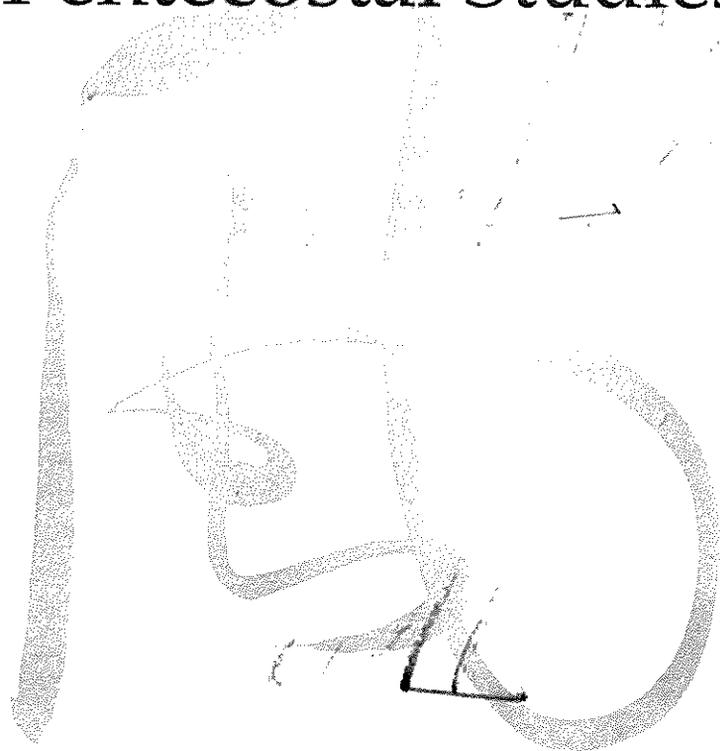


Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies



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Editors

William W. Menzies, Wonsuk Ma, Joseph R. Suico

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Paul Elbert, Church of God Theological Seminary, Cleveland, TN 37320-3330,
USA (Email: pelbert@alltel.net)

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“THE SPIRIT MAKES US ONE.”

This declaration of the kingdom life has not yet been fully realized, just like our eschatological hope. Historically speaking, we often wonder if this ideal has even been inaugurated. Indeed, the church's history of division from the early years makes us wonder if this is going to be at all possible. At one point in history, the church with powerful political influence appeared to have brought unity to God's people, but it was never truly bonded.

The modern day ecumenical movement through the World Council of Churches (WCC) has less than a quarter of world Christianity under its banner. To begin with, the Roman Catholic Church is not part of it, as well as many of the Evangelical and ever-growing Pentecostal-Charismatic groups. In fact, often some ecumenical churches acted exactly unecumenically, while Evangelicals and conservatives continued their crusade for Christian “truth” as often (too) narrowly defined. In part, the creation of an Evangelical theological association in Asia may be attributed to the less-ecumenical, less-inclusive, and less-embracing attitude of the older, mainline and thus ecumenical theological association. With the steady decrease in membership and financial resources among the mainline churches, practical and fundamental questions as to the role of the WCC have been raised from within as well as without. For this reason, the creation of the Global Christian Forum is a radical move to create a neutral space for the “majority” Christian world to participate in dialogue and ultimately Christian cooperation. This idea, quite dangerous with its potential to make the WCC obsolete, may be viewed as the most significant contribution of the world body toward the unity of the Christian church. The record reveals that its three global consultations were well attended by Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Anglican, mainline, Evangelical and Pentecostal delegates, and sufficient trust and consensus among the participants have been built to launch its regional consultations.

The Asian Consultation of the Global Christian Forum was convened in Hong Kong between April 30 and May 4, 2004. A press release provides details of its meetings, as included here.

Global Christian Forum
Asia Consultation
“Jesus Christ in Asia—Our Journey with Him”

Around sixty Christians from a broad range of traditions and organizations—including Anglican, Catholic, Evangelical, Mar Thoma, Orthodox, Pentecostal, Protestant, Salvation Army, the Christian Conference of Asia, Evangelical Fellowship of Asia, Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conferences and World Vision—came together in Hong Kong for the purpose of reflecting on our journey together with Jesus Christ in Asia.

This coming together was the initiative of the Global Christian Forum process. It provided space for us as Asian Christians from different traditions to meet with each other and to listen to one another’s “faith journey,” as well as our particular struggles and challenges in different situations in Asia, with all its plurality. We experienced a fresh sense of unity under the lordship of Jesus Christ, and a shared passion for participating in his mission in the world.

Arising out of this sharing we developed a new awareness of one another’s existence and spirituality, and with it the importance of each other in being churches in Asia. We affirm that we need to build bridges that would facilitate co-operation in order to have a united voice in confronting the various issues facing Asia. We acknowledge that this in no way means that we would lose our individual identity or distinctiveness. We acknowledge the need to respect and uphold this diversity, among those who confess that God is Father, Son and Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ as perfect in his divinity and humanity. In this spirit, we need to establish trust, openness, honesty, love and humility as we work with one another.

We affirm the need for an emphasis on holiness of life and prayer for the fostering of unity amongst us, and a deepening and strengthening of our participation in God’s mission in his world. We commit ourselves to explore together models for working, studying and addressing issues which are of common concern, notably poverty, oppression and religious intolerance.

We further affirm the need to work together and continue this initiative at the regional, national and local level. We urge the Evangelical Fellowship of Asia, the Christian Conference of Asia and Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conferences to assist in forwarding this initiative.

4 May 2004, Hong Kong

The real question we should ask now as Asian Pentecostals is: “How about us?” Have we, as people of the Spirit, been conscious of Jesus’

priestly prayer that we may be one, and the truth that the Spirit was given explicitly so that we may be one? What have we learned from the short history of the modern Pentecostal movement? Or have we examined it? The Pentecostal movement is taking the globe like a storm, and many traditional churches, often with decreasing spiritual dynamic, have been genuinely interested in us.

As Pentecostals have found for the first time a place in being a meaningful participant in forging Christian unity with many older traditional churches, what should our response be? Will we still remain at arms length because we are just different from them? Or are we still apprehensive of such ecumenical initiative? As many participants expressed, are western denominationalism and their missionaries a significant hindrance in forging Christian cooperation in Asia?

It is noted that while the last paragraph of the summary sheet was composed, it occurred to everyone that we Pentecostals have no network in Asia to become an entity like, for example, the Evangelical Fellowship of Asia has been. Then would it be necessary to form a fellowship of Asian Pentecostal churches?

W.Ma

EDITORIAL NOTES

The editors welcome Dr. Joseph Suico to the editorial team from this issue. Also Dr. Peter Kuzmic is the latest addition to the respected editorial Board of the journal.

The editors are also pleased to announce the publication of the first title in the AJPS Series. For order information, see the order form as well as an advertisement found in this journal issue.

The next issue (8:1, Jan 2005) is devoted to "Pentecostalism in the Philippines" and Dr. Suico is the principle editor for this issue. For any suggestions or proposals, please contact the journal office.

AN INVESTIGATION INTO SUCCESSFUL LEADERSHIP
TRANSITIONS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT¹

A. Kay Fountain

1. Introduction

Now that the indigenous principle of church planting has operated in missions for about a century,² it seems timely to consider leadership transitions. As churches become indigenous, it is vital that there be smooth transition from missionary leadership to national leadership. It is also necessary for the future of the church that all leaders, both missionary and national, understand the process of leadership transition. There is a wealth of literature on leadership, styles of leadership, personalities in leadership, how to train leaders, developing the leadership potential of others and so forth, but in all this literature, there is virtually nothing on the subject of leadership transition. There appears to be an assumption that if you train and develop leaders properly, then the transition to the next generation of leaders will go smoothly. But little has been written on the process of transition itself.

The literature on Christian leadership also seems to be rather heavily weighted toward New Testament examples, for the obvious reason that we have godly leadership embodied in the person of Christ himself. While much is made of the delegation process instigated by Jethro with Moses and Israel at Mt Sinai, some scholars reject this as less than ideal

¹ An earlier version appears under the same title in *Reflections on Developing Asian Pentecostal Leaders: Essay in Honor of Harold Kohl*, ed. A. Kay Fountain (Baguio, Philippines: APTS Press, 2004), pp. 249-83.

² John F. Carter, "The Indigenous Principle Revisited: Towards a Coactive Model of Missionary Ministry," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 1:1 (Jan. 1998), pp. 73-82 (73).

for Christian leadership.³ Although some do give good attention to Old Testament examples,⁴ others seem to completely ignore the Old Testament material as though it had no significance for Christian leaders.⁵ Some even suggest that it may lead in wrong directions.⁶

This paper is a small attempt to begin to fill these gaps in the literature and to rehabilitate the Old Testament as part of the Holy Spirit-inspired record.⁷ It is time to consider the process of transition, and to begin to understand how it should and could happen if it was planned. Too often a leadership transition takes place for the wrong reasons: a leader dies, or moves on to another ministry; others fail in a variety of

³ See, for example, Robert K. Greenleaf, *Servant Leadership: A Journey into the Nature of Legitimate Power and Greatness* (New York: Paulist, 1977), pp. 84, 247.

⁴ Samuel Matthew, "Biblical Leadership: A Theology of Servanthood for the Church in India" (M.A. Theol. thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1989), pp. 19-31. Mari Gonlag, "Relationships that Transform," in *With an Eye on the Future: Development and Mission in the 21st Century*, eds. Duane Elmer and Lois McKinney (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1996), pp. 208-14 (210) says, "Old Testament models such as Moses and Joshua (Exod.17; Deut.31), Elijah and Elisha (1 Kings 19), and Eli and Samuel (1 Sam. 3) illustrate vividly the power of the role model in preparing others for tasks of leadership and ministry. Noteworthy in each of these cases is the fact that, while the ministries of the mentors were significant, the ministries of the protégés were broader and in some senses more distinguished than their mentors. One mark of a great mentor is to allow the protégé to develop beyond the mentor's own limitations."

⁵ Note, for example, David William Bennett, "Perspectives of Biblical Pastoral Leadership" (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1990). This thesis does not even have a section of the Old Testament, and yet it claims to be about biblical rather than New Testament leadership.

⁶ Ted W. Ward, "Servants, Leaders, and Tyrants," in *With an Eye on the Future: Development and Mission in the 21st Century*, pp. 27-42 (34-35) for example, says, "Models of leadership can be drawn from Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Nehemiah, Moses and other illustrious characters of the Old Testament. These are pre-Christian, some are even pre-scriptural, and they can send us off on the wrong foot."

⁷ In the introduction to his book, Rodney R. Hutton, *Charisma and Authority in Israelite Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), p. vi indicates the same oversight of the Old Testament in relation to the subject of empowerment as follows: "This study has two primary methodological concerns: first, to introduce the Old Testament into the discussion of a 'biblical' view of empowerment, a discussion from which it has unfortunately been excluded or dismissed as having no particular competency."

ways and have to be removed. Sometimes there is a power struggle between an older and a younger leader.⁸ When these things happen, there is often a scramble to replace the person who has gone. Although these are some of the most common kinds of leadership transitions, they are not the ideal way for change to take place. In the church, there should be a better way to handle things. It is my contention that there are examples of smooth transition processes in the Old Testament, which could help us to begin to develop guidelines for transitions from missionary to national leadership, or from one generation of national leadership to the next.

2. Four Old Testament Leadership Transitions

While there are, of course, many instances of leadership transition which fit the less desirable categories mentioned above, due to limitations of space, the following examples of leadership transition will be the focus of this paper.

The transfer of leadership from Moses to Joshua (Num 27:12-23; Deut 1:38; 3:12-23; 31:3, 7, 14-15, 23) and from Elijah to Elisha (1 Kings 19; 2 Kings 2) could be considered successful leadership transitions. The inability of Eli to transfer leadership to his sons (1 Sam 2) could be considered an unsuccessful leadership transition, although in this instance we do have the successful transition from Eli to Samuel (1 Sam 2-4).

In order to compare the accounts of these events it will be helpful to consider several elements involved in the transition of leadership from one generation to the next. Source of authority, divine approval or disapproval, transfer of power, popular recognition or rejection, and the relationship between the older and the younger leader are some of the key items which need to be considered in each transition.

⁸ Samuel Mau-Cheng Lee, "A comparative Study of Leadership Selection Process among Four Chinese Leaders" (D.Min. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985), p. 75, for example, states, "According to the Chinese proverb, 'One mountain cannot accommodate two tigers.' Proof is not lacking from Chinese church history that when a co-worker is added to the church, two churches will eventually result due to conflicts."

2.1 Moses to Joshua

2.1.1 *Source of authority*

There is no doubt that the source of Moses' authority is God's call, recorded in Exodus 3. The point of interest in this discussion is the source of Joshua's authority to lead the nation after Moses' death. It is clear that Joshua's authority comes from two different sources. Firstly, and most importantly, he is God's choice to be Moses' successor, and secondly, as a consequence, he is Moses' choice also. As Mott pointed out we should "not overlook or minimize God's part in the calling of men. There could be no more disastrous mistake than to think and to act as though it were possible for men alone to recruit the ranks of the ministry of Jesus Christ."⁹ It is clear in this instance that the source of Joshua's authority was in God's choice. Moses' affirmation of that choice simply adds to Joshua's authority, but it is not really the source of that authority.

2.1.2 *Divine approval*

In Numbers 14, after Joshua and Caleb had brought back a good report about the Promised Land, God clearly states his approval, first of all regarding Caleb (v. 24), but then also including Joshua (v. 30). God's approval of Joshua rested not on his ability to lead Israel in battle, but in his determination to trust God and obey despite the difficulties which could be foreseen. While his ability as a warrior was undoubtedly important for the role he would fulfill in bringing the Israelites into the Promised Land, it is not this ability, but rather his faith and vision, which brought God's declaration of approval.¹⁰ "The survival of Joshua and Caleb is based on their actions reported in 13:30 and 14:6-9, which were judged as worthy of life by Yahweh."¹¹

2.1.3 *Transfer of Power*

The actual transfer of power took place in Num 27:18-23 which is paralleled by the account in Deut 31:7-8, 14, 15 and 23. This records the public commissioning of Joshua by Moses. It also records the transfer of

⁹ John R. Mott, *The Future Leadership of the Church* (New York: Young Men's Christian Association, 1908), p. 188.

¹⁰ Patrick D. Miller, *Deuteronomy, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Louisville, KY: John Knox, 1990), p. 33.

¹¹ Timothy R. Ashley, *The Book of Numbers* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 269.

authority from Moses to Joshua by the laying on of hands.¹² This event happened as a direct response to Moses' prayer for a successor. Apart from the public ceremony, there seems also to have been a more private meeting between God, Moses and Joshua in which the Lord spoke first to Moses,¹³ and then directly to Joshua.¹⁴ The people witnessing the event were able to see the pillar of cloud standing over the entrance to the tent while God speaks with the leader and his chosen successor.

2.1.4 Popular recognition

Probably as a result of the above two items, the people were ready to accept Joshua's leadership. However, as Kouzes and Posner point out in relation to leadership in general, "The people's choice is based, not upon authority, but upon the leader's perceived capacity to serve a need."¹⁵ They go on to explain that "above all else, people want leaders who are credible,"¹⁶ and that "credibility, like reputation, is something that is earned over time."¹⁷ Boehme also states that "authority is based on character."¹⁸ Therefore, it is perhaps not so much because of God's and Moses' choice, and the public declaration of Joshua's succession that he is accepted by the people, but rather because of his early success on the battle field (Exod 17:8-14),¹⁹ and his ability to stand up against popular opinion and show himself to be a person with vision and faith (Num 14:6-9). Joshua had established credibility with the generation of people whom he was to lead. The parents of that generation died in the wilderness because of their unbelief, rebellion and fear, but Joshua was

¹² Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10-34:12*, Word Biblical Commentary 6B (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2002), p. 759.

¹³ J. Ridderbos, *Deuteronomy*, Bible Student's Commentary, trans. Ed M. van der Maas (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984), p. 277.

¹⁴ J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy: An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1974), pp. 292-93.

¹⁵ James M. Kouzes and Barry Z. Posner, *Credibility: How Leaders Gain and Lose It, Why People Demand It* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1993), p. 9.

¹⁶ Kouzes & Posner, *Credibility*, p. 22.

¹⁷ Kouzes & Posner, *Credibility*, p. 25.

¹⁸ Ron Boehme, *Leadership for the 21st Century: Changing Nations through the Power of Serving* (Seattle, WA: Frontline Communications, 1989), p. 70.

¹⁹ Eugene H. Merrill, *Deuteronomy*, New American Commentary 4 (National, TN: Broadman & Holman, 1994), p. 83.

not of the same mind as them, and by his actions he had established credibility with those whom he was destined to lead.²⁰ Moses' actions also play a part in establishing Joshua's credibility. Maxwell says, "The transfer of leadership is an important theme in Deuteronomy.... By bringing this subject up so often, Moses was not only encouraging Joshua, but he was giving him his blessing and his approval as the next leader."²¹

2.1.5 Relationship between Moses and Joshua

Joshua was Moses' servant for almost all of the wilderness period, which is approximately thirty-eight years.²² Although he had already proven himself a capable warrior in leading the Israelite army against the Amalekites (Exod 17:8-14), he spent most of the wilderness years simply being Moses' personal attendant (Exod 24:3; 32:17; 33:11). There is a tendency to think of Joshua as a youth in relationship to Moses. But we should consider that Joshua was leading the Israelite army in the battle against the Amalekites, early in the Exodus period, and that he was chosen as a representative of his tribe to go and spy out the Promised Land. Then we have to recognize that he must have been at least twenty years old at that stage in order to be recognized as a warrior fit for battle (Num 1:3). The fact that he was a leader, both in his own tribe and over the national army, indicates that he was in fact considerably older than that. Yet, for nearly forty years, he humbled himself in order to simply serve Moses.

²⁰ Gordon J. Wenham, *Numbers: An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1981), p. 121 says, "Though Joshua's appointment as Moses' successor is not discussed for many chapters, the stepping forward of Joshua at this moment [Num. 14:6] adumbrates the future. He will be their new leader, who will bring their little ones into possession of the land."

²¹ John C. Maxwell, *Deuteronomy*, Communicator's Commentary (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), pp. 84-5. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1-21:9*, p. 69 also sees the training of Joshua as a major theme of Deut 1-3 and 31-34.

²² Maxwell, *Deuteronomy*, p. 56 makes it forty years.

2.2 Elijah to Elisha

2.2.1 *Source of authority*

As with the transition from Moses to Joshua, we see again that Elisha is God's choice as Elijah's successor (1 Kings 19:16), and therefore, he is also Elijah's choice (1 Kings 19:19).

[T]he figure of Elisha is unique. He is the only example of a prophet being designated and appointed as the direct successor of another. Indeed, Elisha is represented not just as a disciple but almost as a continuation of Elijah. He not only carries on the spirit of Elijah, but in narrative terms he completes a number of actions in the story which were begun by Elijah, particularly those concerned with Hazael and Jehu.²³

The first introduction we have to Elisha is God's instruction to Elijah. It is interesting to note that God was aware of this man, ploughing his fields after the arrival of the long awaited rain, and had chosen him to succeed Elijah, apparently before Elijah was aware of him. It is also an interesting comparison to note that like Joshua,²⁴ Elisha's choice is a direct answer to the prayer of his predecessor. Out of exhaustion and apparent defeat, Elijah had begged that God would take his life, but instead, God gives him a successor to train, and a new job to begin. In contrast, it was because he was about to die that Moses had requested a successor to lead the people. In both cases, however, the choice is clearly God's.

2.2.2 *Divine approval*

The divine approval of Elisha is evidenced both by God's initial choice and as the answer to Elisha's request for a double portion of the spirit which was upon Elijah. The fact that God had already selected Elisha before Elijah is aware of him indicates God's approval. However, the clearest sign of that approval to Elisha himself is the granting of his request for a double portion of the spirit which rested on Elijah. Most commentators agree that Elisha, in this instance, was not asking to be

²³ Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetic Books* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), p. 136.

