 Pentecostalism is a Positive Contextual Factor

⁵⁴ Ramon Castillo Reyes, *Ground and Norm of Morality: Ethics for College Students* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1989), p. 2.

⁵⁵ Cited in James Fowler, “Moral Stages and the Development of Faith” in *Moral Development, Moral Education, and Kohlberg: Basic Issues in Philosophy, Psychology, Religion, and Education*, pp. 130-60 (138).

Pentecostalism's strong holiness stand can be a positive contextual factor for healthy moral development although care must be taken that this stand does not become a "holier-than-thou" judgmental attitude. The proposed model is for encouraging moral *development*, not the enforcement of static religious laws. We have heard many stories of young people rebelling because they have been brought up in stifling Pentecostal environments. However, the strong biblical emphasis, together with the affirming and loving community, will easily lean towards being a positive contextual factor.

5.2 The Spiritual Immediacy of the Pentecostal Experience

Whether they believe in a crisis sanctification experience or not, the Pentecostal baptism in the Holy Spirit is closely related to the sanctified life. From the Wesleyan stream, "If we are sanctified and have clean hearts, living pure, holy lives and having perfect love in our souls, O, let us receive the baptism with the Holy Ghost."⁵⁶ From the non-Wesleyan stream, "The soul that has just been saved from all sin has a clean purified heart, and is at once ready to receive the Holy Spirit, if led into this before committing sins after being saved. Not a line in the Bible, nor any apostolic example teaches that a newly saved person needs or has to get a second, definite instantaneous work of grace, called sanctification, before he can receive the Holy Ghost. In all the examples the second definite experience is the receiving of the Holy Ghost."⁵⁷

It is not necessary (and probably not completely possible) to fully explain the mystical connection between internal holiness and "holy living," which is morality. However, the Pentecostal experience provides a "spiritual immediacy," a nearness of the holy God; a resource for the moral life. The Holy Spirit's role in the proposed model is critical.⁵⁸ Without the Holy Spirit, we can only make ethical evaluations. It is the

⁵⁶ "Sanctification and Power," *The Apostolic Faith* vol. 1, no. 3 (November 1906), p. 4.

⁵⁷ E. N. Bell, ed., "Cleansing and Holiness," *Word and Witness* vol. 8, no. 6 (August 1912), p. 2.

⁵⁸ Paul Lewis, "A Pneumatological Approach to Virtue Ethics," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 1:1 (Jan, 1998), pp. 42-61 proposes a different model for developing what he terms as "virtue ethics." He calls for a "pneumatological approach" to such an ethics, suggesting the key role of the Holy Spirit in his scheme.

Holy Spirit that empowers us to carry our ethical evaluations all the way towards a moral decision. The same Holy Spirit also convicts us when we make wrong moral choices.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Christian Morality and the Prophetic Model

“The religion which he held was based on a universal ethic, and was not merely a national religion.”⁵⁹ If that can be said of Old Testament Yahwism, how much “more true” it is of the New Testament Christian religion. Having received God’s revelation in the written and incarnate word, the church—more than Israel—has a responsibility to do right:

[The prophet, Amos] was “the vindicator of universal moral laws... Israelite God as He was, He was still more the God of righteousness. His special relationship to His own people meant, not privilege to do wrong, but responsibility to do right. It was Israel that must adapt herself to this conception of a universal moral law, not Yahweh, who must consider primarily the material advantage of Israel... Every nation, every sphere of life, was subject to these supreme laws, and the real function of Israel amongst the civilized peoples of the world was to work them out in her common life.”⁶⁰

If Christianity is the true religion for the world, then its morality is the true morality for the world. That is not to say that moral laws cannot be found outside of the Christian faith but it affirms the church’s role as the “salt” and “light” of the world.

Lewis B. Smedes describes his concept of “mere morality” as one that is expected by God of ordinary people. It is, therefore, 1) not the same as Christian devotion; 2) not heroic; 3) not for (Christian) believers

⁵⁹ A. C. Welch, cited by N. W. Porteous, “The Basis of the Ethical Teaching of the Prophets,” in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy: Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson by the Society for Old Testament Studies on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1950), pp. 143-154 (154).

⁶⁰ Cited by N. W. Porteous, “The Basis of the Ethical Teaching of the Prophets,” pp. 154-55.

only; 4) does not make anyone a Christian; 5) not mysterious; and 6) not sectarian.⁶¹ Even with “mere morality,” Smedes admits that,

... what God expects even of ordinary people... the moral standard for human beings remains an ideal. After learning what God expects of us we must face up to our private and public history of failure. Only a complacent soul enjoys a feeling of success when he thinks deeply about mere morality.⁶²

Smedes’ solution for the moral quandary we humans are in is the “gospel of grace,” for “He who pointed us to his design for living at Mount Sinai embraces us with his love at Mount Calvary.”⁶³ The church has more to offer than a prophetic voice. The church has the gospel of grace and the power to demonstrate the fruits of that grace. Christian morality is neither confusing relativism nor convenient libertinism, but compelling grace and forgiveness. The moral life is possible through Calvary; not at the expense of the Law but despite the Law.

6.2 Christian Morality and the Charismatic Community

The Christian church is God’s people on earth today. *Corpus mixtum* should not be an excuse for a lackadaisical morality. Power and charismata, no matter how attractive, cannot replace morality.

A truly charismatic community will reflect in its values and behavior the moral nature of God. Accordingly, a proper enthusiasm for the activity of the Holy Spirit must include a longing to be transformed by that holiness with which the Spirit is identified. An important part of the Spirit’s operation within the Christian community is to strengthen the covenant relationship by assisting the people of God to become more like the One they worship and serve. The judgment scene of Matt 7:21-23 serves as a pointed reminder that at the end all that really matters is whether those who identify with Jesus have actually followed him in doing the will of the Father. Charismatic activity, in all its varied forms, although necessary to the furtherance of the kingdom, is not the measure of successful discipleship. Of first importance is that disciples seek the

⁶¹ Although Smedes, *Mere Morality*, pp. vii-ix denies that he is describing “evangelical morality,” his morality seems distinctly evangelical.

⁶² Smedes, *Mere Morality*, p. 242.

⁶³ Smedes, *Mere Morality*, p. 243.

righteousness of the kingdom by allowing the Spirit progressively to form them into people of righteousness. Only then is the community of disciples able to truly mediate the presence of God to the nations and serve as an effective instrument to restore them to God.”⁶⁴

6.3 Christian Morality and Pentecostal Holiness

I come back to core of my paper: that of bringing holiness and morality together in the Pentecostal's character. To do this, Pentecostals need to have an integrated perspective: of the Spirit's work, of the Bible, of the human make-up, and of the purpose of God for the church. Power and purity is not an “either/or option.” Robert W. Wall writes of the church of the Acts of the apostles as a church with both purity and power.⁶⁵ It is important that the move of the Spirit does not become a “divided flame”⁶⁶ where holiness and charismata do not come together.

In its hermeneutics, Pentecostals need to find its validity beyond the Luke-Acts and Pauline corpuses. The Luke-Acts and Pauline power/charismata motif has served us well but we will be arguing ourselves into a corner, if Pentecostal scholarship does not extend beyond them. For example, Matthew and James may well have a message that will speak specifically to the gaps in Pentecostal biblical studies. Unlike the Greek categories of Luke and Paul, Matthew and James reflect a more holistic Hebraic approach. This paper has demonstrated that there needs to be a holistic approach to the human psyche for a fuller understanding of moral development. God's purpose for the church is to display the fullness of his glory: both his power and his holiness.

In the closing chapter of his massive book on Pentecostalism, Walter Hollenweger comments, “The problem and promise of Pentecostalism are two sides of the same coin.”⁶⁷ The very strengths of Pentecostalism have often prevented it from reaching its full potential. Pentecostals have often fallen where they are strongest. Hollenweger's comments are instructive:

⁶⁴ Blaine Charette, *Restoring Presence: The Spirit in Matthew's Gospel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 145-46.

⁶⁵ Robert W. Wall, “Purity and Power according to the Acts of the Apostles,” *Pneuma* 21:2 (Fall, 1999), pp. 215-31.

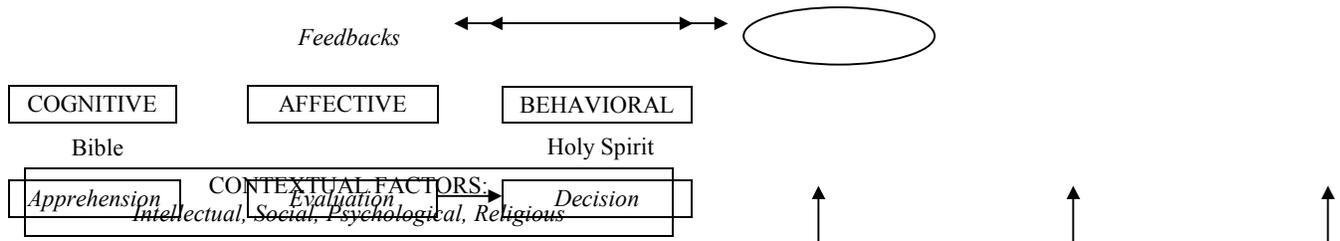
⁶⁶ Howard A. Snyder and Daniel V. Runyon, *The Divided Flame: Wesleyans and the Charismatic Renewal* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986).

⁶⁷ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), p. 397.

Some ex-Pentecostals have become famous singers, movies stars, or writers, for the same gifts which make a good Pentecostal pastor also make a good entertainer or communicator (just as the reverse is also quite common: jazz musicians, singers, and actors who become Pentecostal pastors). Usually these hide their Pentecostal past, but to those properly sensitized, it shines through.⁶⁸

Although Hollenweger has a different connotation for the word “sensitized,” we can perhaps borrow his word and suggest that to mean a spirit that is sensitized by the holy fire of the Holy Spirit baptism. Let us continue the Pentecostal talk about holiness but let us also live it out at the same time. The *Holy Spirit* will sensitize and empower us to do both *holy* talking and *holy* living.

A Model for Understanding and Teaching Christian Morality
(The Process Chain of Moral Action)



⁶⁸ Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 391-92.

ASIAN PENTECOSTAL THEOLOGY:
A PERSPECTIVE FROM AFRICA¹

Mathew Clark

1. Introduction

My personal contact with Asian Pentecostalism began when I read the publication edited by Wonsuk Ma and Robert Menzies.² Impressed by the freshness of the viewpoints expressed (not all from Asians), I contacted Ma and received the response, “Who are you?” From that has risen a happy (if rather long-distance) friendship which I believe will culminate in a long partnership in Pentecostal theological education and research.

Since then it has become obvious to me that Asian and African Pentecostal scholars are natural partners, since we face many similar issues. Not least of these is the continual frustration of working with a dominantly North American and European Pentecostal theological establishment which, while it recognizes the essentially “non-western” nature of Pentecostalism, appears to do little to reflect this in much of its work. The final straw for many of us was the Society for Pentecostal Studies conference in 2000 in which the overwhelming majority of presenters were from the United States—and that when the topic was “Pentecostal Mission: Issues Home and Abroad.”³

I offer this paper as a contribution to the growing prospect of shared vision and research by Asian and African Pentecostals. However, it is

¹ An earlier version of the article was presented during the Second Annual Meeting of the Asian Pentecostal Society, Makati, Philippines on August 25, 2000.

² Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (eds.), *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William W. Menzies* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

³ A typical non-western reflection is another South African, Allan Anderson, “Signs and Blunders: Pentecostal Mission Issues at ‘Home and Abroad’ in the Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Asian Mission* 2:2 (2000), pp. 193-210.

necessary also to share a word of caution: while Africa and Asia share many distinctives that set them apart from the North American and European establishment, this does not always mean that they share similarities in *every* area. Indeed, cooperation between African and Asian Pentecostals should not be approached on the simplistic understanding that we have all things in common. I remember crossing from Zimbabwe to Mozambique some years ago, and in that heart of Africa seeing a Korean Pentecostal calendar hanging on the wall in the border post. It was written in Korean, and had been donated by Korean missionaries who had arrived to work for the Lord in Africa, without having taken note of culture, language, spirituality, or any other distinctive of Africa as opposed to Korea! They were undoubtedly motivated and worthy, but unfortunately (in that particular region) rather irrelevant.

2. Africa and Asia: Contextual Commonalities.

Ultimately, the most interesting lesson from the missionary outreach during the western colonial era is what happened to Christianity when the missionaries were not looking, and after the colonizers withdrew. The challenge for historians lies in seeing beyond an extension of western categories and into the hearts, minds and contexts of Christ's living peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.⁴

This concluding comment by Dana L. Robert is representative of many that have been made in recent years by missiologists and church historians. The shift in Christian "weight" has been to the South. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the regions where Christianity as a whole is at its most dynamic. We also know that the major Christian movements in parts of these regions are primarily Pentecostal, Charismatic, or "spirit" churches. So Everett Wilson can say almost exactly the same thing about Pentecostalism as Robert does about Christianity in general,

By almost any standard, Pentecostalism presently is not what Charles Fox Parham or any of its successors has pronounced it to be, but rather what

⁴ Dana L. Robert, "Shifting Southward: Global Christianity since 1945," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 24:2 (April 2000), pp. 55-57 (57).

contemporary Brazilians, Koreans and Africans demonstrate that it actually is.⁵

At the same time it appears as though western middle-class Pentecostalism is becoming moribund, fragmenting into a post-modern confusion of “ministries” marked by style rather than content. (This should not afford the non-western Pentecostal churches reason for being smug, however, as there is no guarantee that they will not someday fall into a similar situation.) Part of the task of Pentecostal scholarship on these two continents *must* be to urge the indigenous churches to retain both their powerful mission dynamic as well as their traditional Pentecostal commitment to the spirit of the scriptures. This may not always win us kudos with the demagogues, but is certainly more satisfying than sitting back and bemoaning the terrible degeneration taking place around us!

What commonalities are there between Asian and African Pentecostalism and the contexts in which they work? (I am treating Asia rather generally in this text, excluding southwestern Asia—the heartland of Islam which may surely be treated as a special case.) The following generalizations may be noted.

2.1 Non-western Interests and Challenges

This has been mentioned above. Of Asia, Kipling noted, “East is east, and west is west, and never the twain shall meet.” This may equally be said of Africa. Moving from the North American or European thought world into Africa or Asia, for many westerners, is like moving to another planet. Things are different. In certain regions massive technological development appears to camouflage the differences, but it does not banish them. Scratching only a western itch may mean ignoring very real African or Asian itches.

2.2 Holistic Approach to Reality

⁵ 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 (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1999), pp. 85-115 (109).

In Africa the western differentiation between the world of the spirit/mind and the physical realm simply does not exist. Neither does the emphasis upon the individual, as opposed to the family, clan, tribe, or community. This implies a different perspective on property ownership and disposition, on community relations, personal ambitions, and family obligations—indeed, even on the nature and importance of time itself. This difference partially explains the tremendous growth of “spirit” churches in Africa, at the expense of the less indigenized mission churches.

It might be argued that for much of Asia there is a similar emphasis on holism, although it might not always be expressed in the same ways as in Africa. Western insistence on individual rights and freedoms, and western objectification of truth and “facts” may therefore often win lip-service in Asia and Africa, but not actually be honored in the deed.

2.3 Ancestors

Africans and Asians do not simply walk away from their buried or cremated dead and forget about them. The holistic emphasis includes the notion of the deceased as part of the present day family or clan. In Africa this means that western notions of material and technological “progress” are often avoided or resisted, for fear of offending the ancestors. At the same time, achieving personal power confers status not only on oneself but also on one’s ancestors. Understand this and you are some way toward understanding much of the history of post-colonial Africa.

Asian respect for ancestors may take different forms, and have different social and political effects, to that discerned in Africa. (Africa, for instance, has nothing even remotely resembling the sophistication of Confucian thought, or Shinto ceremony.) However, it lends an element to Asian thinking that is distinctly non-western, and can be ignored neither in the evangelizing nor in the catechism of converts. Together with holism it provides a context in which the role of the shaman becomes central to the life of the non-Christian community. Some argue that modernization and urbanization in Africa and Asia often merely effect the replacing of the traditional village shaman with a re-invented “modern” one.

2.4 Tradition

In the west nostalgia may drive an individual, community, or even nation to attempt to rediscover its roots and traditions. *Vide* the recent emphasis on “family values” in North American and British politics. In

Africa and Asia, while rapid urbanization and technological development have at times seriously undermined the role and value of tradition, generally speaking these two continents have been spared the baby-boomer desire to treat with total contempt the values of their fathers (“the establishment”). While in Africa the custody of tradition has generally been left to the village elders and shaman, in parts of Asia large and articulate religious systems have developed in which tradition is guarded and nurtured.

Tradition is highly valued in a culture where the group is considered of greater worth than the individual, and where the ancestors have to be considered in every decision. Together with the other contextual elements noted above, emphasis on tradition often leads to strong emphasis on the Old Testament in indigenous African and Asian churches.

It is interesting to note how a Pentecostal theologian from East Asia perceives the challenges of the Asian context in which Pentecostal ministry is practiced. J. Ma⁶ is far less positive about the socio-cultural context of Asia than is this writer from Africa. She lists as some of the negatives found in this region as follows: the prevalent oppression and deprivation found in many regions of Asia, poverty, child prostitution, sexual promiscuity, and the disadvantages accruing to tribal peoples in more remote areas. However, from the African perspective, while these are no doubt very real challenges—as indeed they are in Africa—they are generally accompanied by a background of regional development and prosperity that Africa does not know, and the answers (when they come) will no doubt be formulated on a different plane to those that may one day redress the African situation.

However, Ma’s description of the difference between the western ethos and the Asian is in many ways parallel to the interface between many African cultures and the emerging global order: individualism versus group identity, task orientation versus person orientation, political conflicts, and religiosity (Africans might speak of “spirituality”) and expanding religious pluralism.

3. Africa and Asia: Contextual Differences

While there are similarities in the cultures and value systems of many parts of Asia and Africa, there are also significant differences which cannot be ignored.

⁶ Jungja Ma, “Pentecostal Challenges in East and South-east Asia,” in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism*, pp. 183-202.

3.1 Post-colonial Histories

While the most significant factor in Asian decolonization was the Second World War, in Africa the process was longer delayed. By 1953 most Asian countries were independent of western rule, while African independence gained momentum in the early 1960s, with Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa only achieving majority (African) rule in 1980, 1990, and 1994 respectively.

Asian colonialism also comprised the Asian experience of Japanese imperialism, in which the first major industrialized power in Asia not only inspired terror in other nations, but paradoxically also pride in Asian achievement. The Japanese post-war industrial miracle became a role model for other East Asian countries, and these released “tigers” have changed the face of Asia forever. The history of much of post-colonial Asia, apart from a few Stalinist pockets of resistance, has been of progress, development, modernization, and enlightenment. With a hiccup or two along the way.

Sadly, this has not been true of any part of Africa. Colonial powers left the continent precipitously, without preparing the soil for any meaningful form of democracy. The result has been a continent where South Africa (SA), the most industrialized country, has a lower GNP than the American State of Ohio. The South African GNP is currently responsible for more than 50% of the African total. The problem has not been one of lack of resources nor even of the will of the people—it has been a problem of poor governance.

Post-colonial Africa also still has, particularly at the southern tip of the continent, a significant number of people of European descent whose roots in Africa go back over 300 years (here I stand!) These people maintain a western culture while being as African as any American of European descent is American. However, they are also more oriented to and committed to Africa than to any other continent, despite their well-documented paternalism toward the “African” people and cultures.

In terms of Pentecostalism, until today it is mainly these European Africans—most of them of Dutch descent—who provide the Pentecostal scholarship of that continent. For many their concerns have been the typical concerns of Pentecostalism in relation to Reformed Christianity. However, it is possible to distinguish a distinctive brand of Pentecostalism in Southern Africa which, while articulated primarily by European Africans, is significantly distinct from North American and European Pentecostalism. There is also now a growing nucleus of “African” African Pentecostal

scholars, particularly from South and West Africa, which will hopefully add its voice to the already well-established African evangelical school.

3.2 Modernization

Asia is a rapidly modernizing continent. Even a country with such vast social challenges as India has its own basis of scientific and medical research and development. East Asia and computerization are synonyms, and telecommunications and industrial developments rival many parts of the developed world. Walk around the car parks of most parts of the world and you will find a preponderance of Asian-made vehicles. At least three Asian nations have developed nuclear technology to the level of making nuclear bombs.

Africa, on the other hand, is a rapidly stagnating continent. Apart from the southern “European” enclave it has never really had a scientific or industrial base. Currently there are more Internet users in London than there are in the whole of Africa. Communications infrastructure is in ever-increasing disrepair, medical services are generally appalling, if not totally absent. African universities are often in a sad state, and few outside of South Africa and Nigeria offer credible courses in subjects such as science and engineering—which are normally followed only by Africans of European or Asian descent, anyway.

Obviously not all parts of Asia are experiencing the challenges and benefits of modernization—and not all parts of Africa are in degeneration and stagnation. However, the prognosis for Asia is much more positive than for Africa, astronomically so.

Ma points out the down-side of this Asian economic miracle: success-orientation challenges people-orientation, there is confusion between political ideologies and the western-style economic system, a growing gap is developing between rich and poor, and there is a negative effect of urban prosperity on family values.⁷

3.3 Resources

Asia has a growing pool of skilled human resources—Africa’s are dwindling, through emigration or through death by AIDS, warfare and

⁷ J. Ma, “Pentecostal Challenges,” p. 189.

famine. In huge parts of Africa basic primary schooling is lacking, while in parts of Asia there is in some parts an oversupply of skilled technicians, engineers and scientists. In Africa fertility rates are out of control, and few official attempts are made to do anything about it. In Asia many governments are dealing with the problem quite adequately.

Africa is blessed with vast natural resources, which, for the main part, the people of the continent themselves lack the ability to exploit. The result is that they are plundered (rather riskily at times) by western exploiters, and the manufactured benefits accrue to non-African concerns. Asia, on the other hand, appears to make goods with imported resources, or comes up with such unlikely miracles as Singapore, where the only real resources are geographical position and human skills.

Both Asia and Africa are farmed primarily by subsistence farmers. However, without a parallel development of science and industry, Africa lacks the resources to supplement the supply of food and wealth as many Asian countries manage to do. The result is the continuing need to rush food aid to parts of Africa during the regular droughts on that continent. The primitive nature of African subsistence farming, along with growing population pressure, has led to an environmental degradation of such proportions that the land in the medium rainfall areas will soon not be able to support any form of agriculture or pastoral farming at all. Post-colonial governments exacerbate this trend by appropriating viable commercial farmlands and distributing it to subsistence farmers—or to their own political cronies.

Africa and Asia are very similar worlds, and very different worlds. Both are home to growing Pentecostal populations, non-western people who are coming to know the saving, healing, Spirit-baptizing power of the Christ of the Bible. In the light of the similarities and differences, what does the future look like for African and Asian Pentecostalism?

4. Africa and Asia: Commonalities in Future Prospects

As it faces the new century, the Pentecostal movement on these two continents shares a number of similar prospects, challenges, and goals.

4.1 A Continuing Positive Response to Pentecostal Christianity

There does not seem to be a slowing down of this trend—where Pentecostal believers proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ, in the power of his Spirit, individuals, communities, and nations are turning to Jesus Christ. In

Africa, Pentecostal ministry is achieving an overwhelming reaction at every level, whether preached in huge tents or stadiums, or by single faithful lay members in their own and adjoining villages, the response is gratifying.

Similar stories come from Asia. In the less-developed regions the testimonies are very similar to those coming from Africa. In the face of resistance from traditions, from established religion or spirituality, even of demonic resistance, faithful women and men are proclaiming the full gospel, and seeing the fruits of their labors. Unlike the North American and European countries, where Pentecostal growth is stabilizing or enfeebled, Asia and Africa are powerhouses of Pentecostal witness. What a time to be alive!

4.2 The Challenge of Syncretism

Much of evangelization in the North American and European countries took place in the context of the traditional “historical” churches—those who came to know Christ in a Pentecostal context came from a national or ecclesiastical “Christian” background. Conversion often meant implementation or appropriation of already existing dogma, with some slight modification to accommodate Pentecostal phenomena.

In Africa and Asia this has rarely been the case. Conversion has not been to Pentecostalism, but to Christianity. And often from a vastly different and contrasting culture and religion. These are not Greek converts who were initially proselytes of the synagogues of the Jewish diaspora, but these are pagans who have known nothing but the emptiness of idols and the “table and cup of devils.”

In this truly “missions” environment, the convert to Christianity is confronted with an alternative thought-world, paradigm, worldview—call it what you will—that challenges them radically at virtually every level of their existence. And the radical “otherness” of this new scriptural life-style may be incompletely or inadequately appropriated, with the result that the new believer, or a whole community of new believers, becomes an adherent of a syncretistic form of Christianity.

One of the challenges facing African and Asian Pentecostal theology is the definition of syncretism, as opposed to contextualization, of the Christian message. While for North American and European theologians this is a theoretical question, and is sometimes influenced by an unrealistically romantic notion of non-Christian religions and cultures, for Pentecostal Asians and Africans it is the very stuff of survival.

In two recent contributions by Asian Pentecostal scholars, a clear stand has been taken against the subjectivism of a post-modern approach to the

Bible and theology. Wonsuk Ma⁸ points out that there are elements that Pentecostals can validly borrow from a post-modern world, but the one they should definitely avoid is post-modernism's open-ended subjectivism. Tan, while arguing for a non-fundamentalist agenda for future Pentecostal theologizing, takes a stand against post-modernism precisely because of the plurality its subjectivism fosters—leading to an unacceptable syncretism that will sap Pentecostal focus and vitality.⁹ It is unfortunate that a similar clearly upheld commitment to Christian absolutes by J. Ma¹⁰ is dismissed by Hollenweger in his preface to the work, e.g., “All in all, this is the report of a not yet recognized but *de facto* marriage between pre-Christian and Christian elements”¹¹ and “I am not sure whether Julie Ma recognizes in the above description the intentions and kernel of her research. For her the break between the pre-Christian existence and the Pentecostal presence is probably much more marked.”¹² Indeed, it is somewhat surprising that he so obviously denies the explicit intent of the author, who after all was the researcher on the spot.

A recent collection of papers and essays by evangelical African theologians reflects a similar commitment to the absolutes of the Christian faith in the African cultural situation. The spirit of most of the contributors is demonstrated in the following from one of them,

The man in Australasia, in the Americas, in Europe, and in Africa, should be comfortably Christian without surrendering his own cultural distinctives to any other culture but that of Jesus Christ. By the same token, the central core of Christianity as manifested in any given locality should be such that it is readily identifiable by others from outside it as truly Christian.... For us in Africa our battles in this sphere would be in vain if we reject European Christianity for being non-Christian only to replace it with an African Christianity which is so overlaid with our own cultural matter that it fails to meet the tests of true Christianity when it is

⁸ Wonsuk Ma, “Biblical Studies in the Pentecostal Tradition: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow,” in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism*, pp. 52-69 (63).

⁹ May Ling Tan, “The Spirit in Global Context: A Response to William Menzies,” *Australasian Pentecostal Studies* 2/3 (March 2000), pp. 43-49 (47-49).

¹⁰ Julie C. Ma, *When the Spirit Meets the Spirits: Pentecostal Ministry among the Kankana-ey Tribe in the Philippines* (Frankfurt-a-M: Peter Lang, 2000).

¹¹ Walter J. Hollenweger, Preface to *When the Spirit Meets*, p. 20.

¹² Hollenweger, Preface, p. 19.

subjected to close scrutiny. To wind up with the type of end product that is African at the expense of being Christian would be self-defeating...¹³

These evangelical sentiments are echoed by many Pentecostal Christians in Africa.

4.3 Trans-cultural Christian Work

Although there are large parts of Asia and Africa that are mono-cultural, the cosmopolitan nature of church workers and church origins on these continents means that a significant amount of Pentecostal preaching and teaching is done in a cross-cultural or trans-cultural situation. The very remoteness of the Judaeo-Christian thought world from the national religions and cultures of these continents means that even an indigenous Pentecostal preacher or teacher is working in a trans-cultural situation with his or her own peers.

The colonial history of these continents also implies that many of the local populations are already acquainted (if not always fully conversant) with cultures and paradigms not their own. The ubiquity of Hollywood and western pop-culture adds to this awareness.

For Pentecostalism this means that the Asian and African Pentecostal movement has considerably more potential for producing credible proponents of a multi-cultural or non-parochial Pentecostal theology. Scholars *should* arise that can promote a form of Pentecostalism that is not limited by an obsession with the problems challenging single cultures or regions.

4.4 Confrontation of Unacceptable Local Ethics

Any visitor to Africa will all too soon become acquainted with the graft and corruption that riddles the continent. The situation is similar in many parts of Asia. In many Asian countries that have otherwise impeccable

¹³ Watson Omulokole, "The Quest for Authentic African Christianity," in *Issues in African Christian Theology*, eds. Samuel Ngewa, Mark Shaw and Tite Tienou (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1998), pp. 24-37 (34).

public morals, the practice of jobs-for-cronies and loans-for-family-members is all too rife. Indeed, many ascribe the economic hardships of the last three years in East Asia to this kind of practice in the banking and industrial sectors.

One of the bleakest realities is that Pentecostal and evangelical revivals on these continents have rarely impacted national morality. It would appear that many are able to undergo a change of heart without undergoing a change of moral habits.