²⁴ Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah*, p. 137 notes that the parallels in the two accounts "are particularly evident in the motifs of the transference of the spirit and the parting of the water." But he ignores the prayers which preceded both events.

twice as powerful as Elijah, but was asking to be recognized as his heir and successor.²⁵ According to the Old Testament inheritance laws, the firstborn son received a double portion of the inheritance (Deut 21:17), and so Elisha is asking to be recognized as Elijah's true heir. Elijah's response indicates that he cannot simply grant the request. The true heir and successor of Elijah must be indicated by God and not simply by Elijah.²⁶ The fact that God grants this, therefore, indicates His approval of Elisha, and of his request.

2.2.3 Transfer of Power

The actual transfer of power is indicated by the receipt of Elijah's mantle (2 Kings 2:13). The mantle was Elijah's way of indicating Elisha's calling (1 Kings 19:19), a symbol which Elisha evidently understood immediately.²⁷ Elisha's receipt of the mantle, when Elijah is taken up into heaven, indicates that God has appointed him as Elijah's true successor. The mantle is a symbol of the power of Elijah, and of his being "clothed" with the Spirit of God, and thus its receipt marks the transfer of that power from Elijah to Elisha.²⁸ Having returned to the Jordan, Elisha then proves the power transfer by using the mantle to part the river just as Elijah had done.²⁹

²⁵ Richard D. Nelson, *First and Second Kings*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1987), pp. 159, 163; Russell H. Dilday, *I, 2 Kings*, Communicator's Commentary (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), p. 265; Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1988), p. 32; W. Phillip Keller, *Elijah: Prophet of Power* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1980), p. 155; T. R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, Word Biblical Commentary 13 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985), p. 21.

²⁶ Dilday, *I, 2 Kings*, p. 265.

²⁷ Simon J. DeVries, *1 Kings*, Word Biblical Commentary 12 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985), p. 239; Raymond B. Dillard, *Faith in the Face of Apostasy: The Gospel According to Elijah & Elisha* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 1999), p. 61; Paul R. House, *I, 2 Kings*, New American Commentary (National, TN: Broadman & Holman, 1995), p. 225; Keller, *Elijah*, p. 134.

²⁸ Dillard, *Faith in the Face of Apostasy*, pp. 61, 87; Hobbs, *2 Kings*, p. 22.

²⁹ Hobbs, *2 Kings*, p. 22; Keller, *Elijah*, p. 160; Cogan & Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 34; Dilday, *Faith in the Face of Apostasy*, p. 266; Nelson, *First and Second Kings*, pp. 162-63.

2.2.4 Popular recognition

As with Joshua, so with Elisha, we find that not only did he have God's call, and Elijah's confirmation of that call, but he had demonstrated his fitness for the task. He built credibility with the sons of the prophets who witness his first miracle 1) by not abandoning Elijah in his final journey, 2) by specifically requesting to be recognized as the true heir, and finally 3) by public display of the power he had received.³⁰ The further fruitless search for Elijah proves beyond doubt that Elisha is now their leader and the true successor of Elijah.³¹ The narrative then records two more supernatural events at the hands of Elisha, which serve to confirm his succession to Elijah (2 Kings 2:19-25).

2.2.5 Relationship between Elijah and Elisha

While there is some difficulty reconciling the dating of the various events in the early chapters of 2 Kings, it can be argued that Elisha was probably Elijah's servant for a period of some twenty-six years. Although the succession narrative occurs in chapter 2, it is clear that Elijah was still alive during the reign of Jehoram, king of Judah, since he wrote him a letter rebuking his apostasy and predicting his painful death (2 Chr 21:12-15). Thus it would appear that the narrative in 2 Kings 2-3 is not necessarily in chronological order. The succession narrative concludes the story of Elijah's life, and introduces Elisha, and so it is fitting to place it here. It does appear, however, that the revolt of Moab recorded in 2 Kings 3, where Elisha is said to have "poured water on Elijah's hands" (2 Kings 3:11), could have preceded the succession narrative chronologically.³² If this is the case, then Elijah's ministry

³⁰ Dilday, *Faith in the Face of Apostasy*, p. 270; Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah*, p. 137.

³¹ Dilday, *Faith in the Face of Apostasy*, p. 270. Keller, *Elijah*, p. 160. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, p. 27.

³² This seems to be the consensus of most of the commentaries. The following accept Elijah's letter as authentic and having indicated the problem of chronology, opt for the solution given above. Martin J. Selman, *2 Chronicles*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1994), pp. 435-36; H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, New Century Bible Commentary (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1982), p. 307; J. A. Thompson, *1, 2 Chronicles*, New American Commentary (National, TN: Broadman & Holman, 1994), p. 299; Raymond B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, Word Biblical Commentary 15 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), pp. 167-68. Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, Old Testament Library (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), p. 812; Eugene H. Merrill, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, Bible Study Commentary (Grand Rapids,

extended from the reign of Ahab until the reign of Jehoram. If this order is correct, then Elisha's training as his servant, perhaps included this opportunity to develop his own gifting of operating in the miraculous, and lasted from early in Ahab's reign (874-853) until perhaps as late as 848 B.C. The point of this discussion is to clarify the fact that, like Joshua before him, Elisha was a servant for a significant portion of his adult life. Even perhaps after developing ministry in his own right (such as is recorded in 2 Kings 3), he continued to accompany his master in the capacity of a servant until Elijah was taken up into heaven. This was not a brief sojourn into the ranks of servanthood by a young man from a wealthy family,³³ it was a commitment of a considerable portion of his life, a commitment which indicated not only that he was capable of serving, but that in the process of serving he developed a servant's heart.

2.3 Eli to his Sons

2.3.1 Source of authority

Any authority which Eli's sons had was derived from the fact that they were his sons. They did not have any calling from God, they were not supported in their attitudes by Eli, and they did not have credibility with the people. They had no authority in their own right, and the authority they had, they used to oppress and dominate. They established their own authority by fear and manipulation for their own benefit (1 Sam 2:16). This is a trait of the kind of leadership that rules in the kingdom of darkness.³⁴

MI: Zondervan, 1988), 131-32. J. G. McConville, *I & II Chronicles*, Daily Study Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), p. 199 suggests that Elijah sent the letter from heaven; Leslie C. Allen, *1, 2 Chronicles*, Communicator's Commentary 10 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), p. 320 recognizes the problem but casts doubt on the chronology of 2 Kings 2-3; Jacob M. Myers, *II Chronicles*, Anchor Bible (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), pp. 121-22 rejects the authenticity of Elijah's letter, calling it "apocryphal"; John Sailhamer, *First & Second Chronicles* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1983), pp. 97-98 ignores the chronology problem and treats the letter as authentic with no comment.

³³ A family which owned twelve yoke of oxen was certainly wealthy (1 Kings 19:19), and the fact that he sacrificed two of them without any protest or apparent hardship to his family (1 Kings 19:21) seems to suggest that there were more which could be used to continue the farming work after his departure. The feast seems also to indicate a rather large work force associated with his family.

³⁴ Boehme, *Leadership for the 21st Century*, pp. 50-51.

2.3.2 *Divine disapproval*

It is clear that Eli's sons do not have God's approval. There are two prophecies about their behavior (1 Sam 2:27-36; 1 Sam 3:11-14), both of which indicate that God was not only aware of, but also very displeased with them. There is also the clear statement that their behavior offended the Lord (1 Sam 2:17). There is no doubt that they were living under the shadow of divine disapproval.³⁵ "Their father warned them that their sins were unforgivable. They were the very men whose responsibility it was to intercede for others, and there was no way in which anyone else could intercede with God for them—they were the senior priests. They were quite deliberately flouting God."³⁶

2.3.3 *Transfer of power*

There is, of course, no official transfer of power from Eli to his sons. In fact, it appears that the sons had usurped their father's authority (1 Sam 2:12-16). The only power that they had was based on their overbearing threats, and their manipulation of people for their own ends. They forced obedience to their commands by threats, and resorted to the kind of power which is exercised in the demonic kingdom rather than the kingdom of God. "The sons of Eli were despicable characters who violated the system of donations to the priests in Shiloh and who backed up their greedy maneuvers with threats of violence (vv 12-17)."³⁷

2.3.4 *Popular rejection*

Their behavior at the entrance to the tent of meeting was not only abhorrent to the Lord, but offensive to the people. Some people apparently objected to it, but they were overruled by Eli's sons (1 Sam 2:12-16). Thus they had no credibility with the people, and were not popular. Their godlessness was recognized by those who came to the sanctuary to make offerings, and their reputation was well known, being

³⁵ As Ralph W. Klein, *1 Samuel*, Word Biblical Commentary 10 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983), p. 26 points out, "The interweaving of the story of Samuel and of Eli's sons leaves no doubt who has divine approval and who stands under condemnation."

³⁶ David F. Payne, *I & II Samuel*, Daily Bible Study (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1982), p. 18. See also Cyril J. Barber, *The Sovereignty of God Illustrated in the Lives of Samuel, Saul and David: The Books of Samuel*, vol. 1 (Neptune, NJ, Loizeaux, 1994), p. 57.

³⁷ Klein, *1 Samuel*, p. 23.

reported to Eli by “all the people” (1 Sam 2:23-24).³⁸ As Barber says, “It is no wonder that the sons of Eli aroused the indignation of God’s people.”³⁹ “There was therefore a leadership crisis in Israel; physically, the very elderly Eli was no longer fit to rule, and his sons were obviously morally unfit.”⁴⁰

2.3.5 *Relationship between Eli and his Sons*

Eli was an indulgent and somewhat weak parent. “The history of his sons’ insubordination no doubt went back to their youth, when it should have been possible to discipline them.”⁴¹ Although he did attempt to discipline his sons, his attempt was ineffectual, and obviously too late to be of any great import (1 Sam 2:24). They simply ignored him and continued in their evil ways. “It must be remembered that Eli was not simply the chief priest at Shiloh; serving at the most important Israelite shrine, but, he was a man of considerable political importance, indeed a leader (‘judge’) of Israel (cp. 4:18). Yet he could not control his own sons!”⁴² Though they could have expected to inherit their father’s position, authority and power, by their own willfulness and sinfulness, they so offended the Lord, and their father, that they were disqualified from even being servants. It is clear that they did not have servant hearts at all. Perhaps that is why God’s judgment did not wipe out the family completely, but reduced it to begging and servanthood (1 Sam 2:36).⁴³

2.4 Eli to Samuel

2.4.1 *Source of authority*

It appears that the source of Samuel’s authority, may, in fact, have been Eli’s prayer for Hannah. As Menaull points out, “although he has no idea what she is praying for, Eli joins in Hannah’s request. His authority has given way to hers. One day, the child for whom they pray will

³⁸ Klein, *1 Samuel*, p. 23 points out that “Eli confronted his sons with reports spread abroad by the people of Yahweh.”

³⁹ Barber, *The Sovereignty of God*, p. 55.

⁴⁰ Payne, *I & II Samuel*, p. 18.

⁴¹ Joyce G. Baldwin, *1 & 2 Samuel: An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1988), p. 63.

⁴² Payne, *I & II Samuel*, p. 18.

⁴³ Payne, *I & II Samuel*, p. 21. Klein, *1 Samuel*, pp. 23, 28.

supplant the authority of Eli's sons among the people."⁴⁴ The source of Samuel's power comes directly from God, and indirectly from Eli. Both, when he reverses his harsh and mistaken judgment of Hannah, and agrees with her prayer, and when he accepts the word of the Lord from the youthful lips of Samuel, he is acting as the judge and leading priest of Israel. In both cases, therefore, he is recognizing God as the source of authority, and releasing that authority in Samuel's direction. As Payne points out, "Eli too was able to bear witness that Samuel heard the call of God, so there could be no doubting the reality and authenticity of his call."⁴⁵

2.4.2 *Divine approval*

In contrast to Eli's sons, Samuel grew up in the same environment and adhered faithfully to the principles of God's commandments. He lived under divine approval (1 Sam 2:26), and at an early age was trusted by Eli with the responsibility of watching the sanctuary. He was also trusted by God with a prophetic word against the house of Eli, although he was still obviously quite young. As he grew, he continued to receive revelation from God, something which the narrative makes quite clear was "rare in those days" (1 Sam 3:1, 21). Clearly Samuel had God's approval.⁴⁶

2.4.3 *Transfer of power*

There is no particular ceremony which transfers the power from Eli to Samuel. However, once Samuel began receiving revelation from God, it was clear to Eli that God had chosen his successor.⁴⁷ Even as quite a young man, Samuel had influence on all Israel because of the revelations which God gave him (1 Sam 4:1). Regardless of any official transfer by Eli, God made the choice quite clear and gave power to Samuel without any request on his side.

Samuel appears as a man who has been associated with the sanctuary from his youth, who has grown up and gained his experience in the

⁴⁴ Marjorie Menaul, "Between Text and Sermon: 1 Samuel 1 & 2," *Interpretation* 55:2 (April 2001), pp. 174-76.

⁴⁵ Payne, *I & II Samuel*, p. 23.

⁴⁶ Payne, *I & II Samuel*, p. 18 says, "More important than the people's approval, however, were God's decisions. He too viewed Samuel with favour."

⁴⁷ Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, Old Testament Library, trans. J. S. Bowden (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1964), p. 85.

priestly service, and who is destined to become in reality the true priest of Israel. He succeeds to this office, however, only through the revelation of the word accorded to him. In this way he unites the priestly office with the prophetic vocation.⁴⁸

It is unclear whether Eli agreed with, or resented the transfer of power, although he had no choice but to accept what God had already made plain (1 Sam 3:18). Eli seems simply to have been resigned to the fact that God could not use his sons and had chosen someone else, displaying His choice by the transfer of power.

2.4.4 Popular recognition

Prior to Eli's death Samuel had proven himself to the people.⁴⁹ His prophetic anointing was already recognized and widely acknowledged (1 Sam 4:1).

Such was Samuel's introduction to the prophetic calling. Though he had been committed to priestly service from his earliest days, there is now a new dimension to his ministry, for he has received the word of the Lord, and he unites with his priestly office a prophetic task. This will bring him to prominence in the land at a time when people need to know the word of the Lord to them, for they are facing powerful enemies. Already Samuel is learning that his words will not always be easy either for him to speak or for his hearers to receive, but he will continue to deliver God's message without fear of the consequences, and so establish God's rule in the land.⁵⁰

He already had credibility in the eyes of the people, and it was natural, when Eli died, for them to turn to Samuel for advice and direction (1 Sam 7:3). Payne says, "God showed his care for Israel; before Eli's death he had already provided better leadership, already known to the whole nation, in the person of Samuel."⁵¹ Even though they consecrated Eleazar to "guard the ark of the Lord" (1 Sam 7:1), they did not seek him out in times of trouble. "Samuel now resumed his prophetic ministry to Israel as the Lord's spokesman, and as intercessor on behalf of Israel. Both tasks he was able to fulfill only because the Lord had called, appointed and equipped him, and because the people recognized

⁴⁸ Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, p. 43.

⁴⁹ Klein, *I Samuel*, p. 23.

⁵⁰ Baldwin, *I & 2 Samuel*, p. 64.

⁵¹ Baldwin, *I & 2 Samuel*, p. 24.

and accepted his authority.”⁵² Because of his godly life, and the power of God’s prophetic anointing upon him, Samuel was both the naturally and supernaturally selected leader of Israel for the rest of his life (1 Sam 7:15-7).

2.4.5 Relationship between Eli and Samuel

Matthew suggests that Samuel’s training included “partly being a temple-servant.”⁵³ It appears that he continued in this role until Eli died. Thus, although he was primarily a servant in the temple, he related to Eli in the way a servant would relate to a master, rather than in the way a child relates to his father. “Samuel was still the young apprentice, learning from Eli and subject to him.”⁵⁴ As with Joshua and Elisha, we find that Samuel’s servanthood lasted for a considerable portion of his life. From as early as three years of age, until the time of Eli’s death, Samuel served faithfully in the sanctuary at Shiloh. Although we have no way of knowing exactly how long this was, it is highly likely that Samuel reached the age of thirty years before he could be accepted as a leader in his own right.⁵⁵ This would suggest that he continued as a servant, both at the sanctuary and to Eli personally, for a large portion of his life.

3. Summary and Conclusions

From the foregoing examination, the parallels between the Moses/Joshua transition and the Elisha/Elijah transition are strong. Collins indicates, “Parallels with the continuity between Moses and Joshua are inescapable in this account of the commissioning of Elisha in 2 Kings 2.”⁵⁶ We have also seen above that both successors were approved and selected by God, and affirmed by their master as a result. There was a clear transfer of power from leader to successor in both

⁵² Baldwin, *1 & 2 Samuel*, p. 78.

⁵³ Matthew, “Biblical Leadership,” p. 27.

⁵⁴ Baldwin, *1 & 2 Samuel*, p. 63.

⁵⁵ To serve in the sanctuary as a priest a man had to be between 30 and 50 years old (Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35). Klein, *1 Samuel*, p. 35 indicates, “The next time we hear of Samuel, he will be an adult, associated with a great deliverance from the Philistines.” Hertzberg, *1 & II Samuel*, pp. 42-43 suggests that he was already a young man when he received the first prophecy about Eli’s house.

⁵⁶ Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah*, p. 137.

cases. The popular recognition of their leadership status was not only the result of this selection and approval, but also of their ability to perform the required leadership functions. They both spent a large portion of their lives simply serving the men whom they were to succeed.

While the parallels with Samuel are perhaps a little less evident, they are still considerable.⁵⁷ Samuel was clearly accepted by God, and by the people as a result of the prophetic anointing on him. Although in this case there was no clear transfer of power from leader to successor, the fact that Eli accepted Samuel's report of God's word regarding his house indicates that Eli recognized Samuel as the rightful inheritor of the power. Finally, Samuel also was a servant for a good portion of his life.

In the case of Eli's sons we have contrasts to all of these events. They were clearly not called by God, i.e., they had no divine approval, and hence no real authority. There was no transfer of power to them from Eli, perhaps because he accepted the prophetic word, confirmed by Samuel. As a result of all of these things, they were not the popular choice for leadership either. Finally, they obviously lacked any inclination towards servanthood.

From these accounts we can derive some principles for leadership transition. It is obvious that God does not intend to leave his people leaderless or without direction. Firstly, since in all of the examples we have considered, God made it clear who his choice was for continued leadership, and God is still the same (Heb 13:8), surely in the church, it must be possible for missionary leaders, aging leaders, church boards, or denominational leaders to seek the Lord for some indication of the person or persons who should succeed key leaders in the church. This would seem to be the necessary first step in a leadership transition. Ward points out the danger in today's church, that when "authority is not thought to come from God, thus leadership of the church is as relative as anything else."⁵⁸ Boehme also warns that "leadership, in the sense of the biblical

⁵⁷ John E. Harvey, "Tendenz and Textual Criticism in 1 Samuel 2-10," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 96 (2001), pp. 71-81 draws out considerable parallels between Moses/Joshua, and the Eli/Samuel passage in. There is, however, one significant parallel which he does not mention. In the transfer of power from Moses to Joshua, a pericope regarding Moses' sin and the reason why he will not enter the Promised Land is inserted (Num 27:14). In the Eli/Samuel transition, there is also divine criticism of Eli and his sons connected to the calling of Samuel (1 Sam 2:27-36; 3:11-14). This is another obvious parallel between these two accounts.

⁵⁸ Ward, "Servants, Leaders, and Tyrants," p. 34.

world view...first of all...is a calling, given by God.”⁵⁹ These examples of smooth transition of leadership clearly indicate that God’s choice is foremost in a successful transition.

Secondly, when a person has been indicated by God as his choice, those in leadership should be prepared to make that choice public. The process of developing public approval of that person should then begin. This should also include the delegation of some authority to the successor, which would provide opportunities for that person to build credibility.

Thirdly, and very importantly, the master/servant relationship in these three situations should be recognized and developed in a mentoring situation in today’s context. As Manus insists, “[a leader should] serve as a mentor to these future leaders, for they are the best hope for the long-term viability of your organization. Be a role model. Discuss your concerns with them. Treat them as colleagues in the constant search for organizational renewal.”⁶⁰ Ward too suggests that “a preferred metaphor for education is to see it as a life-walk to be shared.”⁶¹ It is clear, however, that these three men succeeded their masters, not only because of the things they learned in observing their masters, but also because of the servant attitude which developed in each of them. They were not servants for a few days, weeks, or months. They were all servants for a considerable portion of their youth, and perhaps even adult life. Recognition and development of the important attribute of a servant heart should be a vital part in the selection of leaders for the church of the next generation. Clinton points out that “the servanthood value which is foundational to Christian leadership...is not a natural part of any leader’s inherited personality bent or culturally determined style. It is learned only through growth as a Christian leader via the power of the Holy Spirit.”⁶² Ward suggests that “God may be sharpening the focus on leadership as servanthood.”⁶³ He also insists that “it requires the grace of God to

⁵⁹ Boehme, *Leadership for the 21st Century*, p. 69.

⁶⁰ Burt Manus, *Visionary Leadership: Creating a Compelling Sense of Direction for Your Organization* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1992), 185.

⁶¹ Ted W. Ward, “Evaluating Metaphors of Education,” in *With an Eye on the Future: Development and Mission in the 21st Century*, pp. 43-52 (48).

⁶² J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Series: Coming to Some Conclusions on Leadership Style* (Pasadena: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1992), p. 82.

⁶³ Ward, “Servants, Leaders, and Tyrants,” p. 33.

remain faithful to the servant role.”⁶⁴ Boehme identifies “the leadership of servanthood...[as] that of example and loving persuasion.”⁶⁵ He also states, “If we could choose one word to summarize the righteous attitude of leadership, that word would be servanthood.”⁶⁶ Certainly this is a distinctive of these three leadership transitions that is not normally discussed. I believe that this trait, found in these three successors, is not simply coincidence. It reveals God’s heart in the matter, and is certainly confirmed in the New Testament.

Finally, there must come a point, either at death (i.e., Elijah and Eli) or while still living (Moses) when the older leader transfers not just authority but power to the younger leader. There should also be some public element to this power transfer which indicates to those who will be following that the younger leader is now the leader indeed.

Perhaps as we embark on the journey the Lord has for the twenty-first century church, we will see greater success in continuity of leadership if we will learn the lessons of leadership transition indicated by these successful leadership transitions in the Old Testament.

⁶⁴ Ward, “Servants, Leaders, and Tyrants,” p. 38.

⁶⁵ Boehme, *Leadership for the 21st Century*, p. 61.

⁶⁶ Boehme, *Leadership for the 21st Century*, p. 87.

LUKAN PENTECOSTAL THEOLOGY OF PRAYER:
IS PERSISTENT PRAYER NOT BIBLICAL?

Dongsoo Kim

It is widely known that one of the most salient features in Korean Pentecostalism is its emphasis on persistence in prayer.¹ This practice of the persistent prayer by the Pentecostal churches has been severely criticized by those in non-Pentecostal circles, because they believe it does not have any biblical foundation. This study concerns the above issue and attempts to show that the practice of persistent prayer has a sound biblical foundation, in that it is an important part of the Lukan theology of prayer. The parable of the friend at midnight (Luke 11:5-8) will be dealt with in depth as a test case to prove my thesis.

Regarding the parable of the friend at midnight, there have been important debates on such matters as 1) the relationship between this parable and the parable of the importunate widow (18:1-8);² 2) the source (Q or Lukan special source);³ 3) literary unity between vv. 5-7

¹ This study is a revised version of the paper read at the Gospels section of the SBL International Meeting held in Cambridge on July 23, 2003.

² See K. Berger, "Materialien zu Form und Überlieferungsgeschichte neutestamentlicher Gleichnisse," *Novum Testamentum* 15 (1973), pp. 1-37 (33-34); W. Ott, *Gebet und Heil: Die Bedeutung der Gebetsparanese in der lukanischen Theologie* (München: Kösel, 1965), pp. 23-31; J. D. M. Derrett, "The Friend at Midnight: Asian Ideas in the Gospel of St. Luke," in *Donum Gentilicium: FS D. Daube*, eds. E. Bammel et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), pp. 78-87 (79).

³ The parable of the friend at midnight is found only in Luke, whereas the other two episodes in Luke 11:1-13 (Luke 11:1-4//Matt 6:9-13; Luke 11:9-13//Matt 7:7-11) are derived from Q. Thus it is debatable whether the parable is derived from Lukan special sources or from Q. Cf. David R. Catchpole, "Q and 'The Friend at Midnight' (Luke 11,5-8/9)," *Journal of Theological Studies* 34 (1983), pp. 407-24; idem, "Q Prayer, and the Kingdom: A Rejoinder," *Journal of Theological Studies* 40 (1989), pp. 377-88; C. M. Tuckett, "Q, Prayer, and the

and v. 8; 4) the meaning of the word ἀναίδεια (v. 8); and 5) oriental hospitality in antiquity.⁴

The scholarly debates regarding the parable are represented by two different titles attributed to this parable: “the parable of the importunate friend”⁵ and “the parable of the friend who was aroused at night by a request for help.”⁶ In the former, the focus is on the petitioner, so the parable is on prayer with persistence. In the latter, the focus is upon the petitioned person who gives generously to the needy, and accordingly the parable speaks of God’s abundance. Is this a parable regarding the manner of prayer, or a parable concerning the character of God? Traditionally it has been understood as the parable of the importunate friend. Recently, however, this interpretation was challenged by Alan F. Johnson and other scholars. For Johnson, “the traditional understanding is both exegetically and theologically indefensible.”⁷

This study attempts to make counter-arguments to the recent trend, and to suggest that the parable teaches us about persistent prayer, based not only on the philological study of the word ἀναίδεια but also on the fresh interpretation of the oriental culture of hospitality.

1. Counter-Arguments

Let me begin with the critiques against some problematic assumptions. First, it is questionable whether the parable contains a double focus. Johnson claims that “there are two theological foci in the parable. The first deals with the character of God, the second with assurance for man.”⁸ A. Jülicher’s thesis that Jesus’ parables have one

Kingdom,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 40 (1989), pp. 367-76; S. Schulz, *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972), p. 88.

⁴ Cf. E. W. Huffard, “The Parable of the Friend at Midnight: God’s Honour or Man’s Persistence?,” *Restoration Quarterly* 21(1978), pp. 154-60 (157).

⁵ T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1949), p. 267.

⁶ J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1958), p. 157.

⁷ A. F. Johnson, “Assurance for Man: The Fallacy of Translation *Anaideia* by ‘Persistence’ in Luke 11,5-8,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 22 (1979), pp. 123-31 (125); see also Huffard, “The Parable of the Friend at Midnight,” pp. 154-60; Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, pp. 157-60.

⁸ Johnson, “Assurance for Man,” p. 131.

main focus is valid here in that the parable concerns one focus, whether it is on the petitioner or the person petitioned.⁹

Secondly, it is wrong to make a case from denominational dogmas. For an instance, N. Levison challenges the traditional interpretation of this parable on the basis of his dogma. He claims that

I am constrained to say “this doctrine [prayer with persistence] is of man.” It is unthinkable that the Master should...postulate such a doctrine, which in the ultimate analysis amounts to a doctrine of forcing God to give us what He would rather not give, and it teaches that persistence will prevail with God.¹⁰

Johnson follows Levison when he states that “sensitive Christians have recognized the severe theological difficulties of turning *anaideia* into ‘persistence’.”¹¹ However, this kind of interpretation has a weakness, for it is a kind of an eisegesis by an interpreter’s own dogma.

Thirdly, it is also not convincing to make a case, based on the conviction that it was not a bother to knock on the door of one’s friend at midnight, according to ancient Asian culture. With regard to culture, what is in view in the parable is not Asian (or Oriental) hospitality but friendship. In the parable of the friend at midnight, a friend—not a stranger—asks his friend to give him bread. In the scripture, hospitality is required to be given to a stranger with all costs included. Bruce J. Malina is correct when he observes, “In the world of the Bible, hospitality is never about entertaining family and friends. Hospitality is always about dealing with strangers.”¹² What kind of reaction is expected from the friend who was aroused at midnight by knocking on the door of his house? True, it is more allowable in Asia than in modern western countries to “bother” friends. However, in the extant text, the friend outside the door not only bothers his friend, but also the family of his friend who are already in bed.

⁹ A. Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963). Cf. Catchpole, “Q and ‘The Friend at Midnight’,” p. 408.

¹⁰ N. Levison, “Importunity?: A Study of Luke xi. 8 (Διὰ γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ),” *Expository Times* 9, ser. 3 (1925), pp. 456-60 (459).

¹¹ Johnson, “Assurance for Man,” p. 128.

¹² Bruce J. Malina, “Hospitality,” in *Biblical Social Values and Their Meaning*, eds. John J. Pilch and Bruce J. Malina (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), pp. 104-07 (104).

2. The Literary Unity

As a preliminary step to interpret this parable, it is required to investigate the literary unity of this parable, for some scholars question whether v. 8 forms an original unity with vv. 5-7.¹³ B. Heininger argues that v. 8 is a secondary addition by Luke. For him, vv. 5-7 form a small unity in terms of style, and that as the manner shown in Luke 18:1, Luke's special interest in the theme of the prayer makes him add v. 8, which can be influenced from Luke 18:1-8.¹⁴ R. Catchpole also considers v. 8 as Luke's redactional phrase. He recognizes a unity in Luke 11:5-7 with regard to Semitic syntax; and he finds a discrepancy between vv. 5-7 and v. 8. This leads him to state:

Luke 11:8 made 11:7 reflect adversely on the character of the petitioned person, but it could only do so because of the implication of 11:7, and especially its role in 11:5-7, was misunderstood. It was taken as an actual and a negative response, whereas it was non-actual.¹⁵

Hence Catchpole concludes that v. 8 has imposed on v. 7 a scheme contributed by 18:1-8. Heininger and Catchpole observe correctly that Luke vv. 5-7 form a unity in terms of style,¹⁶ if not in terms of structure.¹⁷ Yet, I wonder whether we can apply the manner of redaction in Luke 18:1 to that in 11:8. Luke 18:1 is an introductory addition to the given material without transforming the story; this is not the case in 11:8.

¹³ For example, Ott is probably one of the forerunners to regard v. 8 as an addition by Luke. He makes hypothesis that Luke 11:5-7 and 18:2-7 belonged to different traditions originally but held together by Luke at the first stage, and they were separated at the second stage (Ott, *Gebet und Heil*, pp. 25-29).

¹⁴ B. Heininger, *Metaphorik, Erzählstruktur und Szenisch-dramatische Gestaltung in den Sondergutgleichnissen bei Lukas* (Münster: Aschendorf, 1991), p. 101.

¹⁵ Catchpole, "Q and 'the Friend at Midnight'," p. 412.

¹⁶ J. Nolland agrees with Heininger that the awkward Semitic syntax holds together vv. 5-7. Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1993), p. 623.

¹⁷ I will show in the latter part of this article that vv. 5-7 and v. 8 are constructed originally in two stages.

Further, their claim brings another problem. If vv. 5-7 existed originally without v. 8, the message of the parable could be: “Can you imagine that your friend would neglect your petition, when you ask for loaves? Certainly Not! If this message stood alone, not related to the theme of prayer, it is so trivial that it has ‘no theological relevance.’”¹⁸ Therefore I. Howard Marshall is probably correct when he observes, “This construction of the tradition-history is speculative.”¹⁹ As I will show in the following, the parable of the friend at midnight is constructed into two stages (vv. 5-7; v. 8). Without having the second stage (v. 8), the story would be too awkward. Thus, there is good reason to believe that 11:5-8 formed a literary unit originally.

3. Rhetorical or Declarative

There is another problem to solve before interpreting the parable: Is the sentence in vv. 5-6 (or/and v. 7) a rhetorical question or declarative? J. Jeremias and many other commentators argue that the parable begins with a rhetorical question, based on the judgment that the phrase τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν (v. 5) “introduces a question which expects the emphatic answer ‘No one or Impossible!’ or ‘Everyone.’”²⁰ My own analysis on the phrase shows me that, in all the occurrences of the phrase in the New Testament, the rhetorical form is always expressed explicitly in the Gospels, except in Luke 11:5. Therefore, it cannot be easily stated that Luke 11:5 belongs to the characteristic phrase which leads a rhetorical question and connotes the negative answer. Moreover, “it is grammatically more complex than the other τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν questions which are often adduced as parallels.”²¹

Furthermore, whether the rhetorical phrase continues to v. 7 is questionable.²² Jeremias, agreeing with A. Fridrichsen, states,

¹⁸ Catchpole, “Q and ‘The Friend at Midnight’,” p. 413.

¹⁹ I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1978), p. 463.

²⁰ Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, p. 158.

²¹ Tuckett, “Q, Prayer, and the Kingdom,” pp. 368-69.

²² For Nolland, “it is very important to realize that the question is not finished until the end of v. 7.” Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, p. 623.

In that case [τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν itself always connotes a negative answer] the question cannot be ended with v. 6, since v. 6 only describes the situation, and does not insistently demand a reply. Hence vv. 5-7 should rather be regarded as one continuous rhetorical question.²³

Jeremias is right when he states that the phrase usually introduces the negative answer. But it is not the case in Luke 11:5, because it does not form an explicit question. A. R. C. Leaney is probably right in saying that “the interrogative is lost in the prolongation of the sentence.”²⁴ In other words, the rhetorical form of the parable does not have quite the force that Jeremias suggested.

The phrase in Luke 11:5-7 is not a rhetorical question but a declarative sentence. Thus, the phrase can be translated like this: And he said to them. “Suppose one of you has a friend, and you go to him at midnight and say to him, ‘Friend, lend me three loaves of bread; for a friend of mine has arrived, and I have nothing to set before him.’ And he answers from within, ‘Do not bother me; the door has already been locked, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot get up and give you anything.’” (Luke 11:5-7, NRSV).

4. Interpretation

Luke incorporates three episodes on prayer at the beginning part of the so-called “travel narrative” (Luke 9:51-19:27). As the second episode of Lukan prayer collections in Luke 11:1-13, the parable of the friend at midnight (11:5-8) is preceded by “Our Father” (11:2-4) and followed by the exhortation on prayer (11:9-13). They are held together not only by the common theme of prayer, but also by some catch-words: (heavenly) “Father” (vv. 2, 11, 13); “to give” (vv. 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13); and “bread” (vv. 3, 5). Luke connects one source to another smoothly by using his peculiar connecting formulae: Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς (v. 5);²⁵ Καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγω (v. 9). Structurally it forms an explanation of how to pray (v.

²³ Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, p. 158.

²⁴ A. R. C. Leaney, *The Gospel According to Luke* (London: A. & C. Black, 1958), p. 188.

²⁵ This phrase is “rare in the other Synoptics, the usage cuts through all the levels of Lukan writings.” J. A. Fitzmeyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV* (Garden City, NY: Double Day, 1985), p. 624.

1); the following verses (vv. 9-10) have a role to play as an application of this parable in this Lukan context.

This parable is constructed in two stages: 1) a story of the one who neglects his friend's request for food at night; 2) Jesus' saying, "though he will not get up and give him anything because he is his friend, yet because of his ἀνάδεια he will rise and give him whatever he wants."

At the first stage the following two motifs are in tension: 1) "the friendship motif" which usually brings hospitality; and 2) "the midnight motif" which may cause trouble. As is widely recognized, the friendship motif overshadows this parable (vv. 5, 6, 8). Against the background of this parable, there is Hebrew and Oriental hospitality between friends (cf. Gen 18:1-8; Heb 13:2). It is strange enough to see that many modern commentators overlook "the midnight motif."²⁶ It should be noted, however, that Luke 11:5 reads not just νυκτίου but μεσονυκτίου.²⁷ It was unusual in Palestine to travel at midnight, whereas Egyptians and bedouins, who lived in the desert, often traveled at night to escape from the heat of the desert.²⁸ Although Oriental hospitality permits some inconveniences between friends, it is not without "bothering" to knock on a friend's house at "midnight," asking something when the door has already been locked, and especially when all family members are in bed (v. 7).²⁹ What is of significance is the time, that is, midnight. As F. Bovon observes, it is not the time of the guests but of the thieves.³⁰ It actually causes trouble (v. 7).

We can see that the story is well weaved with the two motifs. According to the friendship motif, the friend inside the house must

²⁶ For example, K. E. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant: A Literary-Cultural Approach to the Parables in Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976), p. 124 states, "A great deal has made of the fact the children are asleep and the door bolted. But, there are weak considerations. The door bolt is not heavy. Even if the children do stir, they will fall asleep again."

²⁷ The word μεσονυκτίου is mainly used by Luke in the New Testament. Luke-Acts has three of the four occurrences in the New Testament (Mark 13:35; Luke 11:5; Acts 16:25; 20:7). But this was probably not a Lukan addition, but a part of original story, because this motif is related to entire story of this parable.

²⁸ So Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, p. 121; F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas (Lk 9,51-14,35)* (Zürich: Benziger, 1996), p. 149.

²⁹ Fitzmyer rightly observes that "One has to envisage a single-room house with members of the family asleep on mat; to get up and draw the bolt would be disturb everyone." Fitzmeyer, *The Gospel of Luke X-XXIV*, p. 912.

³⁰ Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas (Lk 9,51-14,35)*, p. 149.

receive his friend's request; but according to the midnight motif, the request could be neglected. At the first stage the two motifs are well balanced in tension. This raises a question of how the story will be concluded at the second stage.

Thus the second stage is expected to give a solution to the problem raised at the first stage.³¹ It is striking that the second stage is begun by the formula λέγω ὑμῖν (cf. Luke 15:7, 10; 16:9; 18:8,14), by which the two stages are divided visually. At this point, "the reader is left wondering what is going to happen next."³² Therefore, in terms of structure, the central lesson falls into v. 8.

In v. 8 the most recent debate was focused on the meaning of the word ἀναίδεια.³³ In the words of Bailey, "the significance of the passage hangs on the meaning of the key word ἀναίδεια in verse 8."³⁴ As the word ἀναίδεια is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament (and in the Septuagint), it is not explicit to perceive in what sense the word is used in Luke 11:8. Traditionally it has been translated into "persistence" or "importunity"; etymologically the meaning of the word refers to "shamelessness."

Bailey analyzes the word into two groups: a positive quality, e.g., persistence, and a negative quality, e.g., shamelessness. After investigating the word group related to ἀναίδεια both in LXX and in Josephus, he summarizes:

In the LXX ἀναίδεια is overwhelmingly negative and, with one possible exception, means "shameless" or "defiant, angry, harsh." Moving to Josephus, the word exclusively means "shameless" or "impudent" as far as we have been able to trace.³⁵

³¹ For the question whether the second stage is an answer see Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, p. 465; Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, p. 625.

³² R. R. Rickards, "The Translation of Luke 11,5-13," *The Bible Translator* 27 (1976), p. 294-43 (241).

³³ Cf. Klyne Sondgrass, "Anaideia and the Friend at Midnight (Luke 11:8)," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 116 (1997), pp. 505-13.

³⁴ Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, p. 125.

³⁵ Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, p. 126. A recent study by Sondgrass reaches a similar conclusion. Sondgrass, "Anaideia and the Friend at Midnight," pp. 505-13.