Much of the moral problem has its roots in the cultural values of the nations involved. If notions of property and community are centred on obligations to kin rather than on individual rights and responsibilities, then what is clearly moral (and economically sensible) by biblical standards becomes unrealistic in terms of local culture. For instance, in many tribal situations in Africa the notion of theft as immoral depends on from whom you steal! Stealing from a stranger is not immoral, but stealing from kin is harshly punished. Such a moral outlook may also be extended to matters of telling the truth, and even to the taking of human life.

Obviously Asian and African Pentecostalism will suffer from a credibility crisis if the much vaunted revivals and Pentecostal growth on these continents are not accompanied by the strengthening of biblical morality in their nations.

5. Africa and Asia: Differences in Future Prospects

While the commonalities listed above are impressive, the differences in some aspects of Asian and African contexts also imply differences in a realistic evaluation of the future prospects of the Pentecostal movement on the two continents.

5.1 Development and Upliftment Issues

While there are parts of Asia that are faced with similar development and social upliftment challenges to those of most of Africa, by and large the situation in Asia is much rosier than in Africa. The African Pentecostal church is growing so rapidly, and the educational standards of most converts is so low, that Christian education as such takes a back seat to more “practical” forms of training. And resources for these are exceedingly limited. To put it bluntly, Africa and Africans cannot pay for even the most basic forms of education or training. It has to be offered to them as a free service.

At one stage the church in Uganda was growing at 30,000 converts per month. Where do the pastors, teachers, youth-leaders, Sunday-school teachers, theological trainers, etc. come from at that rate? This sort of growth is fairly common in parts of Africa from time to time. If the church accepts the challenge of social upliftment wherever the gospel of Jesus Christ is proclaimed, how does it achieve it in such a context?

The common African emphasis on leaders as “men of power” also often leads to a paradigm where the followers exist for the benefit of the leaders, and not the other way round. Instead of upliftment flowing from the few who are trained to the many they could benefit, the Christian leader often exploits the deprived for his own benefit. In doing this he is only following the example of many of Africa’s political leaders. Christian aid that pours into Africa thus often enriches a handful, and never reaches those for whom it was intended—or does so only at a price. This scandal affected the Pentecostal church in Mozambique when clothes sent by the truckload to the survivors of civil war and famine served only to enrich a few Christian leaders, who sold the free gifts to their own parishioners, and pocketed the proceeds.

On a recent visit to Malawi I found that an American college that offered a four-year degree to Pentecostal ministers produced only a few pastoral graduates. And many graduates at that level were snapped up by businesses that needed an articulate African graduate as a local “front” for their multinational work. Africa is obviously faced by much greater challenges in this area than is Asia.

5.2 “Deepening”

This aspect is closely related to the previous one: the river of God in Africa flows extremely wide, but is very shallow. While the same may probably be said of many Asian church situations, the prospects for deepening that exist in Asia are much more accessible than those for Africa. The educational challenges alone are mind-boggling in Africa. While it is one of the most enjoyable things on earth to worship with, testify with, and preach with, African Pentecostal Christians, it is rare indeed to find among them the requisite skills to significantly deepen the spiritual basis of their own members.

In the light of the much-hoped-for African Renaissance espoused by the present South African president, there are many that hope for theological training in Africa conducted by Africans themselves, as opposed to so-called “missions” colleges and seminaries. However, recent experience in Zimbabwe and South Africa shows that this is a hope that still remains far

from fulfilment. In Zimbabwe a United States-trained theologian has led a highly viable theological college and its associated pastorate into an unbelievable heresy that claims that black Africans are actually Hebrews, because their cultures are so similar! In South Africa no African-run theological faculty has yet shown long-term viability in the Pentecostal community, primarily because concern for the prerogatives of the management and faculty often outweighs concern for the training of the students. And Zimbabwe and South Africa, together with some parts of West Africa and Kenya, have the best-educated Pentecostal pastorate in Africa.

5.3 Resources

A major difference between Asia and Africa is the availability and implementation of resources. This extends to resources for Pentecostal training, ministry and development. Asian levels of productivity are unheard-of in Africa, and the African potential for Christian effect and expansion is correspondingly low.

One increasingly valued resource is the industry, vigour, and vision of African women. The status of women of the African continent is shockingly low by any norm, and is indeed one of the causes of the rapid spread of AIDS on the continent. The “no” of an African women means exactly nothing.¹⁴ However, because in African culture it is traditionally the women that till the soil and take care of virtually every aspect of provision and nurture in the home, there is a pool of initiative among them which the openness of Pentecostalism to women’s ministry often allows to come to the fore. In the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) of South Africa it is increasingly recognized that the women of the church may be the cutting edge for the upliftment of whole communities.

A side-effect of the appalling economic track-record of Africa is that local currency values are so low that a tremendous amount can be done with “hard” currency. The AFM Theological College, traditionally the Pentecostal training ground for descendants of Dutch people, has taken on more and more responsibility for the training of African Africans. At our campus in Kwa-Zulu Natal we are faced with the challenge of providing

¹⁴ “... women are the ones who progress to full-blown AIDS first and die fastest, and the underlying cause is not just sex but power. Wives and girlfriends and even prostitutes in this part of the world can’t easily say no to sex on a man’s terms.” Johanna McGeary, “Death Stalks a Continent,” *Time* (February 12, 2000), pp. 46-54 (52).

English- and computer-literacy classes, and have no resources to do so. Just a handful of US dollars or Japanese yen could go a long, long way....

Obviously the long-term answer is for the governments of Africa to get their act together and to generate the required wealth from a resource-rich continent. Perhaps the real challenge to the Pentecostal revival in Africa is to help hasten that day.

6. The Basis for Meaningful Interaction between Asian and African Pentecostalism

In the light of these commonalities and differences, what prospects are there for meaningful interaction between African and Asian Pentecostal theology and theologians? I would like to make the following tentative suggestions, which I am sure could be supplemented by insights from my Asian colleagues.

6.1 Joint Dialogue with the Pentecostal North

The North American and European Pentecostal establishment is not unaware of the shift of Christian and Pentecostal weight to the so-called "South." However, it does not always appear as certain about what the burning issues in this new context are. Since in the South, Pentecostal scholarship is much newer, and much thinner on the ground, it would make sense for Asia and Africa to join together in dialogue with the North. This would provide a credible and cogent Pentecostal voice from the South, stating not only that we face different issues, but also spelling out what those issues are. A useful occasion for this will be at the Non-western Pentecostal Conference in Los Angeles in May 2001, held to network among non-Northern Pentecostal scholars and to encourage their scholarship, just before the Pentecostal World Conference.

An example of the sort of dialogue I have in mind: While I respect William Menzies as a tremendous scholar and true hero of the Pentecostal faith, when I read his list of "burning issues" facing Pentecostal scholarship in the new millennium,¹⁵ I wondered just how relevant these were to myself, facing the challenges of a growing Pentecostal movement in the

¹⁵ William W. Menzies, "Facing Theological Issues of the Twenty-first Century," in *Facing Issues of the Twenty-first Century* (Conference Papers, The Fourth General Assembly, Asia Pacific Theological Association, Sidney, Australia, Sept/Oct, 1999), pp. 1-16 (14-16).

disintegrating social situations of Africa. My scepticism seems to have been shared by at least one of the Asian respondents.¹⁶ It appeared to me that Menzies has raised the issues typical of the North American and European Pentecostal establishment. I can recognize that in some African circles some of them are valid (as in the western middle-class churches in South Africa), but for the larger part of Africa there are numerous other issues that are more crucial. This is perhaps because the larger Pentecostal movement in Africa really has no problem with the Bible as the word of God, with tongues as initial evidence, with the reality of God's power as opposed to false spiritual power, etc. I would love to see theologians from the North and the South get down to serious business and identify and highlight those burning issues that are of global import, not local.

6.2 Informing the North of the Dangers of Syncretism

I have always been intrigued by the tendency of all human beings to flirt with remote dangers, while exercising tremendous care when the peril lies waiting at the door! Rarely does one hear calls for syncretism from Pentecostals who are on the cutting edge of Pentecostal proclamation to people of non-Christian religions. I heard a western Pentecostal friend extolling the benefits of yoga and reflexology as "alternative medicine," and wondered what the reaction would be if I were to ask him to repeat this to my Indian friends from Kwa-Zulu Natal, most of whom are converts from Hinduism! Similar appreciation expressed by some North American and European scholars with regard to traditional African medicine would be met with the greatest horror by African converts from African tribal religion.

Asian and African Pentecostal scholarship has the credibility, simply because it is so near to the firing line, to caution its Northern counterpart in this regard. It is for those who are in the heat of the struggle to work out the nature of a contextualization of the Christian gospel which will be faithful to the One who has commissioned us. Let us listen to the concerns of our Northern partners, but let us also raise our voice together when they do not appear to realize how serious the distinction between contextualization and syncretism is when one is doing the work at grass-roots level. I believe that it is Asians and Africans who, when reading the Bible, will be the first to notice how great the concern was, of the leaders in both Testaments, that they acknowledge how different their God and his ways are from the nations around them.

¹⁶ Tan, "Response to William Menzies."

6.3 Exchange of Information and Resources

While I foresee that African Pentecostal scholarship is probably going to rapidly fall behind its Asian counterpart in terms of numbers and volume of output, nevertheless the opportunities for mutual enrichment are limitless. Our first task is to learn to know each other, our second to expand our interaction, our third to work on joint projects. Both regions have something vital to say to one another, and they are credible co-workers who can urge one another to excellence.

South Africa has an extremely sophisticated university structure for theology and religious studies, and an increasing number of Asian post-graduate students are finding their way there. With African currencies as they are, study fees are reasonable in dollar terms. Theological resources are in fair supply, and most universities have highly qualified and recognized academic personnel.

Asian students generally bring with them an intensive work-ethic which is a revelation to many South Africans, as well as a combination of spirituality and intellectual ambition which is an eye-opener to young South African Pentecostals who come from an increasingly anti-intellectual climate in their own local churches.

There are some nascent plans for future interaction in theological research and post-graduate studies which we fervently hope will soon be implemented and bear much fruit.

6.4 Custodians of the Basic Dynamics of Pentecostalism

Moving between middle-class western Pentecostalism and my African brethren and sisters, I am continually startled by the vast gulf in practice and interests. The large urban churches of westerners are apparently taken with the ebb-and-flow of everything that is new on the church market, every new wave. In a truly post-modern way, nothing stays the same for long, local churches are trying to find their niche in the church market, management and marketing (as they are buzz words these days), networking of apostolic ministries, and so on. It is consuming the energy of the church. The major crisis in the theological training of ministry candidates from these local churches is that they expect a theological college to be able to provide them with the skills to cope with this tower of Babel—something impossible to do, since no training institution can possibly keep up with the rapidity with which the (often contradictory) waves and streams come and go.

Where the Pentecostal movement is found on the cutting edge of Christian mission, as opposed to the boredom of middle-class urban westerners, there is no time for these things. Here the emphasis is on the old basics, things that would never fill an urban mega-church in the west: prayer, Bible study, gifts of the Spirit in the context of Christian witness, personal witnessing, and persecution for the faith, etc. Theological students from black communities in South Africa are less interested in church management skills and guru-type leadership than in acquiring the basics required to proclaim the Lord in situations of economic deprivation, the ravages of AIDS, and social dislocation. Their songs are still of heaven, the cross is still their passion, and the depth of the need around them drives them to tears. Surely doing Pentecostal theology in this environment must be different to the challenges in the self-sufficient and complacent North?

I know that many Asian Pentecostals share this urgency for Pentecostal basics. Thus, I believe that Pentecostal scholarship from these two continents is best suited to be the custodians of such basics, preserving their centrality not for the sake of conservatism or nostalgia, but simply because they *are* the basics of adequate Pentecostal witness and lifestyle.

6.5 Mutual Missions

Africa is becoming a popular destination for Asian missionaries, with the Koreans in the van. Africans, particularly South Africans, find Asia an ever popular destination for their mission work. Since Pentecostals are accustomed to this seemingly crazy way of doing Christian ministry, perhaps it is time to get together and talk to each other about sharing in missions. Some of the Asians who come to Africa have not the faintest notion what lies ahead for them. Many South Africans who head for Asia have returned within a few months, unable to cope with a totally foreign (yet often so similar!) ambience.

I believe that mission workers and thinkers from these two continents can gain much by talking to each other. I can envisage a theological conference of Pentecostal scholars who work trans-culturally in Asia, Africa and Latin America, a conference in which issues such as contextualization, syncretism, relating to quasi-Christian groups (such as many African Initiated Churches) could be shared, thrashed-out, and mutual strategies evolved.

6.6 A Truly Global Pentecostal Theology

This would be the cherry on top—a partnership of Pentecostal scholarship from the North and from the South, being informed by Asia and Africa, aware too of the burning issues of the North, developing a Pentecostal understanding of theology and the theological task which would be relevant to and comprehensible to all Pentecostals everywhere.

Asians and Africans will be aware that much of the discussion of Pentecostal distinctives and hermeneutics that has proceeded over the last 15-20 years has come from the context of the Northern theological establishment. It has been interesting, but not always relevant. In an interactive partnership with the South, our obviously competent and imaginative Pentecostal peers in the North could surely make a far better job of it!

The success of such a venture will depend on the credibility, stature, and relevance of Asian and African Pentecostal scholars within their own local Pentecostal community. Let us urge one another to excellence based upon hard work and not just opportunism, to passion based upon the knowledge of the powerful presence of God among us, and to endurance based upon the sure knowledge that our reward is in the Lord himself.

7. Conclusion

This paper has been an attempt to systematize the thoughts that have occupied much of my own time for the last two or three years. They are tentative, needing elaboration from my Asian peers. In my heart I am saddened that Africa has so little to contribute in terms of indigenous scholarship, or even in the prospect of its development. However, though our voice is small, it sings the same melody that I hear in Asia.

I believe Pentecostal scholarship has a window of opportunity in Asia and Africa that our forebears in the North never knew. This is a period not only of a wealth of scholarship and resources available to Pentecostals, but a concurrent, dynamic work and moving of the Spirit in the church. Let us not miss the boat.

THE HOLY SPIRIT AND CONTEXTUALIZATION¹

Andrew M. Lord

1. Introduction

The Pentecostal/Charismatic movement is characterized by adaptability to different cultures: it is a “religion made to travel,” to quote Harvey Cox.² But despite this observation little has been done to analyse this process of adaptation. Much research on missiology in recent decades has been done in the area of contextualization which encompasses this process of adaption, but little of this has been applied to the Pentecostal experience and no distinctively Pentecostal contribution has been made to the debate. The aim of this article is to outline some contributions that Pentecostal theology can make to the task of contextualization, focused on an understanding of the Holy Spirit.

It is now widely recognized that the Christian faith is always culturally mediated. It can only be expressed in terms of culture, and has been done so in a variety of ways during the history of Christianity.³ For

¹ This article is based on a paper presented to the Anglican Charismatic Theological Seminar, Nottingham, July 2000.

² Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), p. 102. This is further studied in a recent collection of papers edited by Murray W. Dempster, Bryon D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen, eds., *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1999). For the remainder of this article I will use the term “Pentecostal” to include “Charismatic” in line with W. J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997).

³ See the examination of six phases of Christian history, Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996), pp. 16-25. Also Aylward Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation* (New York: Orbis, 1988), pp. 137-63. One definition of culture given by C. Geertz is, “A set

many centuries, however, it has been assumed that there was predominately one orthodox expression of faith, even if different groups held to different understandings of what was orthodox. It was not until the nineteenth century that the influence of culture on theology was recognized, and even later in the twentieth century that the influence was examined in detail.⁴ The key to greater debate has been the move towards independence seen by many Third World countries through the last century. Given the rise of Pentecostalism over the same century, it is surprising that their experience and reflections have not been drawn into the debate in a significant way. The term *contextualization* first appeared in the 1970s in the context of theological education and since then it has become a blanket term for a variety of theological models. Different people prefer different terms but I prefer to follow Bosch and keep the general term “contextualization” for the task of bringing together Christian faith and contemporary culture. Bosch divides contextualization into liberation and inculturation models although the distinction is not explored in this paper.⁵

The role of the Spirit has received limited treatment in the literature on contextualization. It is not mentioned in the summaries of Bosch or Kirk.⁶ For Schreiter the role of the Holy Spirit in the task of contextualization is not defined, but appears to be one of a background worker of grace in the church: “One cannot speak of a community developing a local theology without its being filled with the Spirit and working under the power of the gospel.”⁷ Bevans mentions the links between the Spirit and life in the African spiritual world understanding in reviewing an example of an anthropological model of contextualization. He also mentions briefly an inward revelation of the Spirit contributing to

of symbols, stories, myths and norms for conduct that orient a society or group cognitively, affectively and behaviourally to the world in which it lives,” quoted in Shorter, *Toward a Theology*, p. 5. There are other definitions, but this understanding is what is assumed in this article.

⁴ David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (New York: Orbis, 1991), pp. 422-23.

⁵ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, pp. 432-57.

⁶ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, pp. 432-57; Andrew J. Kirk, *What Is Mission? Theological Explorations* (London: DLT, 1999).

⁷ Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (New York: Orbis, 1985), p. 24.

transcendental models.⁸ But the Spirit is not seen as a central issue in contextualization.

This article starts by drawing on Pentecostal missiology to understand how contextualization is generally understood to work within that tradition. My own particular experience is rooted within the Anglican Charismatic tradition and so I outline some developments from this tradition. These observations are then brought together to suggest distinctively Pentecostal contributions to the contextualization debate. In particular I want to stress the need to see the Spirit as essentially the contextualizing Spirit.

2. Pentecostal Contributions to Contextualization

Pentecostal missiology is inspired by a literal understanding of the scriptures with McClung arguing that an emphasis on “Scripture-Spirit” as the basis for developing a mission theology.⁹ Hence the dynamic work of the Spirit within the church takes primacy over cultural concerns. One of the first and most influential Pentecostals to articulate a mission theology, Melvin Hodges, focused on indigenous church principles. His emphasis was on gospel and the Spirit: “There is no place on earth where, if the gospel seed be properly planted, it will not produce an indigenous church. The Holy Spirit can work in one country as well as in another.”¹⁰ This is a precursor to Pomerville’s “spirit translation” model of contextualization in which there is an unchanged gospel combined with the dynamics of the Holy Spirit. It is the Spirit that produces in individual believers “unusual zeal and power” that causes them to testify to Christ, provides leadership to the church and enables the church to grow.¹¹ For

⁸ Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (New York: Orbis, 1992), pp. 54-57, 99.

⁹ L. Grant McClung, Jr., “‘Try to Get People Saved’: Revisiting the Paradigm of an Urgent Pentecostal Missiology,” in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism*, pp. 30-51 (38-40); L. Grant McClung, Jr., “Pentecostal/Charismatic Perspectives on a Missiology for the Twenty-First Century,” *Pneuma* 16 (Spring 1994), pp. 11-21 (13). See also the approach taken by Paul A. Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1985).

¹⁰ Melvin L. Hodges, *The Indigenous Church* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1953), p. 14.

¹¹ Hodges, *The Indigenous Church*, p. 132.

Hodges, the focus of the Spirit is within the church, while directing the church outwards in testimony.

This outward dynamic is clearly related to an eschatological urgency that characterizes Pentecostal mission. McClung considers the missiology of William Seymour, the early founder of Pentecostalism,¹² as centred on “eschatology-experience-evangelism.”¹³ Early Pentecostal eschatology led to an understanding of history whereby the church was being restored through a fresh outpouring of the Spirit, experienced by the Pentecostal movement, prior to the return of Christ.¹⁴ The church is forced outwards into the world by the Spirit so that people might believe in Christ and the end come.¹⁵ More recently the eschatological urgency has waned in places as Pentecostalism has moved from the poor to the middle-classes, but is still characteristic of the movement.¹⁶

As the Spirit drives ordinary church members outwards to share the gospel, so the gospel message becomes contextualized. This contextualization, in part, happens due to the emphasis on experience—linking personal experience and experience of God, the Spirit. This contextualization sometimes contrasts with the official church teaching. Macchia draws a distinction between the abstract doctrinal guides produced by early Pentecostal denominations and the contextual preaching. The “irregular” theology of Pentecostal preachers was creative and in touch with everyday experience in contrast to the more abstract doctrinal guides.¹⁷ In the early days it was the experience of “speaking in tongues” that was seen as the key to contextualization, enabling witness in the language of people around the world.¹⁸ Experience, enlightened

¹² I am here not entering the debate over the relative merits of Seymour and Parham as founders of the movement, see Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 18-24.

¹³ McClung, “‘Try to Get People Saved,’” p. 36. See also McClung, “Pentecostal/Charismatic Perspectives,” p. 14.

¹⁴ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 36-41.

¹⁵ Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, pp. 219-27.

¹⁶ Frank D. Macchia, “The Struggle for Global Witness: Shifting Paradigms in Pentecostal Theology,” in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism*, pp. 8-29 (23).

¹⁷ Macchia, “The Struggle for Global Witness,” pp. 10-11.

¹⁸ Macchia, “The Struggle for Global Witness,” p. 17.

and empowered by the Spirit, is still at the heart of Pentecostal missiology.

The danger with this “irregular” contextualization is that although it can lead to a theology more in touch with people, it can also lead to cultural misunderstandings and insensitivity, as detailed by Anderson.¹⁹ There is a temptation, in not analyzing culture, to assume that the culture of the preacher is without fault. Harvey Cox sees a tendency for Pentecostals to say “yes” to culture more than they say “no.”²⁰ However, perhaps the tendency is rather to not critique the Pentecostal community in terms of its cultural influences, and over-critique the “world” as unduly negative. This is being overcome through a deeper appreciation of social justice issues in Pentecostal missiology.²¹ McGee suggests that the gift of prophecy has relevance “to the plight of the poor and [as a] witness against injustice in a world victimized by individual and corporate evils.”²² However, it still seems the case that behind most approaches lies a negative view of culture whereby it brings only social problems to be challenged and overcome through the gospel. This view is backed up by a recent survey of European Pentecostal-Charismatic theologians who perceived a danger in mission of “uncritically importing specific aspects of the evangelizer’s culture to accomplish the task.”²³ What is still needed is a greater analysis of culture within the Pentecostal contextualization process.

¹⁹ Allan Anderson, “Signs and Blunders: Pentecostal Mission Issues at ‘Home and Abroad’ in the Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Asian Mission* 2:2 (2000), pp. 193-210.

²⁰ Harvey Cox, “Pentecostalism and Global Market Culture,” in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism*, pp. 386-96 (394-95).

²¹ One example of an approach taking social involvement seriously is Douglas Peterson, “Missions in the Twenty-First Century: Toward a Methodology of Pentecostal Compassion,” *Transformation* 16:2 (1999), pp. 54-59.

²² Gary B. McGee, “Pentecostal Missiology: Moving beyond Triumphalism to Face the Issues,” *Pneuma* 16:2 (1994), pp. 275-81 (281).

²³ Jean-Daniel Plüss, “Globalization of Pentecostalism or Globalization of Individualism? A European Perspective,” in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism*, pp. 170-82 (175). See also McClung’s conclusion about the negative encroachment of culture on the church and its mission, McClung, “Pentecostal/Charismatic Perspectives,” p. 20.

3. Anglican Charismatic Contributions to Contextualization

Graham Cray, an Anglican Charismatic leader on contextualization issues is interested in the development of a theology of culture. He emphasizes the current cultural transition from a “modern” to “post-modern” worldview. In this he takes a neutral view of culture: “It is not that the emerging culture is more or less friendly to the Gospel, in different ways it is both.”²⁴ Picking out consumerism and tribalism he outlines possible Christian responses in mission.²⁵ This may seem to put the emphasis on culture, but for Cray there is a unalterable core of the gospel, a “seed” that is planted. We need to let the Holy Spirit grow this into something called the church.²⁶ “The challenge to the Church is how to express the eternal truth of the Christian faith in and through this culture.”²⁷ There will be many forms of church in a post-modern culture: “A plural society must have culturally plural expressions of Christian faith.”²⁸ Cray retains an emphasis on an unchanging gospel and on the work of the Spirit in enabling contextualization to happen. Cray represents a translation model of contextualization, but it is one that takes the culture more seriously than the Pentecostal approaches so far outlined.²⁹

In contrast, Robert Warren starts with the need to contextualize what we understand by “gospel.” He suggests that to do so “involves the work of prophets, those who can discern the times and know how to speak into a culture.”³⁰ In contemporary western culture Warren suggests that the gospel is about “God’s way of being human.” From this understanding he develops a process to help construct new models of church life. Central to this process is a listening dialogue between church and culture in which

²⁴ Graham Cray, *From Here to Where?—The Culture of the Nineties*, Board of Mission Occasional Paper 3 (London: Board of Mission, 1992), p. 1.

²⁵ Graham Cray, “New Churches for a New Millennium,” *Anglicans for Renewal* 78 (1999), pp. 15-18 (16-17).

²⁶ Cray, “New Churches for a New Millennium,” pp. 15-16.

²⁷ Cray, *From Here to Where?*, p. 16.

²⁸ Cray, *From Here to Where?*, p. 18.

²⁹ Cray particularly values Sanneh Lamin, *Translating the Message* (New York: Orbis, 1989).

³⁰ Robert Warren, *Being Human, Being Church* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1995), p. 108.

culture is allowed to critique the church as well as *vice versa*. Part of this listening may involve lamentation, “a form of prophetic insight that leads on to hope rooted in the coming of God’s kingdom.”³¹ This listening gives rise to an “earthed spirituality” which is then expressed in every aspect of the church’s life, particularly in its worship, community, and mission. The listening dialogue needs to be maintained in order to sustain the life of a church.³²

Ray Simpson, with others, is pioneering a Celtic spirituality from a Charismatic Evangelical perspective.³³ His approach is to identify key aspects of contemporary culture, alongside some biblical reflection, and see what issues these raise for Christians and the church. These issues are then addressed by drawing on insights from the Celtic tradition. I have suggested that Simpson’s understanding of gospel has been shaped by the Celtic tradition and contemporary culture and is that “healing is possible for individuals, communities and creation through Christ.”³⁴ Another approach that seeks to link personal experience of the Spirit with scriptural understanding is suggested by Mark Stibbe.³⁵ He focuses more on the “community of faith” than on the surrounding culture although he has written on what he sees as a western culture of “addiction” and the need for a Christian response.

In addition to recent Anglican contributions to Pentecostal missiology, two figures deserve mention even if they could not be categorized as strictly “Pentecostal”: Roland Allen and John V. Taylor. Roland Allen was a High Church Anglican missionary in China at the turn of last century. Writing in the 1910s about the state of mission in the world he concluded, “We have not yet succeeded in so planting [Christianity] in any heathen land that it has become indigenous.”³⁶ He saw an answer to this in the missionary methods of St Paul and in a

³¹ Warren, *Being Human*, pp. 110, 148.

³² Warren, *Being Human*, p. 158.

³³ Ray Simpson, *Exploring Celtic Spirituality: Historic Roots for Our Future* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995).

³⁴ Andrew M. Lord, “Contextualization in Britain: Insights from a Celtic Spirituality” (MA dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1999), p. 8.

³⁵ Mark Stibbe, “This Is That: Some Thoughts Concerning Charismatic Hermeneutics,” *Anvil* 15:3 (1998), pp. 181-94.

³⁶ Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1912), p. 141.

particular emphasis on the work of the Spirit. The doctrine of the Spirit given to all Christians challenges the temptation for missionaries to keep control and so prevent indigenization. The Spirit gives gifts to all people and guides and directs them in mission—we need to trust the Spirit in mission.³⁷ Allen's insights have been very influential in shaping a Pentecostal missiology.³⁸

John V. Taylor, a former leader of the Church Mission Society, wrote an influential book in the 1970s on the Holy Spirit and mission, *The Go-Between God*. He contended that we cannot separate mission from the work of the Spirit: "The chief actor in the historic mission of the Christian church is the Holy Spirit. He is the director of the whole enterprise. The mission consists of the things he is doing in the world."³⁹ Taylor recognized a divide in contemporary thought between an objective, abstract God and a God seen exclusively through experiences. This divide is similar in some ways to that in the contextualization debate between church and culture, revelation and experience. Taylor sees this divide overcome when the Holy Spirit becomes central to our thinking. He starts by examining our experience, not of life in general, but of times when we experience something beyond ourselves, the "numinous." He calls these moments of "annunciation" which might be linked with something otherwise quite everyday.⁴⁰ These experiences contain a sense of communion between people and God, and this communion is the Holy Spirit, the "go-between." The Holy Spirit links us with God and enables communication in both directions. He opens the eyes of people to Christ and so is essential to mission.⁴¹ It is also the Spirit that opens our eyes to other people, enabling us to see them as they uniquely are, and this forms the basis for approaching the task of contextualization.⁴²

³⁷ Allen, *Missionary Methods*, pp. 142-48.

³⁸ Gary B. McGee, "Missions, Overseas (North American)," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. S. M. Burgess, G. B. McGee, and P. H. Alexander (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), pp. 610-25.

³⁹ John V. Taylor, *The Go-Between God: The Holy Spirit and the Christian Mission* (London: SCM, 1972), p. 5.

⁴⁰ Taylor, *The Go-Between God*, pp. 8-19.

⁴¹ Taylor, *The Go-Between God*, p. 20.