Johnson and Klyne Sondgrass follow Bailey in their assertions that the word ἀναίδεια has only a negative quality. They claim that all the positive qualities are influenced by the usage in Luke 11:8. However, Bailey and others are not correct in their arguing that both in LXX and Josephus the word ἀναίδεια does not have the meaning of persistence. According to Catchpole's analysis of the word group regarding ἀναίδεια the meaning is very wide. In the LXX the ἀναίδεια conveys "the sense of harshness/hardness" (Deut 28:50; Baruch 4:15), and "greedy or tendency to grasp" (1 Kings 2:29; Isa 56:11; Prov 12:13; Sir 23:6; 26:11). In the remaining passages the emphasis varies, but the general idea is "brazenness or mindless inflexibility" (Prov 21:29; 25:23; Eccl 8:1; Sir 25:22; 40:30; Jer 8:5).³⁶ In Josephus, ἀναίδεια varies in sense from passage to passage. It may stand for "a gross of absence of honor" (B.J. 1.276, 490), "putting a bold face on a matter" (B.J. 1.616; Ant. 20). Some passages (B.J. 1.84, 6.199 Ant. 17.119) bring to the fore some element of "stubbornness and persistence."³⁷ F. Bovon also supports Catchpole's argument: "In the Septuagint the verb, noun, and the adjective form of the word refers to harshness, recklessness, unscrupulousness, and greed; in Josephus they mean absence of self-respect, lack of responsibility, insolence, and extreme adherence."³⁸ Thus the word ἀναίδεια has a positive meaning that is a feeling without fear and a legitimate persistence.³⁹

Further, more profitable will be the comparison of the structure of Luke 11:8 and contemporary writings. Catchpole rightly investigates not only the meaning of the word ἀναίδεια, but also the structure or the context in which the word is used. In structure and meaning of LXX passages related to ἀναίδεια, the closest to Luke 11:8 may be Sirach 40:30: "In the mouth of the shameless (ἐν στόματι ἀναίδου) begging is sweet, but in his mouth a fire is kindled." The theme of petitioning matches Luke 11:8 well. So the meaning of the word must be decided in the context, especially in the structure in which it is used.

What is important is that the word ἀναίδεια is referred to by whom, the petitioner, or the petitioned? Grammatically, either of the two is possible, for either of the two is called friend, and the genitive case of masculine pronoun αὐτοῦ can refer to either of the two. Of course, the

³⁶ Catchpole, "Q and 'The Friend at Midnight'," p. 409.

³⁷ Catchpole, "Q and 'The Friend at Midnight'," p. 409.

³⁸ Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas (Lk 9,51-14,35)*, p. 151.

³⁹ Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas (Lk 9,51-14,35)*, p. 151.

reflective pronoun rather than personal pronoun αὐτοῦ would be better in grammar.⁴⁰ Further, it is not to be neglected that all the occurrences of the masculine third person pronoun in Luke 11:5-8 refer to the petitioner.

It should be noted that v. 8 is constructed by the two motifs, which have already been introduced at the first stage. The two motifs in tension are effective at the second stage.

A.

λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰ καὶ
οὐ δώσει αὐτῷ
ἀναστάς
διὰ τὸ εἶναι φίλον αὐτοῦ,

B.

διὰ γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ
ἐγεροθεῖς
δώσει αὐτῷ
ὅσων χηρῆζει.

Part A represents the friendship motif; Part B reflects the midnight motif. Two motifs are compared poetically in this phrase. This kind of structure is not unusual, when the word ἀναίδεια refers to “stubbornness or persistence” in LXX or Josephus. For example, Sirach 40:30 runs: “In the mouth of the shameless (ἐν στόματι ἀναίδου) begging is sweet, but in his mouth a fire is kindled.” In the words of Catchpole,

Most important of all is that the passages...above give an adverse connotation to ἀναίδειαν. It is a quality which always calls for disapproval. This is also the case in Luke 11: 8, where two possible bases for action are constructed, a good one (διὰ τὸ εἶναι φίλον) and an opposite one (διὰ γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ).⁴¹

In this construction the petitioned should be in a position to judge the conduct of the petitioner. In other words, the word ἀναίδεια must be how the petitioned person characterizes and evaluates the petitioner. Thus, the word ἀναίδεια is referred to by the petitioner, and accordingly the message of this verse could be: although the friend inside the house will not give to the friend outside the house, on the basis of friendship, he will

⁴⁰ Cf. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas (Lk 9,51-14,35)*, p. 150.

⁴¹ Catchpole, “Q and ‘The Friend at Midnight’,” p. 411.

give to him on account of his persistent petition. This message is well matched by the first part of the following episode, the exhortation on prayer (11:9-10). In short, the main focus of the parable of the friend at midnight is, not on God's generous character, but on human attitude in prayer, i.e., persistence.

5. Lukan Theology of Prayer

My thesis can be strengthened if the theme of persistent prayer comprises a major theological theme in Luke. In his recent study on the theology of prayer in Luke, Han convincingly shows that the Lukan theology of prayer is characterized by persistence. He divides Lukan prayer texts into two categories. One is prayer texts that are related to Jesus' life and ministry (3:21; 5:16; 6:12; 9:18; 9:29; 22:32; 22:39-46; 23:46). The other category is prayer texts for the instruction of the disciples (6:27-28; 10:2; 11:1-4; 5-8; 18:1-8; 21:36). His analysis of these two groups leads him to reach the following conclusions.

There is a shift of focus between Jesus' prayer life and his teaching on prayer. In the former, the focus is on the cross, the initial establishment of the kingdom. By contrast, in the latter, Jesus teaches persistent prayer through which the disciples are instructed on how to live in the kingdom and to prepare for the kingdom.⁴²

For Luke "persistent prayer is the way in which they do so, as they live between the two dimensions of the kingdom of God."⁴³ Luke stresses persistence in human prayer, as is also shown in the parable of the importunate widow (Luke 18:1-8).⁴⁴

Further, my thesis can also be supported when the parable is understood in the literary context. The parable of the friend at midnight is

⁴² Kyu Sam Han, "Theology of Prayer in the Gospel of Luke," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 43 (2000), pp. 675-93 (691).

⁴³ Han, "Theology of Prayer in the Gospel of Luke," p. 693.

⁴⁴ It is widely recognized that Luke is more interested in prayer than any other canonical Evangelist. Luke is even called "the Evangelist of prayer" by Ott. Luke not only introduces more prayer terms than do the other Evangelists, but he also connects prayer to major episodes of Jesus ministry. For the frequency of the terms of prayer see O. S. Harris, "Prayer in Luke Acts: A Study in the Theology of Luke" (Ph. D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1961), pp. 169-70.

set in the following lesson of “Our Father” (Luke 11:2-4). Luke’s context of “Our Father” is different from that of Matthew. Matthew’s “Our Father” is situated among three acts of piety (6:1-8); and, its audiences are “Jewish opponents of the Matthean community,”⁴⁵ who are accustomed to the practice of prayer. Thus “Our Father” in Matthew is correcting their improper practices of prayer (Matt 6:5-14). Luke’s “Our Father,” in contrast, is followed by Jesus’ act of exemplary prayer, and after one of the disciples’ request to teach them how to pray (11:1). Luke’s situation is to be found within a Gentile community, the members of which are not accustomed to prayer. So, Luke needs primarily to instruct the Gentiles about how to pray, so he emphasizes the positive (persistent) attitude in prayer.⁴⁶

6. Conclusion

So far, I have discussed the main focus of “the parable of the friend at midnight” (Luke 11:5-8). I have made counter-arguments to the claims that this parable speaks of God’s generosity. I have argued that the main focus of this parable is laid upon persistence in prayer. The theme of persistence in prayer has not created any problem for sensitive Christians, when they have been engaged in a prayer life throughout Christian history, particularly in medieval times. It has begun to bother some of the more modern Christians. Do I go too far when I think that this trend reflects the present Christians, who are not accustomed to this kind of prayer?

Only a few scholarly efforts have been made to establish biblical foundations for Pentecostal theology during the last thirty years. Since the publication of Roger Stronstad’s ground-breaking work, it is Lukan literature that has been highlighted by scholars in order to find

⁴⁵ D. J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), p. 97.

⁴⁶ For the Lukan theology of prayer, see S.F. Plymale, *The Prayer Texts of Luke* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991); F. Bovon, *Luke the Theologian, Thirty-three Years of Research (1950-1983)* (Allison Park: Pickwick, 1987), pp. 400-403; P. T. O’Brien, “Prayer in Luke-Acts,” *Tyndale Bulletin* 24 (1973), pp. 111-27; A. Trite, “The Prayer Motif in Luke-Acts,” in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed. Charles Talbert (Danville, VA: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978), pp. 168-86.

Pentecostal or charismatic theology.⁴⁷ The present work is also a part of the attempt to establish a biblical foundation of Pentecostal, and in particular Korean Pentecostal, practices of prayer. This work has attempted to suggest that there is another aspect of Lukan theology, which is neglected, but useful for establishing biblical foundations of Pentecostal theology, namely the Lukan theology of prayer.

⁴⁷ Cf. Roger Stronstad, *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984); idem, *The Prophethood of All Believers: A Study in Luke's Charismatic Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Robert P. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

AN IRRESPONSIBLE SILENCE¹

Walter J. Hollenweger

I was *trained* in the most rigid critical scholarship of the universities of Zurich and Basel. My teachers were Hans Conzelmann, Gerhard Ebeling, Eduard Schweizer and Karl Barth. I knew also Rudolf Bultmann, Ernst Kasemann and Emil Brunner personally.

I was *raised* in the oral, experience based spirituality of Swiss Pentecostalism. At that time we had a number of highly gifted lay preachers who used the Bible in order to understand what happened to them in the factory, when they were injured or lost their jobs, when they had no food for their children. This is probably the most important contribution of Pentecostalism, its oral culture, its oral homiletics. The interpenetration of critical scholarship with oral culture on the level of university studies has become a lifelong task for me. It materialized in the Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership in Birmingham where we educated black Pentecostal worker pastors in a university surrounding without destroying their natural spiritual gifts. It also shows in my research on Pentecostalism, and in dozens of Pentecostal post-graduate students. After my retirement from the university, I engaged in a new ecumenical adventure, namely in the oikoumene between theology and the world of drama, between the gifts of the Spirit of the right hemisphere of the brain (such as speaking in tongues, healing, making music, dancing, visions) and the left hemisphere of the brain (the analytical gifts of theological scholarship, the rational gifts of humanity). For instance I recently produced Bach's Passion of John together with professional artists, or the Requiem for Bonhoeffer (at the University of Zurich) or in Germany and Switzerland the Hommage for Maria Von Wedemeyer (Bonhoeffer's fiancée).

¹ Lecture at the Dialogue between the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) and the Pentecostals, Third session, May 1999 at Kappel Am Albis, Switzerland, revised for publication.

Oral spirituality of Pentecostalism is a heritage from its founder, William J. Seymour, an Afro-American ecumenist who in 1906 was at the centre of a revival which bridged black and white, men and women, academics and proletarians—something absolutely astonishing for that time, when black music, black culture, black religion was considered unchristian in the USA.

I know of only two world-wide Christian movements that have been founded by non-Europeans. The first is Christianity itself. Its founder was a story-telling rabbi from the oral culture of the Middle East, who healed the sick and never wrote a book. And yet, he probably influenced more people than any writer. The second is the Pentecostal movement. Its founder was a black ecumenist. The black oral root is also responsible for the growth potential of both these movements.

The other roots are:

1) Catholic Spirituality: Pentecostals and Catholics follow Thomas Aquinas in believing in a natural *and* a supernatural world; they both believe—contrary to the Reformers—in free will; both Catholic Priests and Pentecostal pastors can forgive sins and withhold absolution if the conditions are not fulfilled. This type of Catholic spirituality was mediated to Pentecostalism by Wesley and Fletcher.

2) Evangelical Spirituality (in the form of the American Holiness movement): Its features are pacifism, the fight against capitalism, the fight for a world organization for peace etc.

3) Critical Root: The first document of Pentecostalism does not contain a passage on the inerrancy of Scripture, on the “initial evidence of speaking in tongues,” on baptism of adults etc.

4) Ecumenical Root: Almost all Pentecostal movements started as ecumenical renewal movements. They did not want to found a new church. They wanted to revive the whole church. Today, there are twelve rather big Pentecostal churches in the World Council. There would be more if the Pentecostal Vatican at Springfield was not actively hindering them. There are countries where the only member churches of the WCC are the Pentecostals. The American Assemblies of God cooperated intensely with the National Council of Churches and with the WCC up to the time when Thomas Zimmerman became president of the National Association of Evangelicals. In order to win the sympathy of the evangelicals the Pentecostals gave up old friends. The first Pentecostal to address a World Council full assembly was the leader of the oldest German Pentecostal church, Christian Krust. The first Pentecostal

member churches of the Conference of European Churches (KEK) were black Pentecostal churches from Britain.

All this was actively suppressed in the media and many times also in Pentecostal periodicals. At least in Europe there is an irresponsible silence on Pentecostalism, in spite of hundreds of dissertations by Pentecostals at reputable universities. The myth of non-informed Pentecostal enthusiasts still dominates the field. However, there are a number of Presbyterians who know better. One of them is Richard Shaull. He played a prominent role at the “Church and Society” conference of the WCC in Geneva. He was trained at Princeton by Emil Brunner, John Mackay and Josef Hromadka. He worked for a long time as professor at Princeton and he was also active in Latin America. There he watched “the emergence of a new expression of Christian faith and life significantly different from that defined for us by the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century.” He “realized that most Presbyterian churches were not growing in a healthy way because they were bound by imported ecclesiastical structures and patterns of congregational life which did not arise out of or fit their situation. And over the years he became aware of the fact that our churches created a mentality in which many of those who were converted became primarily concerned about getting an education, pursuing a career, and becoming socially and economically upwardly mobile. Along this road, their passion for evangelism as well as their concern for the suffering of the poor seemed to fade into the background.”

He also describes the emergence of base communities (under the influence of Roman Catholic theology of liberation). “But after ten years, it became clear that the leaders of the church were determined to destroy a movement, the theology and social witness of which they found quite threatening.” Again the same story: “Professional career and upward mobility took precedence over the passion for evangelism and for radical social witness.” He concludes: “I suspected that what I and others were really doing was teaching people to have *the right ideas about God*, to learn how *to speak about God*, rather than *to and with God*. Having come to these conclusions, I decided to leave Princeton ten years before the date I was expected to retire.”

His contacts with Pentecostals in Chile, Brazil and elsewhere are a moving story: I cannot escape the fact that the Pentecostal movements are much closer to my expectation of what the church is than any other church I know, and that the witness is of crucial importance for us.” And this is because—also in the judgment of Catholic researchers—they have gone beyond the Roman Catholic base communities. They have touched

the lives of a much larger number of poor people. Their discourse is not about the “options *for the poor*” but a discourse *of the poor* that refuse to accept poverty. Instead of focussing on political liberation, Pentecostalism focuses on catastrophe, violence and terror, the tribulations which precede the millenium. He suspects that, “if any significant change is to occur among us, it will come as the result primarily of the impact of Pentecostal witness in our midst.”

That has to do with the fact that for Pentecostals reality is not limited to what we ordinarily perceive, but it includes the reality of the Spirit. No need to go to esoteric circles or Buddhist monasteries to experience that other reality (as many Presbyterians in Europe and the US do). This reality is right in the middle of our common biblical heritage. Take the healings out of the New Testament and not much is left of it. Even Rudolf Bultmann agrees that Jesus was a healer. Otherwise, we could not explain the many healing stories in the New Testament. A Church in the Third World which does not have a basic medical ministry and a spiritual ministry for the sick and down-trodden can only survive with subventions from the West. Now that these subventions are getting less they must either change (in the direction of Pentecostal spirituality) or they will disappear. That applies in particular to Third World Presbyterian churches. But the same problem hits us in Switzerland and Germany. People are no longer prepared to listen to allegorical or psychological “explanations” of biblical stories. They want the real thing, spiritually, bodily and intellectually. Contrary to what the opinion makers say, people are not “secularized.” They are hungry for religion. But they are sick and tired of the gnostic explanation-culture of the Reformed churches. That is why they leave the Protestant main-line churches *en masse*. The Reformed churches try to repair the damage. They have committees on re-structuring etc. That will not help. Richard Shaull is not the only one who sees the situation clearly. There is an array of internationally respected Presbyterian scholars who sound the alarm. Probably the first one was John Mackay, the grand old man of Presbyterianism and ecumenism, friend of David Du Plessis and president of Princeton Theological Seminary. He saw in Pentecostalism the “true Hope of ecumenism.” Another is Konrad Raiser, general secretary of the WCC: “The present growth of Christianity is almost entirely due to Pentecostal and evangelical churches...This means for the WCC that it has to open itself to these manifestations of Christian existence, Christian church and Christian witness.” And Harvey Cox—although not a Presbyterian but a Baptist—prophesied: By the early twenty-first century, Pentecostalism will outnumber both Catholics and

Protestants. We simply cannot afford to ignore them.” Lastly I want to mention: Hans-Jurgen Becken, a German specialist on African Initiated Churches. He points not only to the growth, but also to the theological and medical contribution of these churches. From an encounter with them he expects not only help “in solving the apparent crisis of our western health services but also a change in heart of the individual, be he or she medical doctor or patient.” That expectation is confirmed by reports from the World Health Organization in Geneva. Medical faculties and medical doctors—not necessarily Christians—invite me to discuss with them the “spiritual dimension” of sickness and healing. The same is true for some military leaders. They know that without a thorough knowledge of religion they will make all the mistakes George Bush made. And of late some managers asked me to talk to them on the topic: “We have lost our belief in economics. Can a new culture of enterprise save us?” I mention these examples to back up my statement that the world is not antagonistic to the Gospel. But the world rejects our “churchy” way of presenting it.

All this provides ample reason for a dialogue. It is costly but it is inevitable. I know three successful ways of integrating Pentecostal spirituality within a Presbyterian church. The first—and in my opinion theologically the most reflected—is the one by the United Presbyterian Church, USA. It shows convincingly how Pentecostal spirituality can be integrated into a Presbyterian church. The second is the Bible Reading association of Ghana. It started in the thirties and did not split the church. The third is the Reformed French pastor Louis Dalier. He was—at that time—a lone voice in French Protestantism. Today half of the practicing Protestants in France are Pentecostals and a number of Pentecostal churches became members of the Federation du Protestantisme Francais. Seeing the plight of European Presbyterianism and the inability of European Pentecostalism to follow the example of their Third World sister churches in their break-through to an oral, critical and ecumenical spirituality, it seems to be high time to combine our resources for progressing “from an academic research to spiritual transformation” (Richard Shaull). That applies in particular to our theological colleges and faculties who are shining examples both of impressive scholarship (of the past) and of splendid irrelevance.

Although the academic establishment in Germany and Switzerland does not move ahead in a visible way, there are signs in the Presbyterian churches which point to a new direction. Among these signs I count the many healing or blessing and anointing services in Germany and Switzerland, including such a service at the first German ecumenical

Kirchentag in Berlin (2003) where 6000 people celebrated until midnight. Present were Catholics, Lutherans and Presbyterians plus any number of free churches and charismatics. This rite is an incarnation of the reformation by emphasizing the *sola gratia*. Healing—or even betterment—is entirely in the hands of God, and this without any condition. We put our bodies—not just our souls—into the hands of God. The ministry is administered by a majority of lay people—thus expressing the real charismatic understanding of the people of God. Many doctors and psychiatrists—some of which have difficulties with our ordinary Reformed church life—help us in these services. Since the Pope has so far not forbidden the ecumenical prayer and healing services, this is one way we can ecumenically express our provisional unity.

Notes

Quotes in Richard Shaull, “From Academic Research to Spiritual Transformation: Reflections on a Study of Pentecostalism in Brazil” in the volumes of conference papers *Purity and Power: Revisioning the Holiness and Pentecostal/Charismatic Movements for the Twenty-First Century*, 27th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies in special session with the Wesleyan Theological Society, March 12-14, 1998, Church of God Theological Seminary, Cleveland, Tennessee, 2 vols, 2-A, available from SPS, Lexington.

All other quotes in Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997).

[AJPS 7:2 (2004), pp. 225-254]

IS THE CHINESE CHURCH PREDOMINANTLY PENTECOSTAL?¹

Luke Wesley

The Wind of the Holy Spirit Will Blow Everywhere

From the East coast to the West coast
The wind of the Holy Spirit will blow everywhere
From the East to the West
The glory of the Holy Spirit will be released
Good news comes from heaven
Good news rings in the ear
Causing dry bones to become moist
Frail bones to become strong
Full of the Holy Spirit, we will not turn back
Step by step we go to distant places
The lame skipping
The mute singing
The fire of the Holy Spirit, the longer it burns the brighter it gets.²

The Urging of the Holy Spirit

The Holy Spirit is urging
Distant lands call
Asking for the sound of salvation to ring in their ears
Countless pairs of expectant eyes
Oh, have not seen, have not heard the servants of God
No matter what you feel
No matter what you see
We must declare the good news everywhere

¹ This is a chapter from Luke Wesley, *The Church in China: Persecuted, Pentecostal, and Powerful* (Baguio, Philippines: APTS Press, 2004 forthcoming).

² My English translation of song #747 found in Lu Xiaomin, *Xin Ling Zhi Sheng* [Sounds of the Heart] (underground house church publication, 2003), p. 806.

The Lord has already enabled us to see the land
Oh, servants of God, you must boost your courage
The Lord has already won the victory
Satan has been bound
Only one step further
And we enter Canaan land.³

It is now apparent that since the early 1980s the church in China has experienced unprecedented growth. Once viewed as an essentially foreign faith, Christianity has taken root in the Chinese soil. And it has blossomed. If the trends of the past two decades remain constant, by 2020 there will be more evangelical Christians in China than in any other country in the world.⁴

Researchers are agreed that the form of Christianity that has emerged in China is both evangelical in character and Chinese in expression.⁵ It is evangelical in that the vast majority of Chinese believers exhibit a firm belief in the authority of the Bible, faith in Christ as the sole means of obtaining salvation, and the necessity of evangelism.⁶ And yet this evangelical faith has been expressed in ways that are especially appropriate to the Chinese context. Church life is often experienced in small groups that feature close relationships and family ties. There is a strong emphasis on the miraculous, with prayer for healing taking on an important role in the life of faith. The experiential dimension of Christian spirituality, expressed in prayers and worship charged with deep

³ My English translation of song #767 found in Lu Xiaomin, *Xin Ling Zhi Sheng* [Sounds of the Heart] (underground house church publication, 2003), p. 826.

⁴ Tony Lambert, *China's Christian Millions* (London: OMF/Monarch Books, 1999), p. 179. In this book Lambert offered what is by all accounts a conservative estimate of the number of evangelical Christians in China: 30-50 million.

⁵ Due to the limitations of my knowledge, I am not able to include Chinese Roman Catholics in this study. When I use the terms Christianity or the Church, it should be understood that I refer to Protestant Christianity and the Protestant wing of the Christian Church.

⁶ On the evangelical character of the Chinese church, see Tony Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church* (Wheaton, IL: OMF/Harold Shaw Publishers, 1994), pp. 282-283 and *China's Christian Millions*, pp. 30-33, 45, 48, 188; Alan Hunter and Kim-Kwong Chan, *Protestantism in Contemporary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 82; Ryan Dunch, "Protestant Christianity in China Today: Fragile, Fragmented, Flourishing" in *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, eds. Stephen Uhalley, Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (London: East Gate/M.E. Sharpe, 2001), pp. 195-216 (215).

emotion, is significant to many Chinese believers. And the vast majority of Christians in China worship in “house churches” (or, as some prefer, “autonomous Christian communities”) that are independent of state or foreign control.⁷

Observers in the West are still attempting to understand this burgeoning Christian movement and much is still unknown. It is evident that there is much to be learned from the Chinese church, dynamic, multifaceted and polymorphous as it is, and that we in the West would do well to attempt to understand it more clearly. This is the case, not only because increasingly many western missionaries seek to minister in this great country; but, it is also the case because an understanding of the church in China might shed light on ourselves, our own strengths and weaknesses, and stimulate new insights into our understanding and application of God’s word. In short, a greater understanding of the church in China might help us more fully understand and fulfill God’s plans and purposes for our lives.

In the following essay, I hope to shed light on one dimension of the church in China or, at the very least, to stimulate more thought and study concerning this question: To what extent is the church in China Pentecostal? It would appear that there is considerable disagreement in the West concerning how this question should be answered. On the one hand, *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements (NIDPCM)* states that there are over 53 million “neocharismatics” (that is, charismatics with no affiliation to the traditional, mainline denominations) in China today.⁸ This significant number would certainly represent the vast majority of believers in China. On the other hand, Tony Lambert, in his highly readable and well-researched work, *China’s Christian Millions*, makes this judgment with reference to the Chinese church: “There is a strong wing who are

⁷ The emphasis on healing and the miraculous in the Chinese church is noted in Hunter and Chan, *Protestantism*, pp. 85, 145-146; Lambert, *Resurrection*, pp. 112-114 and *China’s Christian Millions*, p. 112; and Dunch, “Protestant Christianity,” p. 203 and the experiential focus of the Chinese church is highlighted in Dunch, “Protestant Christianity,” pp. 203, 215-16; and Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism*, pp. 85, 140, 155. Some researchers prefer to use the term “autonomous Christian communities” rather than “house church.” See in this regard Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism*, p. 81.

⁸ D. H. Bays, “China” (1907-49), *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley Burgess and Eduard M. Van der Mass (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 58-63 (58).

charismatic or Pentecostal, but they are not in the majority.”⁹ These varied responses to the question posed above indicate that further probing and analysis is needed. Is the Chinese church predominantly Pentecostal? To this question we now turn.

2. Methodology

In order to answer our question, I shall analyze the five largest house church networks in China. Based on my own personal interviews with leaders from these groups, additional information gleaned from other researchers, and an analysis of relevant written documents, I will seek to characterize these five groups in terms of the following four categories:

- 1) Non-Charismatic: those Christians who believe that the Spirit’s work flows out of regeneration and who deny both a Baptism in the Spirit distinct from conversion and the validity of at least some of the gifts of the Spirit listed in 1 Cor 12:8-10 for the church today.
- 2) Charismatic: those Christians who believe that all of the gifts listed in 1 Cor 12:8-10, including prophecy, tongues, and healing, are available to the Church today.
- 3) Pentecostal: those Christians who believe that all of the gifts listed in 1 Cor 12:8-10 are available to the Church today and who also believe that the Bible encourages every believer to experience a Baptism in the Spirit, an empowering for service distinct from regeneration.¹⁰
- 4) Classical Pentecostal: those Christians who, in addition to the beliefs ascribed to Pentecostals above, also affirm that speaking in tongues is the accompanying sign of baptism in the Spirit.

I am using the terms listed above as theological rather than ecclesiastical descriptions. The *NIDPCM* tends to define the terms based largely on ecclesiastical considerations. Therefore the *NIDPCM* classifies 99% of the 54.2 million Pentecostals and charismatics who it claims

⁹ Lambert, *China’s Christian Millions*, p. 45. Unfortunately, Lambert does not offer a clear definition of the terms, “charismatic” or “Pentecostal.”

¹⁰ This empowering experience might be designated by various terms, including “being filled with the Spirit” or “anointed by the Spirit.” However, crucial concepts would include the belief that this experience is given by God in order to equip the believer for service, that it is available to every believer, and that it is logically distinct from conversion.

reside in China as “neocharismatics.” The term “neocharismatic” refers to charismatics not affiliated with the historic, classical Pentecostal groupings or to traditional, mainline denominations.¹¹ Of course, by definition, virtually all of the charismatic house church Christians in China would fall into this category. This system of classification is less helpful for elucidating the specific nature and theological orientation of the various groups in the Chinese church. We are primarily interested in what they believe.

I would also like to stress that my use of these categories does not imply that groups which hold certain beliefs in common are similar in other respects. The Pentecostal movement in the West, as in other parts of the world, is very diverse. This is no less true of China.¹² The church in China is extremely diverse and, while there is value in seeking to understand the theological orientation of the various groups more accurately, I would in no way want to suggest that groups who hold to Pentecostal beliefs and practices in China are similar in a multitude of other ways to their Western counterparts. Since our terms or categories often carry unstated nuances, it is vitally important that we define our terms carefully.

It should also be noted that all of the categories listed above are compatible with the term “evangelical.” With the designation evangelical, I refer to those Christians who affirm: 1) the authority of the Bible; 2) that salvation is found only in Christ; and 3) that evangelism is an important part of the Christian’s mission in the world. As I have already noted, the vast majority of Chinese Christians are evangelical in this sense. And, I might add, all five of the house church networks which we will analyze are also evangelical in nature.

In addition to defining key terms, I would also like to clarify the nature of my sources. I will be working with a variety of oral and written sources. First, I will utilize notes from my personal conversations and interviews with various house church leaders. Second, I will also draw upon responses to questions which I have posed to others who are experienced researchers of Christianity in China. Most of these researchers wish to remain anonymous so that their continued service in

¹¹ See “Introduction, *NIDPCM*, pp. xvii-xxiii (viii-xxi); Bays, “China”, *NIDPCM*, p. 58.

¹² Hunter and Chan, *Protestantism*, p. 155, speaking of China, correctly note that “within the Pentecostalist movement one can find relatively restrained as well as exuberant groups.”

China might not be jeopardized. For this reason I will describe and list these sources as follows:

- “A”: refers to notes sent to me on August 28, 2003 by a researcher who is associated with a large, evangelical, and generally non-charismatic denomination.
- “B”: refers to notes sent to me on Sept. 1, 2003 by an independent researcher who is affiliated with a non-denominational mission.
- “C”: refers to notes sent to me on Sept. 9, 2003 by a missionary in the classical Pentecostal tradition who works closely with house church groups in China.
- “D”: refers to written notes and oral comments presented to me within the past year from an independent Pentecostal missionary who works closely with several of the house church networks listed above.

A third source of information will come from documents draw up by the house church networks themselves, especially the Statement of Faith produced and signed by leaders of several of the churches listed above on November 26, 1998.¹³ Finally, I shall also draw from a number of books and articles which speak to our topic.

The five house church networks which I will examine are: China for Christ, a group with origins in the Fang Cheng district of Henan Province; The China Gospel Fellowship, a group which began in the Tang He District of Henan; The Li Xin Church, which stems from Li Xin region in Anhui Province; the Yin Shang Church, which also has its origins in Anhui Province; and finally, the Word of Life Church, sometimes called the “Born Again Movement,” which was founded by Peter Xu. These groups have been chosen for analysis because it is generally agreed that they represent the five largest house church networks in China.

It is extremely difficult to determine with any degree of precision the size of these groups. Estimates for these groups run as high as 12 million for China for Christ (Fang Cheng), 10 million for the China Gospel Fellowship, five million for the Word of Life, and five million each for the two Anhui groups.¹⁴ My purpose here is not to argue for specific

¹³ See the English translation provided by Lambert in *China's Christian Millions*, pp. 60-64.

¹⁴ These numbers are taken from D, but are also very much in line with the estimates given to me by B, with one exception. D did not give an estimate for the number of believers in the Word of Life Church. B noted that the Word of Life group claims that it represents 23 million believers. This group is quite

numbers, but rather to affirm that all of the researchers contacted agreed that these five house church networks represent a significant majority of house church Christians in China. This is especially significant in that virtually all researchers also agree that house church Christians represent the vast majority of Christians in China today. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that these five groups represent a very significant cross-section or sampling of the Chinese church.

3. The House Church Networks: A Theological Assessment

3.1 China for Christ (Fang Cheng)

Let us begin with what appears to be the largest of the house church networks currently operating in China, China For Christ (sometimes called the Fang Cheng Church). The China for Christ Church began in the Fang Cheng district of Henan Province. It has grown very rapidly since the early 1980s and constitutes a large network of house churches which span the length and breadth of China.

On Nov. 26, 2002 I met with the top leader of the China for Christ Network, Brother Z. We met and discussed various items for about an hour and a half and then shared a meal together. While we were eating, Sister D, the second highest leader in the China for Christ Network, joined us.

During our meal Sister D, who was sitting next to me, raised a question about a book on Pentecostal doctrine that I had made available to them.¹⁵ She suggested that baptism in the Spirit, although possibly an experience subsequent to conversion, could also take place at the moment of conversion. She felt the book implied that Spirit-baptism must take place after conversion. I assured her that we were all in agreement on this point and that when most Pentecostals speak of baptism in the Spirit as

fragmented and it is difficult to take this estimate seriously. In 1998 an article in *Christianity Today* suggested that this group totaled around three million believers (see Timothy C. Morgan, "A Tale of China's Two Churches," *Christianity Today* 42 [July 13, 1998], pp. 30-39). Although it is likely that this group has grown significantly since then, five million appears to be a more realistic number. A and C did not offer specific estimates, but A indicated that these five groups represented a significant majority (60%) of the house church Christians in China.

¹⁵ A Chinese translation of William W. Menzies and Stanley M. Horton, *Bible Doctrines: A Pentecostal Perspective* (Springfield: Logion Press, 1993).

subsequent to conversion, we actually mean that it is logically subsequent to conversion, a distinct work of the Spirit. Temporally, both could occur at essentially the same moment (as with Cornelius and his household in Acts 10). We continued our discussion and Sister D indicated that their church was classical Pentecostal in nature.

Sister D then stated emphatically that their church came to these classical Pentecostal conclusions, not on the basis of receiving this tradition from others; but rather, as a result of their own experience and study of the Book of Acts. She indicated that in the 1970s and 1980s they were quite isolated and experienced considerable persecution. In this context of persecution they developed their classical Pentecostal orientation. At this time their church began to grow. Today, as I have indicated, the China for Christ Network is widely recognized as the largest house church group in China.

I then asked the group if they felt the majority of Christians in China were Pentecostal. Brother Z answered and said that apart from the TSPM churches and various smaller house church groups, the vast majority were indeed Pentecostal. He considered, in addition to their own church, the China Gospel Fellowship, the Li Xin Church, and the Yin Shang Church to be Pentecostal.

On another occasion late in 2002 I had the joy of teaching in an underground Bible school associated with the China for Christ Network. During one of the breaks, the leader of the school showed me around and introduced to me some of the other faculty members. In the midst of our conversation, I noted that their theological tradition was similar (*lei si*) to mine (he knew of my classical Pentecostal orientation). He stopped, looked at me, and said emphatically: "No, our theological traditions are the same (*yi yang*)."¹⁶ Later, with great excitement, he spoke of the hunger for the things of the Spirit in the churches in the countryside.

This evidence, admittedly anecdotal in character, is substantiated by the responses I have received from the other researchers mentioned. Virtually all of them would agree that the China for Christ group should be classified as classical Pentecostal, although certainly there may be some in this large network that might be best described as Pentecostal.¹⁶

¹⁶ B, C, and D all affirmed that the China for Christ Network is classical Pentecostal, although B and C suggested that some might be better termed Pentecostal. A's response was more general, and simply acknowledged that this group and the others listed were at least charismatic and very often Pentecostal in orientation.

3.2 China Gospel Fellowship

The origins of the China Gospel Fellowship can also be traced to Henan Province. This network of house churches has grown rapidly since the early 1980s and now has evangelists working in virtually every province in China. I have developed close relationships with a young couple sent out as evangelists by this group. This couple has been very effective in planting churches among village people in our region. They are very open to all of the gifts of the Spirit listed in 1 Cor 12:8-10. Their testimonies are laced with references to healing, visions, prophetic insight, and persecution. They also speak of being “filled with the Spirit,” an experience which enables them to face hardships and adversity. While they do not appear to view tongues as integrally connected to this experience, they do view tongues-speech as a valid and edifying experience. If this couple is reflective of the group as a whole, I would say that the group is Pentecostal. This conclusion is consistent with the judgments of the three other researchers I contacted with knowledge of this group, two of whom categorized the group as, at least, charismatic (A and B). One other (D) indicated that the group is Pentecostal in its orientation.

I have participated in a number of house group meetings associated with this group. The following example, an excerpt from my personal notes, reveals a bit of the excitement and sense of community that characterize these meetings.

On December 23, 2002 I participated in a house church Christmas service. I walked through the door of the small apartment, roughly 600 square feet in all, and entered into the main room. It was very simple, with concrete floors and bare walls. The walls were now adorned with Christmas decorations. One banner proclaimed, “*Pu Tian Tong Qing*” (The whole world celebrates [His birth] together). The crowd grew to the point that the small adjoining rooms had to be pressed into service. All told, around 70 people packed into the little sanctuary.

The people were simple, country people. This house church is situated at the edge of a large city. The people living in this area represent village people who have migrated to the city. Urbanization is taking place at a breath-taking pace in China. In cities across the country there are large populations of village people attempting to “make it” in the cities. It was apparent that these folks were marked more by the village than the city.

The service, [led by the capable young Chinese couple noted above], began and a sense of joy quickly permeated the small make-shift

sanctuary. Songs and Scripture readings celebrating Christ's birth followed. It was then my turn to preach. I greeted the crowd, which now seemed like a large family, and began to share about Christmas.

After the short, simple message, a call to accept Christ as Savior and Lord was given. Nine people responded joyfully. There was a lot of clapping and celebration as they moved to the front of the room. I led the small group in a prayer of repentance, commitment, and thanksgiving and followed with a prayer of blessing.

The next stage of the service was filled with a number of truly amazing and very culturally authentic forms of worship. Small groups of believers, usually two or four, sang songs based on Scripture as they performed Christian folk dances. It was incredible - a wonderful form of worship which instructed and edified the entire group. Everyone entered in and the joy was almost tangible.

When the service finally came to an end, the nine new believers gathered together for instruction. I was especially touched by one family. The husband had just committed his life to Christ. He along with his wife and their small one year-old baby stood together. Their faces beamed with new-found joy.

3.3 The Yin Shang Church

This house church network began in Anhui Province in the late 1970s. It claims to have over 20,000 distinct congregations and approximately five million followers.¹⁷

On Nov. 25, 2002, I met with Brother C, the leader of the Yin Shang Network. Persecution was a major topic of our discussion. One of Brother C's colleagues had been arrested a few weeks before our meeting and he was still in prison. After we prayed for this man, Brother C noted that just two days prior to our meeting the Chinese government had conducted high level meetings with various departments within their bureaucracy. In these meetings they discussed their policy toward the house churches. The government officials concluded that they would strictly enforce new measures which demanded that all house churches register with the government. The government attempted to present this new policy as an opportunity for house church groups to register and receive government recognition. During our meeting, Brother C received many calls from his colleagues asking how they should respond to the new policies. Brother C said they would not register, but wait and watch

¹⁷ D provided this information.

how things developed. He felt that this new policy actually represented a new wave of persecution, not a new opening. In the past, the government had often issued fines for not registering. Now, Brother C stated, they are intent on arresting people who do not comply. Brother C indicated that they would only register if there were no conditions placed upon them. He stated that currently the government was asking for the names of leaders, the number and names of believers, and the location of their meetings. This was not acceptable to him. Approximately one month after our meeting, Brother C was arrested and imprisoned. He is currently still being held in prison.

During the course of this meeting, Brother C stated very clearly that the Yin Shang Church did believe in the baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues. He stressed that they seek to maintain a balance between the Word and Spirit. Although I would not say that this group links tongues with Spirit-baptism in the classical Pentecostal sense, they are indeed Pentecostal. This was explicitly stated by Brother C.¹⁸ It is likely that, in a manner similar to the members of the China for Christ Church (and, I would add, the early Christians in the book of Acts), their experience of persecution has shaped their theology at this point.

3.4 The Li Xin Church

This church takes its name from the Li Xin region in east central Anhui Province where it was first established. The church was founded around 1980 and was especially strong in Shandong, Anhui, and Henan. It then rapidly spread from this base to other parts of China. One of the strongest leaders of this movement is a woman.

I have not had much personal contact with this group or its leaders. One research colleague, D, who has had considerable contact with the Li Xin leaders insists that this group is Pentecostal, but that they are not classical Pentecostal in that they do not insist on tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit baptism. Another research colleague, A, characterized this group as charismatic with some Pentecostal leanings. B characterized this group as charismatic and C was not able to make a judgment due to lack of knowledge. It would appear that the group is predominantly Pentecostal with some segments perhaps best described as charismatic.

¹⁸ A characterized this group as at least charismatic with Pentecostal leanings; B characterized this group as charismatic; C had little contact with this group; and D characterized the group as Pentecostal.