⁴² Here I am developing Taylor's thoughts, *The Go-Between God*, p. 20. This is in line with his approach in, say, John V. Taylor, *The Primal Vision* (London: SCM, 1963).

4. The Role of the Holy Spirit in Contextualization

The task of contextualization involves spanning the gap between church and culture. Various methods and models for this task have been proposed. From the brief review above, it is clear that Pentecostal/Charismatic missiology can particularly contribute to the contextualization debate through its understanding in three areas: the work of the Holy Spirit, eschatology, and experience. The work of the Holy Spirit deserves further attention as this is usually neglected in discussions on contextualization, and because this also seems the key to broadening the Pentecostal appreciation of contextualization.

I want to briefly suggest that the key to any process of contextualization is an understanding of the Holy Spirit as *life giver, sender, revealer* and *gift-giver*. It has been noted that there is often a gap between theory and practice in contextualization. What I believe is needed is a greater understanding of and entrance into the motivation that comes from God.⁴³ Such motivation seems to spring naturally out of a Pentecostal outlook which, I want to suggest, is based on an understanding of the Holy Spirit as *life giver* and *sender*. I have already commented on how Pentecostal contextualization often happens without being planned, simply as an experience of the Spirit interacts with the life experience of those who share the gospel. Pentecostal reflection on this process has begun to develop in debate with Moltmann's *The Spirit of Life*.⁴⁴ Without exploring all the details here, it is clear that the Holy Spirit is involved in creation (Gen 1:2) and is the breath of life, *ruach*, giving and sustaining life (Job 33:4; John 6:63). The Nicene Creed states, the Spirit is the "Lord and giver of life." Hence creation and experience are places in which we can discover God at work by his Spirit. Culture relates to the interactions of experiences of different groups of people. An

⁴³ Darrell L. Whiteman, "Contextualization: The Theory, the Gap, the Challenge," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 21:1 (January 1997), pp. 2-7.

⁴⁴ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life* (London: SCM, 1992). The debate was initiated in the *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 4. A further significant contribution to the debate is Frank D. Macchia, "The Spirit and Life: A Further Response to Jürgen Moltmann," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 5 (1994), pp. 121-27.

understanding of the Spirit as the “go-between” God indicates something of how God is involved in culture.

Yet in a fallen world, culture is also part of the “world” that goes against the gospel (2 Cor 4:4). Hence this deeper involvement in culture comes with a longing for things once more to be made whole, for redemption, and for re-creation. The Spirit is always moving creation towards God as revealed in Christ: creation is “oriented towards the Son.”⁴⁵ Creation and redemption need to be held together as we get involved in culture,⁴⁶ and this implies a present groaning in the Spirit because culture falls short of what is to come (Rom 8:18-25). A greater experience of the Spirit, therefore, forces us to a greater appreciation and involvement in culture. It also increases our longing to overcome cultural failings. This dynamic is essential to motivate the task of contextualization.

At the church end of the contextualization spectrum, Pentecost marked the inauguration of the church in the Spirit (Acts 2). The Spirit is involved with appointing leaders in the church (Acts 20:28) and sustains the life of the church by mediating the presence and gifts of God.⁴⁷ Yet the church is not static, but dynamically *sent* in mission (Acts 1:8): the church is “commissioned [by Spirit] to serve the kingdom in the world” and the “goal is world transformation.”⁴⁸ An experience of the Spirit both sustains the church in faith and yet drives it out in mission: a dynamic that reflects the more general dynamic of the Spirit in creation. Hence, the Spirit is involved in both sustaining culture and church, and yet also bringing them together in Christ. An experience of the Spirit will therefore naturally motivate the task of contextualization and is perhaps the missing link in many approaches to the task.

Given the motivation for contextualization, different approaches have been proposed as to how the task is undertaken. Bevans, for example, suggests that these approaches fall into one of five general models: translation, synthetic, praxis, transcendental, or anthropological. These models are differentiated by their closeness to either the church or

⁴⁵ Clark H. Pinnock, *Flame of Love: A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1996), p. 58.

⁴⁶ See the discussion in Pinnock, *Flame of Love*, pp. 49-58.

⁴⁷ See Pinnock’s development of a Spirit ecclesiology, *Flame of Love*, pp. 113-47.

⁴⁸ Pinnock, *Flame of Love*, pp. 142-43.

culture end of the contextualization spectrum.⁴⁹ At some point within each model, issues of church and culture are brought together and reflected upon in order to build a new contextualization. At this point it is important to bring an openness to the Spirit as *revealer*. It is the Spirit who speaks to us, reveals God to us, leads us into truth and guides us morally and in mission (John 14:26; Rev 2:7; Eph 1:17; John 16:13; Rom 8). The Spirit's leading should be viewed broadly to include spiritual gifts, for example, prophecy and visions (Luke 1:67; Acts 10:19). From within the Pentecostal tradition there appear three particular spiritual gifts that are relevant to contextualization: wisdom, prophecy, and tongues.⁵⁰ These need to be sought in prayer alongside the rational understandings of church and culture, and will be essential to a post-modern approach to contextualization.⁵¹

The gift of wisdom (1 Cor 12:8) helps us gain God's perspective on the issues we wrestle with, bringing rational insights from a divine source to add to our intellectual wisdom.⁵² Stibbe suggests that the gift of wisdom also gives a revelation into God's secret, redemptive purposes in history, and it is vital to have such insight if our contextualization is to be in line with God's will.⁵³ Prophecy originates with the work of the Spirit in the church, but links the church with specific cultural and social situations. As Penny states, "The overarching context of Luke's presentation of the Spirit of prophecy is mission."⁵⁴ The church as a prophetic community should reveal Christ within particular cultures, and specific prophetic insights should direct the churches involvement in the world and its process of contextualization. Such prophetic insights

⁴⁹ Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*.

⁵⁰ There may be others that are relevant, but I am restricting myself to these three here.

⁵¹ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1989), p. 43 notes the importance of "the Spirit" within the post-modern worldview. A more general correlation between Pentecostal and post-modern worldviews can be found in Jackie David Johns, "Pentecostalism and the Postmodern Worldview," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 7 (1995), pp. 73-96.

⁵² Mark Stibbe, *Know Your Spiritual Gifts* (London: Harper Collins, Marshall Pickering, 1997), pp. 19-20.

⁵³ Stibbe, *Know Your Spiritual Gifts*, p. 22.

⁵⁴ John Penney, "The Testing of New Testament Prophecy," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 10 (1997), pp. 35-84 (56).

include the lamentation and witness against injustice recognized by Warren and McGee.⁵⁵ Speaking in tongues is a vehicle for individual worship and, through interpretation, a way God speaks into situations. In addition Bertone has suggested a link between tongues and the groaning of creation as found in Romans 8.⁵⁶ Through tongues we can feel something of the pain in culture that is felt within God's heart, and sense something of the longing to overcome the evils in the world and bring wholeness in Christ. This can root our contextualization in the realities and emotions of life, and in the reality and emotion of the "crucified God."

The Spirit as *gift-giver* reminds us that the task of contextualization should never be limited to the "professionals." Contextualization will happen only when ordinary, Spirit-inspired Christians are enabled to grapple together with the issues before God. Pentecostalism has grown and become contextualized through the spreading of the gospel by lay people, often without much theological training.⁵⁷ The experience of such people needs to be captured in any approach to contextualization.

To encounter the Holy Spirit is to be driven deeper into an experience of culture, to be given a deeper awareness of God in Christ, and a longing and a gifting to bring these together. Revelation and guidance is given by the Spirit to enable this to happen, and this is the task of contextualization.

5. Conclusion

The Pentecostal/Charismatic movement has spread dramatically around the world over the last century and is marked by its adaptability into a wide range of cultures. I have argued that this is a result of an emphasis on the Holy Spirit, who by nature forces contextualization to

⁵⁵ McGee, "Pentecostal Missiology," p. 281; Warren, *Being Human*, p. 148.

⁵⁶ Gordon D. Fee, "Toward a Pauline Theology of Glossolalia," in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William W. Menzies*, eds. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 24-37. John A. Bertone, "The Function of the Spirit in the Dialectic between God's Soteriological Plan Enacted but Not Yet Culminated: Romans 8.1-27," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 15 (1999), pp. 75-97.

⁵⁷ L. Grant McClung Jr., "Missiology," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, pp. 607-609 (608).

happen—he can be seen as the *contextualizing Spirit*. I have outlined an understanding of the Spirit that illustrates the particular Pentecostal contribution to the contextualization debate as well as challenging Pentecostals to a greater involvement in this debate. May we commit ourselves in a deeper way to the working of the Spirit in order that the good news of Jesus may be better spread throughout the world.

PENTECOSTAL BEGINNINGS IN TRAVANCORE, SOUTH INDIA

A. C. George

The task of writing a history of the Pentecostal movement in India is indeed a complex one for various reasons. One major reason is the lack of adequate and reliable sources. Like any other Pentecostal movement, Pentecostalism in India began at the turn of the twentieth century, but unlike the story of other countries, there is very little documented history. The first generation that experienced the Pentecostal fire with the phenomenon of glossolalia is gone. For any reconstruction of the history of early Pentecostalism in India, one has to depend on accounts given by second and third generation Pentecostals to whom the legacy of faith has been transmitted by the early recipients of the Pentecostal fire. When the fragments of information are gathered and pieced together—after subjecting them to a process of testing, comparing, and evaluation—it is possible to come up with some bare outline of history. This is what the author has attempted to do in this article.

It must be stated clearly at the outset that there is no attempt here to give a history of the beginning of Pentecostalism in India. The purpose of this article is to give a rough sketch of the beginning of the Assemblies of God in the southern tip of India known in history as Travancore or the Malabar Coast.¹ But this can be done only against the backdrop of the Pentecostal beginnings in that area. The focus will be on the persons and events that God orchestrated to produce a movement from which the Assemblies of God and other Pentecostal groups emerged. In order to place the movement in its historical and religious context, it is also necessary to give a capsule summary of the story of Christianity in the southwestern coast of India. The article will also touch upon some of the

¹ The southern tip of India is known in historical documents as Malabar or Malankara. That area is called Kerala in today's political maps of India. The State of Kerala was carved out of two small kingdoms, namely, Travancore and Cochin, after India obtained its independence in 1947.

salient features of the Pentecostal movement in the early period of its history.

I. The Historical Setting

Pentecostalism in Travancore was not born in a vacuum. On the contrary, it came out of a church that could boast of almost two thousand years of Christianity.

It is strongly believed that long before the western countries came under the influence of the gospel, Christianity was planted in the soil of South India. Traditions connect the beginning of Christianity with St. Thomas, one of the twelve apostles of Jesus. According to most accounts, St. Thomas came to the southwestern Malabar coast of India in 52 A.D. and planted seven churches there.²

After appointing elders in each of the churches mainly from Brahmin families, Thomas went to the east coast and established a few churches there also. The Brahmins, upper caste Hindus, speared him to death in 72 A.D. and his body was buried in a mount in Mylapore (modern Madras) which is now known as St. Thomas Mount, a place of pilgrimage for peoples of all religions. Even though the St. Thomas tradition is extremely strong among the Christians of Kerala, its historicity cannot be proved because of the absence of contemporary evidences. There is, however, proof that Christianity existed in India from the fourth century A.D. There is evidence that the church in India was represented by John, "Bishop of Persia and Great India" at the Nicean Council held in 325 A.D. and that this bishop was one of the signatories in the "Acts of the Council of Nicea."³ This evidence, coupled with the archaeological evidence that there were commercial contacts between India and the Roman Empire in the first century, suggests that Christianity in India may be as old as Christianity itself.

It may seem strange that even though the church was planted in the Indian soil long before many nations and ethnic groups heard the gospel for the first time, it did not take deep roots there for centuries. It remained as a dormant church, lacking the dynamism to impact non-

² Earl E. Cairns, *Christianity through the Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), p. 82.

³ F. Hrangkhuma, "The Church in India," in *Church in Asia Today*, ed. Saphir Athyal (Singapore: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, 1996), pp. 393-439 (400).

Christians. The weakness of the church is evident from the fact that the church adopted many Hindu customs and practices.⁴ Western travelers like Cosmas, the Alexandrian monk of the sixth century, and Marco Polo, the Venetian traveler of the thirteenth century, made references to the church in India in their travelogues. Among other things, they speak of the St. Thomas tradition and the condition of the church like “scattered sheep.” Marco Polo even spoke of seeing the tomb of St. Thomas. A much more fascinating truth we learn about the church of this period is that they were connected to the Patriarch of Antioch and controlled by the bishops consecrated by the Patriarch.⁵

One thing that needs to be stressed is the fact that the Indian church did not have any western connection until the arrival of the Portuguese and the subsequent Jesuit Mission pioneered by Francis Xavier and others in the sixteenth century. But the church of the Malabar Coast had strong connections with the Syrian Church whose headquarters was in Antioch. This was precipitated initially by two migrations of Syrian Christians to the Malabar Coast. The first was in 345 A.D., when three to four hundred Christian families from Mesopotamia migrated to the southwestern coast under the leadership of Thomas of Cana. The second migration took place in 833 A.D. It is probable that these Christians brought with them their priests to look after their spiritual affairs. In course of time these Syrian Christians succeeded in bringing the Indian church under the domination of the Syrian Church and in monopolizing the pepper trade.⁶ That all the priests and bishops had to be consecrated and sent by the patriarchal bishop called *Catholicos*, who was headquartered in Mesopotamia, speaks of the extent of the Syrian control over the Malankara Church. Besides, the Metropolitan of India always had to be a Syrian.⁷ When Islam stamped out Zoroastrianism and Christianity in Persia, the Indian Christians were forced to turn to the Patriarch of Antioch for help and guidance. The Syrian connection continues even today within a section of the Syrian Christians of Kerala whose allegiance is to the Patriarch of Antioch.⁸

⁴ A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India* (New York: Grover Press, 1959), p. 343.

⁵ Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, p. 343.

⁶ Hrangkhuma, “The Church in India,” pp. 400-401.

⁷ Hrangkhuma, “The Church in India,” pp. 400-401

⁸ Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, p. 343.

The arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, following Vasco de Gama's successful voyage to India in 1498, changed the face of Indian history as well as the history of Christianity. The Portuguese monopolized the European trade in the sixteenth century but later the Dutch, the Danes, the English, and the French entered the scene as competitors. Of all the foreign powers that entered India with trade interest, only the Portuguese did notable mission work under a system known as the "Padroado."⁹ One of the greatest missionaries of this era was Francis Xavier, the first Jesuit missionary to India, who became instrumental in establishing Catholic Christianity among the fishing community of the southeast and southwest coasts of India. He laid the foundations of Christian education and worship among these converts.¹⁰ In addition to the Jesuits, several Catholic orders including the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Capuchins were actively involved in missionary enterprises.

The Portuguese, who discovered the Syrian Christians of the Malabar Coast, were happy to learn that there was a Christian community in India. Once they learned that there were notable differences between them and the Syrian Christians, they tried to absorb the Syrian Christians into Catholicism. Alexis de Menezes, the Portuguese Archbishop, made an effort to bring the Syrians under the umbrella of the Pope through a historic synod known as the Synod of Diamper held in 1599. The compromise lasted only 54 years. In 1653 the Syrian Church revolted against the Catholics in what is called "the Coonen Cross" (crooked cross) incident. Nearly one third of the Syrian Church returned to their older tradition and affiliation with the Patriarch of Antioch.¹¹ A reform within the Syrian Church produced in 1879 a group called the "Mar Thoma Syrian Church." The Mar Thoma Church is more evangelical than the Syrian Church (which is also called the Syrian Orthodox Church) and is governed by bishops (metropolitans).

The Protestant wing of Christianity was established in India only in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The first Protestant mission in India was established in Tranquebar through the efforts of Ziegenbalg

⁹ "Padroado" was a system entrusted to the Portuguese kings by the Pope to evangelize the heathens wherever the Portuguese set up their trading colonies. The system included the right to the kings to send bishops, priests, and missionaries to the foreign lands.

¹⁰ Hrangkhuma, "The Church in India," p. 403.

¹¹ Hrangkhuma, "The Church in India," p. 403.

and Plutschau who were sent by Frederick IV of Denmark.¹² This mission flourished in the eighteenth century but owing to various reasons started declining at the beginning of the nineteenth century and ceased to exist by 1847 when it was taken over by the Leipzig Mission.

The outstanding contribution of this mission was Ziegenbalg's translation of the Bible into the Tamil language. It has the distinction of being the first Bible in any Indian language. A hundred years later, William Carey, "the father of modern missions," chose Serampore as the base of his mission and gave to the people of India the whole Bible or portions of the Bible in nearly forty languages.¹³ True to his motto, Carey attempted "great things for God" and his mission in the northeastern part of India opened the opportunities for other missions to enter India.

It needs to be pointed out that the era of modern missions which began in India with the arrival of William Carey coincided with the British rule in India under the East India Company. While it is true that the British brought to India much western civilization, they did not patronize missions directly because of political reasons. However, the policies of the East India Company were later relaxed through the efforts of people who had influence on the British parliament. This paved the way for the creation of an Anglican episcopate in India, which in reality meant that missionaries could come and work in the company's territories.¹⁴ Several missionary organizations like the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and the Basel Mission entered different parts of South India. Of these, the Church Missionary Society interacted actively with the Syrian Christians of Malankara and influenced internal reforms within the church. The CMS played a big role in changing the face of Christianity in South India by establishing educational and philanthropic institutions and distributing the scripture in Malayalam. Numerous other missions were also active in different parts of India laying the foundations for educational, medical, and other types of humanitarian work. However, the vast majority of the Christians were in South India, especially in the Malankara (present day Kerala) region. And it is among these Christians that the early Pentecostal fire came to produce a movement that spread rapidly to other

¹² Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Row, 1953), p. 1315.

¹³ C. B. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History* (Madras: Christian Literature Service, 1983), p. 155.

¹⁴ Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 1315.

areas. How this happened and what it produced is the subject matter of this article.

II. The Antecedents of the Pentecostal Revival

The turn of the twentieth century marks the beginning of the modern Pentecostal movement around the globe. The outpouring of the Holy Spirit that was experienced by Agnes Ozman and other students at Charles Parham's Bethel Bible College at Topeka, Kansas and the Pentecostal revival that started in Azusa Street under the ministry of William J. Seymour and similar awakenings in Europe and other parts of the world were part of a global phenomena that produced strong Pentecostal churches wherever the "fire of the Spirit" fell.¹⁵ A careful study of the background of these revivals will show that revivals do not begin by chance, rather they are the product of intense preparations, prayer and waiting on God. This is also true of the revival fire that was lit in Malankara in the beginning of the last century.

The Pentecostal movement that created ripples in South India began as an indigenous movement. It was not until later that revival movements in the west impacted this indigenous movement. Gary McGee, noted historian, observes,

Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like movements in India preceded the development of 20th century Pentecostalism in North America and Europe by at least 40 years. Apart from the revival under Edward Irving in the U.K. in the early 1830s, the most prominent revivals of the 19th century characterized by the charismatic gifts of the Holy Spirit occurred in India. When modern Pentecostalism began there in 1906, it developed independently from the influence of similar revivals in the West.¹⁶

¹⁵ See Stanley H. Frodsham's account of this global phenomena in his book, *With Signs Following* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1941).

¹⁶ Gary B. McGee "India: Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like Movements (1860-1910)" (an Unpublished Article, c. 1999, Used by Permission), 21 pp. The same information is also found in Gary B. McGee, "India: Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like Movements (1860-1910)," *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard van der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, forthcoming).

The antecedents of the Pentecostal movement in Travancore can be traced back to certain revivals that broke out in different denominations like the CMS and the Mar Thoma Church. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed powerful revivals: one in 1860, another in 1873, and a third in 1895. In all of these revivals people experienced the outpouring of the Holy Spirit with diverse manifestations including glossolalia. However, the recipients of these experiences did not know that they were speaking in unknown tongues as a result of the baptism in the Holy Spirit as taught in the Book of Acts.¹⁷ This was due to the fact that the Bible was an unknown book for many and there was very little teaching by the clergy on spiritual matters. It needs to be pointed out here that the first Malayalam translation of the Bible, the efforts of Benjamin Baily, did not come out until 1841. The New Testament in Syriac—the liturgical language of the Syrian Christians—was made available to the clergy of the Syrian Church in 1818 but the laity had no benefit from it since they did not know Syriac.¹⁸ Baily's Malayalam Bible became very popular in Travancore and became one of the major factors of the revival that touched that state in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁹

Another major influence that led to the revival was the New Testament style preaching by native preachers and foreign missionaries²⁰ who had been actively engaged in preaching and evangelism in South India. The availability of the Bible in two major South Indian languages—Tamil and Malayalam—breathed new life into the Christians of this area. The Christianity of the Malabar Coast, until then, was a mere formality. It could be characterized by traditions, ceremonies, and annual festivals honoring the saints of the church.²¹ Theologically the Malankara Church had embraced Nestorianism through the influence of the Persian Church and held that once an infant is baptized, he or she becomes a member of the church and all that is needed afterwards is the faithful observance of the sacraments of the church. But the Bible brought a new

¹⁷ L. Sam, *Pastor A. C. Samuel: A Brief Biography* (Trivandrum: Bethel Assembly Publication, 1983), p. 10.

¹⁸ The liturgy of the Syrian Orthodox Church was in Syriac but it was transliterated into Malayalam so that the laity could use it in their services.

¹⁹ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram* [History of Kerala Pentecostals] (Kottayam: Good News Publications, 1994), p. 26.

²⁰ In the early days of missions, the term "missionary" was used exclusively for foreign missionaries and it was a convenient term to distinguish them from their national coworkers.

²¹ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 26.

understanding of Christianity. Biblical preaching by lay preachers and even some leading clergies of the Malankara Church produced an awareness of the shallowness of religion practiced by the Malankara Christians. That in turn created a desire to study the Bible and apply biblical truths to daily life.²² A leading figure God used to bring about reforms within the church was Mathews Mar Athanasius, metropolitan of the Syrian Church. He encouraged the laity under him to start prayer meetings and Bible study. He also organized special meetings for the preaching of the word of God in all the churches in his diocese. For this, he often brought in preachers from the neighboring State of Tamilnadu.²³

Those whom God used as revival preachers from Tamilnadu included Ammal Vedanayagam, Aroolappen, David (who became popular in Travancore as Tamil David), David Fenn, and several others. These preachers traveled through various places and preached in many churches of the Syrian Christians and awakened the people to the reality of deeper Christian life. It is not possible here to highlight their ministry, but at least the impact of one of them must be mentioned.

Carl T. E. Rhenius and Anthony Norris Groves who were Anglican missionaries, sent by the CMS, trained John Christian Aroolappen of Tirunelveli as a catechist.²⁴ Aroolappen happened to read about the revivals in the United States, England, and Ulster in 1857-59 and was greatly moved. He started praying for a similar revival in his own land. Little did he realize then that God would use him to spread the flames of revival in his own place as well as in Travancore. On March 4, 1860, revival broke out in Tirunelveli. Surprisingly, it happened among a group of people who were not anticipating anything miraculous. And none of the missionaries who had brought the light of the gospel to that area was present in that meeting.²⁵ Gary McGee describes as follows,

The phenomena in the revival included prophecy, glossolalia, glossographia, and interpretation of tongues, as well as intense conviction of sin among nominal Christians, dreams, visions, signs in the heavens, and people falling down and /or shaking.²⁶

²² Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 28.

²³ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 27.

²⁴ McGee, "India: Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like Movements," p. 2.

²⁵ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 27.

²⁶ McGee, "India: Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like Movements," p. 2.

A decade later Aroolappan brought the revival message to many CMS congregations and the congregations of the Syrian Christians of Travancore. This produced a revival there that lasted for several years. Prominent among the leaders of this revival were Koodarapallil Thommen and Yusthus (Justus) Joseph, a Brahmin convert who became a CMS priest. Yusthus Joseph's ministry attracted thousands of people because of the operation of the charismatic gifts: visions, prophecies, revelations, and others. However, when the prophecy that Christ would return six years after May 1875 was not fulfilled, he was branded as a heretic by the CMS and consequently his Revival Church began to decline and his followers came to be called Six Years Party (also called the Five and a Half Years Party).²⁷

The impact of the revival meetings, conducted by the men mentioned above plus a host of others, was that a section of the clergy and the lay people within the traditional Syrian Christians of Travancore longed for reforms within the church. The leading clergy who spearheaded the reform movement were Mathews Mar Athanasius and Thomas Mar Athanasius, two able leaders of the church. They tried to lead the church on the path of reform emphasizing the reform formulas: "Grace alone, Christ alone, Bible alone and Faith alone."²⁸ When their effort failed to bring about the desired changes within the church, they and their followers left the mother church to form a new church which is now known as the Mar Thoma Church. This separation took place in 1889. However, some of the believers who advocated more radical reforms—e.g., believers' baptism by immersion, the priesthood of all believers, separation from worldly attachments and amusements—separated themselves from the Mar Thoma Church to establish the Brethren Church. This new movement, also called Separatists by others, attracted people from the CMS and Basel Mission. It is worth recording here that V. Nagel, who was originally a German missionary sent by the Basel Mission and working in Kerala, embraced the Brethren faith and became an ardent propagator of that faith. He learned the Malayalam language well and composed several Malayalam songs that are still popular among the Malayalee Christians. Nagel's friendship with Gregson, a Keswick missionary in Travancore, led the latter, Gregson, to the Brethren faith. Consequently Gregson had to sever his relationship with the Keswick movement. All of these events created ripples within

²⁷ McGee, "India: Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like Movements," p. 3.

²⁸ T. P. Abraham, "The Mar Thoma Church: An Historical Sketch," Marthomachurch@yahoo.com (Feb 15, 2001), p. 3.

the Mar Thoma Church, but they laid a strong foundation for the Brethren group. The movement began to spread to different parts of Kerala.²⁹ We might say the stage was set in Travancore for the Pentecostal movement of the twentieth century.

III. The Beginning of the Assemblies of God in Travancore.

The view that history is a record of past events is a secular one. The Christian perspective of history, whether it is the history of the church or the history of the world, is quite different. It views history as the actions of God to accomplish his plan and purposes for humanity. And God does use humans to perform his work in the world that he has created and over which he is Lord.

The Assemblies of God in Travancore did not come into existence with some organizational structure until 1929, although the Pentecostal message and experience came to Travancore at least two decades earlier. The spiritual awakening that came to Travancore in the latter part of the nineteenth century had made it a fertile field to embrace the Pentecostal message. In God's providence, he used a variety of individuals, both foreign and national, to do an unprecedented work in Malankara, that had already had the gospel for many centuries. The story of the Assemblies of God in South India is the story of individuals that God used to spread the Pentecostal doctrine and establish churches in the region. Therefore, it is necessary to mention briefly the life and activities of some of the pioneers, who are only representatives of scores of people who became instrumental in laying the foundation of the Pentecostal movement in the State of Travancore.

1. George Berg

The first one to bring the clear teaching of Pentecost to South India was George Berg, an independent American missionary of German descent. Using Bangalore as his base, Berg worked in different parts of South India beginning in 1901. He was not a Pentecostal missionary at that time. In 1908, Berg returned to the United States and was baptized in the Spirit at the Azusa Street Mission and spoke in tongues. The same year he returned to India and worked in and around Bangalore.³⁰ He

²⁹ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 29.

³⁰ McGee, "India: Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like Movements," p. 11.

came to Travancore for the first time in 1909 as speaker at the Brethren convention held at Kottarakara. The Brethren believers were not prepared to accept his Pentecostal doctrines. The following year when he spoke at the same convention, he was severely criticized by the other missionaries such as Noel, David and Arthur who were also speakers at that convention. Consequently he was forced to work independently, and organized meetings and Bible classes in different parts of central Travancore. Many were saved and attracted to the Pentecostal truth through his ministry.³¹

When Berg came to Travancore in 1911, he was accompanied by Charles Cummins, an Anglo Indian evangelist who was drawn to the Pentecostal doctrine through Berg. Together they worked in several places in Travancore: Thuvayoor, Punthala, Venmony, and Elanthoor, to mention a few. The results were amazing. Members of an independent prayer fellowship at Thuvayoor, led by Paruthuppara Oommen, embraced the Pentecostal truths. Berg's subsequent visits and ministry in Travancore caused many people to get saved and filled with the Holy Spirit. The believers of Thuvayoor church took their responsibility seriously and evangelized their neighboring villages such as Mannady, Kunnathoor, Poruvazhi, Kadampanad, and others, and established Pentecostal churches that are still in existence today. A notable achievement of Berg was his leading a young Marthomite preacher named Mathai, popularly known as "Panthalam Mathai," to the Pentecostal experience. Mathai received the baptism in the Holy Spirit in 1912 and became a powerful instrument in God's hand to spread the Pentecostal faith not only in many parts of Travancore, but also in Tamilnadu, Mangalore, and Pondicheri. Literally thousands of people were led to the Pentecostal faith through his ministry. One of them was K. E. Abraham who became the main founder of the Indian Pentecostal Church of God, a leading Pentecostal group in India today.³²

2. Robert F. Cook

Another American missionary who played a major role in the establishment of Pentecostal churches in Travancore and other places in South India was Robert F. Cook who received the Pentecostal baptism at the Azusa Street Mission in 1908. A prophecy came to him through a Pentecostal preacher that God is anointing Cook to "preach the gospel to

³¹ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 31.

³² Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 32.

the poor" (Luke 4:18) confirmed his own conviction to become a missionary. When George Berg spoke about the great needs and opportunities for evangelism in India at a Pentecostal camp meeting held in Los Angeles in 1912, Robert was greatly moved and decided to go to India as an independent missionary.³³

Robert Cook came to India in October 1913 together with his wife Anna and their two daughters, Blossom and Dorothy, to work as independent "faith missionaries." They lived in the South Indian city of Bangalore and started working in association with Berg. Soon he was able to start an English worship in Frazer Town. The death of his wife Anna in 1917 shattered him, for she was a great asset to his ministry. His prayer for a dedicated partner like Anna was answered the following year, when he met and married Bertha Fox who was working in India as a Methodist missionary.³⁴

Cook's first visit to Travancore was in 1914 when he began a "gospel tour" in the southern states of India along with Cummins, the Anglo Indian co-worker of George Berg. He conducted successful meetings at Thuvayoor and adjacent places. Many were saved and some were healed. The miraculous deliverance of a woman possessed of evil spirit at Thuvayoor on the first day led many to believe in the power of the gospel. After four days of meetings there, Cook baptized sixty-three people and this was his first baptismal service in Travancore.³⁵

Between 1914 and 1921 Cook visited Travancore several times to conduct meetings, but his base was in Dodda Ballapur, a town not far from Bangalore, the present capital of the State of Karnataka. The response to the gospel was encouraging, even though he had to face opposition in places like Adoor and Kottarakara. In 1921 he made two trips to Travancore to conduct special meetings in Kottarakara, Adoor, Thuvayoor, and others. Many were saved and baptized. Miraculous healings were frequent and many were attracted to the meetings. Consequently doors were open to preach in other places. Cook's baptismal services attracted hundreds of spectators. These baptisms were conducted in ponds or rivers, in contrast to the infant baptism of the Syrian Christians which was always inside the church. The result was that the nucleus for several churches was formed in all those places. His meeting in Punalur drew many Muslims to hear the gospel because of the

³³ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 37.

³⁴ Robert F. Cook, *A Quarter Century of Divine Leading in India* (Ootacumund, South India: Ootacumund & Nilgiri, c. 1939), pp. 44-45.

³⁵ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 38.

miracles that happened there. The Muslim community of Punalur gave Cook and his associates the name “angels,” because of the miracles.³⁶ Seeing the tremendous response to the gospel in Travancore, Cook decided to move permanently to Kerala. In 1922 Cook moved to Kottarakara with his family and stayed in a small rented house to continue the work in Travancore. The next twenty-eight years Cook and his wife Bertha labored tirelessly in Travancore establishing many churches in different parts of Travancore.

It was mentioned earlier that Robert Cook came to India first as an independent missionary. In 1919 he decided to join the Assemblies of God (AG), USA. For the next ten years he worked with the denomination. During this period he had a group of charismatic and committed young native preachers as his co-workers. Among them were: A. K. Varghese, K. E. Abraham, A. C. Samuel, A. J. John, T. M. Varghese, P. V. John, Panthalam Mathai, and several others. All of them became outstanding leaders of different Pentecostal groups later. Their joint efforts resulted in the establishment of scores of churches in Travancore. As an AG missionary Cook was able to raise funds from the United States to buy property and build churches in many places. He also founded a Bible school in Mulakuzha in 1928, Mount Zion Bible Institute, for the training of national ministers.³⁷ However, the following year Cook separated himself from the Assemblies of God, taking with him all the churches under his supervision. He worked independently until 1936 when he joined the Church of God headquartered in Cleveland, Tennessee, USA.³⁸ Needless to say that the loss of congregations and property was a heavy blow on the Assemblies of God church in Travancore. But the AG leadership, not wanting to get involved in litigation in the interest of God’s kingdom, decided to move to other areas of Travancore and concentrated on the work.³⁹ The later history of the AG shows that God honored that decision and enabled them to plant hundreds of churches in Travancore and other parts of Malayalam District. Today the Malayalam District of the South India Assemblies of

³⁶ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 43.

³⁷ Sam, *Pastor A. C. Samuel*, p.12.

³⁸ Charles W. Conn, *Like a Mighty Army* (Cleveland, TN: Church of God Publishing House, 1955), pp.236-37.

³⁹ L. Sam, “A.G. Charitra Rekhakal” [Historical Records of A.G.], in *SIAG Malayalam District Council Souvenir* (Punalur: Malayalam District Council, 2000), pp. 21-33 (25).

God alone has over 500 churches, three Bible schools and more than 700 ministers.⁴⁰

3. Mary Chapman

The first AG missionary to come to South India to spread the Pentecostal message was Mary Weems Chapman, a veteran missionary who has served in Africa.⁴¹ In 1904, she received the baptism in the Spirit in a glorious manner as she was praying alone in her room. Prior to her coming to India as a missionary she had also experienced miraculous healing in her body through fasting and prayer, even though doctors were not able to help her. With an unshakable faith in the Lord and his word, Mary Chapman embarked on a ship in 1914 to come to India to do the Lord's bidding. She was fifty-eight years old when she landed in Madras, the southeastern seaport of India.⁴²

Mary Chapman traveled extensively to different parts of India holding evangelistic meetings in Bombay, Poona, Dhond, Bangalore, and others and finally settled in Madras as her base. Chapman traveled to Travancore and Tamilnadu to spread the Pentecostal work. The need and urgency of the work in Travancore prompted her to move to Trivandrum (southern part of Travancore) in 1921. Through her influence, Miss Aldwinkle, an independent missionary, joined the AG fellowship. Chapman and Aldwinkle concentrated on the work in southern Travancore and established Pentecostal work in several places. During this period Robert Cook was working in Kottarakara. In 1923 Spencer May, a British AG missionary, came to Travancore to work with Chapman. They started the *Pentecostal Trumpet*, the first Malayalam Pentecostal magazine. When the Cook family went on furlough in 1924, Spencer May moved to Chengannur to look after the work in central Travancore.⁴³ The following year Mary Chapman also came to Chengannur to provide relief to victims of a flood that caused great suffering to many people. Following this she went to Kollam (Quilon) for a brief period and finally came to Mavelikara and labored there until she was called to her heavenly home on November 27, 1927.

⁴⁰ Sam, "A.G. Charitra Rekhakal," p. 88.

⁴¹ McGee, "India: Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like Movements," p. 11.

⁴² Mathews P. John, "The Missionary Lady Who Loved India," *Maruppacha* 4:8 (April 20, 2000), pp. 4-7 (4).

⁴³ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 61.

Even though Chapman only labored in Travancore for about ten years, she was able to lay a solid foundation for the AG work in there. She inspired many young workers to do faithful ministry for the Lord of the harvest. During her furlough in the States in the year 1921, several of her friends in her homeland tried to persuade her to stay back and rest as she was getting older. But her mission in the land of her calling was a greater concern to her than her own personal health and comfort. Her reply to her friends reveals her singleness of purpose and commitment to the Masters' service: "If young people are not able to go, old people ought to go to India to spread the gospel there."⁴⁴ Later, God gave her a band of young partners in Travancore as her coworkers. C. Mannasseh, A. J. John, P. V. John, and K. E. Abraham were all her partners in the ministry.

In 1924 William M. Faux, Foreign Missions Secretary of the AG (USA) came to Travancore to conduct revival meetings. Seeing the need and prospects of the work in Travancore, he recommended that a missionary be commissioned and sent to Travancore to found a Bible school for training future workers. The young man chosen for this task was John Burgess who arrived in Travancore in 1926. Chapman and Burgess worked together in Mavelikara. The AG church that was formed in Mavelikara is the first AG church in the whole State of Kerala. The founding of Bethel Bible School in Mavelikara in June 1927 was a new milestone for the AG mission, for it was the first AG Bible school founded outside the United States. After being shifted to several places and operating in temporary buildings, Bethel Bible School was finally relocated in 1949 to a beautiful place on a mount in Punalur. Having started with twelve students in 1927, Bethel Bible College, as it is called now, has become one of the premier AG Bible colleges in India. It has a well-developed faculty and a national principal today. Over the years "Bethel" has trained hundreds of workers for God's kingdom. It is playing a major role in planting churches throughout Kerala and other parts of India. It is bilingual offering courses in Malayalam and English, and provides theological training up to the master's level. The labors of John Burgess and his wife Bernice in developing Bethel will always be remembered. Isaac Mathew, the present vice principal says, "Burgess has the unique distinction of being the founder of Bethel."⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 60.

⁴⁵ Isaac V. Mathew, "Theological Education in the Malayalam District of A.G.," in *SIAG Malayalam District Council Souvenir* (Punalur: Malayalam District Council, 2000), pp. 53-55 (53).

Mary Chapman, with whom Burgess worked for a short period in Mavelikara, not only witnessed the founding of Bethel Bible School, she also taught the first batch of students for a few months, however her death only enables her to serve in this capacity for a brief time as mentioned above. John Burgess conducted the funeral service and her body was interred in the AG cemetery in Mavelikara the following day. Chapman was loved and respected by the national brethren, which is evident from a letter written by C. Manasseh, her faithful coworker in South Travancore, when he received news of Chapman's death, "We are deeply grieved by the departure of our dear mother in the Lord. She was a burning light but was extinguished suddenly."⁴⁶ Mary Chapman's contribution to Pentecostalism in Travancore will always be remembered.

4. The Role of the National Ministers

It has been mentioned earlier that all western missionaries worked with national workers who had charisma and commitment. Some of them were brought to the Pentecostal experience through their contacts with the missionaries. However, it is wrong to suppose that missionaries alone were responsible for the spread of Pentecostalism in Travancore and elsewhere. The truth is that without the help and partnership of the national brethren, they would not have accomplished what they did. The nationals who associated themselves with the missionaries helped them in a variety of ways: as translators, managers, editors of magazines, supervisors of constructions, and above all as evangelists, pastors, and coworkers. Many miracles took place through their ministry and Pentecostal churches started mushrooming in all places wherever they labored in association with the missionaries or independently. This is true of all workers such as K. E. Abraham, Panthalam Mathai, A. J. John, P. V. John, C. Manasseh, A. C. Samuel, and T. M. Varghese, to mention a few. In the course of time God raised these men to top level leadership to lead the Indian churches on the path of Pentecostalism. Robert Cook, Spencer May, Mary Chapman, John Burgess, and others who came later depended heavily on the nationals for cooperation, counsel, and assistance in every phase of the work. Without the nationals there would be no Pentecostal history in South India.

When Robert Cook left the Assemblies of God in 1929, some of his Travancorian coworkers continued their association with him. One of them was K. E. Abraham who had received the Pentecostal experience in

⁴⁶ Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 60.

1923 at the home of C. Manasseh, an AG pastor who was spreading the Pentecostal message in the southern parts of Travancore. Abraham narrates his own experience,

While we were praying, Bro. Manasseh laid his hands upon my head and prayed. All of a sudden I experienced the passing of a current through my body. By the power of the Spirit my body began to shiver...I was overwhelmed with joy and began to praise God.... My tongue so moved that I was unable to praise God in my mother tongue...following that I spoke again in tongues.⁴⁷

After working with Cook and his national fellow ministers for several years, Abraham separated himself from Cook and concentrated on the building up of indigenous churches. He felt that association with western missionaries would jeopardize the growth of these churches. In course of time God used Abraham to found the Indian Pentecostal Church, which is one of the largest Pentecostal churches in India today.⁴⁸ And he is well remembered as an “apostle” that God raised to provide leadership to that movement and to bless literally thousands of people through his ministry in India and overseas.

The work of the AG reached a “take-off stage” with the founding of Bethel Bible School under the leadership of John Burgess and several coworkers from Travancore, as mentioned earlier. God used the national “brothers,” as they addressed each other, to plant churches and spread the Pentecostal message all over Travancore. It is not possible to give a resume of all those who were used of God in the growth of the AG work in Travancore. Nonetheless, two names need to be mentioned in particular: C. Manasseh and A. C. Samuel.

Manasseh is regarded as a pioneer of AG work in the southern Travancore. Born in 1876, he was brought up in a Hindu home at Paraniyam, twenty miles south of Travancore (Thiruvananthapuram), Manasseh became a Christian through a vision from God. He served as a volunteer evangelist with the London Missionary Society for sometime, but was excommunicated from that church due to his reform ideas. God orchestrated events in his life to bring him into contact with Miss Aldwinkle, a Pentecostal missionary stationed in Tanjore. That led him into the Pentecostal faith. He was baptized in water and later received the Spirit baptism. Soon he started preaching in his own native place.

⁴⁷ Habel G. Verghese, *K. E. Abraham: An Apostle from Modern India* (Tiruvalla: Rhema Publishers, 2000), pp. 33-34.

⁴⁸ Verghese, *K. E. Abraham*, p. 15.

Miracles of healing and exorcism were manifested in his ministry. This opened the door widely for Manasseh to move to different places in the southern districts of Trivandrum. The nucleus of the first AG church was formed in Konniyoor in 1922 when Manasseh's brother David and his family were baptized in water. God used Manasseh to sow the seed of the gospel and spread the Pentecostal truths to Melpuram, Kaliyikavila, Marthandom, Kulachal, and several other places. When Mary Chapman moved to Trivandrum, Manasseh was the leading worker in that area. They worked closely together in South Travancore. From 1922 to 1938 Manasseh was the pastor of the Melpuram church. He died in 1938. Still the seeds that he scattered resulted in the establishment of many churches in the Trivandrum-Kanyakumari area. The area where Manasseh labored most is now called the Southern District of the South India AG. Presently this district has over 250 churches and preaching points as well as a well-established Bible college called Southern Bible College.⁴⁹

Another servant that God chose to build up the AG work in Travancore was A. C. Samuel. His parents were members of the Brethren Church. They prayed for a long time to have a son and vowed to God that if he would give them a son, they would dedicate him for the Lord's work. Samuel was born in 1900 as an answer to their prayer. His parents brought him up in the fear of God from his early childhood. One of his childhood experiences is worth mentioning here. As usual his mother told him the story of Jesus who did not have a place to "lay his head" (Luke 9:58) to put little Samuel to sleep. Later in the night his mother was surprised to see him lying awake on the floor in the corner of the room away from his mat and pillow. When his mother asked him why he was not sleeping on his mat, he answered, "No one gave Jesus a place to rest. Let Jesus take my mat and pillow. I will sleep on the floor."⁵⁰ His godly mother used the opportunity to tell Samuel that Jesus does not need our mats, but he wants to live in human hearts. Samuel was only six years old at that time.

The above incident is indicative of Samuel's tender heart and openness to God. In 1914 he was saved and three years later he dedicated himself to the ministry. For a while he was actively involved in the youth wing of the Brethren Church in Travancore known as Youngmen's Brethren Christian Association. This gave him an opportunity to be a witness for the Lord in his native place and other places. When George

⁴⁹ L. Sam, "A.G. Charitra Rekhakal," in *SIAG Malayalam District Council Souvenir*, pp. 21-33 (23).

⁵⁰ Sam, *Pastor A. C. Samuel*, p. 25.

Cook started his work in central Travancore, young Samuel was attracted to the Pentecostal faith. In 1924 when William Faux came to Travancore as the Foreign Missions Department's representative to conduct special meetings in Travancore, Samuel received the baptism in the Spirit in one of those meetings.⁵¹ Soon he started working with Cook in several places in Central Travancore, along with his close friends K. C. Oommen and K. E. Abraham. This resulted in the establishment of several Pentecostal churches in central Travancore. From 1927 he pastored a church at Anjilithanam. Most of the members of this church were from backward communities, but Samuel, a Syrian Christian, loved his flock dearly and identified with them in their poverty and suffering. A baptismal service that Samuel conducted in 1929 at Anjilithanam was memorable. After the baptismal service Samuel preached to the crowd that had gathered to see the Pentecostals' baptism. After his message he asked those spectators, "If any of you would like to be baptized also, please come forward." Two Syrian Christians, Varghese and Kurien, came forward and in spite of the opposition from the crowd, they were baptized by Samuel in the same pond. Following this, many Syrian Christians of that locality accepted the Pentecostal truths.⁵²

When Robert Cook founded the Zion Bible School at Mulakuzha in 1928, Samuel joined that school and completed his training there, thereby becoming one of the first alumni of Zion. Samuel continued to work in central Travancore and became successful in establishing several churches in that area.

Feeling the "Macedonian call" in his spirit, Samuel moved to Trivandrum in 1932 to preach and plant churches in southern Travancore. The miraculous healing, that came to a Hindu named Kunjuraman when Samuel prayed for him, opened the door for the ministry widely. Kunjuraman changed his name to Paul and later became an AG evangelist. Many Hindus were attracted to the gospel through the miracles that happened in the ministry of Samuel. This paved the way for the starting of several churches in the Trivandrum area. Bethel Assembly at Nalanchira was the first AG church constructed in the Trivandrum area.

Pastor Samuel's contact with the AG began when he met Martha M. Kucera, the AG missionary to the Trivandrum area. Miss Kucera came to India in 1928 and had been working in Trivandrum and nearby places before Samuel came to Trivandrum. Their initial contact led to Samuel's

⁵¹ Sam, *Pastor A. C. Samuel*, p. 12.

⁵² Saju, *Kerala Pentekostu Charithram*, p. 88.

becoming an AG minister.⁵³ Their joint efforts resulted in the formation of many churches.

Pastor Samuel could be described as the "first man" in relation to the AG work in South India. He was the first Indian to be ordained by the AG leadership as he was ordained in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1935. He was also the first General Superintendent of the Malayalam District (1947), the first Indian to go to USA to represent the AG churches in India (accompanied by pastor C. Kunjummen, the District Secretary), the first Indian to be elected as the Assistant Superintendent of the South India AG (SIAG) (1947), and the first national superintendent of the SIAG (1957). He also held several other positions. But it was not "success and honor" all the way. Numerous were the sacrifices he had to make and afflictions and shame he had to endure for the cause of the ministry. Samuel finished his race in 1970 when the Lord took him to his heavenly abode.

Pastor Samuel was a man of character and integrity. He was a compassionate shepherd, a gifted leader, a "Barnabas" who encouraged many young ministers, a good organizer, and a man of God who was loved and respected by both nationals and western missionaries. Paying tribute to pastor Samuel, Ernest Sorbo, AG missionary who labored with him for many years in Trivandrum spoke, "There came a man sent by God, and his name was Samuel."⁵⁴

The history of the AG in South India is the history of the dedication, toil, and sacrifices of many notable servants of God. George Berg, Robert Cook, Mary Chapman, Martha Kucera, C. Manasseh, A. J. John, John Burgess, and A. C. Samuel are but a few examples of the many who obeyed the heavenly calling and did their utmost for the growth of God's kingdom in this part of the world.

IV. Some Observations

It may be appropriate to conclude this article with a few observations and comments. An analysis of the impact and growth of Pentecostalism in Travancore shows that several factors contributed to the rapid spread of the Pentecostal truths in Travancore. In the writer's opinion, the following factors were crucial.

⁵³ Sam, *Pastor A. C. Samuel*, p. 25.

⁵⁴ Sam, *Pastor A. C. Samuel*, p. 73.

1. The Presence of the Miraculous

The ministry of the pioneers, both western missionaries and nationals, was accompanied by many miracles of healing and exorcism. This was quite evident in the ministry of Robert Cook, Mary Chapman, A. C. Samuel, and many other Pentecostal pioneers. Healing often opened the door widely to establish churches. In a report sent to the United States in 1914, after completing a preaching tour of a southern District, Robert Cook wrote, "Devils were cast out, sick were healed. Many came out of darkness, forsaking their idols to worship the living God. I baptized 22 believers in water."⁵⁵ This was typical of what happened in many places.

2. The Priority of the Word

The word of God was given prominence by the Pentecostals. The Bible was read in the homes and in the churches and carried by believers to the meeting places, in contrast to the "mainline" churches that followed a liturgy and did not make use of the Bible. In the earlier days of Pentecostalism in Travancore, a Pentecostal believer could be easily identified by the "black book" (because of the black leather binding) he or she carried. Believers often carried banners with scripture verses as they marched through the streets. The word of God was proclaimed loudly at convention places, house meetings, and even at baptismal ponds. Truly the Bible was regarded as the norm for faith and conduct.

3. The Solidarity of the Believers

What was true of the apostolic church that "all the believers were one in heart and mind" (Acts 4:32) was also true of the first Pentecostal believers of Malankara. Their cottage meetings, "monthly" fellowship meetings, and conventions were good examples of their solidarity. The modern means of transportation was not available then and people had to walk for miles to reach the monthly meeting places or convention places. The desire to meet and fellowship with their fellow believers was so great that they did not mind walking ten or fifteen miles to reach the meeting places. Their fellowship was also expressed in their sharing of goods with the less fortunate believers.

⁵⁵ "Robert F. Cook and Wife, South India," *Christian Evangel* (Dec. 12, 1914), p. 4.

4. The Spirit of Missions

Those who came out of the mainline churches of Travancore into the Pentecostal faith were driven by a holy passion to reach out to the unsaved and bring them to God's kingdom. Often when one member of the family was saved and filled with the Spirit, the other members also followed the same path, sooner or later, because of the witness and prayer of the believing community. The believers tried to be witnesses for the Lord in their "Jerusalem" as well as distant places. This motivated the Pentecostals to conduct open air meetings and organize gospel tours to spread the good news of salvation.

5. A Sacrificial Life

The missionaries who came as pioneers in the first quarter of the twentieth century had to sacrifice a great deal—comforts, conveniences, financial security, and several other things. Robert Cook, Mary Chapman, and several others had to live initially in houses made of mud with thatched roof, without electricity, running water, and other basic needs. They traveled in "bullock carts" to go to places with the message of salvation. The story of many of the Travancorian preachers was also not different. K. E. Abraham, A. J. John, and P. V. John left their secular jobs to obey the Lord's call and went through privations and sufferings of various kinds, but all of them suffered joyfully being "constrained by the love of Christ" (cf. 2 Cor 4:14).

6. "Faith Mission"

Nearly all the early missionaries who came to India were "faith missionaries" in that they had no pledge of support from any mission bodies or individuals. They looked to God alone for their support. The missionaries who came to India in the 1910s and 1920s had very little support from their organization. Noel Perkins speaks of the early AG missionaries' hardships, "Pentecostal missionaries went forth to the most remote areas they could reach.... Almost without exception they lacked adequate financial support."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Noel Perkin and John Garlock, *Our World Witness: A Survey of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1963), p. 28.

The situation of the national evangelists and pastors was no different. They lived in "faith homes," the precursor of the parsonage, and lived a "faith life" meaning they trusted in God to supply every need. And God often met their needs through unexpected sources. Both missionaries and national workers could tell many wonderful stories of God's provisions.

7. The Training of Ministers

Ministerial training was a major concern for the AG missionaries from the beginning. This was in accordance with the stated missionary objectives of the general council held at St. Louis in 1921. Training native workers was the means to take the gospel to "neglected areas" and to establish "indigenous churches." The missionary objectives included the statement: "It shall be self-propagating and self-governing native churches."⁵⁷ It was in keeping with this policy that Bethel Bible School was started in 1927. The graduates of this Bible school became evangelists, pastors, and cross-cultural missionaries to other parts of India.

The above are only some of the major causes of the phenomenal growth of Pentecostalism in Travancore. Further, what made Pentecostalism a recognizable force was the power of Pentecost that was poured out upon those who earnestly sought the face of God. The Holy Spirit himself did the work of cleansing, reforming, and building up lives that were broken by sin. Apart from the dynamic operation and ministry of the Holy Spirit, no Pentecostal church would have been established in Travancore, Tamilnadu, or any other part of India. The Spirit of God transformed hundreds of ordinary men and women and used them in an extraordinary manner to fulfill their role as witnesses to proclaim the good news and to plant churches wherever they went in the powerful name of Jesus.

This is the story of the first generation Pentecostals of Travancore. They are dead and gone, but the echoes of their testimony can still be heard. The new generation of Pentecostals will do well to listen to these voices and walk in the paths their fathers walked.

⁵⁷ Perkins & Garlock, *Our World Witness*, p. 42.

A NEW LOOK AT THE PRE-WAR HISTORY OF
THE JAPAN ASSEMBLIES OF GOD

Masakazu Suzuki

1. Introduction

There are two books published on the history of the Japan Assemblies of God (JAG).¹ One was written in commemoration of the thirtieth year of the founding of the group and the other for the fiftieth year. Both books have a rather brief description on the pre-war history. The description of the second book is almost the same as the first book. Reading the books, I had a somewhat unfulfilled feeling because there is something ambiguous in them; it seemed as if something more than just details due to brevity were missing. In reaction, my research started, wishing to gain a bit more clarification of this history. But I was perplexed to find out other significant incidents which actually happened but which are completely excluded from the two history books published by the JAG.

The purpose of this article is to give a brief sketch of the Pentecostal missionaries in order to examine the JAG historiography and then to propose a framework for the pre-war JAG history which could be used as an aid in understanding our future examination of that history.

¹ They are *Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan Rekishi Hensan Inkai, Mitama ni Michibikarete: Soritsu 30 nenshi* [Guided by the Spirit: the 30 Years History since the Founding] (Tokyo: Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan, 1979) and *Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan Kyodanshi Hensan Inkai, Mikotoba ni Tachi, Mitama ni Michibikarete* [Standing on the Word and Guided by the Spirit: The 50 Years History since the Founding] (Tokyo: Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan, 1999).

2. The Problem of the Historiography: Ambiguity and Incoherence

I have stated that I found the two historiographies now available ambiguous and incoherent due in large part to certain areas and people within the history which have been omitted and excluded. As one example of this exclusion, I will examine in detail the two books' handling of pre-war missionaries.

Tadashi Sakurai, a Japanese church historian, wrote *Kyohabetsu Nihon Kirisutokyoshi* [The Christian History of Japan according to Denominations] in 1933 and in his description of Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai, he writes that "in 1911 the Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai started its mission in Japan, before the founding of its mission organization. Mrs. Taylor, a British, started the police evangelization in Kanda."² Sakurai continues that Taylor was followed by Bernauer in 1912 and C. F. Juergensen and his family in 1913. Moreover, Sakurai writes that "this group had been calling themselves Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai but they changed their name to Nihon Seisho Kyokai in 1929."³

The description contained in *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* of 1927 on Nihon Seisho Kyokai supports Sakurai's claim that the first Pentecostal missionary directly associated with this church group was Taylor.⁴

However, any memory of Taylor and Bernauer have been completely forgotten among the JAG circle and only that of the third missionary, that is C. F. Juergensen, remains; the names of these first two missionary families are not even mentioned in the two published history

² Tadashi Sakurai, *Kyohabetsu Nihon Kirisutokyoshi* [The Japan Christian Church History according to the Denominations] (Tokyo: Ryushokaku, 1933), p. 240.

³ Sakurai, *Kyohabetsu Nihon Kirisutokyoshi*, p. 242.

⁴ Nihon Kirisutokyo Renmei Nenkan Iin, ed., *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* [The Christian Yearbook] (1927) (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center, 1994 reprint), p. 33. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* was published from different places before and after the war. Between 1916 and 1925, Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai Domei Nenkan Iin, ed., *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai Domei); for 1926 through 1941, Nihon Kirisutokyo Renmei Nenkan Iin, ed., *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyo Renmei); from 1948 on, Kirisuto Shinbunsha, ed., *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (Tokyo: Kirisuto Shinbunsha). I have used reprint version of *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1916-1941) (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center, 1994).

books. Now the JAG holds the position that its ministry started in Japan with the arrival of C. F. Juergensen and his family in 1913.⁵

The list of the pre-war JAG missionaries to Japan⁶

		Name		A	B	
1	×	Wm. T. Taylor	#	1905-	1911-1922	
	×	Mary Taylor	#	1905-	1911-1935	
2	×	Estella Bernauer			1912-1925	
3	×	Beatrice Bernauer		1913-	1919-1925	
4		C. F. Juergensen, Mr. C. F. Juergensen, Mrs.			1913-1940 1913-1940	Deceased
5	○	Marie Juergensen		1913-	1919-1941	
6		Agnes Juergensen		1913-	1921-1941	
7	×	F. H. Gray, Mr. & Mrs.			1914-1919	
8		B. S. Moore, Mr. & Mrs.			1914-1922	
9	×	Leonard Coote	#	1907-	1918-1921	
10	○	Jessie Wengler			1919-1941	
11		J. W. Juergensen Esther Juergensen			1919-1938 1919-1928	Deceased Deceased
12	×	Ruth Johnson			1919-1923	
13		Alexander Munroe, Mr. & Mrs.	#	1910?	1920-1927	
14		Mae Straub			1921-1932	Deceased
15	×	Nellie Barton,			1924-1927	
16		Anita Bruch Bender	*		1924-1934	
18	×	Harriet Dithridge		1910-	1924-1929	
19		Gordon Bender			1925-1934	
20	×	Mary Rumsey			1927-1930	
21	○	Florence Byers			1927-1941	
22	○	Nettie Grimes Juergensen	*		1927-1941	
23		Norman Barth, Mr. & Mrs.			1927-1941	
24	○	John Clement, Mr. & Mrs.	#		1933-1941	
25	×	Arthur Randall, Mr. & Mrs.	#	1929-	1935-1938	
26	×	H. E. Smith, Mr. & Mrs.	#	1925-	1935-1938	
28	○	Mary Smith	#	1925-	1935-1938	
29	○	David Daivies, Mr. & Mrs.	#		1937-1941	

×: Missionaries not listed in the JAG history books.