3.5 The Word of Life Church

The origins of the Word of Life Church, sometimes called the “Born Again Movement” by outsiders, can be traced to 1968.¹⁹ At this time, Peter Xu began to preach in his hometown in southern Henan. By 1979 he was leading a group of evangelists whose ministry was now reaching into other areas of Henan. Beginning in the early 1980s they experienced tremendous revival. Many accepted their message and hundreds of churches were established. In 1982 they began to send teams of evangelists to other provinces. The first teams were sent to Sichuan Province. Initially, a number of these teams were arrested and sent back to Henan. However, in spite of these setbacks, the church persevered and finally a strong work was established in Sichuan. This also became a major center of ministry.

In 1982 Peter Xu was arrested and imprisoned. However, he was able to escape from the labor camp and resume his ministry. In 1983 a wave of persecution came and many Word of Life evangelists scattered to other provinces. During this time they developed a “seven point missions strategy” (see below) and sent out other full-time evangelists to plant churches.

By 1988 more than 3,000 churches had been planted. Peter Xu was re-arrested in 1988 for attempting to meet with Billy Graham when he visited China. Xu spent three years in prison and was released in 1991. Xu was arrested again in March of 1997 and again spent three years in prison. He was released in May of 2000 and now resides outside of China. Since his departure from China, the Word of Life Church has experienced significant fragmentation. In 1998 an article in *Christianity Today* estimated that the church numbered around three million believers. This article also rejected some claims that this group was heretical and concluded that it was evangelical in character.²⁰

The Word of Life bases its theology on John 3:3-5 and emphasizes that the only way to eternal life is to repent and have a new birth in Jesus.

¹⁹ The material for the following historical and theological survey of the Word of Life Church comes largely from two unpublished papers, both produced by Chinese Christians: one paper, “A Case Study of The Way of Life (New Birth): A Chinese House Church Network,” was written in March, 2001 by an outside observer; the other paper, “Our Church History,” was written by a Word of Life Church leader in April, 2003.

²⁰ Timothy C. Morgan, “A Tale of China’s Two Churches,” *Christianity Today* 42 (July 13, 1998), pp. 30-39

In some respects they are quite charismatic. They love the “Fire Bible,” the Chinese translation of the Life in the Spirit Study Bible, pray regularly for the sick, and are very much attuned to the power of the Holy Spirit.²¹

They have been criticized for supposedly emphasizing that believers must cry for prolonged periods of time in order to be truly saved. Thus, they have been called the “criers” and “the born again movement.” It is true that they are very emotional and frequently cry when they pray, but Peter Xu and other leaders insist that crying is not a requirement for salvation. It is quite possible that in a movement this size that some extremes might be propagated at the grass-roots level which do not in fact reflect the more orthodox views of the leaders.

Their theology, described as a “theology of the cross”, led to the following seven point missions strategy:

- Preach the salvation of the cross in order to make sure one repents and experiences the new birth.
- Take the way of the cross to persevere in faith during suffering.
- Recognize that the TSPM embraces a worldly authority.
- Plant churches (this is the goal of evangelism)
- Build up spiritual life (through spiritual life training)
- Build up fellowship (fellowship in church and with co-workers)
- Grow through planting churches (send out evangelists, plant churches, and establish Bible schools).

My first encounter with this group came in Beijing in October of 1998. I had the joy of meeting with a group of eight Word of Life leaders. The eight leaders, who came from their ministry posts in various parts of China, were, with one exception, all young, in their mid-to late- twenties. Most, however, had already been preaching for close to ten years. Seven of the eight were women. Their testimonies were incredibly inspiring. All but one had been in prison. One young lady who had been arrested along with Peter Xu the previous year had only recently been released from prison.

A colleague of mine asked one young lady, D, if she had been mistreated in prison. In a very matter of fact way, she said, “yes, they beat me.” She recounted how the prison officials tried to prevent her from preaching or praying: they beat her and shocked her with an electric baton in the chest. In spite of these difficulties, she was able to minister

²¹ The *Life in the Spirit Study Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan/Life Publishers, 2003) was first published as the *Full Life Study Bible* (1992).

to many in prison. One prostitute was healed and accepted Jesus as Lord and Savior. On one occasion a guard attempted to rape her, but as she prayed the guard fell unconscious and had to be taken to the hospital. Their testimonies of God's faithfulness and protection were filled with many stories of miraculous intervention.

Since this meeting in 1998 I have had considerable contact with various members of this group. On June 4, 2003 I interviewed one of their leaders whom I know quite well. I asked her about her group's attitude toward spiritual gifts and baptism in the Holy Spirit. She confirmed that they were conservative evangelicals. She also stated that:

- They do not encourage speaking in tongues. Although this may rarely happen, it is not really encouraged and a small element in the group would see it as demonic.
- They emphasize healing, but they do not practice prophecy or speaking in tongues.
- They do emphasize the importance of the Spirit's power in their lives, especially in evangelism and ministry. And, although they might connect this with baptism in the Spirit, this appears to be an area where their theology is not clearly developed. They appear to be open to the Spirit's empowering after conversion, but whether they would describe this as a definite experience available to everyone or connect this with Acts 2 is not clear. My friend did say said they did not emphasize the term, "baptism in the Holy Spirit."

In short, the Word of Life Church represents an interesting mixture of conservative theology and experiential piety. They expect to see miracles, pray for healing, and look to the Holy Spirit for supernatural guidance and deliverance. At the same time, they are generally quite closed to some manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit, such as prophecy and tongues. One researcher, B, after classifying the group as "charismatic", put it this way: "Overall, [the Word of Life Church is] similar to the Southern Baptists in theology (eternal security, etc.). Yet the first time I met Xu he was on his way to try to raise from the dead one of his workers who had suddenly died." According to the definitions I have listed above, I would classify this group as non-charismatic. As I have indicated, they do not appear to see all of the gifts listed in 1 Cor. 12:8-10 as valid for the church today.

3.6 The House Church Statement of Faith

On November 26, 1998 a group of four house leaders, including the leaders of the China for Christ Network and the China Gospel Fellowship, signed a statement of faith that they had forged together during meetings convened throughout the previous days. This statement represents the most significant theological statement issued by house church leaders to date. It is thoroughly evangelical and organized around seven key headings: On the Bible; On the Trinity; On Christ; On Salvation; On the Holy Spirit; On the Church; and On the Last Things. The statement on the Holy Spirit is especially significant for this study. It reads:

On the Holy Spirit: We believe that the Holy Spirit is the third person of the Trinity. He is the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of holiness. The Holy Spirit illuminates a person causing him to know sin and repent, to know the truth and to believe in Christ and so experience being born again unto salvation. He leads the believers into the truth, helps them to understand the truth and obey Christ, thereby bearing abundant fruit of life. The Holy Spirit gives all kinds of power and manifests the mighty acts of God through signs and miracles. The Holy Spirit searches all things. In Christ God grants a diversity of gifts of the Holy Spirit to the Church so as to manifest the glory of Christ. Through faith and thirsting, Christians can experience the outpouring and filling of the Holy Spirit. We do not believe in the cessation of signs and miracles or the termination of the gifts of the Holy Spirit after the apostolic period. We do not forbid speaking in tongues and we do not impose on people to speak in tongues; nor do we insist that speaking in tongues is the evidence of being saved.

We refute the view that the Holy Spirit is not a person of the Trinity but only a kind of influence.²²

This statement contains several significant declarations that highlight the Pentecostal leanings of its framers. First, the notion that charismatic gifts were given only for the apostolic period (cessationism) is explicitly denied: “We do not believe in the cessation of signs and miracles or the termination of the gifts of the Holy Spirit after the apostolic period.”

²² See Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, p. 62 for this English translation. I have included the sentence, “In Christ God grants a diversity of gifts of the Holy Spirit to the Church so as to manifest the glory of Christ,” which is found in the Chinese original, but which is omitted in Lambert's version. This appears to be an editorial oversight.

Thus, it is not surprising that the statement also declares that the Holy Spirit “gives all kinds of power and manifests the mighty acts of God through signs and miracles.” This statement, at the very least then, identifies the framers and the house church groups they represent as charismatic.

But there is more. This statement contains another significant declaration: “Through faith and thirsting, Christians can experience the outpouring and filling of the Holy Spirit.” Since this “outpouring and filling” may be received by Christians, this phrase must refer to a work of the Spirit subsequent to (at least logically, if not temporally) the regenerating work of the Spirit experienced at conversion. Although the purpose or impact of this gift is not explicitly stated, it is interesting to note that the language used to describe the experience (i.e., “outpouring and filling”) is drawn from the Book of Acts.²³ It seems obvious that a strengthening or empowering of the believer by the Spirit in accordance with the experience of the early church as recorded in the Book of Acts is in view here. The only prerequisites for receiving this gift which are listed in the statement are “faith” and “thirsting.” Surely this is another way of saying that this gift is available to all earnest believers who desire it. This statement then speaks of an empowering by the Spirit that is distinct from conversion and available to every believer. It thus identifies the framers as not only charismatic, but Pentecostal as well.

Finally, let us examine the reference to tongues: “We do not forbid speaking in tongues and we do not impose on people to speak in tongues; nor do we insist that speaking in tongues is the evidence of being saved.” Tony Lambert, noting this passage, states: “the careful neutrality concerning speaking in tongues is very far from the extreme teachings current in some charismatic or Pentecostal circles.”²⁴ It is not entirely clear what Lambert has in mind when he alludes to “extreme teachings current in some charismatic or Pentecostal circles.” Is he talking about the belief held by classical Pentecostals around the world that speaking in tongues is the sign or initial evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit? If so, Lambert not only states that this doctrine is “extreme,” he also implies that this house church statement rejects this doctrine. I would suggest, however, that this ‘reading’ of the statement tells us more about the

²³ The Chinese characters translated “outpouring” (*jiao guan*) and “filling” (*chong man*) of the Spirit in this statement are also found in Acts 2:17 (“pour out”) and Acts 2:4 (“filled”) of the *He He Ben* translation, the standard and most widely used Chinese translation of the Bible.

²⁴ Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, p. 64.

interpreter's presuppositions than it does about the intent of the original framers. The phrase, "we do not impose on people to speak in tongues" probably should be taken in light of what follows to mean that they do not force believers to speak in tongues by means of emotional or psychological coercion (e.g., by declaring tongues to be a sign that they are truly believers).²⁵ It is highly unlikely that the framers, with this phrase, were consciously renouncing the initial evidence doctrine of classical Pentecostalism. This seems to be an obvious conclusion in view of the fact that one of the four cardinal framers is the head of a classical Pentecostal group, the China for Christ Network.

The only doctrine that the statement specifically rejects and which is relatively common in evangelical circles in the West is the doctrine that denies the current validity of speaking in tongues. The statement is very clear: "We do not forbid speaking in tongues." The statement, of course, also rejects the strange and rare notion that tongue-speech is a sign of salvation. It is possible that this indeed is what Lambert has in mind when he speaks of "extreme teachings," but it is such a rare and unusual doctrine, certainly not representative of mainstream charismatic or Pentecostal Christianity, that one can only wonder.²⁶

In short, the statement on tongues does not appear to be a rejection of the classical Pentecostal position. However, it does not affirm this position either. It reads like a very diplomatic attempt to steer a middle path between two extremes. It rejects the position of those who would seek to forbid tongues and it refutes those who would seek to use manipulative means to force believers to speak in tongues. In fact, the careful way in which this statement is framed suggests that it is a wise compromise which accommodates both classical Pentecostals on the one hand and charismatics and (non-classical) Pentecostals on the other.

We are now in a position to highlight the implications which the house church statement of faith has for the question at hand. Our analysis has revealed that this statement is indeed significant. With its carefully worded phraseology concerning the work of the Holy Spirit, the

²⁵ The Chinese characters translated by the phrase, "do not impose upon" (*mian qiang*) certainly convey the notion of "force." There is perhaps a slight difference in the nuances of the English terms "impose" and "force", with force representing a slightly stronger term. The semantic range of the Chinese term, *mian qiang*, would certainly include the stronger connotations of "force."

²⁶ Only a few "Jesus only" groups, such as the United Pentecostal Church, would affirm this doctrine. These are fringe groups very much out of sync with mainstream charismatic or Pentecostal groups.

statement of faith suggests that its framers and the churches they represent are, at the very least, Pentecostal and perhaps even classical Pentecostal in their theological orientation.

3.7 Summary

I have surveyed what are generally recognized to be the five largest house church groups in China. Collectively these groups almost certainly represent a significant majority of the house churches in China,²⁷ and possibly a majority of the Christian population in China as a whole. In any event, these groups represent a significant cross-section of the Church in China. More specifically, I have analyzed the theological orientation of these groups, particularly as it relates to Pentecostal and charismatic issues. My evaluation has been based on my own personal conversations, the findings of fellow researchers, and selected written documents. Although my conclusions must be viewed as somewhat tentative since hard sociological data in the form of grass-roots surveys are lacking, these conclusions are based on what would appear to be the most extensive research on this issue available to date.

My research suggests that the five groups should be categorized as follows:

- China for Christ: largely classical Pentecostal, partly Pentecostal
- China Gospel Fellowship: largely Pentecostal, partly charismatic
- Yin Shang Church: largely Pentecostal, partly charismatic
- Li Xin Church: largely Pentecostal, partly charismatic
- Word of Life Church: largely non-charismatic, partly charismatic

Based on this analysis, I would conclude that the overwhelming majority of the Christians in China today are at least charismatic. This study suggests that 90% of house church Christians and perhaps 80% of

²⁷ This conclusion was affirmed by A, B, C, and D. Of course there are other large, significant groups that are non-charismatic, such as the Wen Zhou Church and the Little Flock. (I might note that I have spoken to one of the leaders of the Little Flock and he indicated that he has had a Pentecostal experience which included speaking in tongues. This experience and his contact with China for Christ leaders has encouraged him to relate more constructively to other to this and other church groups.) However, there are also other large, significant groups which are Pentecostal as well. One such classical Pentecostal group which C relates to is 400,000 strong.

the total Christian population in China would affirm that the gifts of the Spirit listed in 1 Cor. 12:8-10 are available to the church today.²⁸

Furthermore, in the light of the significant strength of the Pentecostal groups listed above, it is reasonable to conclude that a significant majority of the Christians in China today are not only charismatic, but also Pentecostal in their theological orientation. I would estimate that 75% of house church Christians and 60% of the total Christians population in China are accurately be described by this designation.

It is also clear that classical Pentecostals represent a minority of the believers in China, but it is a significant minority nonetheless. This is evident from that the fact that what appears to be the largest house church network in China today is best described as classical Pentecostal. I would suggest that approximately 25% of house church Christians and 20% of the total Christian population in China are classical Pentecostal.²⁹

In addition to these conclusions concerning doctrine or beliefs, some general observations may also be made concerning behavior. The praxis

²⁸ A word concerning the method used to arrive at these percentages is in order. I have taken the largest five house church groups as representative of house church Christians in China as a whole. I have used the estimated strength of these five churches listed in the methodology section above to arrive at specific percentages. Although these specific numbers may be high, the general proportions they represent are probably relatively accurate. Thus, the percentages for house church Christians were: non-charismatic (10%); charismatic (90%); Pentecostal (75%); and classical Pentecostal (25%). I have considered the China Gospel Fellowship and the two Anhui groups to be largely, but not entirely, Pentecostal. This accounts for the variance between the percentages for charismatics (90%) and Pentecostals (75%). As a result of my own personal observations and my reading of the research available, I have also assumed that in China house church Christians are three times as numerous as Christians affiliated with the TSPM churches. I then estimated, based on my own personal experience, concerning the percentage of TSPM Christians that might be classified as non-charismatic (50%), charismatic (50%), Pentecostal (20%), and classical Pentecostal (10%). This was the rationale, then, behind the final estimates. Note that in the percentages listed above, the numbers for charismatic, Pentecostal, and classical Pentecostal are presented in an overlapping way: classical Pentecostal is a subset of Pentecostal and both are subsets of the broader, inclusive term, "charismatic."

²⁹ These conclusions are generally consistent with the assessment of the other researchers consulted: A suggested at least 90% of house church Christians were, at the very least, charismatic; B affirmed that a significant majority were charismatic without stating any specific percentages; C and D also indicated that very large percentages were charismatic and Pentecostal.

of the House Church Movement in China may be described as exhibiting the following characteristics:³⁰

- 1) A strong emphasis on personal experience, often reflected in emotionally-charged prayers and worship. God is understood to be present, personal, and vitally interested in communicating with and relating to individual believers. Exuberant, participatory worship and emotional responses to preaching are quite common and might be described as typical.
- 2) A strong expectation that God will intervene in miraculous ways in the daily lives of believers. House church Christians exhibit a firm belief in God's ability and willingness to work miracles in their midst. Their testimonies often refer to God healing the sick, raising the dead, granting special wisdom or direction, communicating through dreams, visions, or prophetic messages, providing boldness for witness, or granting miraculous strength and protection. This expectation is often expressed in an openness to the gifts of the Spirit and is certainly encouraged in part by such biblical passages as 1 Cor. 12:8-10.
- 3) A strong sense of their own weakness and dependence upon God. Perhaps due in part to their experiences of marginalization and persecution, house church believers often reflect a keen awareness of their own weakness and a strong sense of dependence upon God's supernatural power and leading. This is reflected in an emphasis on receiving strength and encouragement from the Holy Spirit, often in specific moments of prayer. This perspective is undoubtedly patterned after the experience of the early church recorded in the book of Acts. It is often associated with the expectation that one can receive needed strength or encouragement through a definable experience, regularly described as being "baptized in" or "filled with" the Holy Spirit.

4. Gaining Perspective: A Contextual Assessment

The strong Pentecostal orientation of the Church in China is striking, but it should not surprise us. In fact, when the recent revival of Christianity in China is viewed against the backdrop of its historical, global, and sociological contexts, this is precisely what we would expect. Let us examine each of these contexts.

³⁰ We have already noted the strong biblical focus of the house church movement and need not repeat it here.

4.1 The Historical Context

One of the striking aspects of Christianity in pre-1949 China was the emergence of strong, vital indigenous churches. These churches were founded and led by Chinese Christians. They were established and operated entirely independent of foreign finances, control and leadership. Although these groups were largely overlooked by missionaries and have been neglected by historians, it is evident that these groups were extremely significant. More recently, Daniel Bays, a noted historian of Chinese Christianity, has highlighted the significance of these groups. Speaking of these independent Chinese Christian groups, Bays writes, "I believe that this sector [of the Christian Church] was far more interesting and significant than it might have been thought."³¹ Bays estimates that by the 1940s these indigenous groups accounted for between 20-25% (or 200,000 believers) of all Protestants.³² Furthermore, Bays notes that these groups have exerted a tremendous influence on the Christianity that has flourished in China since the 1980s:

Moreover, judging from what we know of the churches in China today, it is clear that a great many of the older Christians whose experience dates to before 1949 came out of these indigenous churches.³³

The largest of these groups, the True Jesus Church, was and remains Pentecostal in character. Bays has established important links between the Azusa Street revival and the key founders of the True Jesus Church.

Alfred Garr, one of the first pastors at the Azusa Street revival to receive the baptism of the Spirit and speak in tongues, felt called to go as a missionary. He and his wife arrived in Hong Kong in October of 1907. The Garrs were joined by a small group of Pentecostals and they began to minister in Hong Kong. Garr's interpreter, Mok Lai Chi, received the baptism and the gift of tongues. Mok became the founding editor of a Chinese monthly paper, *Pentecostal Truths* (Wuxunjie zhenlibao), which was first issued in January of 1908. This paper "directly influenced the

³¹ Daniel H. Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900-1937," in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Daniel Bays (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 307-16 (309).

³² Bays, "Independent Christianity," p. 310; for similar estimates see Hunter and Chan, *Protestantism*, p. 134 n. 60.

³³ Bays, "Independent Christianity," p. 310.

North China founders of the first major Chinese Pentecostal church, the True Jesus Church.”³⁴

Another link between the Azusa Street revival and the True Jesus Church can be traced through a Mr. Bernsten, a missionary serving in China who was profoundly impacted by his experience at the altar of the Azusa Mission. After his experience at the Azusa Mission, Bernsten returned to China and, along with a small group of Pentecostals, opened an independent mission station in Zhending (just north of Shijiazhuang) of Hebei Province. In 1912 this group began to publish a newspaper, *Tongchuan fuyin zhenlibao* [Popular Gospel Truth]. This paper, along with the Hong Kong paper noted above, provided inspiration for the early founders of the True Jesus Church. Additionally, two of the key Chinese founders of the True Jesus Church, Zhang Lingshen and Wei Enbo were impacted in Beijing by members of the church Bernsten’s group had founded, *Xinxinhui* [the Faith Union].³⁵

These two men (Zhang Lingshen and Wei Enbo), along with Barnabas Zhang, all of whom had Pentecostal experiences that included speaking in tongues, determined that they would form a Pentecostal church in China. They founded their first church in Tianjin in 1917. The church grew quickly and spread to Shandong, Hebei, Henan, Zhejiang, and other provinces. Its key areas of strength were in Hunan, Fujian, and Henan. Hunter and Chan note that the church’s “estimated membership was at least 120,000 by 1949” with 700 churches throughout China.³⁶

Another large indigenous Chinese church which was also Pentecostal in nature was the Jesus Family. The Jesus Family was founded in the 1920s by Jing Dianyin in the village of Mazhuang (Taian County) in Shandong Province. The Jesus Family’s worship was marked by prayer for healing, speaking in tongues, prophecy, and other spiritual gifts. The Jesus Family also featured a communal way of life in which everything was shared. The Jesus Family was especially strong in the poorest parts of China. Hunter and Chan provide a wonderful description of the church from a present-day believer’s perspective: the church was “a love fellowship, a meeting-place for the weary and a place of comfort

³⁴ Daniel Bays, “Indigenous Protestant Churches in China, 1900-1937: A Pentecostal Case Study,” in *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity*, Steven Kaplan (New York: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 124-43 (129).

³⁵ Bays, “Indigenous Protestant Churches,” p. 130. Bays also traces a link with a Pentecostal group associated with Pastor M. L. Ryan of Salem, Oregon, which established a Pentecostal center in Shanghai (pp. 130-31).

³⁶ Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism*, p. 121.

for the broken-hearted...where you are, there is our home, and our home is everywhere.”³⁷ In its heyday in China the Jesus Family totaled over a hundred communities and around six thousand members.³⁸ The church still continues today in Taiwan.

The Spiritual Gifts Church (*Ling'en hui*) was a loosely knit independent church movement that emerged in the early 1930s. The movement centered in Shandong Province and was linked to the famous “Shandong Revival,” which impacted and divided a number of mainline churches and missions organizations. Bays notes that the Spiritual Gifts Church was composed of Chinese churches and pastors “who broke away from denominations or missions that refused to approve their controversial Pentecostal doctrines and practices.”³⁹ The church did not develop organizationally and it is difficult to ascertain its strength or influence.

There were, of course, other indigenous churches that were non-Pentecostal in character, such as The Little Flock (*Xiao qun*) established by Watchman Nee (Ni Tuosheng) in the mid-1920s. And there were certainly a number of non-Pentecostal Chinese church leaders of stature. Wang Mingdao, for example, apparently had a Pentecostal experience in 1920, but later “backed away from full Pentecostalism.”⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the fact remains that of the three largest independent Chinese churches that sprang up in the early part of the twentieth century (The True Jesus Church, The Little Flock, and the Jesus Family), two were Pentecostal. And one of these Pentecostal groups, the True Jesus Church, was by far the largest single indigenous Chinese church group of that era. This fact, coupled with the significant impact of the Pentecostal form of revivalism that swept through China in the 1930s, indicates that the majority of Chinese Christians prior to 1949, when able to develop their own Christian identity, gravitated to Pentecostal forms of worship and

³⁷ Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism*, p. 121; on the Jesus Family see also Bays, “Independent Christianity,” p. 312.

³⁸ Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism*, p. 121; Bays, “Independent Christianity,” p. 312.

³⁹ Bays, “Independent Christianity,” pp. 312-13. See also Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism*, pp. 129-130.

⁴⁰ Daniel Bays, “Christian Revival in China, 900-1937,” in *Modern Christian Revivals*, eds. Edith Blumhofer and Randall Balmer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp. 161-79 (171).

doctrine. It is worth noting, then, that indigenous Chinese Christianity was predominantly Pentecostal.⁴¹

Tony Lambert points out that today the Church in China is generally strong in those areas where historically the missionaries were most active; that is, in the eastern coastal provinces of Fujian, Zhejiang, and Jiangsu. However, Lambert goes on to note that the Chinese church is also very strong in some provinces where the missionaries were not as active, provinces like Henan and Anhui. He offers no rationale for the growth of the church in these regions, but does note that “the witness of independent, indigenous churches, such as the Little Flock and the Jesus Family, are also vital factors to be taken into account.”⁴² What Lambert does not state, but what is especially striking is this: strong, indigenous Pentecostal churches were active in these regions prior to 1949 and today, strong, indigenous Pentecostal churches have blossomed in these same regions. It is difficult to deny that the legacy of these early indigenous churches lives on in the Christians and churches birthed in the revivals of the 1980s.⁴³ This legacy is conspicuously Pentecostal.

In the light of these historical facts, I would raise this question: If the majority of indigenous Chinese Christians prior to 1949 gravitated to Pentecostal forms of worship and doctrine, why would we expect it to be any different today? The lessons of history suggest that the predominantly Pentecostal character of the contemporary Chinese church should not surprise us.

4.2 The Global Context

If we step back and look at the current revival of Christianity in China from the vantage point of contemporary trends in the global Christian community, again we see that our description of the Chinese church as predominantly Pentecostal is precisely what we should expect. Historians and researchers of Christianity all agree that one of the most significant religious phenomena of the past century (and many would say

⁴¹ Murray Rubinstein, “Holy Spirit Taiwan: Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in the Republic of China,” in *Christianity in China* (1996), pp. 353-66 (366) states that the “churches of the Holy Spirit” in Taiwan “have come the furthest toward creating a Christianity that is congruent with basic patterns of traditional Chinese religion” and feels they are on the “cutting edge of Christian progress.”

⁴² Lambert, *Resurrection*, p. 154.

⁴³ See also Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism*, p. 140.

the most significant) is the astounding growth of the modern Pentecostal movement.⁴⁴ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Pentecostal movement did not exist. Today, there are over 200 million denominational Pentecostals and over 500 million charismatics and Pentecostals around the world.⁴⁵

This movement, which ranks as the second largest family of Christians in the world (after the Roman Catholic Church), has experienced staggering growth, especially in the developing countries of the world.⁴⁶ Over 70% of charismatics and Pentecostals worldwide are non-white and 66% are located in the Third World.⁴⁷ Today, in continents like Latin America and Africa, a large majority of evangelical Christians are charismatic or Pentecostal. David Barrett estimates that there are now over 126 million charismatics and Pentecostals in Africa, and over 140 million in Latin America.⁴⁸ Charismatic and Pentecostal groups have also grown rapidly in Asia, where they now number over 134 million.⁴⁹ Barrett suggests that over 54 million charismatics, neo-charismatics, and Pentecostals (which he defines largely in ecclesiastical terms) now reside in China.⁵⁰ And, speaking of the Han Chinese worldwide, Barrett claims that by 1985 over 25% were tongues-speakers. Furthermore, he states that the proportion of all Han Chinese Christians who are “phenomenologically” Pentecostal or charismatic may be as high as 85%.⁵¹

Even if one remains skeptical regarding the precision of some of these statistics, the magnitude of the movement and the general nature of

⁴⁴ Vinson Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), p. 2 notes that “some historians refer to the 20th century as the ‘Pentecostal century.’” See the similar judgment issued by William and Robert Menzies, *Spirit and Power: Foundations of Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000), p. 15.

⁴⁵ Synan, *Century*, p. 2. The global statistics are conveniently chronicled in D. B. Barrett and T. M. Johnson, “Global Statistics,” *NIDPC*, pp. 284-302. See also Synan, *Century*, especially chapters 14 and 15.

⁴⁶ Synan, *Century*, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁷ Synan, *Century*, p. 383.

⁴⁸ See Barrett & Johnson, “Global Statistics,” p. 287.

⁴⁹ See Barrett & Johnson, “Global Statistics,” p. 287.

⁵⁰ See the *NIDPC*, p. 58.

⁵¹ See Barrett & Johnson, “Global Statistics,” p. 287.

recent trends cannot be questioned. In view of these trends worldwide, particularly in the developing countries of continents like Africa and Latin America, we would expect that in China too charismatics and Pentecostals would represent a significant and even dominant force within the larger Christian community. This is certainly the case if Barrett's numbers are anywhere near correct. Although this study has attempted to provide more specific, theologically defined, categories for analysis, our conclusions are very much in line with these global trends in general and Barrett's assessment of China in particular.

4.3 The Sociological Context

The reasons for the growth of Pentecostal Christianity worldwide are complex and one should resist the temptation to view these developments totally in terms of naturalistic explanations. Nevertheless, sociologists may provide insight into some of the factors which have encouraged this amazing growth. One of the most striking features of contemporary China is the startling pace of its modernization and economic development. Strange as it may sound, this process of modernization and development may represent a major factor in creating a context conducive for the growth of Pentecostal Christianity.

Ryan Dunch, in a very perceptive article, notes that modernization does impact the religious makeup of a nation. However, he suggests that rather than "producing a straightforward decline in religion," modernization tends to change its nature. More specifically, Dunch suggests that religion, as it meets modernization, tends to become more voluntary (rather than acquired at birth), individualized, and experiential. These shifts in turn force religious institutions to change accordingly. Dunch views the Pentecostal movement as especially well-suited to minister to the needs of people in societies, like that of China, which are shaped by industrial market economies:

Pentecostal movements, once routinely presented as reactions against modernity, are now being reevaluated as especially reflective of these forces, in their emphasis on the self, and in equipping their adherents, especially in the developing capitalist societies of Latin American and South Korea, with the "values of ascetic Protestantism...so essential for social mobility in a capitalist economy."⁵²

⁵² Dunch, "Protestant Christianity," p. 215 (citing Andrew Walker, "Thoroughly Modern: Sociological Reflections on the Charismatic Movement from the End of

We have already noted that Pentecostal doctrine and praxis were particularly appealing to indigenous Chinese Christians in the 1920s and 30s. Certainly many Chinese were attracted to this new form of religion, “which preached good conduct, promised fellowship with divinity, afforded healing and exorcism and offered forms of worship that could be corporate or individual according to the circumstances.”⁵³ And, as Hunter and Chan recognize, “the religious revival of the 1980s suggests that these are still deep needs.”⁵⁴ It is not unreasonable to suggest, then, that the forces of modernization have, in part, enhanced this sense of need. All of this suggests that China, like other societies being shaped by modernization, represents fertile ground for the seeds of Pentecostal revival.

5. Conclusion

We are in a position to summarize our findings. I have analyzed the theological orientation of the five largest house church groups in China. My analysis was based on my own personal conversations, the findings of fellow researchers, and selected written documents. I have concluded that these five groups should be categorized as follows:

- China for Christ: largely classical Pentecostal, partly Pentecostal
- China Gospel Fellowship: largely Pentecostal, partly charismatic
- Yin Shang Church: largely Pentecostal, partly charismatic
- Li Xin Church: largely Pentecostal, partly charismatic
- Word of Life Church: largely non-charismatic, partly charismatic

These conclusions suggest that the overwhelming majority of the Christians in China today are at least charismatic, this would include 90% of house church Christians and perhaps 80% of the total Christian population in China. Furthermore, it is also apparent that a significant majority of the Christians in China today are not only charismatic, but also Pentecostal in their theological orientation. Approximately 75% of house church Christians and 60% of the total Christians population in

the Twentieth Century,” in *Charismatic Christianity: Sociological Perspective*, p. 36).

⁵³ Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism*, p. 140.

⁵⁴ Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism*, p. 140.

China would fall into this category. Finally, while it is evident that classical Pentecostals represent a minority of the believers in China, it is a significant minority, encompassing approximately 25% of house church Christians and 20% of the total Christian population in China.

I have also suggested that these findings should not surprise us. Given the strong history of Pentecostalism within the Chinese indigenous churches prior to 1949 and the dramatic growth of Pentecostal churches around the world in recent years, particularly in developing countries, this is precisely what we would expect. I have also noted that Chinese society, which is to a significant degree shaped by the forces of modernization, appears to be particularly fertile soil for the growth of Pentecostal Christianity. Thus, historical patterns, global trends, and sociological factors all serve to strengthen our conclusions.

By way of conclusion, I might add that this description of the Chinese church is generally not acknowledged in evangelical publications. A case in point are the two generally excellent and well-researched volumes produced by Tony Lambert, *The Resurrection of the Chinese Church* (1994) and *China's Christian Millions* (1999). In these volumes Lambert consistently describes the Chinese church as evangelical, exhibiting a conservative theological, warm experiential piety, and an openness to the miraculous (especially healing).⁵⁵ However, the strong charismatic and Pentecostal orientation of the Chinese church, expressed in its doctrine and praxis, is consistently neglected. This neglect is evidenced in a variety of ways.

First, there is Lambert's curious description of the house church: "There is a strong wing who are charismatic or Pentecostal, but they are not in the majority."⁵⁶ Lambert makes this claim and yet he fails to define the crucial terms, charismatic and Pentecostal, or to offer any supporting evidence.

Secondly, Lambert rather consistently refers to charismatics and Pentecostals in a pejorative way. He links Chinese charismatics and Pentecostals with divisive extremists,⁵⁷ uncritically cites a very negative

⁵⁵ On the evangelical nature of the Chinese church, see for example Lambert, *Resurrection*, pp. 282-83 and *China's Christian Millions*, pp. 30-33, 68, and 188. Note also his positive assessment of miracles and healing in the Chinese church in Lambert, *Resurrection*, pp. 112-114 and *China's Christian Millions*, pp. 117-20.

⁵⁶ Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, p. 45.

⁵⁷ Lambert, *China's Christian Millions*, p. 48.

assessment by a TSPM pastor of a prophetic utterance,⁵⁸ refers to the “hyped artificial atmosphere of ‘healing meetings’” in the West,⁵⁹ perhaps implies that the teaching of classical Pentecostals is “extreme”,⁶⁰ and speaks of some charismatic (and evangelical) churches in the West where “preaching is at a discount” and the focus has shifted away from the Bible to “the shifting sands of subjectivism and emotionalism.”⁶¹

Finally, Lambert generally refuses to refer to Chinese groups and individuals as charismatic or Pentecostal even when they clearly are. This is especially striking with respect to the indigenous Pentecostal groups which emerged in pre-1949 China, the True Jesus Church and The Jesus Family. Lambert discusses these groups in both of his books, but, with one exception, fails to mention that they are Pentecostal.⁶² Lambert also cites two testimonies that almost certainly come from Pentecostals. The first testimony is cited as illustrating “the authentic spirit of spiritual revival” and offering “insight into the deeper evangelical spirituality of the house-churches.”⁶³ Any reference to the Pentecostal nature of this believer’s faith or church is conspicuously absent. The second testimony is so dramatically Pentecostal that Lambert feels compelled to comment: “Not all Christians in China would be as Pentecostal or charismatic as the writer of this letter...”⁶⁴ This testimony is reproduced in condensed form in *China’s Christian Millions*, but with all of the overtly Pentecostal content discretely edited out.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Lambert, *China’s Christian Millions*, p. 111.

⁵⁹ Lambert, *China’s Christian Millions*, p. 120.

⁶⁰ Lambert, *China’s Christian Millions*, p. 64 and note our discussion of Lambert’s interpretation of the house church Statement of Faith above.

⁶¹ Lambert, *China’s Christian Millions*, p. 188.

⁶² See Lambert, *Resurrection*, pp. 14, 154, 158, 246, 271; and *China’s Christian Millions*, pp. 49-55. The one exception is found in *China’s Christian Millions*, p. 49, where Lambert indicates that one of the founders of the True Jesus Church, Paul Wei, was “inspired by the Pentecostal movement.” He also mentions various practices of the church, including speaking in tongues. Lambert goes on to discuss the Jesus Family at length (pp. 50-52) without a single reference to their Pentecostal roots or orientation.

⁶³ For the testimony see Lambert, *Resurrection*, pp. 159-62; the first quote is from p. 159, the second from p. 162.

⁶⁴ For this testimony see Lambert, *Resurrection*, pp. 163-67; the quote is from p. 168.

⁶⁵ See Lambert, *China’s Christian Millions*, pp. 171-72.

My purpose here is not to denigrate what are by all accounts two well-researched, highly readable, and extremely valuable books about the Church in China. I simply want to suggest that many evangelical researchers appear loathe to acknowledge the dramatically charismatic and Pentecostal character of the Chinese church. I do believe that this is an omission that needs to be rectified. This is particularly the case since the most capable and prolific researchers writing on the Chinese church for western Christians are evangelicals with apparently non-charismatic leanings, such as Tony Lambert. I trust my comments will be understood in the larger context of my great appreciation for these men, their gifts, their dedication, and their writings.

So, it would appear that a clearer, more objective assessment of the theology and practice of the Chinese church, at least when it comes to charismatic and Pentecostal issues, is needed. I hope this essay represents a small step in that direction. We all are inclined to see only what we want to see. This was certainly the case with many of the missionaries who were contemporaries of those first indigenous Chinese Christians. As Hunter and Chan, speaking of this largely Pentecostal revivalist movement, note:

The missionaries perhaps failed to appreciate the significance of these expressions of popular religiosity, which they compared unfavourably to the quieter and more orderly forms of worship they advocated themselves. As we look back from the 1990s they seem a quite natural form of religious behaviour among peasant communities and recent immigrants to cities.⁶⁶

I do hope that our generation will not make the same mistake. I trust that we will acknowledge and respect the significance of this powerful, indigenous, and largely Pentecostal form of Christianity that has emerged in China over the past two decades.

⁶⁶ Hunter & Chan, *Protestantism*, p. 135.

THE CURRENT TENDENCIES
OF THE WESLEYAN-HOLINESS MOVEMENT AND
THE GROWTH OF PENTECOSTAL-
CHARISMATIC CHRISTIANITY

Bonjour Bay

1. Introduction

Where is the Wesleyan-Holiness movement going? Since John Wesley produced the standard of Christian perfection in the eighteenth century, the movement has expanded globally, with the Wesleyan-Holiness groups discussing many issues of sanctification theories.

The most remarkable phenomenon in the twentieth century is the Pentecostal revival, which is rapidly extending to the whole world. It is nearly half a billion strong world-wide, and has been, and continues to be, the fastest growing Christian segment in the world. It has made inroads, not only in third-world regions like Africa and Latin America, but it also continues to attract huge followings in the western world.

More and younger Pentecostals are becoming scholars through reputable universities. There are several hundred Pentecostal scholars with doctorates, and that, of course, changes the breadth and depth of Pentecostalism. Most of them have maintained their roots in Pentecostalism, but this increase in education has led, in many places, to more ecumenical openness. There is now an on-going worldwide dialogue between Pentecostals and Roman Catholics.

One unique characteristic of Pentecostalism is its oral orientation. It is not defined by the abstract language that characterizes, for instance, Presbyterians or Catholics. Oral language is a much more global language than that of the universities or church declarations. Oral

tradition is flexible and can adapt itself to a variety of circumstances.¹ Such style of expression causes much curiosity among modernists, who want to pursue a simpler and more popular experimental faith.

Both the Pentecostal movement and the Charismatic renewal do not deal with traditional doctrine and statements so heavily, but, rather, have expanded resolute movement of unity through the common experimental sentiment of faith. In former days, believers who were in traditional denominations didn't want to dialogue with the Pentecostals; but, then, neither did Pentecostals. But they were communicating with each other in mutually equal relationships, in every aspect. The Pentecostal's nearest neighbor for dialogue was the holiness group, and the recent tendencies leaning towards the holiness movement have been made by the process of mutual dialogue and communication.

2. The Acceptable Tendencies toward the Charismatic Movement

Since the 1960s, the Charismatic renewal, which has widely exploded in America and in England, has been one of the most important issues in twentieth-century church history.² In Africa and Mexico, speaking in tongues and physical healings are not considered extraordinary. Tongues are not even spoken in a lot of third-world Pentecostal churches.