○: Missionaries who came back to Japan after the war.

#: Non-American missionaries.

*: Married to another missionary.

⁵ From 1949, when the JAG was founded, the arrival of C. F. Juergensen was stated to be 1907. In 1988, it was finally corrected to the actual year, 1913, *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1988), p. 215.

⁶ This list is made by Masakazu Suzuki, using the information mainly taken from *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1915-1941).

- A: the year of arrival if it differs from the year of Assemblies of God (AG) affiliation
 B: the years of AG affiliation

In addition to this discrepancy, the number of missionaries recorded in the JAG history books and in the accounts of *Japan Christian Yearbook* differs greatly. The JAG history books have the names of only sixteen pre-war missionaries and couples in the list of their missionaries.⁷ However, I find the names of twenty-nine missionaries or missionary couples in the Assemblies of God mission in *Japan Christian Yearbook*.⁸ (Seven of them, all of whom are recorded in the books, came back as Assemblies of God missionaries after the war.)

As we can see in the above chart, twelve missionaries are deleted from the history of the JAG. This discrepancy clearly indicates how much is missing in the JAG history books.

3. The Pentecostal Missionaries to Japan: Three Waves of the Pentecostal Missionaries

The first wave is the arrival of M. L. Ryan and his group, Apostolic Light or Apostolic Faith Movement, from Spokane, Washington in 1907. The second wave is the arrival of independent Pentecostal missionaries after 1910. The third wave is the arrival of the denominational missionaries starting in 1919.

⁷ *Mitama ni Michibikarete*, Appendix: The list of the Assemblies of God Missionaries in Japan. *Mikotoba ni Tachi, Mitama ni Michibikarete*, Appendix: The list of the Assemblies of God Missionaries in Japan.

⁸ *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1915-1940). The Christian yearbook changes its names: *The Christian Movements in its Relation to the New Life in Japan* (Yokohama: Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Mission, 1903-1905); *The Christian Movement in Japan* (Tokyo: Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Missions, 1906-1914); *The Christian Movement in the Japan Empire* (Tokyo: Conference of Federated Missions, 1915-1920); *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea, and Formosa* (Tokyo: Federation of Christian Missions, Japan, 1921-1926); *The Japan Mission Yearbook* (Tokyo: Federation of Christian Missions in Japan, 1927-1931); and *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (Tokyo: Christian Literature Society of Japan, 1932-). In this article I gave the title of *The Japan Christian Yearbook* to represent all of them, and of course include the correct year.

3.1 The First Wave (1907-1909): M. L. Ryan and His Group, the Apostolic Light or the Apostolic Faith Movement

M. L. Ryan directly brought the message of modern Pentecost from Azusa Street, Los Angeles via Oregon and Washington to Japan.⁹ His group, composed of six families, called themselves the Apostolic Light or Apostolic Faith Movement in Japan.¹⁰ They were not supported by any specific organization; rather, their own families were their only means of support.¹¹

Due to the lack of available records, we cannot trace much of their ministry in Japan. They worked mainly in Yokohama and the Tokyo vicinity while they were in Japan, except for one couple, the Coylors, who went up to Sendai in the north.¹² According to *Japan Christian Yearbook* of 1909, only the Ryans remained in Japan from the original Apostolic Light group.¹³ Most of the other members either proceeded on to China or returned to America.¹⁴ In *Japan Christian Yearbook* of 1910, we find that they had one Japanese ordained minister and three Japanese

⁹ M. L. Ryan, "Brother Ryan Receives His Pentecost," *The Apostolic Faith* (November 1906), p. 3; M. L. Ryan, "Miracles in Salem," *The Apostolic Faith* (December 1906), p. 3; M. L. Ryan, "In Spokane," *The Apostolic Faith* (February – March 1907), p. 3; M. L. Ryan, "Pentecost in Spokane, Wash.," *The Apostolic Faith* (April 1907), p. 4. *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles, CA) is compiled in *The Azusa Street Papers* (Foley, AL: Together in the Harvest Publications, 1997). See also no author, "Bound for the Orient," *The Apostolic Light* (August 28, 1907), p. 1; G. B. McGee, "Missions, Overseas (North American)," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), pp. 610-25 (612).

¹⁰ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1908), pp. 447, 499.

¹¹ Cora Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters from Cora (1907-1913)*, comp. Homer Fritsch and Alice Fritsch (n.p.: the compilers, 1987), p. 5.

¹² Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters* (July 13, 1908 letter), p.32; Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters* (August 16, 1908 letter), p. 35.

¹³ *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1909), p. 546. The Ryans are also absent from the Japanese field in *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1910), p. 570.

¹⁴ Daniel Bays, "The Protestant Missionary Establishment and the Pentecostal Movement," in *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, eds. Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant A. Wackered (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 50-67; Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters*, pp. 18-43.

lady evangelists. They also had one 100-member church.¹⁵ However the Ryans also left Japan shortly after this time and we cannot really draw any direct connection between this group and the Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai which later evolved.

3.2 The Second Wave (1910-1918): Independent Lay Missionaries

Independent and lay missionaries came over to Japan, before the official formation of the Pentecostal organizations in their home countries. The Pentecostal denominations claimed to have the origin of their missions in Japan with these independent missionaries.

For example, the General Council of the Assemblies of God states that their first missionary is C. F. Juergensen who came to Japan in 1913.¹⁶ The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada claims to have started their ministry in Japan in 1910, recognizing the work of Munroe who came to Japan in 1910 on business.¹⁷

Once in Japan, these missionaries united together to form the mission called the Assembly of God in Japan by at least 1915.¹⁸ Mr. and William T. Taylor and his wife, Estella Bernauer, C. F. Juergensen, F. H. Gray were the members of this original mission.¹⁹ B. S. Moore, L. W. Coote, Alexander Munroe also joined this group a short time later. (Of these missionaries, only Marie Juergensen—who was actually still a child in the beginning—and Leonard Coote continued their ministry after the war. But only Marie Juergensen was with the General Council.

¹⁵ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1910), pp. 527, 529.

¹⁶ Raymond T. Brock, "Assemblies of God Foreign Missions Department," *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions: The Agencies*, ed. Burton L. Goddard (Camden, NJ: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1967), pp. 42-50 (49).

¹⁷ J. W. Skinner, "The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada," *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions: The Agencies*, pp. 526-27 (527); Gloria Grace Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Toronto: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958), p. 327. I have not been able to find any clear proof that the Munroes came to Japan in 1910 and worked as lay missionaries.

¹⁸ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1915), p. 601. Note that it is the singular "Assembly" not the plural "Assemblies." This name did not change until 1935, when the name was changed to the "Assemblies of God" and, at the same time, the distinction of the country was added, such as the Assemblies of God-USA and the Assemblies of God-Canada.

¹⁹ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1916), p. xcvi.

Leonard Coote had started a new group, the Japan Apostolic Church, long before. In addition, Mary Taylor came back to Japan to join the Japan Apostolic Church by 1950.)

There were other missionaries who had some contact with this Assembly of God mission, such as R. Atchison,²⁰ Yoshio Tanimoto,²¹ Margaret Piper,²² Herman Newmark,²³ Gussie Booth,²⁴ and Dorothy M.

²⁰ Atchison's name is the first missionary to appear in both Robert Atchison, "Village Work in Japan," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (March 1911), pp. 11-12 and Robert Atchison, "Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (July 18, 1914), p. 4. In that sense he was the first missionary in Japan who had contact with the Pentecostals in America. However, being mentioned in those magazines does not necessarily mean that he himself was a Pentecostal missionary. I am hesitant to conclude that he was a Pentecostal when I read the articles by him or about him. I cannot find any account in which he stresses the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. When he came to Japan, at first he was in the Kanto area and probably in 1910 he moved to Osaka. He called his ministry, the "Japan Interior Mission" or "Japan Independent Mission" and issued a missionary paper titled "The Lord's Vineyard in the Sunrise Kingdom." He visited villages and preached the gospel, distributing papers, tracts and testaments in Japan. See Robert Atchison, "Village Work in Japan," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (July 1911), p. 15; Robert Atchison, "Mighty Call to Prayer (Japan Independent Mission)," *The Weekly Evangel* (September 16, 1916), p. 13; Robert Atchison, "Saved to Serve" [a prayer card with information on Japan Interior Mission on back] (Osaka: Robert Atchison, n.d.).

²¹ He became a Christian and then was filled with the Holy Spirit. He decided to go back to Japan as a missionary. See Zella H. Reynolds and J. Roswell Flower, "The Power of Pentecost in Indianapolis," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (May 1910), pp. 22-23 (23). After a few years in Japan as an unsuccessful missionary, he decided to go back to America. See Yoshio Tanimoto, "Tanna, Akigun, Hiroshima, Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (July 18, 1914), p. 4. His name is in the list of the missionaries of the Pentecostal Assembly of the world. James L. Tyson, *The Early Pentecostal Revival: History of Twentieth Century Pentecostals and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World 1901-30*, (Hazelwood: World Aflame, 1992), p. 221.

²² She was in Osaka, busy teaching English in order to support herself. She left her ministry in the hands of Henry Newmark, a Jewish Christian, under the direction of Mr. Taylor. She married to John Gaines. See B. S. Moore and wife, Margaret F. Piper, F. H. Gray and wife, and C. F. Juergensen, "The Conditions of the Pentecostal Work in Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (October 13, 1917), p. 10; Miss M. F. Piper, "Miss M. F. Piper Writes," *The Weekly Evangel* (May 18, 1918), p. 11; no author, "Two Months' Report," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (March 1921), p. 11.

Mills.²⁵ Their names appear in the Pentecostal magazines. Moreover, Fred Able was a Pentecostal missionary who came to Japan in 1914, but was never affiliated with the group of the General Council; he had a Oneness doctrine.

In order to examine the reason why some missionaries were excluded from the present JAG list, I will give a brief sketch of the neglected missionaries.

3.2.1 Taylor

William and Mary Taylor were originally from Britain and came to Tokyo in 1905 with the Japan Evangelistic Band.²⁶ Around 1911, they landed in Nagasaki as the missionaries of the Pentecostal Missionary Union.²⁷ The Taylors started a ministry called “the Door of Hope” in

²³ Piper, “Miss M. F. Piper Writes,” p. 11. He is a Jewish man from England and became a Christian in Japan. He was in Kobe, with Thornton, Taylor and Coote, when he became a believer and filled with the Holy Spirit. L. W. Coote, *Twenty Years in Japan* (Nara: Japan Apostolic Mission, 1933), pp. 34, 40-41. He worked closely with these missionaries. Taylor, “Kobe, Japan,” *The Christian Evangel* (September 7, 1918), p. 3; Herman Newmark, “From Infidelity to Christianity Thro’ Reading the Word: A Jew’s Conversion and Call to Ministry,” *The Latter Rain Evangel* (May 1919), pp. 2-6. Later he worked for the ministry among Jewish people.

²⁴ “Two Months’ Report,” *The Latter Rain Evangel* (July 1923), p. 12; “Two Months’ Report,” *The Latter Rain Evangel* (September 1923), p. 12. The reports on her financial support are shown.

²⁵ “Distribution of Missionary Contributions,” *Pentecostal Evangel* (April 29, 1922), p. 21. Her name is on the list of the missionaries to whom the support was sent.

²⁶ Mrs. W. J. Taylor, “The Open Door in the Sunrise Kingdom: Breaking the Shackles of the Enslaved,” *The Latter Rain Evangel* (May 1921), pp. 4-6.

²⁷ Cora Fritsch, who is one of the members of Ryan’s Apostolic Light, later went to China and became Mrs. Falkner. She helped the Taylor’s ministry in Tokyo and acted as a baby-sitter for their two children, Hudson and Esther. Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters* (January 27, 1908 letter), p. 27. She witnessed about the Pentecostal faith to Mrs. Taylor. Miss Fritsch writes how Mrs. Taylor was “so earnestly seeking her Pentecost.” Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters* (April, 27, 1908 letter), p. 28. Cora Fritsch tried to help Mrs. Taylor’s burden, “so she will have more time to pray and tarry for Pentecost. I may in some way be able to make it easier for her to get Pentecost.” Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters* (April, 27, 1908 letter), p. 28. Mrs. Taylor got physically weak and went back to England to recover her health and seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Mr. Taylor received

Kobe, which was a mission center for poor, fallen girls and for the outcast.²⁸ In addition to this work in Kobe, they also had a ministry in Okayama, training these girls for evangelistic work.²⁹

Their Bible woman, Nikki, received the baptism of the Holy Spirit when she was baptized in water,³⁰ sometime before 1914.³¹ She might be one of the first Japanese who had this experience.

The Taylors formed their own mission, also called “Door of Hope” in 1921. But in 1921 and 1922 Mrs. Taylor was in America and after coming back to Japan, they were mostly in the fellowship of the Assemblies of God missionaries until the late 1930s.

They had many people coming to help their ministry from England or America, such as Esther Keene, Nettie Barton, and Mae Straub.³² It seems, however, that they were unconcerned about theological differences, as illustrated by their continued close relationship with Leonard Coote. During the war, Mrs. Taylor was in America and worked among the Japanese in relocation camps.³³ After the war, instead of joining the JAG, she decided to join the Japan Apostolic Church.³⁴

3.2.2 Bernauer

Estella Bernauer was saved in 1898 and received a burden for the heathen, listening to a sermon by Anna Proser.³⁵ In 1910, Yoshio

the Holy Spirit in Holland. W. J. Taylor, “The Open Door in the Sunrise Kingdom,” pp. 4-6.

²⁸ The picture and the information of The Door of Hope is reported in *The Weekly Evangel* (April 14, 1917), p. 9; Wm. J. Taylor, “Missionary Notes,” *The Weekly Evangel* (April 14, 1917), p. 20.

²⁹ Mildred Edwards, “Co-laborers with Him: A Glimpse of Pentecost in Japan,” *The Christian Evangel* (May 3, 1919), pp. 8-9.

³⁰ W. J. Taylor, “Gleaning in the Harvest Fields of Japan,” *The Weekly Evangel* (May 26, 1917), pp. 2-3.

³¹ B. S. Moore, “Japan,” *The Christian Evangel* (January 9, 1915), p. 4.

³² Nellie Barton, Esther Keene, Mae Straub are some of those who came to join the ministry of the Taylors. Miss Keene married Leonard Coote. Coote, *Twenty Years in Japan*, p. 83.

³³ Harriett Lewis Dithridge, *Fifty Years in Japan: An Autobiography* (Tokyo: author, n.d.), pp. 320, 329.

³⁴ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1950), p. 206.

³⁵ Estella Bernauer, “A Call to Japan,” *The Latter Rain Evangel* (April 1913), pp. 7-11.

Tanimoto came to the city where she was living at that time. After Bernauer witnessed him receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit, she felt that she was called to Japan.³⁶ She left for Japan, leaving her little daughter with her mother in America, and landed in Yokohama in April of 1912. Her mission home in Tokyo was called the Apostolic Mission.³⁷ Bernauer ministered to college students and poor people.³⁸ They often had financial problems.³⁹ Her daughter, Beatrice, who joined her mother later, helped as an interpreter when she grew up.⁴⁰

Later Bernauer had a Japanese worker named Ichitaro Tanigawa.⁴¹ He was baptized by the Holy Spirit in December 1914 and ordained in December 1915.⁴² He was among the first people to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit in Japan. Moreover, he was one of the first Pentecostal Japanese ordained pastors.

Estella Bernauer's activities and her relationship with the Assembly of God are complicated. She seems to have left the group around 1919 but then reentered at least during 1924 and 1925. She also appears to be one of the missionaries of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World,⁴³ the Oneness group, although she denied belief in this theology in 1916.⁴⁴ Moreover, she and Beatrice seem to have been more or less independent during some years.

³⁶ Bernauer, "A Call to Japan," pp. 7-11.

³⁷ B. S. Moore, "B. S. Moore in Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (August 1, 1914), p. 3.

³⁸ Beatrice Bernauer, "Teaches a Sunday School Class in Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (June 12, 1915), p. 4.

³⁹ Estella A. Bernauer, "Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (August 21, 1915), p. 2; Estelle A. Bernauer, "Testing and Victory in Japan: The Lord Comes to the Rescue in Time of Need," *The Weekly Evangel* (June 17, 1916), p. 5.

⁴⁰ Beatrice Bernauer, "A Little Missionary in Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (March 27, 1915), p. 4.

⁴¹ Moore, "B. S. Moore in Japan," p. 3.

⁴² Sister Bernauer, "Good News from Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (February 19, 1916), p. 12.

⁴³ Tyson, *The Early Pentecostal Revival*, p. 221. Tyson wrote that Bernauer was one of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World missionaries prior to 1918. The description says "Estella Bernauer, Tokyo, Japan, 1914."

⁴⁴ Estella Bernauer, "Line from Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (November 4, 1916), p. 13.

3.2.3 Gray

F. H. Gray and his wife came to Yokohama in 1914 and after language study headed to Koga, Tochigi.⁴⁵ They worked among the women silk factory workers, starting a mission in this town.⁴⁶ While another missionary couple, the Moores, were on furlough in 1918, they took care of this missionary's mission in Yokohama. The Grays had a difficult time taking care of the two missions, their own mission in Koga and the Moores' in Yokohama.⁴⁷ Around that time, Leonard Coote came to Yokohama and was a great help to the Grays with the mission there.⁴⁸ In 1919, the following year, however, Mrs. Gray's illness obliged them to go back to America. This time they left their ministry at both missions in the hands of Coote.⁴⁹

While in Japan, the Grays were part of the Assembly of God mission. However, Gray's name also appears in the 1919 and 1920 ministerial records of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.⁵⁰ Moreover, in 1937, he was back in Japan with Coote's Oneness group, the Japan Apostolic Mission.⁵¹

3.2.4 Coote

Leonard Coote was a businessman from England. He came to Japan in 1913 and worked for four years at a soap company. He became a born-again Christian and received the baptism of the Holy Spirit in 1917.⁵² Coote had decided to go to Africa, but was forced to stay in Japan

⁴⁵ Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Gray, "Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (October 23, 1915), p. 4.

⁴⁶ B. S. Moore and wife, Margaret F. Piper, F. H. Gray and wife, and C. F. Juergensen, "The Conditions of the Pentecostal Work in Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (October 13, 1917), p. 10.

⁴⁷ Bro. and Sister Gray, "Yokohama, Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (January 11, 1919), p. 10.

⁴⁸ Sister Gray's report is in "Towards the Interior," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (December 1918), pp. 13-14.

⁴⁹ L. A. Coote, "Yokohama, Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (June 28, 1919), p. 11; "To the Regions Beyond," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (June 1919), pp. 14-15 (15).

⁵⁰ Tyson, *The Early Pentecostal Revival*, p. 305.

⁵¹ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1937), p. 446.

⁵² L. W. Coote, "Called to Be a Fisher of Men: The Testimony of an English Businessman in Japan," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (July 1919), pp. 22-24.

because of W.W.I. He came to Yokohama and helped Gray as well as other Pentecostal missionaries in Tokyo, such as Bernauer and C. F. Juergensen.

The reports show that Coote was a dynamic preacher and had a strong anointing of the Holy Spirit.⁵³ He had several special meetings for Gray, Juergensen, and other Pentecostal missionaries. After those meetings we find a number of people received the baptism of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁴ Coote was the main vessel for the pouring of the baptism of the Holy Spirit among the Assemblies of God during this period of time.⁵⁵

However, at some point, his theology began to change and he adopted an Oneness belief. After marrying Miss Keene, who had come to help the work of the Taylors in Kobe, Coote's Oneness theology had solidified, causing him to step out of the fellowship of Trinitarian missionaries by 1920.⁵⁶

After this separation, in the early 1920s, Coote had a series of tent meetings in Yokohama. The ministry had a great impact but received

⁵³ Coote, "Yokohama, Japan," p. 11.

⁵⁴ Reports of healing were received from the Pentecostal missionaries in Japan during their early stages of the work. However, the actual experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit was rare. Before 1919 there were a number of converts and water baptisms, however, God used Coote in a special way for the pouring of the Holy Spirit. See J. H. Gray, "Yokohama, Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (March 8, 1919), p. 11; B. S. Moore and Wife, "Good News from Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (March 22, 1919), p.10; Leonard W. Coote, "A Good Report from Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (April 19, 1919), p. 10; Coote, "Yokohama, Japan," p. 11; B. S. Moore and Wife, "Signs Follow the Gospel in Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (July 26, 1919), pp. 8-9; Sister Marie Juergensen, "Missionary Notes," *The Christian Evangel* (September 6, 1919), p.10. S. H. F., "The Seventh General Council Meeting," *The Christian Evangel* (October 18, 1919), pp. 2-4 (2) reports, "During the past year there had a blessed Pentecostal revival in Japan." C. F. Juergensen and his family reported in 1919, that 80 people received the baptism of the Spirit. C. F. Juergensen and Family, "Pentecost in Japan," *Pentecostal Evangel* (April 3, 1920), p. 9.

⁵⁵ Gray reported from Yokohama saying, "Pentecost has begun to fall," and "God has used our dear Brother Coote in a very precious way, and we trust you will pray for him and for us." Nine were baptized in the Holy Spirit and three of them were their interpreters. Brother and Sister Gray, "Latter Rain in Japan," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (March 1919), p.14.

⁵⁶ Coote, *Twenty Years in Japan*, p. 83 states, "Correspondence had passed between us regarding doctrinal points surrounding Acts 2.4, and Acts 2.38."

scandalous treatment from the newspapers.⁵⁷ After the great earthquake of 1923 destroyed the city of Yokohama, he decided to move to Osaka, bringing his remaining flock. In 1929, he opened a Bible Training School in Ikoma, Nara and remained working there until the outbreak of the World War II. In 1929, he formed the Japan Apostolic Church mission. Having returned to the U.S. for the years during the war, he came back to Japan in 1950 and re-started the work in Ikoma.

3.3 The Third Wave (1919-1941): The Denominational Pentecostal Missionaries

The General Council missionaries such as J. W. Juergensen, Jessie Wengler, and Ruth Johnson arrived in 1919.

The first move of these newly arriving missionaries was to found the district of Japan of the General Council. This led to the forming of the Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai, a Pentecostal church holding a clear Trinitarian theology. After the forming of this denominational group, the Pentecostal mission shifted from being a loose fellowship of missionaries to a more narrowly defined denominational group.

3.3.1 Johnson

Ruth Johnson came to Japan sometime before 1919, and later she became a friend and roommate of Jessie Wengler, one of the General Council missionaries who came to Japan in 1919. Johnson and Wengler lived next to the Moore's.⁵⁸ Johnson was one of the original members who formed the district council of Japan.⁵⁹ She went back to USA with the Moores for a furlough in 1921, but on account of her planned marriage she failed to come back to Japan.⁶⁰

3.3.2 Barton

Nellie Barton from Peckville, Pennsylvania was in Japan from 1924 to 1927. She helped the work of Straub. Straub was the General Council missionary who came to assist the work of the Taylors; the Taylors

⁵⁷ Coote, *Twenty Years in Japan*, ch. 13 (pp. 109-122).

⁵⁸ Jessie Wengler, *Letters from Japan* (Pasadena, CA: author, 1951?), pp. 5, 9.

⁵⁹ She is included in the picture with the heading, "Pentecostal missionaries who recently formed the District Council of Japan," *Pentecostal Evangel* (November 13, 1920), p. 9.

⁶⁰ Wengler, *Letters from Japan*, pp. 13-14.

appointed her head of the Children's Home in Kobe. But due to poor health, Barton returned to America.⁶¹

3.3.3 Dithridge

Harriett Dithridge, originally a Baptist missionary, arrived in Japan in 1910. After having returned to the U.S., she became Pentecostal and in 1924 she came back to Japan as a General Council missionary. She started a Bible training school for Japanese women which was considered one of the General Council schools. However, over the issue of the founding of a co-ed Bible Training School, she was asked to close her school; feeling unable to close the school, she instead resigned from the Assemblies of God, became an independent missionary, and continued her ministry in Japan.⁶² She stayed in Japan even after the breaking out of the war. After being sent to a relocation camp within Japan in 1942 and being held there for a year, she was sent back to America. For the remainder of the war she worked among the people in Japanese relocation camps in the western United States. She returned to Japan after the war.⁶³

3.3.4 Rumsey

Mary Rumsey was in Japan from 1927 to 1930.⁶⁴ She was in Japan helping the ministry of Dithridge and learning Japanese, before going to Korea.⁶⁵ She started a pioneering work for the Pentecostal movement in Korea.⁶⁶

3.3.5 Smith

H. E. Smith, his wife and daughter Marie from Australia were in the Pentecostal Bands of the World, Coote's group in Japan. They were

⁶¹ The letter of Mrs. Gordon Bender to Donnel McLean (June 29, 1978).

⁶² Dithridge, *Fifty Years in Japan*, pp. 212-13.

⁶³ Dithridge, *Fifty Years in Japan*, p. 213.

⁶⁴ She was in the picture of the Japan district meeting, G. R. Bender, "The Japan District Annual Conference," *Pentecostal Evangel* (December 8, 1928), p. 10.

⁶⁵ Dithridge, *Fifty Years in Japan*, p. 187. Dithridge claims Rumsey went to Korea in 1930.

⁶⁶ Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), p. 139. Synan writes she was in Korea in the spring of 1928. However, she was at the annual conference with the missionaries during the summer of 1928. The record of Dithridge stating Rumsey went to Korea in 1930 might be more accurate.

stationed in Kyoto from 1926 to 1927. However, they were classified as Assemblies of God, Australia from 1936-1938. Marie came back to Japan after the war in 1960. As a result, only Marie but not her parents is counted as one of the pre-war Assemblies of God missionaries in Japan.

3.3.6 Randall

Arthur E. Randall from Canada stayed at Ikoma where Coote's Bible training school was and he was with Coote's group, the Japan Apostolic Church, from 1924 to 1934. Even while he was staying at Ikoma, *Japan Christian Yearbook* classified him as a missionary of the Assemblies of God-Canada.⁶⁷ Minor details, such as his attendance at the wedding of John Clement show his association with other Assemblies of God missionaries. Nevertheless, his name does not appear in the book of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, and considering his association with Coote and the work in Ikoma, it is difficult to understand the reason why he was classified by *Japan Christian Yearbook* as one of the Assemblies of God-Canada missionaries.⁶⁸

On the other hand, his participation in Coote's mission in Japan is not that unlike the activities of Marie Smith. That she would be counted as one of the General Council missionaries and that he would not seems inconsistent.

4. From the Loose Fellowship to Denominations

4.1 Loose Fellowship

We have seen that at least some of the early missionaries had united together to form the mission called the Assembly of God. We find some evidence of other contacts between missionaries. For example, in 1917 some Pentecostal missionaries came together for a meeting in Gotemba.⁶⁹ They were B. S. Moore and his wife (Yokohama), F. H. Gray and his wife (Tokyo), C. F. Juergensen (Tokyo), and Margaret Piper (Osaka).

⁶⁷ "Japan Apostolic Mission:- Randall, Mr. A. E., & W., Ikoma P. O." *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1934), p. 359. "Assemblies of God-Canada: Randall, Mr. Arthur E. & W. Ikoma, Naraken." *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1935), p. 442.

⁶⁸ *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1934), p. 359 and (1935), p. 442.

⁶⁹ B. S. Moore and wife, Margaret F. Piper, F. H. Gray and wife, and C. F. Juergensen, "The Conditions of the Pentecostal Work in Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (October 13, 1917), pp. 10, 22, 36.

This was a loose fellowship of the Pentecostal missionaries but it is difficult to call it an attempt to form a group. During this early period the Pentecostal missionaries knew what other Pentecostal missionaries were in Japan generally, but they worked more or less independently. Moreover, even though they were all Pentecostals, their theological views varied greatly.⁷⁰

4.2 Denominational Growth

This loose fellowship split into two main groups at the founding of the district council of Japan of the Assemblies of God in 1920.⁷¹ These were twelve missionaries present in the district meeting: Alex Munroe and his wife, C. F. Juergensen and his wife, Agnes and Marie Juergensen, J. W. Juergensen and his wife, B. S. Moore and his wife, Jessie Wengler, and Ruth Johnson.⁷² In the list of the Assembly of God missionaries in *Japan Christian Yearbook* of 1919, Beatrice Bernauer, Estella Bernauer, Coote, Frank H. Gray and his wife, and William Taylor and his wife were now missing from this new group.⁷³ The seven new names were all third wave missionaries with a sure Trinitarian doctrine.⁷⁴

This implies that with the arrival of the General Council missionaries and the founding of the Japan district, the loose Pentecostal missionary organization, which had existed up to this point, was broken up. Most of the members of the original group who did not join the district council of

⁷⁰ Coote, *Twenty Years in Japan*, pp. 80-81. Coote states that their theological views were not the same and needed to be discussed. "I was asked once when starting special meetings what I believed. I was rather taken aback. I had been under the impression that all Spirit filled people believed alike, but soon found out that this was not so. Some believed in three distinct works of grace; others in but two, and again there were some who believed in just one. I was asked how many I believed in. Facing the question suddenly I had to reply, "I do not know."

⁷¹ J. Roswell Flower, "Report of Missionary Treasurer for Year Ending Sept. 1, '20," *Pentecostal Evangel* (October 16, 1920), pp. 8-10 (8) notes, "Furthermore, district councils have been formed on several fields, such as India, Egypt, Japan and Liberia, and we find a greater spirit of co-operation developing among the missionaries."

⁷² The picture of Pentecostal missionaries who recently formed the District Council of Japan appears in *Pentecostal Evangel* (November 13, 1920), p. 9.

⁷³ *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1919), p. xxxvi.

⁷⁴ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1921), p. ci.

Japan of the General Council of the Assemblies of God most likely disagreed with this new group over their sure Trinitarian doctrine.

5. New Issue

We know the New Issue was the point dividing the missionaries in Japan around 1920; this is a few years later than a similar conflict in America.⁷⁵ Here and there we find mention of this subject in the reports of the missionaries in Japan. Moore often sites his orthodox theology.⁷⁶ He even emphasizes his stance, writing that when he gave a baptism service, he did it “in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.”⁷⁷ Estella Bernauer wrote to Pentecostal Assembly as following:

Please allow me to thank you again for the precious papers, which are real blessing to my soul, and also to state right here that of all the new and strange doctrines being head forth I have not accepted any. The precious Word reads just the same to me as it did five years ago⁷⁸

Choosing this Oneness doctrine, Coote joined the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, the Oneness group, in Japan in 1920.⁷⁹ Thus

⁷⁵ Gary B. McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached: A History and Theology of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions to 1959* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1986), p. 89.

⁷⁶ Brother B. S. Moore, “The Regions Beyond,” *Pentecostal Evangel* (July 27, 1918), p. 10 declares, “We stand for a clean and holy gospel free from all strange issues, and we are not connected with the New Issue.” In the same way, B. S. Moore and Wife, “Returning to Japan,” *The Christian Evangel* (June 14, 1919), p. 10 states, “We hereby make a plain statement. We are not, and never were, connected with the so-called New Issue.

⁷⁷ B. S. Moore, “(no title),” *The Latter Rain Evangel* (September 1923), p. 18.

⁷⁸ Estella A. Bernauer, “A Line from Japan,” *The Weekly Evangel* (November 4, 1916), p. 13.

⁷⁹ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1921), p. v. After leaving the Assembly of God mission, Coote changed his mission affiliation to the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. Coote’s group changed its name in 1926 to Pentecostal Band, and in 1927 they joined the Pentecostal Bands of the World. In 1929, he started the Japan Apostolic Mission, and in 1939 the name was changed to Japan Apostolic church. *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1921-1939). There are two streams of the Oneness group in Japan. Fred Abel led one and Leonard Coote led the other. Fred Abel, who came to Yokohama in 1914, was one of the first Pentecostal missionaries to Japan. He moved to Fukaya, Saitama in 1916 and came to Tokyo

the two major Pentecostal denominational groups, which have existed since then, had been formed. In 1927 there were ten missionaries on the list of Assembly of God.⁸⁰ *Japan Christian Yearbook* of 1927 has a list of eight missionaries for the Pentecostal Bands of the World in Japan.⁸¹ We thus find two strong rivaling missionary forces.

On the whole, the old friendships were cut and the General Council Missionaries did not keep fellowship with the Oneness group after 1920, though there were some exceptions. The Taylors remained in the Assembly of God, although they continued their close relationship with Coote. Mary Taylor suggested to Dithridge to have Coote for some special meetings.⁸² The words of Dithridge reveal the situation of the Pentecostal missionaries in 1924. She writes:

At that time I did not know there were various groups of Pentecostal people believing on certain points differently. However, if a person was Pentecostal, he was all right in my eyes. So that fall when I returned to Hachioji I sent for Brother Coote to come to hold a series of special meetings in our little place.

In this way, Dithridge, even while she was Assembly of God, also kept her friendship with Coote. After she became independent in 1929, she appears in Coote's group here and there. Moreover, Mary Taylor joined the Japan Apostolic Church rather than General Council after the war.

in 1921. He was in the Pentecostal Bands of the World in 1917, but he did not have many partners until the group of the missionaries who were with Coote joined him in 1927. But instead of remaining with this group, he became affiliated with the Missionary Bands of the World from 1928 until at least 1938. Among the Oneness missionaries, Coote was among those who came back after the war in 1950 to reestablish Japan Apostolic Church, Nihon Pentekosute Kyodan in Ikoma.

⁸⁰ Nellie Barton, Gordon Bender and his wife, Harriet Dithridge, Agnes Juergensen, Marie Juergensen, J. W. Juergensen and his wife, Alex Munroe and his wife, Mae Straub, and Jessie Wengler: *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1927), p. 447.

⁸¹ Leonard Coote and his wife, Robert Fleming and his wife, Miss Emma Fuselier, Miss Mona Jackson, Miss Vera Jackson, Mr. Theodore Johnson, Herbert Smith and his wife, Miss Marie Smith. *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1927), p. 455.

⁸² Dithridge, *Fifty Years in Japan*, p. 137.

A few other missionaries blurred the clear distinctions that had formed between the two groups. For example, Emma Gale, who came to Japan from England, was in the Pentecostal Bands with Coote from 1926 to 1927.⁸³ But for most of her stay in Japan she was an independent missionary. However, she was so close to the Assemblies of God that she has been treated as a part of Assemblies of God in the JAG historiography. Other examples include H. E. Smith from Australia and Arthur Randall from Canada, both of whom had been with Coote previously, but who were later considered Assemblies of God missionaries from their respective countries.

6. Who Was Deleted from the History and Why?

At the beginning of this article, I showed that twelve missionaries were deleted or omitted from the list of the missionaries of the Assemblies of God in Japan. None of them had come back to Japan as General Council missionaries after the war. I think there are four reasons for their omission.

6.1 Because They Had a Different Theological View.

Coote, Gray, and Estella and Beatrice Bernauer adopted the Oneness doctrine.

6.2 Because They Were Not Close to the People Who Formed Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo.

The Taylors, who had their ministry at the Door of Hope in Kobe, were physically distant from these people and did not maintain close relationships with them. On the other hand, they were both physically close to as well as on good terms with Coote. And, significantly, although they maintained a long AG affiliation before the war, after the war, Mary Taylor decided to join Coote's group.

6.3 Because They Did Not Stay Long Enough to Be Remembered.

Harriett Dithridge, Ruth Johnson, Nettie Barton and Mary Rumsey were Assemblies of God missionaries for only a few years.

⁸³ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1926), p. 484; (1927), p. 393.

6.4 Because They Were Not the General Council Missionaries.

These are Arthur Randall of Canada and H. E. Smith of Australia. They did not come back after the war. Their terms as Assemblies of God missionaries were also very short.

7. The Organization and Structure of the Japanese Church

Having recognized the deletion of certain missionaries from the historical record, I would next like to propose a framework for the pre-war JAG history which could be used as an aid in understanding our future examination of that history.

I suggest that the organization and structure of the Japan Assemblies of God churches went through seven stages of development, with six shifts separating these stages. And three out of six of these shifts were points of conflict or at least of division between the leaders of the group.

As we have seen in our examination of the missionaries, before the forming of the district of Japan of the Assemblies of God in 1920, the Pentecostal fellowship in Japan was a loose one. After the formation of the District of Japan, the Pentekosute Kyokai began to emerge, organized on the specific Trinitarian theology. This is when the first stage began.

7.1 The First Stage (1920?-1929): Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai (Japan Pentecostal Church)⁸⁴

We do not know when the Pentecostal missionaries started to use this name. Each missionary was more or less independent. In the beginning, C. F. Juergensen put up two signs for his church. They were "Full Gospel Chapel" and "Assembly of God Kirisuto Kyokai."⁸⁵ By 1920 his church had another sign saying "Pentecostal Church."⁸⁶

⁸⁴ In 1929 Leonard Coote, formerly a partner of the Assemblies of God, started his new work in the Kansai area, founding another Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai with his Japan Apostolic Mission.

⁸⁵ Marie Juergensen, *Foundation Stones: Carl F. Juergensen, Heroes of the Conquest Series*, No. 11 (Springfield, MO: Foreign Mission Department of Assemblies of God, n.d.), pp. 5, 21.

⁸⁶ Marie Juergensen, *Foundation Stones*, p. 10.

The church organization of Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai was totally under the mission government, the Assembly of God, and there were no native workers in the church government.⁸⁷

They had five major confessional creeds: believing the Bible as the word of God; Believing in regeneration; believing in sanctification; believing in the inner filling of the Holy Spirit; and believing in the Lord's Second Coming. Moreover the Trinitarian theology was the basis of their creed.⁸⁸

The initial year of the Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai was 1911, when the Taylors arrived in Japan.⁸⁹ But the mission body of Assembly of God took the view that its initial year was 1908, which may perhaps have some connection with the arrival of the first Pentecostal missionaries.⁹⁰

7.2 The Second Stage (1929-1937): The Organizing Nihon Seisho Kyokai (Japan Bible Church)

In 1929, a new church government was formed with the missionaries still taking the leadership but with much more involvement by the native workers.⁹¹ The newly formed Nihon Seisho Kyokai is the Japanese Church of the district of Japan of the General Council. The initial year of the mission organization was changed from 1908 to 1914,

⁸⁷ *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1927), p. 33.

⁸⁸ *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1927), p. 33.

⁸⁹ Sakurai, *Kyohabetsu Nihon Kirisutokyoshi*, p. 240.

⁹⁰ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1920), table 1, "Statistics of Christian Work in Japan for the Year 1919." It is not quite clear why this organization chose 1908. M. L. Ryan and his group came to Japan in 1907 and this is the arrival of the modern Pentecostal movement in Japan. 1908 might be understood as the year that the Ryans were working in Japan. Therefore, by taking 1908 as the original year, this organization might be claiming the authenticity of their inheritance of the original Pentecostal Movement in Japan.

⁹¹ "A new constitution was adopted and a Co-operative Conference formed in which our Japanese brethren and workers are to have a part. This we believe to be an important step for better things for the work in Japan." See G. R. Bender, "The Japan District Annual Conference," *Pentecostal Evangel* (December 8, 1928), p. 10. Both missionaries and native workers met at the district meetings in 1929. See Jessie Wengler, "Japan District Council," *Pentecostal Evangel* (July 13, 1929), p. 10.

which is the year the General Council of the Assemblies of God was founded in America.⁹²

The name, Nihon Seisho Kyokai, existed until the group joined the Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (The United Church of Christ in Japan) due to the demand of the wartime government in 1941. However this Nihon Seisho Kyokai was not a stable organization and it went through several shifts in a short period of time.

7.3 The Third Stage (1937-1940): The Re-organization of Nihon Seisho Kyokai and the Split of Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai (Takinogawa Holy Spirit Church)

In 1937, Nihon Seisho Kyokai was re-organized. This re-organization aimed to create a stronger organization uniting the General Council missionaries and their churches with other Pentecostal Christians. This move was discussed in August 1937.⁹³ However, this move brought one quite unexpected result to the General Council group, that is, the split of the Takinogawa group of churches and the emergence of Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai.

Reading the information given in *The Japan Christian Yearbook*, although Nihon Seisho Kyokai did split, the mission body does not seem to have divided.⁹⁴

Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai came out of the group of churches called Nihon Seisho Kyokai. It was led by C. F. and Marie Juergensen and Kiyoma Yumiyama at the end of 1937. Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai declared that it had begun in 1925, started by the C. F. Juergensens with the cooperation of Kiyoma Yumiyama.⁹⁵ This is the year the Takinogawa property had been purchased. Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai kept its

⁹² *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1930), p. 385.

⁹³ *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1939), p. 80.

⁹⁴ *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1937), p. 399; (1941), p. 358. There is only one Assemblies of God and the missionaries who were working with both church groups remained on the same list even after the Japanese church split.

⁹⁵ *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1940), p. 75. If they wanted to claim their authenticity as the General Council missionary, they could have taken 1913, the arrival of C. F. Juergensen, as their initial year. But claiming 1925 as their first year, they stressed the cooperation of the Juergensens and Kiyoma Yumiyama. In this division, J. W. Juergensen was with the side of Barth and Murai, not with his father and sisters.

independence until the time they joined the United Church of Christ in Japan in 1941.

Most of the other people from the former Nihon Seisho Kyokai remained with it after it was re-organized under their new leaders, Norman Barth and Jun Murai.⁹⁶ This newly founded Nihon Seisho Kyokai was different from the previous organization by nature. Until now, this group was the Japanese church of the General Council. However, after reorganizing, the new group was the union of the different (Trinitarian) Pentecostal Christians. The group changed their origin from 1914 to 1937, stressing the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Tokyo Nihon Seisho Kyokai, at Nishi Sugamo on July 23, 1933. In fact, this outpouring was one of the main causes behind this new organization.⁹⁷

7.4 The Fourth Stage (1940-1941): The Indigenous Nihon Seisho Kyokai

In 1940, Nihon Seisho Kyokai declared their intention to cut their relationship with the foreign mission and it became an independent organization, installing Jun Murai as their bishop.⁹⁸ The wartime tension forced the missionaries to leave Japan and return home. Therefore, the church's cutting their tie to the foreign missionaries is perhaps understandable. The installation of Murai as the bishop, however, was a big leap. At this moment, Nihon Seisho Kyokai became Murai's church.

⁹⁶ Murai was a son of a Methodist minister, and he worked with Thornton at the Self-Help Bible Training School. He came to the Pentecostal circle in about 1921 through a connection with Mary Taylor. See Jun Murai ("Timothy"), "The Same Yesterday and Today and Forever: A Testimony from Japan," *Pentecostal Evangel* (May 14, 1921), p. 9.

⁹⁷ *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1939), p. 80. Until this split, within Nihon Seisho Kyokai, Takinogawa had been the center. But for the new Nihon Seisho Kyokai, Murai's Nishi Sugamo church became the center of the group. The church at the Nishi Sugamo even changed its name to Tokyo church. Here we can see evidence of a power struggle between Nishi Sugamo and Takinogawa, two churches which were not far away in distance. It seems no missionaries witnessed the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on July 23, 1933; this absence helped the Japanese church to claim their indigenous status.

⁹⁸ *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1950), p. 247 for the description of Iesu no Mitama Kyokai; Also *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1941), p. 111.

7.5 The Fifth Stage (1941): Departure of Murai from Nihon Seisho Kyokai

Starting in 1941, the Religious Group Law was enforced by the Japanese government, and the Christian churches were directed to unite and become one church: the United Church of Christ in Japan. Nihon Seisho Kyokai also was preparing to join this united church. But before doing so, another big shift occurred. That is the departure of Murai and his followers from the remainder of Nihon Seisho Kyokai.

The leading ministers from Nihon Seisho Kyokai were touring in Taiwan in 1941, where they had contact with the True Jesus Church of Taiwan which held the Oneness doctrine. Among these Japanese leaders, Murai and one other accepted this doctrine.⁹⁹

Jun Murai formed a new church or changed the name of his church, depending on one's point of view.¹⁰⁰ His Iesu no Mitama Kyokai (Spirit of Jesus Church) kept Murai as the bishop. And they continued to claim that the origin of the group was the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Nishi Sugamo church in 1933. This group did not join the United Church of Christ in Japan and remained independent during the war.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ *Mikotoba ni Tachi, Mitama ni Michibikarete*, p. 61; Hajime Kawasaki, *Kitakazeyo Okore: Jinsei 50 nen no Kaiko* [Let the North Wind Blow: Recollections of 50 Years of My Life] (Tokyo: Shukyohojin Megumi Fukuin Kirisuto Kyokai, 1992), p. 82.

¹⁰⁰ Right after the war Murai claimed that Nihon Seisho Kyokai changed its name to Iesu no Mitama Kyodan in 1940. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1948), pp. 189, 261. They continued to claim their authenticity as heir of Nihon Seisho Kyokai up to 1952, even after the founding of Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1952), p. 276. Later on, they came to claim that their group was founded on November 17, 1941, when they received the name of "Iesu no Mitama" through revelation. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1954), p. 187; Junko Ikemoto, "Iesu no Mitama Kyokai Kyodan" [(Church of) the Spirit of Jesus Church], in *Nihon Kirisutokyo Rekishi Jiten* [The Historical Dictionary of the Japanese Christianity], Nihon Kirisutokyo Rekishijiten Hensan Iinkai (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1988), p. 89.

¹⁰¹ From the descriptions of Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan and Iesu no Mitama Kyokai, it is easy to sense the rivalry between the two groups and their consciousness of each other. But as time past, this rivalry became a thing of the past. Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, trans. R. A. Wilson (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1977), p. 6 states, "During the war the mission churches of the Assemblies of God, the Iesu-no Mitama Kyokai separated from their American

The flock of Nihon Seisho Kyokai which left, or did not follow Murai were scattered until the time of its joining the United Church of Christ in Japan.¹⁰²

7.6 The Sixth Stage (1941-1949): Joining Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (The United Church of Christ in Japan)

Both the remaining flock of Nihon Seisho Kyokai and Yumiyama's Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai individually joined the tenth department of Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (the United Church of Christ in Japan) in June 1941.¹⁰³ During the war, the churches of Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai and Nihon Seisho Kyokai remained in the United Church of Christ in Japan.

7.7 The Seventh Stage (1949-): The Founding of the Assenburiizu of Goddo Kyodan (The Japan Assemblies of God)

After the war, the leaders of the former Nihon Seisho Kyokai desired to leave the United Church of Christ in Japan and establish a new Pentecostal church, which would unite the members of the two former groups, Nihon Seisho Kyokai and Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai.¹⁰⁴ As a result, Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan (the Japan Assemblies of God) was founded on March 15, 1949 with the help of the General Council missionaries, uniting the Pentecostal Christians. There were originally 19 ministers from 17 church groups.¹⁰⁵ There were

mother church and now exist *alongside* the renewed missionary activity of the Americans, the Nihon Assenburizu Kyodan.”

¹⁰² The view of Iesu no Mitama Kyokai is that the people who did not follow them joined the United Church of Christ in Japan independently. However, at least some of them joined the United Church of Christ in Japan as Nihon Seisho Kyokai. See Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan Senkyo Kenkyujo Kyodanshiryo Henshushitsu, ed., *Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan no Seiritsu Katei: 1930-1941* [The Process of Forming the United Church of Christ in Japan: 1930-1941] (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan Senkyo Kenkyujo, 1997), p. 387. Mark R. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), p. 97 takes the position that Murai was the one who “decided to take leave of his congregation.”

¹⁰³ *Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan no Seiritsu Katei*, p. 315.

¹⁰⁴ *Mikotoba ni Tachi, Mitama ni Michibikarete*, p. 77

¹⁰⁵ Among the original seventeen churches or groups, six are in Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan and others were either independent or newly formed. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1950), p. 153. Before the war the two churches founded by the Assemblies of

approximately 800 members in all.¹⁰⁶ The JAG adopted as its initial year the arrival of C. F. Juergensen.

8. Three Knots: Major Points of Conflict or Division

Let me suggest three major knots, which are blurred over in the historiography without explanation, causing blank spots or points of ambiguity in the JAG history.

8.1 The First Knot (around 1920)

The first knot is the division of the missionaries on the basis of their theological beliefs. Due to the founding of the Japan District of the General Council in 1920, the loose Pentecostal missionary fellowship was divided and non-Trinitarian Pentecostals left the group.

8.2 The Second Knot (1937)

The second knot is the split of Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai from Nihon Seisho Kyokai. This division is mentioned only briefly, almost in passing, in the JAG second historiography, and not at all in the first. As a result, a distorted picture has resulted and the recorded activities of the two groups become ambiguous, blurred and difficult to understand. The reason for and results of this split remain topics for further study.

8.3 The Third Knot (1940-1941)

Taking place within the new Nihon Seisho Kyokai, this knot has two folds. One is after the cutting of the relationship between the foreign mission and the Japanese group in 1940, Murai was installed as bishop; the other is the departure of Murai and his followers from Nihon Seisho Kyokai in 1941. Within the JAG historiographies, nothing is mentioned about the Japanese group's relationship with the missionaries, nor of Murai's primary position as bishop. Moreover, while Murai's departure due to theological differences is mentioned, what happened to the church group after this departure is not mentioned.

God of the Great Britain were classified as independent churches. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1941), p. 159.

¹⁰⁶ *Mikotoba ni Tachi: Mitama ni Michibikarete*, pp. 85, 483.

9. Why Did Some of History Get Lost in the Retelling?

Only a handful of the Japanese leaders survived by the time of founding of the JAG in 1949. From the pre-war missionaries, Marie Juergensen, Jessie Wengler, Florence Byers, John Clement and his wife were present at the foundation of the new JAG.¹⁰⁷ Among them, Marie Juergensen was the first one to come to Japan in 1913. Therefore, Marie Juergensen had the main role of telling the history of the group.

The history writers of the two official JAG history books tried to organize the information given by Marie Juergensen.¹⁰⁸ Therefore it was very natural that the pre-war history of the JAG centers on the ministry of C. F. Juergensen, and ignores the works of some other missionaries. The present pre-war history of the JAG is mainly the history of the people who founded Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan after the war.

Presently the JAG has 208 churches and 9626 members.¹⁰⁹ But when it started afresh in 1949, it consisted of 13 churches, composed mainly of former Nihon Seisho Kyokai (Japan Bible Church) and Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai (Takinogawa Holy Spirit Church),¹¹⁰ with a few independent and a few newly founded churches. In order to examine the pre-war history of the JAG, we need to trace all lines of the heritage and find the work of the missionaries as well as native workers who have been omitted along the course of the recording of the JAG history. In order to do so, we need to have a broader view looking at the whole picture of the Pentecostal movement in Japan.

There is an underlying attitude of the history teller to delete from their history or at least minimize the role of any missionary, native worker, or member of the church who later left the fellowship. This resulted in the complete disappearance of some people from the historiography, (e.g., Taylor). In other cases, a person's role was only minimally dealt with, leaving a distorted impression of their significance within the church history, (e.g., Murai). These things happened even in cases where those people were the key figures of the group. This is one of the main reasons for the blank spots in the JAG historiography. The

¹⁰⁷ *Mikotoba ni Tachi, Mitama ni Michibikarete*, p. 84.

¹⁰⁸ Shuichi Hosoi, one of the first graduates of the Bible training school in Tokyo, was the main historian of the pre-war history.

¹⁰⁹ *Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan, Sokai Gian of 2000* [The Proposal to the Annual Meeting of 2000] (Tokyo: Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan, 2000), p. 17.

¹¹⁰ *Mikotoba ni Tachi: Mikotoba ni Michibikarete*, p. 85.

blank spots do not seem to be mainly caused by simple sloppiness of the historian's memory.

This is the fundamental problem of the existing accounts of JAG history. The history tellers and the JAG history books failed to give the whole picture and either did not mention or did not explain in enough detail about points of conflict or division.

10. Conclusion

In this article, I tried to examine the pre-war history of JAG, filling in some of the holes, and pointing out other still ambiguous areas of division or controversy. Due to the lack of information preserved in Japan as well as to the unreliability of some of the information which is available, this task was by no means a simple one. Nevertheless, I looked specifically at the missionaries who were omitted from the JAG history. I did not, however, explore the native workers who were forgotten. For the pre-war missionaries, it was important to have interpreters, native workers and Bible women. With the omission of the missionaries, the native workers who worked with them also got lost from the JAG history. There were many shifts and divisions, and their recording is often ambiguous if not deleted all together from the JAG historiographies. Many of the ambiguities and deletions are still untouched areas and remain topics calling for further study.

Heretofore, the historiographies of JAG have centered around the ministry of C. F. Juergensen and his group. But if we stress too much the service of this one missionary group—no matter how faithful, dedicated and fruitful his ministry may have been—we miss so much of the history and end up painting a very blurry and fragmented picture. 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.

As long as the blank and blurry spots exist, our understanding of the JAG history will remain incomplete. As a start, I hope this study has begun to shed some light on areas of the history which have until now remained hidden in darkness. May it be but the first step leading us to the truth about our whole past. For I cannot doubt that this knowledge of the truth about our history will ultimately lead us to a firmer understanding of the identity of the JAG. And I am equally convicted that gaining such

an understanding is necessary to guide us as we continue to build God's church in this century.

TIMOR REVIVAL: A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE GREAT
TWENTIETH-CENTURY REVIVAL IN INDONESIA

Gani Wiyono

1. Introduction

In the second half of the twentieth century, churches in Indonesia enjoyed a rapid growth. Indonesia Bible Society reported that between 1963 and 1966, the adherents to Protestantism increased dramatically from five million to seven millions.¹ In the following years it was reported that there were still many people who converted to Protestantism. Even though the political situation might have a significant contribution to this rapid growth,² it cannot be denied that there were spiritual awakenings scattered all over Indonesia, such as in Java, Toraja (south Sulawesi), Minahasa (north Sulawesi), Borneo, Toba, Simalungun, and Karo Batak (north Sumatra), Moluccas, West Papua, and Timor.³

Timor by far is the most well-known but controversial revival in Indonesia.⁴ According to Orr, “the problem was not a lack of information

¹ J. Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in the South Seas* (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1976), p. 178.

² In 1965, Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party) tried to take over the official Government, but failed. The following episode was the most terrible thing in the history of Indonesia. Thousands suspected communists were slaughtered by Muslims. Later there was an official pressure on all Indonesian citizens to have an active religious affiliation. This prompted many people embracing Christian faith in many parts of Indonesia.

³ See Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, pp. 180-87.

⁴ Colin C. Whitaker, *Great Revivals* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1984) enlists Timor revival as one of the greatest revivals in the twentieth century; R. E. Davies, *I Will Pour out My Spirit* (Tunbridge Wells: Monarch, 1992), p. 213 mentions Timor revival as one of the later twentieth-century revivals in Asia. Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 188 considers Timor revival as

but a surfeit of it.”⁵ Critics may pose questions about the reliability of some miracles being reported, but the authenticity of the revival with its signs and wonders as well as its abiding fruit cannot be doubted. Even George W. Peters, a dispensational theologian and a professor of world mission at Dallas Theological Seminary, wrote, “Some of the most prominent revivals outside of the West have occurred in Indonesia...and more recently the Timor revival. Certainly God has been at work in this land; His manifestations are many and remarkable.”⁶

It is the purpose of this paper to examine data which are available regarding Timor revival and present them as accurately as possible. This requires choosing and weighing carefully available sources. Thus, more scholarly works (such as, dissertations, theses, journals, books—both in English and Bahasa Indonesia), rather than popular works, will be consulted.

However, the purpose of this paper does not stop at the academic level—that is, a purely historical report on Timor revival. It has also a pragmatic purpose, *viz.* to remind my fellow-believers (especially those who live in Indonesia) that the living God who came down into the stream of human life and history in Bible times is still active through the Holy Spirit today.

2. The Location of the Revival

2.1 Indonesia

For many years Indonesia has been known as the “the emerald of the equator” because of 13,677 “green islands” lying between 6 degree north and 11 degree south crossroads of the continents of Asia and Australia. This strategic position has greatly influenced its cultural, social and economic life.⁷

“the most controversial and sensational movement in Indonesia in the latter half of the decade of 1960s.”

⁵ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 188.

⁶ George W. Peters, *Indonesia Revival: Focus on Timor* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1973), p. 9.

⁷ See Shirley Hew, *Cultures of the World: Indonesia* (Singapore: Times Book, 1990), p. 7.

The most important islands in Indonesia are Java, Sumatra, Borneo (Kalimantan), Sulawesi and West Papua. Beside those, there is a group of islands, about 930 miles east of the island of Java, known as the Lesser Sunda Islands. One of the islands, which makes up the Lesser Sunda Islands, is Timor.

2.2 Timor

2.2.1 Geography

Timor has an area of 13,071 square miles and is divided into West Timor (one of the provinces of Republic Indonesia), 5,764 square miles and East Timor (Timor Loro Sae), 7,307 miles. In the Western part, about 60 % of the total area is “rugged hills, high plateaus cut by deep valleys, and loose soiled terrain mostly covered in grass.”⁸

2.2.2 Climate

In Timor dry season is longer than wet season. Heavy rains fall only between November and February, and the rest of the year belongs to the dry season. During the dry season, rivers and wells dry up, soils crack, and wind blows all the day along, creating a barren land and uncomfortable atmosphere. While the average temperature is 27, 6 C, the maximum temperature can reach at 33 C.

2.2.3 People

There are two major groups of people living in Timor. The first is Suku Dawan or the Atoni. They are short with dark brown skin and frizzy hair; the second is Suku Belu or Tetun. Besides these two major groups of people, there are minorities such as, Suku Helong, Suku Buna, and Suku Kari. Each group has its own dialect.⁹

2.2.4 Religion and Beliefs

Unlike other parts of Indonesia, Islam has not been so dominant in Timor. Most of people adhere to Christianity (Protestantism or Catholicism) as their official religion. However, it cannot be denied that the indigenious elements, *viz.* belief in spirits (animism), belief in the

⁸ Bill Dalton, *Indonesia Handbook: Special Eclipse Supplement* (Chico, CA: Moon Publishing, 1983), p. 228.

⁹ See I. H. Doko, *Timor Pulau Gunung Fatuleu “Batu Keramat”* [Timor: A Sacred Rocky Island] (Jakarta: PN Balai Pustaka, 1982), pp. 98-104.

power of sacred objects (dynamism), and animal worship (totemism) have still played significant roles in their daily lives.¹⁰

2.2.5 General History

Formerly Timor was divided between the Dutch in the West (Timor Barat) and the Portuguese in the East (Timor Timur). When Indonesia became independent in 1945, automatically the whole portion of the Western Island became a part of the Republic of Indonesia while the eastern part remained with the Portuguese. When the Portuguese Governor, Lemos Pieres, left East Timor and went to the small island, called Atauro in August 25, 1975, there had been a power struggle among several groups of people (especially between Uniao Democratica Timorese [UDT] and Frente Revelocionaria de Timor-Leste Independente [Fretellin]) resulting in a terrible bloodbath in East Timor. In the midst of political turmoil, Indonesia took over the government and included East Timor as the 27th province of the Indonesian Republic in July 17, 1976.¹¹ However, a referendum given by B. J. Habibie, the third President of the Indonesian Republic on August 30, 1999, resulted in the formal separation of East Timor from Indonesia.

3. A Brief Overview of the History of Christianity in Timor

The history of the Christian church in Timor begin in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese Dominicans brought Catholicism to Timor from their centers in Goa (India) and Malaka. The first recorded baptism took place in 1556 under the ministry of a Dominican priest, Antonio Taviera. He baptized 5000 people in Timor and many other people in Larantuka Flores and its neighborhood. By the end of the sixteenth century, about 25.000 people had been baptized. At that time Solor in Flores became the center of Catholicism.¹²

¹⁰ Doko, *Timor Pulau Gunung Fatuleu*, pp. 104-107.

¹¹ "Timor Timur," in *Profil Propinsi Republik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Bhakti Wawasan Nusantara, 1992).

¹² Th. van den End, *Ragi Carita 1: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1500-1860* [The Story of a Yeast 1: The History of Church in Indonesia 1500-1860] (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1987), p. 87; John Mansford Prior, "Towards a New Evangelization among the Nusa Tenggara Peoples of Eastern Indonesia," *Asia Journal of Theology* 10:2 (1996), pp. 291-315 (296).

In 1613, the Dutch took over Solor from the hand of Portuguese and then restricted the Catholic mission to East Timor and Larantuka and Sikha in Flores. The reason behind the restriction is political. To be a Catholic seemed to be pro-Portuguese and anti-Dutch. Even though the Dutch sent two missionaries to work in Timor as early as 1614, there was no remarkable achievement before 1740. In 1670 two local princes were converted and baptized. However, the number of Protestant Christians was still small (50-80 people). In 1719 the number had increased to 460. When the Portuguese planned to invade Kupang in 1749, a pastor who was ministering in that place uttered a prophetic voice. He quoted Judges 7:9 and encouraged the whole people in Kupang (including the unbelievers) to drive out their fear and believe in God. The result was tremendous. A “miracle” happened! The Portuguese failed to take over Kupang. That event brought much respect to the Dutch and their “religion”—Protestantism, resulting in a remarkable growth of Protestantism in Timor and other areas in Nusa Tenggara. In 1753, it was reported that there were 1300 Protestant Christians in Timor and thousands became Christians in Rote.¹³

Unfortunately, the Dutch did not seriously take care of this remarkable growth. Kupang and its neighborhood were left without a pastor until the beginning of eighteenth century. A regular ministry in Timor was carried on only since 1819 under the direction of R. le Bruijn, a supposed-Mollucan missionary sent by Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap (NZG). However, this ministry ceased when NZG decided to withdraw all of its missionaries from Timor in 1850.¹⁴ When the last NZG missionary left Timor, there were about 2000 Christians in Timor. Since then, they were officially ministered to by pastors from Indisch Kerk (Dutch Reformed State Church).¹⁵

From 1910 on, people came to the church in large numbers from interior regions of Timor, Rote, and Sawu. This happened because there was a significant change in evangelistic methods. Before 1910, Dutch missionaries carried on most evangelistic activities. They were rather unsuccessful because they were using Malayan, an official language that

¹³ Van den End, *Ragi Carita 1*, pp. 91-93; Prior, “Towards a New Evangelization,” p. 296.

¹⁴ Van den End, *Ragi Carita 1*, pp. 183-85.

¹⁵ Th. van den End, *Ragi Carita 2: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1860-an sekarang* [The Story of a Yeast 2: The History of Church in Indonesia 1860-Present] (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1989), p. 97.

was not understood very well by most Timorese. After 1910, many Timorese began to evangelize their people. They utilized cultural elements, such as visiting and praying for the sick and festivals, as well as the local dialect to communicate the gospel.¹⁶

However, those who baptized and ministered among them were still using Malayan as the official language. This made the Timorese churches suffer because most of the people spoke Timorese, the mother tongue language. Also, the Bible was only available in Malayan.¹⁷ All of these made a powerful and effective communication of the gospel in Timor impossible.

The new era came, when Dr. Pieter Middlekoop (1895-1973), a Dutch missionary, arrived in Timor in 1922. Middlekoop believed that one of the crucial keys to an effective communication of the gospel in Timor possible was to transmit the gospel in the Timorese language. Such conviction then led him to take up the study of the Timorese language (*Dawan*). After mastering the language, Middlekoop produced a considerable amount of literature in the Timorese language: Stories from the Book of Genesis (published in 1938), *Si Knino Unu ma Muni* (a collection of Psalms and hymns—published in 1948), and the New Testament (published in 1948). The Old Testament translation was completed but has not yet been published.¹⁸ The fruit of his labor was significant. Pieter notes that Middlekoop's translation of Exodus 20: 3, 4 "became the basic motivation for the Christians' large scale destruction of their fetishes and similar objects of divination, magic and dark powers."¹⁹ Van den End reports that during Middlekoop's ministry in Timor (1922-1957), the adherents of Christianity grew significantly in number, from 500 to 80,000.²⁰

In October 31, 1947, the Timorese churches officially separated themselves from Indische Kerk and founded Gereja Masehi Injili Timor (GMIT) or the Christian Evangelical Church in Timor. After going through a "transitional period" (3 years), the leadership finally was given

¹⁶ Van den End, *Ragi Carita 2*, pp. 98-100; Th. Muller Kruger, *Sedjarah Geredja di Indonesia* [The History of Church in Indonesia] (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1966), p. 139 notes that evangelism in Timor was not so successful if ministers ignored local languages.

¹⁷ See Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁸ Van den End, *Ragi Carita 2*, pp. 110-11.

¹⁹ Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, p. 42.

²⁰ Van den End, *Ragi Carita 2*, p. 111.

to Rev. J. L. Ch. Abineno, a Timorese in 1950. Since then, it can be said that GMIT has been totally independent from Indische Kerk.²¹

Timor revival is one of the major events in the history of Christianity in Timor. It started from a GMIT congregation in SoE, a cool mountain town that is situated 68 miles from Kupang (the capital province) in September 1965. From that place the fire swept over the whole island, even to some islands nearby. That revival became one of significant factors contributing to the amazing growth of GMIT, from 200,000 in 1948 to 517,000 in 1971.²²

4. The Sporadic Movements of the Holy Spirit Before 1965

Before the outbreak of the Timor revival in 1965, there had been sporadic movements of the Holy Spirit in Timor and its surrounding islands. David Royal Brougham mentioned at least six major sporadic movements of the Holy Spirit in his dissertation.²³

4.1 Kisar in 1921

Starting in the capital island, Wonreli, the minister's wife, Nyora Wattimena asked people to repent because the judgment day was near. This prophetic message was catalyzed by famine, pestilence and rumor of war (World War I) which hit Kisar in 1919. The Dutch Government finally suppressed this movement because it created some problems in the society.²⁴

²¹ Van den End, *Ragi Carita 2*, p. 111.

²² Van den End, *Ragi Carita 2*, p. 114.

²³ David R. Brougham, "The Work of the Holy Spirit in Church Growth as Seen in Selected Indonesian Case Studies" (D. Miss. project, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1988), pp. 154-55.

²⁴ Van den End, *Ragi Carita 2*, p. 102 notes that there were many groups of people went out to evangelize others in 1921. They forced people to repent and "persecuted" people if they were unwilling to confess their sins. Their weird behavior later was tolerated by people in Kisar because they convinced them that they might have received the Holy Spirit through "persecution." When two people died because of that persecution, the Dutch government suppressed this movement. G. F. Brookes, "Spirit Movements in Timor—A Survey" (Th.M theses, Melbourne College of Divinity, 1977), p. 8 provided a more detailed description of such persecution: "The emotional urgency of the movement called for a

4.2 Pene, Manifio, and Noinoni Poetain Emonitas in 1923

These whole villages turned from paganism to Christianity.²⁵

4.3 Bele in 1939

People experienced an awakening.²⁶

4.4 Nunkolo in 1942-1945

A wave revival and church growth took place which in many ways was similar to the movement in the mid-sixties. However, it did not spread widely because of suppression by the Japanese occupation forces and synodical opposition. This movement was reported to bring some 40,000 people into the church.²⁷

4.5 Niki Niki in 1945

People experienced the movement of the Holy Spirit, when the new rajah (king) embraced Christianity and many people followed him.²⁸

4.6 Baumata in 1948

This area also experienced a revival after Rev. Sine began to preach the gospel in the vernacular language and emphasized the necessity of prayer. Signs and wonders accompanied this revival.²⁹ One of them which was significant is “the sudden bursting forth of a new spring with a high

complete confession of sins.... Those whose confession were judged to be incomplete were forced to lay on the floor where they were kicked in an attempt to force complete confession.... Not a few people were beaten, knocked to the ground and harshly treated.” Two people finally died because of such a treatment, one at Tara and one at Huru.

²⁵ See also Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, p. 50.

²⁶ See Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, p. 50.

²⁷ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 188.

²⁸ See also Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, p. 50.

²⁹ Brookes, “Spirit Movements in Timor,” pp. 3, 32-33.

flow rate as an answer to persistent prayer. This new spring has turned Baumata into one of the most prosperous areas in Timor.”³⁰

5. Some Important Factors or Events Which Made the Timor Revival Possible

Here are some important factors/events, which converged and made the great Timor revival possible:

5.1 Inside the community of Believers

5.1.1 A Deep Spiritual Hunger for New Vitality

The condition of pastoral ministry leading up to and into the sixties was extremely terrible. Brookes describes the situation as follows:

Preaching was in sad state. Ministers wrote their sermons and read them in monotone, not even glancing at congregation.... Serious pastoral care was never exercised. Ministers, generally speaking, did not visit their members.... There were almost no Bible study groups or prayer meetings. There was an almost complete absence of work amongst youth, Sunday Schools, where they existed, had no materials.³¹

Such conditions then created “a hunger and thirst for righteousness; a shortage of living water and the bread of life required for man’s spiritual well being.”³²

5.1.2 The Healing Ministry of Johannes Ratuwalu

In 1964, Johannes Ratuwalu, a teacher on Island of Rote, received a vision. The Holy Spirit told him to travel to Timor and to hold a healing ministry there. His father, a pastor, first resisted, but finally accepted that vision and anointed him for his ministry. His ministries were successful. Between October and December 1964 he conducted a healing campaign in the town of SoE and Kupang. Many people were healed. Even though Ratuwalu did not preach a sound biblical teaching and did not display

³⁰ Brookes, “Spirit Movements in Timor,” p. 33.

³¹ Brookes, “Spirit Movements in Timor,” p. 40.

³² Brookes, “Spirit Movements in Timor,” p. 40.

Christ-like character, his ministry roused the great hunger of God within Christians in the town.³³

5.1.3 *The Ministry of the Student Team from Batu, Malang*

The Institut Injili Indonesia (now Sekolah Tinggi Teologia I-3 or I-3 Advanced School of Theology) in Batu, Malang had experienced a season of divine visitation in early 1965 when they gathered together in a special prayer meeting. The Holy Spirit gave specific direction through prophecies to the teachers and students in regard to where each was to conduct his or her summer ministry. Accordingly, teams were formed and one of them was directed to go to Timor.³⁴

Under the leadership of Detmar Scheuneman, a senior lecturer, the student teams came to Timor in July 1965. They emphasized repentance, regeneration and sanctification through the Holy Spirit. And the result was tremendous. Many were set free from the powers of witchcraft, superstition and spiritism. Amulets, charms, and fetishes were burnt. Even, Ratuwalu, the healing minister, was led to a closer understanding of the Lordship of Jesus.³⁵

5.2 Beyond the Community of Believers

5.2.1 *The Years of Upheaval*

By late 1950, there was political tension in Indonesia. Moslems and communists were grappling for control of political power. During 1965 tension mounted and a crisis appeared inevitable. Later, we know that in the end of September 1965, Communists tried to take over the government through a coup, but the scheme backfired. What followed was the most retaliatory bloodbath in modern history. Indonesia was in chaos. In Java, as many as a half of a million people, predominantly ethnic Chinese, died because of murder. Thousands of others were

³³ Brougham, "The Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 155; See also Kurt Koch, *The Revival in Indonesia* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1970), pp. 122-24; Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 189, writes that Ratuwalu succumbed to excesses pride; Frank L. Cooley, "The Revival in Timor," *Southeast Asia Journal of Theology* 14:2 (1973), pp. 78-93 (83) states that Ratuwalu succumbed to the excesses pride, women and money.

³⁴ See Brougham, "The Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 164.

³⁵ Brougham, "The Work of the Holy Spirit," pp. 155-56.

imprisoned without trial. Tragically, many of them were not really communists.

In Timor, the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party were hunted down, imprisoned, and sometimes executed at numerous places. Brookes notes that thousands, including many GMIT members, were slaughtered.³⁶ Viewing from a negative point of view, such a condition indeed had created a general feeling of terror, uncertainty and apprehension in the whole island. However, viewing this from a positive aspect, this situation paved the way for the gracious visitation of God. Daniel, pastor of the Timorese-speaking congregation at SoE, said: “the Lord used the coup to make the people seek the Lord, and revived the church to gather in the people.”³⁷

5.2.2 *A Great Economic Difficulty*

Since 1963 Timor had experienced an extraordinary light rainfall resulting in the food crises due to the failure of good harvests. In 1965 the crisis mounted creating widespread famine.³⁸ A local pastor, Daniel, described that situation vividly in a letter sent to Dr. Pieter Middelkoop, dated in December 1965:

The number of the inhabitants of the area of Amanuban is about 200,000 to 225,000, among whom about 170,000 are famine-stricken. The cause of this famine is the fact that the rains came pouring down very early, in August, where it is usually late October or the first half of November when the rain-monsoons begin, Nobody has prepared his plantation, nowhere had the necessary burning of the wood before the rains come down taken place. In consequence of the continuous rains people planted Indian corn in unprepared soil. After a few weeks the rain stopped again and the dry monsoon set in. Consequently the new crop perished. Many people planted twice or three times. Those who planted for the third time reaped a very limited crop. The prices of food are increasing enormously.³⁹

³⁶ Brookes, “Spirit Movements in Timor,” p. 38.

³⁷ As recorded in Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, p. 56.

³⁸ Cooley, “The Revival in Timor,” p. 84; Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, p. 53.

³⁹ A letter of Daniel Manuain (?) to P. Middelkoop (December 1965) quoted in Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, p. 53.

A massive inflation that took place between 1951 and 1966 in Indonesia further worsened the situation. During that period, the cost of living increased dramatically (170,355 percent) resulting in prices that were much higher than earnings.⁴⁰ Such a terrible condition placed people in a very desperate and hopeless situation and forced them to open their lives to divine help.

5.2.3 *A Comet in the Eastern Sky*

One additional phenomenon which seems to play a significant role in the Timor revival is a visible comet which appeared every morning between 3:30 and 5:30 in the Eastern sky of Timor from October 25 to November 8, 1965.

For the Timorese this appearance was significant. First, as Brooke said, "Elderly Timorese believe that a comet is a sign heralding much bloodshed, particularly in warfare." Second, Christianity, to which the majority of the people adhered, interpreted the appearance as a sign of the end times (*parousia*). The combination between the traditional and Christian interpretation undoubtedly forced people to open their lives for spiritual matters.

6. The Beginning of the Revival

Just before the team from Institut Injili Indonesia left to return to East Java on September 1, 1965, the leader of team, Detmar Scheuneman, delivered a farewell sermon. His message seemed to be prophetic. He said,

God will raise up teams to preach the word of the Gospel, and they will not only fill the half of the islands with their message but the Portuguese as well. How and when this will take place I do not know. But the one thing I am certain that God is at hand and ready to fulfill these words.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Brookes, "Spirit Movements in Timor," p. 37.

⁴¹ Koch, *The Revival in Indonesia*, pp. 124-25.

On Sunday night of September 26, 1995, this prophecy was fulfilled. About 200 people of all ages gathered together for prayer that night. Suddenly, the Holy Spirit came just as he did on the day of Pentecost. Mel Tari testified,

And that night, as I was sitting next to my sister, I heard this mighty rushing sound. It sounded like a small tornado in the church. I looked around and saw nothing.... Then I heard the fire bell ringing loud and fast. Across the street from the church was the police station and the fire bell. The man in the police station saw that our church was on fire, so he rang the bell to tell people.... When they got to the church they saw the flames, but the church was not burning. Instead of natural fire, it was the fire of God.... After that, people started to stand all over the church, worshipping the Lord in different languages. Heaven came down at that night, and it was wonderful.⁴²

According to Kurt Koch, a wave of repentance had fallen upon the congregation on that night. The following event occurred: as the young disciple had called upon the people to dedicate their lives for Christ, many of the young people present came forward. On that night, the first team of lay people for reaching out was born.⁴³

Frans Selan, a leading figure in Timor revival who later became a Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA) minister in West Papua says that 200 people from his church were born-again and filled with the Holy Spirit. Afterwards, they went out to witness.⁴⁴

During the first three months after that event, it was reported that about seventy groups of laymen were going out and preaching the gospel from village to village. And when they went out, great signs and wonders followed them, and thus the Timor revival started.⁴⁵

7. Several Characteristics Found in Timor Revival

⁴² Mel Tari, *Like a Mighty Wind* (Carol Stream, IL: Creation, 1972), pp. 24-25, 27.

⁴³ Koch, *The Revival in Indonesia*, p. 128.

⁴⁴ See Rodger Lewis, *Karya Kristus di Indonesia: Sejarah Gereja Kemah Injili di Indonesia Sejaak 1930* [The Work of Christ in Indonesia: The History of Christian Missionary Alliance in Indonesia since 1930] (Bandung: Kalam Hidup, 1995), p. 308.

⁴⁵ Tari, *Like a Mighty Wind*, p. 29.

7.1 Transformation in Christian Living

Just like other great revivals, the Timor revival was also marked by an unusual presence and holiness of God resulting in repentance and a holy life. People who had an animistic background confessed their sins and then burnt publicly all their fetishes, amulets and even their cheap novels and sheets of pop music.⁴⁶ One of the most dramatic events that describes this is recorded by Edwin Orr of Fuller Theological Seminary:

One such, Nahor Leo by name, received a vision in which he was commanded to surrender all his fetishes to Pastor Daniel, moderator of Presbytery in SoE—and his uncle. This led to surrender of many such charms at a service of Holy Communion.⁴⁷

There was also a transformation of Christian life, from “dead religion” to vibrant spiritual life. George W. Peters who came to Timor to question the objectivity of some miracles never denied the fact that the Holy Spirit has brought new dimension in the lives of the people on Timor. He testified,

Approximately 50 percent of the adult membership have been affected by the revivals; the church simply is a newborn body of believers. You feel this vibrancy of life in the greetings of the Christians, you sense it in their fellowship, you see and hear it in their singing. You are aware of it in their public prayers. Seldom I have been touched as I was by their singing of “What a friend We Have in Jesus” when more than one thousand people were present for an evening service. The special group music revealed the same vitality. I was lifted into the presence of the Lord to experience reality as I have rarely felt it before. Yes, the reality of God was present. It is a “different church.”⁴⁸

Peters also said that the church has a new dimension in reading the Scripture. Those who were not illiterate conducted family Bible studies. That is what he said,

⁴⁶ Koch, *The Revival in Indonesia*, pp. 127-28.

⁴⁷ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 189.

⁴⁸ Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, pp. 86-87.

Family Bible study means more than listening to the father read a portion of God's word and pray. Each member of the family has his own Bible and reads a portion of Scripture, usually something that has gained special meaning for him.... After such study for about thirty minutes, the family kneels in prayer.⁴⁹

7.2 Empowered for Witness

Timor revival was not an "introverted" movement; it was an "extroverted" movement. The Holy Spirit works not only in soteriological dimension (by bringing salvation and sanctification) but also in missiological dimension. Many young people in the church were challenged to share the beauty and wonder of the gospel to the others. Some of them went not only to near-by places, but also to other islands, such as Rote, Sabu, Alor, Flores,⁵⁰ Sumba,⁵¹ and Sawu.⁵² They also crossed the border into Portuguese Timor (East Timor).⁵³ According Peter Wongso, with twenty-eight young men, went into Kalimantan, South Sumatra and West Irian as missionaries supported by their friends and churches in Timor. This continued on until 1972.⁵⁴ Some even went to the other countries. One of them, later, became the famous evangelist

⁴⁹ Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, p. 87.

⁵⁰ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 191.

⁵¹ See Lewis, *Karya Kristus di Indonesia*, p. 308.

⁵² Lewis, *Karya Kristus di Indonesia*, pp. 312-13 notes that in October 1967, two laymen from Sumba crossed the Sawu Sea and began to evangelize in Sawu. One month later, several High-school graduates, Robert Raba, Lukas Gilimangi, Williams Dju, Robert Mangi, Rekson Uli and Nona L. Gabriel followed their steps. They finally were able to build two churches in Teriwu and Wadumaddi.

⁵³ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 191; There was also a significant but never documented revival taking place in East Timor during 1970s. In Atauro, a small island nearby the main island (Timor), the Spirit of God worked mightily resulting in thousands of people there turning from paganism or folk-Catholicism to Pentecostalism (Assemblies of God). When I visited Atauro in 1995, I still found "the echoes" of that revival. A vibrant worship, even though without musical instrument, was still there. A community marked with godliness still existed. It is unclear whether there is connection between the two revivals (West Timor and East Timor Revival).

⁵⁴ Peter Wongso, "The Awakening of the Church in Indonesia" (a class paper for Orr's course, School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1976), p. 13, cited in Brougham, "The Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 170.

in America, Melchior Tari, who often preaches the gospel on a worldwide scale.⁵⁵

7.3 Manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit

A various manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit, such as gifts of discernment, knowledge, and revelation through visions and dreams,⁵⁶ and speaking in tongues,⁵⁷ was reported during the revival. Brougham who analyzes the manifestation of all kinds of spiritual gifts during the Timor revival comes to the conclusion that:

The practice the of gifts of the Spirit had one purpose: to glorify God and help teams fulfil their task of evangelism, deliverance and edification. In this way, they received supernatural guidance on where to go and revelation of whom to minister to and what sins these people needed to confess and forsake. They were told by the Lord about hidden idols and fetishes as well as being instructed on how to act in certain situations.⁵⁸

7.4 Biblical-parallel Miracles

Some observers of the Timor revival report some remarkable biblical-parallel miracles which accompanied the revival, such as:

7.4.1 Water Turned into Wine

This phenomenon is recorded by Don Crawford in his book, *Miracles in Indonesia*. He is a trained reporter sent by Tyndale House Publisher to verify the objectivity of signs, wonders and miracles. This is what he wrote,

Another team, desiring to celebrate the Lord's supper but having no wine, was in similar fashion instructed to use water from a nearby

⁵⁵ Also see John Rhea, "Tari, Melchor ("Mel")," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), pp. 841-42.

⁵⁶ Brougham, "The Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 167; Brookes, "Spirit Movements in Timor," p. 55.

⁵⁷ Brookes, "Spirit Movements in Timor," p. 59; Tari, *Like a Mighty Wind*, p. 25.

⁵⁸ Brougham, "The Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 168.

spring. As at the wedding Christ attended in Cana, the water, when drunk for the communion celebration, had become wine.⁵⁹

Kurt Koch, a German scholar, was given a report that on October 5, 1967 the congregation in SoE had experienced a miracle as water turned into wine. Later on, the miracle was repeated seven times. Koch also claimed that he himself experienced the miracle water turned into wine while he was visiting Timor.⁶⁰

Rev Benjamin Manuain, the pastor of Indonesian speaking congregation Gereja Maseh Injili Timor (GMIT, Evangelical Christian Church in Timor) in SoE between 1960 and 1996, testified that in 1965, a lady, called Mrs. Liu-Feto, became God's instrument to bring the miracle water turned into wine. Since then, for one-and-a-half years, the SoE congregation celebrated the Lord's Supper with this kind of wine.⁶¹

7.4.2 *The Blind Received Their Sight*

The Holy Spirit uses an illiterate girl, called Anna, to perform this wonderful miracle. One day she entered a house and met a blind woman. After Anna had shown her the way of the Lord, the Spirit commanded her to pour some water into the woman's eyes that she might see. Anna followed this instruction. The result was that the woman received her sight. According to Kurt Koch through the ministry of Anna, ten blind people received their sight. It is amazing (cf. John 9). And all of those events took place after the blind people confessed and repented of their sins.⁶²

Rev. Benjamin Manuain testified of a similar miracle. Someone who was physically blind (proven by the absence of pupil and iris in his eye balls) was brought into his house. Amazingly, he could see as clear as one who had normal eyes. He was one of those who received their sight during the Timor revival.⁶³

7.4.3 *The Food Multiplied*

⁵⁹ Don Crawford, *Miracles in Indonesia* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale, 1972), p. 26.

⁶⁰ Koch, *Wine of God*, pp. 28-39.

⁶¹ Interview with Benjamin Manuain by Charles A. Bessie, SoE, March 21, 2001; Manuain' testimony is confirmed by Johana Fallo-Nomleni, one of the eye-witnesses of the miracle water turned into wine, interview with Johanna Failo-Namleni by Charles A. Bessie, SoE, March 20, 2001.

⁶² Koch, *The Revival in Indonesia*, p. 137.

⁶³ Interview with Manuain (March 21, 2001).

God has never forsaken those who work for His glory. Kurt Koch reported how God met the need of one of the Timor evangelistic teams by multiplying food they had (cf. Matt 14:14-21).

Once when the team was working in the village, just as they were about to leave, they were given nine bananas to eat on their journey. The team, though, consisted of 15 members. When they stopped later to rest and the bananas were distributed, everyone received a whole banana.⁶⁴

7.4.4 *The Dead Being Raised*

This is the most controversial issue in the publication of the Timor revival. On one hand, George W. Peters argued that people being raised from the dead, were not really dead. He said they had experienced resuscitation. Thus, no such miracles happened.⁶⁵ On the other hand, Kurt Koch seemed to be defending the truth of the miracles.⁶⁶ On one specific occasion, he wrote,

Another instance was confirmed by the missionary Mr. Klein. A child had been dead for two days. Ants were already crawling about over its eyes and body. The parents, however, instead of burying the child on the first day, as is the usual custom in the tropics, called for mother Sharon. Two days later she arrived. After a time of prayer the child was restored to life.⁶⁷

Koch's position seems to be more reliable. The reason threefold. First, this is biblically possible. Peter raised Dorcas from the dead (Acts 9:41); Paul raised Eutichus from the dead (Acts 20:9-12). Second, it is not likely that the believers in Timor exaggerated what was happening

⁶⁴ Koch, *The Revival in Indonesia*, p. 134.

⁶⁵ Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, p. 83; Cooley, *The Revival in Timor*, p. 93 even considers the report as a hoax.

⁶⁶ Besides Koch, Brougham, "The Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 157 also includes Bob Little's report to his mission, World Evangelization Crusade, in the U.S.A., of how nine people had been raised from the dead. Benjamin Manuain, the pastor of Indonesian speaking congregation in SoE (1960-1996), interview by Charles A. Bessie, March 21, 2001 testified that during the revival there was someone who attempted to prevent or, at least obstruct the work of the evangelistic team. That person suddenly fell and lost his breath for 4-5 hours. After the team prayed for him, he was raised from the so-called "dead."

⁶⁷ Koch, *The Revival in Indonesia*, p. 141.

because they were concerned more in the raising of those spiritually dead rather than physically dead. Crawford reported this phenomenon in his book, *Miracles in Indonesia*, “To many observers the fact that the dead boy is alive today represents a miracle. But to the believers in SoE the miracle lies rather in how the event was useful in bringing many animist worshippers to faith in Christ.”⁶⁸ Thirdly, we should be aware of George Peters’ theological bias. He is a dispensationalist who usually believes that miracle, signs and wonders belong to the apostolic age only, therefore we can expect his perspective that all accounts about modern-day miracles, signs and wonders are hoax.

7.4.5 Other Reported Miracles

Other biblical-parallel miracles reported during the great revival in Timor are: 1) physical translation from one place to another place in just a twinkling of an eye⁶⁹ (cf. the experience of Philip in Acts 8:39); 2) the deaf was healed⁷⁰ (cf. Matthew 11:5); 3) poison becomes harmless⁷¹ (cf. Mark 16:18); 4) crossing of deep rivers⁷² (cf. John 6:15-21); and 5) power over serpents (poisonous snakes, crocodiles, etc.).⁷³

Whether those reports are accurate or not is difficult to determine. However, the fact that miraculous events did occur during the Timor revival cannot be denied. What might have drawn a lot of people, those who were still living in the ‘pre-modern’ era such as in Timor⁷⁴ in the mid-sixties, to come closer to God?

⁶⁸ Crawford, *Miracles in Indonesia*, pp. 27-28.

⁶⁹ Koch, *Revival in Indonesia*, p. 145.

⁷⁰ Koch, *The Revival in Indonesia*, p. 138.

⁷¹ Tari, *Like a Mighty Wind*, pp. 42-43.

⁷² Tari, *Like a Mighty Wind*, pp. 43-47; Van den End, *Ragi Carita 2*, p. 116; Koch, *Wine of God*, p. 151.

⁷³ Tari, *Like a Mighty Wind*, pp. 40-41.

⁷⁴ Cooley, “Revival in Timor,” pp. 82-83 states, “It is necessary in trying to understand such phenomena as these to know in some detail the environment and atmosphere in which they occurred. This is particularly true for the Christians in the West where the environment and atmosphere of the modern world are so different from that of Indonesia in general and Timor in particular.... The atmosphere in the Timor villages is almost wholly traditional, tribal, only half a century out of a completely indigenous (“animistic”) religious sphere, and 94.36% of the people live in villages. In the indigenous situation belief and

Was it a theological treatise? Was it eloquent preaching? The most likely answer seems to be the demonstration of the power of God in the form of miraculous events.

8. The End of the Revival

After glowing for several years, the revival began to cease. Brookes and van den End seem to attribute the weakening of the revival to the Synod of the Evangelical Christian Church of Timor (GMIT).⁷⁵ The Synod, even though not diametrically opposing the revival, apparently was reluctant to create a conducive atmosphere to sustain the revival. The reason for this is clear! On the one hand, the Timor revival was a movement within the traditional church energized primarily by young, inexperienced laymen blessed with the spiritual gifts and power. On the other hand, many experienced ministers and elders of GMIT had never been blessed with such gifts and power.⁷⁶ Thus, as Coley has noted,

The work of teams in the congregation often has been seen as a criticism or challenge to church leadership. When their authority was called into question, one way of defending themselves was to refuse to allow the teams access to their congregation.⁷⁷

Such attitude certainly in one way or another contributed to the weakening of the revival since it lessened the degree of cohesion within GMIT that had been experiencing the revival.

Moreover as Brookes has noted, “theological, educational, and pastoral challenges presented by the spirit movement has never been

practice of miracles, the visible, physical acts of the spirits and demons, the vivid manifestation of power in curses and blessings, the unquestioned authority of functionaries related to the world of the spirits and demons were practically universally held and experienced.

⁷⁵ Brookes, “Spirit Movements in Timor,” pp. 62-63; Van den End, *Ragi Carita* 2, p. 116.

⁷⁶ Jonathan M. E. Daniel, the pastor of Timorese speaking congregation (GMIT) in SoE during the revival, interview by Charles A. Bessie, March 21, 2001.

⁷⁷ Coley, *The Revival in Timor*, p. 89.

seriously taken up by the church, and so the Holy Spirit has had little opportunity to refine, and burn away... the demonic... the fleshy... the spectacular."⁷⁸ Thus, many undesired excesses had occurred. Consequently, the movement lost much of its original support and favor, and finally came to an end in 1969.⁷⁹

9. The Fruits of the Revival

The great revivals always demonstrate abiding fruit. That is also true in the case of the Timor revival. The following paragraphs describe the fruit of the Timor revival.

9.1 A Remarkable Church Growth

The spiritual breakthrough in Timor really contributed the growth of the church quantitatively. That is described in the church growth data below.

Year	Membership
1948	223,881
1858	300,000
1964	375,000
1965	450,000
1967	650,000
1972	517,779 ⁸⁰
1975	526,341 ⁸¹

What observations can be made? First, that the years immediately following the revival (1965-1967) showed the largest additions. The explanation for this is that the Holy Spirit made a spiritual breakthrough that had drawn the people to the church. Secondly, during 1967-1972, the growth rate declined. Brougham explains this by saying that at that time

⁷⁸ Brookes, "Spirit Movements in Timor," p. 72.

⁷⁹ Van den End, *Ragi Carita 2*, p. 116.

⁸⁰ Peters, *Indonesia Revival*, p. 93.

⁸¹ Frank L. Cooley, *The Growing Seed* (Jakarta: Christian Publishing House BPK Gunung Mulia, 1982), pp. 70-71.

the church lacked pastoral care and had poor shepherding.⁸² However, the growth rate increased again between 1972 and 1975. The explanation of this is that at that time the church had already had enough man-power to take care of pastoral care and shepherding. Some of Timorese Christians, who left Timor to be trained for Christian work at the Institut Injili Indonesia in Batu-Malang, East Java, have already come back to their place and served there.

9.2 The Unity of the Church

Frank Cooley, who is rather skeptical in regard to reported miracles, cannot deny that one fruit of the revival is the unity of the church. He testifies,

In two areas, South Belu on Timor and Thie on Rote, I sensed a strong clear sense of unity in mission and church life amongst the congregations. In the past both these regions have been noted for their problems and difficulties.⁸³

9.3 Impact on Society

Besides causing a rapid church growth, the revival had also affected society. David Brougham said, "There was a greater impact on the public life in Timor, more than any organized social effort could have achieved."⁸⁴ Petrus Octavianus, the former principal of Institut Injili Indonesia in Batu-Malang, testified that the police on the island of Rote ran literally out of work because people had stopped drinking.⁸⁵ The door of jail in the area that was notorious for cattle thieving was open because there were no inmates there. They were not stealing cows anymore.⁸⁶

9.4 Democratization of Ministerial Responsibilities

⁸² Cooley, *The Growing Seed*, p. 172.

⁸³ Cooley, "The Revival in Timor," p. 88.

⁸⁴ Brougham, "The Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 167.

⁸⁵ Brougham, "The Work of the Holy Spirit," p. 167.

⁸⁶ Whitaker, *Great Revivals*, p. 157.

Another abiding fruit of the Timor revival is the democratization of ministerial responsibility. This means the whole community of believers, not only the clergy, get involved in preaching the gospel and in serving the spiritual needs of people. Frank L. Coley even considers this as one of the most significant effects of the Timor revival:

Yet another effect on the witness of the Church was the fact that perhaps for the first time, certainly never before on such scale, laymen, women, young people and even children were actively and devotedly participating in proclaiming the Gospel and in serving the spiritual needs of people. This will surely have long-term influence as well as immediate effects in the life of the Timorese Church.⁸⁷

9.5 The Presence of Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches

Brookes notes, “The inability of the Church (GMIT) to give a real place even to the genuine, well-balanced evangelists resulted in the formation of several evangelistic associations which, although consisting almost entirely of GMIT members, nevertheless stand outside of GMIT.”⁸⁸ Some of these evangelistic associations later joined with Pentecostal/Charismatic groups, such as the Assemblies of God.⁸⁹ Today in SoE, there are several Pentecostal churches including AG ones, and many Charismatic prayer groups.

10. Conclusion, Lessons, and Challenge

10.1 Conclusion

There may be dissonant voices regarding the miraculous and spectacular phenomena accompanying Timor revival. However, there must be consonant voices regarding the work of the Holy Spirit in the area of soteriology and missiology. Most observers note that confession of sin, changed lives, vibrant worship, empowerment for witness resulting

⁸⁷ Cooley, “The Revival in Timor,” pp. 87-88.

⁸⁸ Brookes, “Spirit Movements in Timor,” p. 62.

⁸⁹ Rev. John Adu, the District Superintendent of Assemblies of God in Nusa Tenggara Timur-Indonesia, e-mail to the author, February, 2001, explains that he, himself and many of his fellows had to step out GMIT since the church had no real place for them.

in remarkable church growth are common features of the gracious work of God found in the so-called Timor revival. Thus, as Edwin Orr says, "...questioning or discrediting of the more sensational reports has not invalidated the corroborated accounts of an unusual awakening on Timor."⁹⁰

10.2 Lessons

First, the study of the relationship of Timor revival with historical contextual condition affirms Yoon-Ho Rhee's tentative theory of revival—"that revivals, both biblical and historical, usually occur in a context of crisis, whether religious or non-religious (i.e., political, social, or economic) and result in general church growth."⁹¹ Thus, when a local or nation-wide crisis takes place, we should be encouraged, not because of the crisis itself, but because of the greater opportunity that may be given by God to see a revival in our lands.

Second, the great Timor revival also testified to the significant role of the Bible school—Institut Injili Indonesia in Batu Malang served as a catalyst of the outbreak of the great Timor revival in 1965. While pursuing an academic excellence, our Bible schools and seminaries today should remember that an academic ivory tower is not an end itself, but provides tools for cultivating a vibrant spirituality, not graveyard spirituality.

10.3 Challenge

It is a fact that the God who came down into the stream of human life and history in the Bible times is still active through the Holy Spirit today. He is forever willing to see refreshment among His children. However, a question is raised, "Are we willing to see the revival in our times?" If the answer is, "No, we are not," I think God may not intervene forcefully. Why? Because the Bible says that though God is sovereign, He also respects the free will that He has given to man. If the answer is, "Yes, we are," this begs the next question: "Are we willing to pay the

⁹⁰ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 193.

⁹¹ Yoon-ho Rhee, "Toward a Theory of Revivals: A Case Study of the Biblical and Korean Revival" (Th.M thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Mission, Pasadena, CA, 1988), p. 10.

price?” Shall we not cry for a revival? As the psalmist says, “Those who sow in tears will reap with songs” (Psalm 126:5).

A HISTORY OF THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT IN NEPAL

Bal Krishna Sharma

1. Nepal: A Land of Diversity

1.1 The Land of the Highest Mountain

Nepal, often called the “Land of Mount Everest,” and the land “Nearer to Heaven,” is an independent state,¹ a country of twenty two million people, and is also known as the Himalayan Kingdom.² The country is situated between two great neighbors: China in the north and India in the south, east and west. Comparatively Nepal is a small country with an area of 147,181 square kilometers. The length of the country from east to west is about 885 km, and the width of the country is non-uniform, approximately being 193 km north to south. Along the northern frontier stand many of the highest peaks of the Himalayan range, such as Everest (29,028 feet), and Dhaulagiri (26,790 feet). Out of the ten highest mountains in the world, seven are in Nepal. Because of these highest peaks, hills, valleys and wild life forests, Nepal has been one of the most beautiful sites for tourism.

1.2 The People

The population of Nepal shows both Indo-Aryan and Mongoloid strains. Their blending, long history, culture and civilization have shaped the character of the population.³ The different races of Mongoloid are

¹ Walter Hugh John Wilkinson, “Nepal,” *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago: Macmillan, 1963), vol. 16, p. 220.

² Bal Kumar K. C., “Physiography of Nepal,” in *Nepal Perspectives on Continuity and Change*, ed. by Kamal P. Malla (Kirtipur: CNAS, 1989), pp. 1-2

³ Vidya Bir Singh Kansakar, “Population of Nepal,” in *Nepal Perspectives on Continuity and Change*, pp. 28-30.

also of mixed origin. To the extreme north, where higher mountains and the valleys are to be found, dwell the people of Tibetan origin, who are known as the Bhotes. Of the Mongoloid origin, the Gurungs and the Magars are to be found mostly in the western part of the country. The Murmis, Tamangs and Newars occupy the central parts and the Kirantis, Limus, and Lepchas are found mainly in the eastern part of the country. Of the Aryan origin, Brahmans and Kshatrias are scattered in different hill regions.⁴

1.3 Political, Social and Economic Situation in Nepal

1.3.1 Political Situation

Since Nepal is a Hindu country, it has been practicing a constitutional monarchical system since 1990. Prior to that, the king was the absolute monarch for many years, and he banned a multiparty democratic system. During the revolution in the 1990s, the ban on the multiparty system was relaxed. People had a very high expectation of democracy with a belief that their situation would be magically changed. So far people have not had many of their expectation fulfilled. Citizens have affiliations with various existing parties and some of the extreme groups have taken the way of violence. The political situation in Nepal is very unstable and the government is not able to provide security to its citizens. Many are living in fear and anxiety. The present political situation also highlights the fact that there is no political courtesy among the political parties. It seems they are there to pull down and fight one another. The political situation of the nation is a threat to the norms of democracy. People feel that the principle of democracy is good, but those who are given the responsibility to implement the democratic principles are not mature people. They have self-interest rather than the national interest. Such situations may exist in other nations, but for Nepal's infant democracy this is unfortunate.

1.3.2 Social Situation

Nepal has two major traditions, therefore, cultural practices are essentially of a Hindu or Buddhist derivation. These find expression in their numerous rites and rituals, beliefs, social values, festivals, art and architecture. From the beginning of the cultural history of Nepal, there has been a "give and take" tradition which has contributed towards the mutual contribution of the people in cultural formation. There is a

⁴ Wilkinson, "Nepal," p. 222.

consciousness of one's caste or ethnic identity. Religious ideas have played a very important role in shaping the social norms of society. People of different castes and ethnic groups live together side by side, but there is a social tension mounting between these groups in various parts of the country. Society always has been dynamic; therefore some social influences from other cultures are being incorporated into the Nepalese social structure.

1.3.3 Economic situation

Nepal has been declared one of the poorest countries in the world. Annual per capita income is about US\$200. It is a land-locked and predominantly agricultural country. Major crops grown are paddy, maize, wheat, barley, millet, sugarcane, jute, oilseed, tobacco, potato, etc. Agricultural development comes at the top of the list for the economic development of the nation but the importance of an industrial economy to the development of the national economy cannot be minimized. About twenty-three organized industries are functioning in Nepal. But variations in international demand, shortage of raw materials, and agricultural failures due to the monsoon are some of the major reasons for the unsteady growth of industrial products in Nepal.

Another important sector of Nepalese economy has been tourism, especially since 1970. In spite of all efforts to improve the economic condition, there have been no substantial changes which the people can see.

1.4 Traditional Religions in Nepal

Nepal is a Hindu state and multiracial and is a multilingual country. Religion has played a vital force in the people's thoughts and actions as it has done in most Asian countries. In the northern part of Nepal there are people who follow either various sects of Tibetan Buddhism, or Bon-Po, a magical pre-Buddhist religion which became later, a part of Lamaistic Buddhism. Buddhism in the Nepal valley is more Indic in its derivation which about half the population of the Newars follow, the others being Hindus. In the middle hills and along the Tarai, Hindus live in greater concentration which has made Nepal a predominantly Hindu country today. In addition, tribal groups follow an animistic type of religion and many people consider them Hindus. They are permitted to enter into the temple of Pasupatinath, which Christians and Muslims are forbidden to do. The constitution declares that the king has to be Hindu but it does not prohibit Nepalese from practicing other religions. Conversion from one

religion to another is prohibited. Such prohibition is the result of the perceived connection between missionary activity and colonialism and has been enforced to preserve Nepal as a Hindu state.

1.5 Christianity in Nepal

The earliest Christian contact with the land of Nepal took place in 1662 A.D., when the Italian Capuchin priests passed through Nepal en route to Tibet. After the return of these visitors to Europe, they encouraged the people to go to India, Nepal, and Tibet to evangelize them. So, in 1703, the Capuchin fathers were assigned by the Roman Catholic Church to evangelize in North India, Nepal, and Tibet. They made their base at Patna in India and several came to work in the Kathmandu Valley, the city-states of Newars, from 1707 to 1769. However, when the Gorkha king Prithvinarayan Shah conquered Nepal, he expelled the priests and the group of Newar Christians, accusing them of being agents of European colonial power.

From then until 1951, a firm Nepalese policy excluded all foreigners and Christians. Such policy was made on two main considerations: Independence from foreign power must be maintained, and the Hindu kingdom must be kept undefiled and the Hindu structure of society kept intact. Hence, foreign religions must be excluded. So the nation of Nepal was completely closed for almost two hundred years for any Christian missions. But the missionary work continued among the Nepalese who were living outside of Nepal. For two hundred years many missionary agencies and individuals thus stood praying and knocking at the door of Nepal.

Before the door of Nepal was finally opened for foreigners to enter, the missionary work started in the Indian borders. In Rupaidiah, India, mission work started as early as 1921 and the Nepalese going to India and coming back to Nepal were preached to and evangelized right on the border. Nautanwa was another important center in the border area to evangelize Nepalese people. From this place thousands of Nepalese passed each year between India and Nepal. Through the work of these border-based missionaries, within a short period of time a few people became Christians and dedicated their lives to the Lord. After sixteen years of continuous work on the Nautanwa border, they formed a band that is known as the Nepali Evangelistic Band. At the beginning they concentrated their work among the Nepalese in India.

Another important achievement was the translation of the Bible into the Nepali language by the Serampore Trio. The first Nepali New

Testament was published in 1821, and is the first printed book in Nepali literature. The full Bible in Nepali was published in 1914, and the Revised Bible was published in 1977, and New Revised Version was published in 1998.

Though, Nepal was not open for the gospel, much was happening in the border areas. The missionaries and new converts living in the Nautanwa area formed a Gorkha Mission, which undertook to preach and sell scriptural literature at the border points. Some went to Nepal to live and work and witness, but they were immediately expelled from the country. Several attempts were made by several people to enter the country of Nepal and share the gospel. Many of those people were arrested and finally expelled from the country. This situation continued until 1951. Though democracy was declared and foreign investments were sought, the new governmental attitude towards Christianity was similar to the previous government. The revolution of 1951 opened the door of this nation. Foreign agencies were welcomed to assist in the national development. Therefore, in 1951 Christian missions were permitted to enter the land under certain conditions. The conditions were:

- They were to serve the people in such useful ways as should further the cause of nation-building;
- They were to follow the rules of the department to which they were connected; they were to travel, and
- Live only as their visas allowed; but they were not to propagate their religion or convert the people.⁵

Catholic Jesuit missions entered Nepal in 1951 and boarding schools were opened. Other mission agencies also started to come to Nepal. The largest mission organization is the United Mission to Nepal (UMN) which was formed in 1954. It is a co-operative effort of many missionary societies, spanning all continents, many denominations and interdenominational mission bodies. The mission has concentrated on various programs and projects, which contribute to the development of the nation as a whole. The emphasis of UMN has been on health, education, vocational training and agriculture development. There are other mission agencies including International Nepal Fellowship, Evangelical Alliance Mission, and Seventh Day Adventist Mission that are mainly concentrating on medical services.

⁵ Donald E. Hoke, *The Church in Asia* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1975), p. 464.

Along with this brief history of mission agencies, it is appropriate to discuss the growth of the church itself in Nepal. After 1951, small congregations were established in various parts of Nepal. Some of the earliest congregations were established in Pokhara, Nepalganj, and Kathmandu. In the fifties and sixties only a handful of Christians were found in Nepal. During the seventies the churches started to grow in various parts of Nepal. Christians were not allowed to preach and conversion to Christianity was prohibited. The Nepalese law stated that conversion to Christianity meant one-year imprisonment for the convert, three-year imprisonment for the preacher, and six-year imprisonment for the one who baptizes. After the 1960s till the 90s such laws were in effect and many Christians were imprisoned because of their faith. The church experienced severe persecution during the 80s.

In 1990, there was an agitation against the existing rule, wherein the king was absolute monarch. Then the king declared democracy and the multiparty system was restored. The king was willing to remain a constitutional monarch. The church experienced some freedom after 1990, but the attitude of the government toward Christians remains the same. In some places there are still arrests. Christians have been imprisoned. The government does not acknowledge a Christian presence, and does not register Christian churches and organizations.

In spite of all these pressures, the church in Nepal is growing. There are small and large congregations all over the country. The church faces a great challenge to witness to the people and also to disciple its converts and develop quality leadership. Developing ministerial courtesy among the new churches and denominations is another challenge the Nepali church faces. There is a genuine concern among some of the leadership that in order to establish God's kingdom in Nepal we need to work together. Our united effort will convey a better message than our single effort. This does not mean we need to be uniform in everything we do. We need to have the unity of the Spirit. Our main motive should be to establish the kingdom of God.

2. Pentecostal Movement in Nepal

2.1 The Beginning

As stated earlier, the history of Christianity in Nepal is very recent. The gospel only came to the nation in 1951. But prior to that, Pentecostal missionaries were active in some of the Nepal-India borders. Rupaiah,

a border town with Nepalganj about 600 kilometers away from Kathmandu the capital city of Nepal, was one of the earliest missions centers. Some of the American Assembly of God missionaries were working in and around Rupaiah. They also had a children's home, which exists today. There was a church in Nanpara, a few kilometers away from Rupaiah.

Barnabas Rai with his wife came to Rupaiah from Darjeeling⁶ in 1936 and stayed and worked with the missionaries there. He was assigned to preach the gospel among the Nepalese who were going to India and coming back to Nepal. In this humble beginning, God rewarded the work of these pioneers. Several people became Christians. Barnabas Rai emphasized the Pentecostal experience from the beginning of his ministry. Without much detailed teaching, people received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, with speaking in tongues. Barnabas Rai did not have much education but he had the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Then Rai and his family moved to Nepalganj in Nepal in 1951, after the democracy was declared. Johnsingh Pun, Laxman Thapa, and Dalbirsingh were some of the early converts through Barnabas Rai and Rupaiah Assemblies of God (AG) Mission. Some of these converts were sent to North India Bible Institute, Hardoi. This institution has also helped to promote the Pentecostal movements in Nepal. Similar movements were found in Pokhara and some other places in Nepal.

2.2 Historical Developments of the Movement

It may be appropriate to say that the Pentecostal movement came to Nepal along with the gospel presentation. Therefore, it was full gospel preaching from the beginning. Within my knowledge, Nepal has never experienced the mass-movement conversion. The conversion has always been made with individual decision. Many people in their conversions have experienced healing or deliverance from evil forces. People have experienced changed lives. Nepal is experiencing one of the fastest seasons of church growth in the world. Almost all churches are evangelical in their beliefs and presentation.

⁶ Darjeeling is in the Indian State of West Bengal, and a hill station where majority of the people are Nepalese. Barnabas Rai came to western part of Nepal from Darjeeling which is near the eastern border of Nepal. Rai was a Nepali speaker.

As stated earlier, the Pentecostal movement entered Nepal in 1951 when the nation was opened to the outside world. Barnabas Rai moved to Nepal and a fellowship started in Nepalganj. The Lal Bahadur Shrestha family became Christian in 1954. There were other converts in the Nepalganj area. All these new converts were exposed to Pentecostal teaching. The gospel reached to Gumi in 1960, a remote village, very far away from Nepalganj. Nara Bahadur Gharti and Shiva Bahadur Gharti were some of the early converts. Through Rupaiah and Nepalganj churches the gospel reached several places around Nepalganj. In the 60s and 70s there were few Pentecostal churches in the Nepalganj areas, but these churches always gave emphasis to the work of the Holy Spirit. Some of the early church leaders had very close fellowship with AG of North India and some of the leaders of AG North India, like P. C. Samuel, have contributed to the Pentecostal movements in western Nepal.

The AG work started in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal, in 1974 with the arrival of some of the missionaries commissioned by the Division of Foreign Missions of the AG, USA. Jim Roan, Dudley Henderson, and Miss Mary⁷ were some of the early AG missionaries from USA. The above missionaries and others like Ezekiel Joshua (India), and Geoff Walvin (UK) are some of the pioneers of the AG and Pentecostal work in Kathmandu valley. Through their ministries many people came to Christ and dedicated their lives for the ministry. Emphasis was placed on evangelism, church planting, and discipleship. Short-term Bible classes were started and emphasis was given to the word of God and the gifts and fruit of the Holy Spirit. People were prayed for the baptism of the Holy Spirit and they were filled.

AG churches in Kathmandu valley started to organize annual revival camps during the Hindu festival, Dasain, and they became greatly beneficial to the believers. The first time, such a camp was conducted in Nagarkot in 1980, many people experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Fred and Margaret Swards from Singapore were the speakers for the first camp and they emphasized the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Revival camps were conducted in the following years in many parts of Nepal. These were the years of severe persecution in Nepal. Christians were persecuted politically and socially. But the emphasis on prayer, baptism of the Holy Spirit and discipleship helped the believers to trust in Christ with full commitment.

⁷ Her true name is withheld as requested by her.

The youth camp also came into existence through felt need. This revival camp was targeted mainly for young people. In such camps the young people experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Deliverance, speaking in tongues, and being slain in the Spirit were some of the main features of these youth revival camps. Many received God's call to the ministry. This AG youth camp was held for the first time in Rupaiah, near the Nepalganj border in India. Then as the churches grew, revival camps were held in various parts of Nepal, and youth were challenged to be filled with the Spirit and live a life worthy of his calling.

The leadership of the Nepalese AG has fully co-operated with the move of the Holy Spirit. The present leadership is always grateful to the pioneers of this ministry in Nepal. The Pentecostal experience is being emphasized in all the churches, and the power of the Holy Spirit is considered to be the source of ministry. Church members experience the baptism of the Holy Spirit and are encouraged to seek the gifts of the Holy Spirit. In these churches place is given for prophecy, as well as a time for praising God in Spirit, speaking in tongues, and the interpretation of tongues.

In Bible schools and training centers, courses are offered on Pentecostalism, especially studies on the Holy Spirit and his works. The gifts and fruit of the Holy Spirit are taught. The students are encouraged to exercise the gifts of the Spirit in their lives.

Apart from the Assembly of God, there are many other groups who consider themselves to be Pentecostal or Charismatic. Agape Fellowship is a Charismatic church with many churches in its fellowship. Much emphasis is given to the baptism and fullness of the Holy Spirit. There are other independent churches, many are Pentecostal or Charismatic in their beliefs and expressions. Other churches that do not profess to be either Pentecostal or Charismatic are not against Pentecostal/Charismatic beliefs and movements. These churches participate in the Pentecostal/Charismatic meetings. The believers of such churches are not against Pentecostal/Charismatic movements, in fact they like them, but they are not well informed about the movements.

2.3 The Impact of the Movement

As stated above, the Pentecostal movement entered Nepal when the door was opened to the gospel. This movement has allowed the church to remain energetic and give emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit and on the study of God's word. Christians are reminded that we need to be equipped by the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the word of God in order to

be witnesses for Christ. The work of the Lord cannot be done with our own strength, but with the power of the Holy Spirit.

Nepal is a land of many spirits. We encounter spiritual warfare all the time. We see possession and manifestation of demonic power everywhere. Such manifestations take place even in the church services when new people come for salvation. Many people have experienced deliverance from evil forces. Sometimes possessed people are directed to the Pentecostal churches for their deliverance. Even the Hindus/Buddhists bring such people for deliverance.

Pentecostal churches emphasize prayer and fasting. People are encouraged to pray for the nations, for the salvation of unbelievers, for the Christian community, for revival, and others. Focus on prayer and fasting builds up the believers and encourages them to trust God for the answer to their prayers. The young church of Nepal needs to continue in its zeal for the Lord and be a witness in the community. When the people are changed by the power of the gospel and the Holy Spirit, they make the difference in their society.

Pentecostal churches are also involved in social work to some extent. Though they stress the spiritual aspect of a person more than the physical, they by no means neglect the physical aspect. Believers have been encouraged to meet the over all needs of a person.

People need to learn God's word. There is no substitute for the scripture. The Pentecostal churches in Nepal can have greater impact if they give more attention to the word of God and balance it with spiritual gifts. The nation of Nepal is yet to see a revival with God's greatest intervention. The church needs to prepare itself for this moment. Church leaders and believers need to cleanse themselves for this moment. Then the church will have a greater impact upon the nation.

3. Reflection

The Pentecostal movement entered the nation of Nepal when Nepal's door was opened for the gospel. The movement started in various parts of the nation, and contributed positively in the areas of evangelism, discipleship, and church planting in Nepal. Pentecostal/Charismatic churches have evangelistic activities where they share the good news to the people who have not heard the gospel. Believers are encouraged to share their testimonies and the good news about Christ with their family members, relatives, and neighbors. This has contributed positively towards the growth of the church. Local

churches take the initiative to evangelize their village or town. Leaders and believers are encouraged to pray for people for salvation, healing, and deliverance. Many have experienced salvation from their sins, healing in their bodies, and deliverance from the power of evil forces.

Pentecostal churches stress the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Believers are encouraged to seek the in-filling and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Revival meetings are conducted in the churches to help believers grow spiritually and they are encouraged to give time in prayer and reading or listening to God's word, as well as to exercise the spiritual gifts that are given to them by the Lord.

It has been commented on from time to time that the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement is very emotional in its expressions. They say that people are not motivated to do a deep study of God's word and they are more interested in the gifts than in the fruit of the Spirit. Spirit-filled believers need to pay a very keen attention to some of these comments made by both Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals. The Bible always demands a balanced view of life. There is no doubt of the genuineness of Pentecostal/Charismatic movements, which have crossed all nations and denominations. People are experiencing the power of the Holy Spirit in their lives and ministry. But the Pentecostal/Charismatic believers need to find balance between the gifts and fruit of the Holy Spirit. Emphasis also must be given to the formation of Christian character. The church is responsible to build up the people in the image of Christ, while encouraging the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The need of the Nepali church today is to develop a balance between the deeper study of God's word and spiritual manifestations of God's power. Therefore, the Pentecostal/Charismatic churches need to give more attention to a deeper study of God's word and help the Christians to cultivate fruit of the Spirit in their lives.

They also need to give attention to developing leadership. Sometimes leaders are too short sighted and they do not plan well for the future. If this divine movement is to continue, mature leaders with greater commitment have to be developed. The people who have Pentecostal experience need to profess their experience and help others to have this experience.

Finally, the church in Nepal is experiencing tremendous growth. Pentecostal/Charismatic groups have an awesome responsibility to lead the church in the power and direction of the Holy Spirit. They need to set an example in faith and deeds. The nation of Nepal needs to experience the power of the Holy Spirit and the church needs to give right place to God in its life.