Many mainline denominations, evangelicals and traditional Pentecostals are upset about the Charismatic movement and are only too willing to tell horror stories about its excesses, whether be they theological, financial, or sexual in nature or simply a matter of disappointed hopes for healing and acceptance.³

Peter Wagner highlighted the theological value of the Third Wave movement world-wide with the influence of John Wimber. Inviting Wimber as a visiting lecturer, Wagner opened the lecture "Signs and

¹ Walter J. Hollenwener, "Pentecostalism's Global Language," *Church History* 6 (July, 1998), pp. 42-44 (42-43).

² Howard A. Snyder, *The Divine Flame: Wesleyan and the Charismatic Renewal* (Grand Rapids, MI: Francis Asbury, 1984), p. 37.

³ Irving Hexham and Karla Poewe, "Charismatic Churches in South Africa: A Critique of Criticisms and Problems of Bias," in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. Karla Poewe (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 50-69 (51).

Wonders,” and more than 800 students were attendants in the class,⁴ in which they could experience the supernatural gifts.

Wagner differentiated the Third Wave from the first decade of twentieth century classical Pentecostalism and from the Charismatic renewal in the 1960s. The Third Wavers believe that the Spirit baptism occurs not in the second experience following regeneration, but just in regeneration, and that the subsequent experience of being filled with the Holy Spirit makes one a fully consecrated believer,⁵ and that speaking in other tongues is not necessary.⁶

The Vineyard theology, the representative stream of the Third Wave, depends in many parts on George Eldon Ladd. Ladd explains the kingdom of God, not just in the terminology of evangelism, but also as the power of God that demolishes the power of Satan.⁷ Thus the emphasis of the “power encounter” or “power evangelism” is offered as its theological and biblical foundations.

Pentecostal and charismatic churches are growing amazingly fast in every part of the world. This phenomenon apparently announces that the gospel of Christ is now expanded, not by doctrinal contention or argument, but by the power of the Holy Spirit. Poewe shows Yoido Full Gospel Church and Sung Rak Baptist Church in South Korea as the typical models of the charismatic church growth.⁸ John A. Sims states that we receive the power that can win souls, even in the complicated context, by using the manifestations of the Holy Spirit.⁹

The charismatic tendency is coming as a huge influence, not only upon classical Pentecostals, but also to the Wesleyan-Holiness groups

⁴ B. J. Oropeza, *A Time to Laugh: The Holy Laughter Phenomenon Examined* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), pp. 65-66.

⁵ C. Peter Wagner, “A Third Wave?” *Pastoral Renewal* (July-August 1983), pp. 1-5.

⁶ C. Peter Wagner, *The Third Wave of the Holy Spirit* (Ann Arbor: Vine Books, 1988), p. 13.

⁷ Oropeza, *A Time to Laugh*, p. 67.

⁸ Mark R. Mullins, “The Empire Strikes Back: Korean Pentecostal Mission to Japan,” in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, pp. 87-102 (89-91).

⁹ John A. Sims, “Postmodernism: the Apologetic Imperative,” ed., *The Challenge of Postmodernism: An Evangelical Engagement*, ed. David S. Dockery (Wheaton, IL: Victor, 1995), pp. 315-42 (330-31), esp. p. 342 n. 12; R. Larry Shelton, “A Wesleyan/Holiness Agenda for the Twenty-First Century,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 33:2 (Fall, 1998), pp. 67-100 (93).

without exception. It is the globally and inter-denominationally, almost common phenomenon. While the radical charismatic or indiscriminate use of gifts is always censured by evangelical theology, evangelical churches, including Wesleyan-Holiness groups, must prepare of using gifts with sharpened discernment.

Some Third Wavers tend to identify Jonathan Edwards as a defender of the physical manifestation of the Toronto Blessing. The most detailed argument for Edward's support is found in the work of Guy Chevreau, a pastor and teacher in the Toronto Airport Vineyard. The essence of Chevreau's point is that Edwards stood in marked contradiction to the Puritan tradition¹⁰ that he inherited, as he rejected the Puritan's faulty psychology, following the insight of Locke. Thus, instead of stressing the centrality of the mind and the rational faculties, Edwards elevated the role of experience. For example, the central thesis of "religious affections," a treatise on the nature of conversion, is that true religion in great part, consists in holy affection. Religion is not confined to the realm of the mind or the lair of dispassionate knowledge, but singularly embraces the affectionate side of humans.¹¹

On the surface, Edwards appears as a prime historical precedent for the phenomena of the Toronto blessing. But we must not forget that he said religious affection is only a possible experience of conversion. He seems to not support the enthusiasm of the Toronto blessing any more. Miraculous spiritual manifestations, whether they are prophetic visions or supernatural empowerings, are not a vital part of true religion. Edwards argued that divine grace comes through the ordinary gifts, as the extraordinary has ceased, and counseled his readers not to expect these miraculous gifts in the approaching glorious times of the church.¹² Edwards believed that the extraordinary gifts were inferior to the ordinary gifts or fruit of the Spirit, and only the latter should be sought; and, that the extraordinary gifts had no relationship to the end times and the glorious renewal and triumph of the church. Edwards further believed that the power or enablement of the saints for service to God was to be found in prayer and proclamation, not in the extraordinary gifts.¹³

¹⁰ J. E. Smith, *Jonathan Edwards: Puritan, Preacher, Philosopher* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), p. 14.

¹¹ John D. Hannah, "Jonathan Edwards, The Toronto Blessing, and the Spiritual Gifts: Are the Extraordinary Ones Actually the Ordinary Ones?" *Trinity Journal* 17 (Fall, 1996), pp. 167-89 (171).

¹² Hannah, "Jonathan Edwards," pp. 181-82.

¹³ Hannah, "Jonathan Edwards," p. 185.

The Wesleyan-Holiness group does not fully agree with Edwards in their views of sanctification and of supernatural gifts. However, Edwards, who stressed the event of conversion more than the experience of spiritual gifts and also objective revelation more than physical manifestation, stands in the general way of evangelism. This model gives more effective measure to the Wesleyan-Holiness group, which is more apt to accept charismatic tendencies.

3. Tendency Unifying in Sanctification Experience

Does the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition actually do the ecumenical vocation with the Pentecostals? Some factors would seem likely to influence the shape and character of things to come, such as, the degree to which an ecumenical vocation is seen as organic to the tradition, theologically, missionologically and morally.¹⁴ Since the early 1980s, the Wesleyan Theological Society has made itself into an arena for dialogue, through presentations at its meetings by persons from beyond the Wesleyan-Holiness circle, many by special invitation.¹⁵

As a collector and bibliographer of a wide range of English-language materials, documenting developments in nineteenth and twentieth-century popular Christianity, Donald Dayton has helped build a basis for a more catholic appreciation of the church today.¹⁶ Earlier developments had prepared the way for the formal proposal, and ground-breaking work by Vinson Synan and Donald Dayton had shown the close relationship between the Wesleyan-Holiness churches and Pentecostalism. The related question about whether Wesley and early Methodism made use of Pentecostal language, in relation to entire sanctification or whether that was a nineteenth-century development, was widely researched and debated in the Wesleyan Theological Society from 1973-1980.¹⁷

¹⁴ Elizabeth H. Mellen, "An Ecumenical Vocation for the Wesleyan/Holiness Tradition?" *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 34:1 (Spring, 1999), p. 102.

¹⁵ William Kostlevy, "An Historical Overview," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 30:1 (Spring 1995), pp. 212-21 (214); John G. Merritt, "Fellowship in Ferment: A History of the Wesleyan Theological Society, 1965-1984," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 21:1/2 (1986), pp. 185-203.

¹⁶ Refer to Donald W. Dayton, "The Holiness Witness in the Ecumenical Church," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 23:1/2 (Spring-Fall, 1988), pp. 92-106.

¹⁷ Merritt, "Fellowship in Ferment," pp. 197-98.

In 1987, the year his significant monograph *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* was published, Donald Dayton was the vice-president and program chair of the Society for Pentecostal Studies. He arranged for that society to meet on the campus of Asbury Theological Seminary. The program included exchanges with Wesleyan-Holiness scholars.¹⁸ Thus, the first meeting between holiness groups and the Pentecostals began merely as a test, and since then, both of them have tried to continue and develop a close relationship, expecting a bright future together.

There is a model of unity between Wesleyan-Holiness and Pentecostals in Wesley's relations with Fletcher. Wesley had a rich variety of terms for perfection, and he more often used these as metaphors to speak of full sanctification, instead of laboriously using the technical, abstract terms of entire sanctification and Christian perfection. Some of the metaphors include "the image of God," "love enthroned," "gladness and singleness of heart," "all of one heart and of one soul," "the mind of Christ," "the kingdom of God within" and "glorious liberty," to name only a few expressions.

The History of Methodism written by Jesse Lee and Nathan Bangs shows that the baptism with the Holy Spirit was a common theme in early Methodism.¹⁹ Phoebe Palmer was to become a significant spokesperson for the baptism with the Holy Spirit, beginning around 1837, and it was only because she was representing what she had learned as part of her heritage. Bangs was Palmer's first theology teacher.²⁰

The recovery of the real Wesley was initiated in 1935 with George Craft Cell in his book, *The Rediscovery of John Wesley*.²¹ But Outler has noted that Cell's studies "is sorely ignorant" about the last twenty years of Wesley's thinking.²² Yet, these were, in many ways, the most productive years of Wesley's life. This was the Wesley which was

¹⁸ Donald W. Dayton, *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Francis Asbury, 1987), pp. 105-106.

¹⁹ Dayton, *The Theological Roots* p. 59. Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodists in the United States of America: Beginning in 1766, and Continued till 1809* (Baltimore: Magill & Clime, 1810), p. 57; Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: G. Lane & C. B. Tippet, 1845), vol. 2, p. 75.

²⁰ Dayton, *The Theological Roots*, pp. 59-60; Laurence W. Wood, "Pentecostal Sanctification in Wesley and Early Methodism," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 24:1 (Spring, 1999), pp. 24-63 (59-60).

²¹ Wood, "Pentecostal Sanctification," pp. 60-61.

²² Wood, "Pentecostal Sanctification," p. 63.

understood and preached by the early Methodists until the end of the nineteenth century. This was the Wesley which the early Methodists learned about through reading the *Arminian Magazine*. This was the Wesley which Fletcher helped to nuance in his “checks to antinomianism.” And, this was the time for a “Pentecostal Wesley.”

Simply relying on Wesley’s standard sermons will not provide a better understanding of Wesley’s theology. His later sermons, which *The Arminian Magazine* published after 1771, reveal the close personal partnership between Wesley and Fletcher. They formed the ideas of their preachers as they traveled and preached together at Methodist preaching houses and in annual conferences. The preaching and writings of his key preachers and assistants must all be brought together into a single puzzle if a true picture of Methodism is to be seen. Only in this way can a reliable, historical explanation of original Methodism be achieved. What will be seen through this historical reconstruction of the later Wesley, will be one of distinctive and lasting contributions to early Methodism, with emphasis on the “suddenness” of a Pentecostal experience of sanctifying grace in the life of a justified believer.²³

Wesley no longer feared Fletcher’s view of the Holy Spirit, but, rather, approved Fletcher’s link between entire sanctification and Pentecost. Wesley included Fletcher as the only other source of Methodist doctrine in the minutes of the Conference.²⁴ At least, no one had ever done that in Methodist history, until some began doing so in the Wesleyan Theological Society in the 1970s. The Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection will continue to sink into neglect until its relationship to Pentecost is once again restored.

4. Tendencies That Pursue Love and Christ-likeness

Some issues that are apt to cause mistakes in the holiness movement have been indicated. Questions are raised in the areas of pneumatology, while contemporary Wesleyan pneumatology appears not providing sufficient answers to the contemporary questions.

²³ Dayton, *The Theological Roots*, pp. 60-61.

²⁴ Dayton, *The Theological Roots*, p. 63.

4.1 The Relation between Sanctification and Sin

The most dangerous belief which has been spread among modern Christians is that they see themselves as sinners, made in the holy image of God. And they so much emphasize the grace of salvation, that they believe “salvation even in sin.”²⁵ But, any teaching that permits sin is far removed from the sound spirit of the holiness movement.

4.2 The Relation between Sanctification and Gifts

As we see the faults of some charismatics, to be supernatural, it does not need to be miraculous and need not be a true language. To be supernatural, it is sufficient if the natural capacity is exercised under the power and inspiration of the Spirit, directed toward the building up of the body of Christ and toward the kingdom of God.²⁶

4.3 To Believe in the Indwelling Spirit

There are some difficulties, as we believe in the indwelling Spirit personally. First, we may have no concern about the outward government of God, while we focus on our inner life. Secondly, we may overlook the foundation of Christ’ redemption, while we have concerns with the ministry of the Holy Spirit. Third, excessive inner searching can harm normal psychological health.

However, a perfect answer for all those questions is prepared in the midst of the Wesleyan-Holiness movement. Wesley self-consciously appropriated this empiricist-inspired affectionate moral psychology. It is reflected in his typical list of the faculties that constitute the Image of God in humanity: understanding, will, liberty and conscience. “Will” is used in this list as an inclusive term for various affections. These affections are not simple feelings. They are the indispensable motivating inclinations behind human action.

²⁵ Bonjour Bay, *Gaishingyo Sungnyungnon-ui Yoksa* [A History of Protestant Pneumatology] (Anyang, Korea: Sungkyul University Press, 2003), p. 211.

²⁶ Kilian McDonnell, *Charismatic Renewal and the Churches* (New York: Seabury, 1976), p. 155.

In what Wesley held as the crucial instance, it is only in response to our experience of God's gracious love for us by the Holy Spirit, that our affection and love for God and others is awakened and grows.²⁷

He came to see the importance of "simplicity of intention and purity of affection." He shifted the emphasis on sanctification from law-keeping to intentionality and this came to focus in terms of love.²⁸

Love's knowledge, a form of knowledge that is received as a gift—that is, a response that involves a complex form of life—was the quest of John Wesley. He understood love as the unifying force and life-giving energy of the Christian life.²⁹ Thus he came to uniformly define entire sanctification or Christian perfection as "loving God with all your heart, soul, mind, and strength, and your neighbor as yourself."³⁰

"The question of entire sanctification, then, is not so much a question of subsequence or eradication. Rather, it becomes a question of the kind or measure of love appropriate for the one who "so loved the world."³¹ If God is love, the love of Christ who "so loved," then the fulfillment of the law and all righteousness in Christ is unto holiness, which is, in this life, essentially wholehearted devotion to God and one's neighbor.

There is no dichotomy between the command to love one's neighbor and the Great Commission to disciple the nations. These commands are to be neither confounded nor dichotomized, because love is the character of God and of the Christian in God.³²

²⁷ Randy L. Maddox, "Reconnecting the Means to the End: A Wesleyan Prescription for the Holiness Movement," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 33 (Fall, 1998), pp. 29-66 (40).

²⁸ Ray Dunning, "Christian Perfection: Toward a New Paradigm," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 33 (Spring, 1998), pp. 151-63 (158).

²⁹ Mildred Wynkoop, *A Theology of Love* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 1972), p. 105.

³⁰ John Wesley, "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," in *Wesley's Works* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 1979), vol. 11, p. 394.

³¹ Steven J. Land, "The Triune Center: Wesleyan and Pentecostals Together in Mission," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 34:1 (Spring, 1999), pp. 83-100 (95).

³² J. Moltmann, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 289-336.

Henry W. Spaulding said that Christian perfection is not purely a matter of thinking, but of life, of embodiment in the forms of life.³³ The deep heart of the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition and also the Pentecostal tradition is a passion for God.³⁴

Thus, Shelton says, "a Wesleyan-Holiness agenda for the twenty-first century must radically proclaim that holiness is the operation of Christ-likeness in the world."³⁵ Therefore, the Wesleyan-Holiness movement which grows in Christ-likeness will be the effective answer for postmodern spiritual aspirations.

5. Conclusion

Now is the time for the heirs of Wesley and Fletcher to partner in offering a new paradigm for evangelicalism. The Wesleyan-Holiness group, with the Pentecostals, must develop special theology for encouraging the church in the new century. Both of the two traditions are called "experiential religions."

Wesleyan and Pentecostal movements have each been centered on Jesus Christ and a kind of functional Christology which emphasizes the present power of Christ to save, sanctify, heal, empower, direct and enable the believer to participate in missions. Both movements share the Arminian position with regard to the possibility of apostasy, the correlative need for perseverance, and a salvation which is a responsive participation in the life of God. What follows, then, is a Wesleyan-Pentecostal suggestion as to the direction a further collaboration might take in producing a Christocentric missionary theology with a pneumatological starting point.³⁶

³³ Henry W. Spaulding, II, "To Shew the Fly the Way Out of the Fly-Bottle: A Reconstruction of the Wesleyan Understanding of Christian Perfection," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 33:2 (Fall, 1998), pp. 145-71 (157).

³⁴ Cheryl Bridges Johns, "Partners in Scandal: Wesleyan and Pentecostal Scholarship," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 34:1 (Spring, 1999), pp. 7-23 (21).

³⁵ R. Larry Shelton, "A Wesleyan/Holiness Agenda for the Twenty-First Century," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 33:2 (Fall, 1998), pp. 67-100 (70).

³⁶ Land, "The Triune Center," p. 86.

THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT OF SAMOA:
REACHING THE UTTERMOST¹

Tavita Pagaialii

1. Introduction

Nearly a century ago there was an outbreak of the Spirit known as the Azusa Street revival. This outpouring occurred between 1906 and 1913.² It is also referred to as the “third force of Christendom.”³ The year 1914 was the birth year of the Assemblies of God church.⁴ This Pentecostal movement was an instrument used by God to introduce the Pentecostal message as far as the Pacific islands. Because of the location of these islands, some refer to them as the uttermost part of the earth. Thus some feel that the arrival of the Pentecostal movement in the islands has fulfilled Jesus’ command to his disciples that they ought to be witnesses unto him “even to the uttermost part of the earth” (Acts 1:8).

It is to the glory of God that Pentecostal power has impacted a great harvest of souls in the islands. Recent statistics show the number of Assemblies of God churches in Fiji to be over 300. The Samoan Assemblies of God has 98 local churches, with another 180 in overseas

¹ An earlier version appears as “The Pentecostal Movement: Invading the Uttermost,” in *Reflections on Developing Asian Pentecostal Leaders: Essay in Honor of Harold Kohl*, ed. A. Kay Fountain (Baguio, Philippines: APTS Press, 2004), pp. 381-404.

² C. M. Roebeck, Jr., “Azusa Street Revival,” *International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements*, eds. S. Burgess and others (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 344-50 (344).

³ Gary B. McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1986), p. 40.

⁴ McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached*, p. 79.

like USA, New Zealand and Australia. Vanuatu has about 85 local churches, and the Solomon Islands have about 20.⁵

Each island group in the South Pacific has its own unique Pentecostal story.⁶ To write an adequate account of the Pentecostal movement in each island group would cover many volumes, and deserve much time and concentration. This article is limited to and concentrates on the Pentecostal movement in Samoa:⁷ how it arrived on Samoan shores, its impact and growth and some of the challenges it now faces.

I. The Arrival of the Pentecostal Movement in Samoa

The year 1928 marked the arrival of the first Pentecostal missionary in Samoa. In that year, Rev. Herman Winkleman and his family, appointed by a local Assemblies of God church in the USA, first arrived in Pago Pago, American Samoa.⁸ His outreach ministry of witnessing in several villages resulted in the establishment of a small church in Pago Pago. After several years in Samoa, Winkleman returned to the USA, and Rev. Maurice Luce was sent as his successor, but as the first appointed missionary by the US Assemblies of God. Luce was welcomed by a church group called the Congregational Church of Jesus, a breakaway group from the London Missionary Society church, in 1944.⁹ He worked with them until he was officially designated as the Assemblies of God missionary in Samoa, at which point he took over the small church Winkleman had started.

⁵ These figures were given in an interview between the author and representatives of these islands at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary in 2002. The statistics from other islands like Tonga, Kiribati, Marshall Island, Papua New Guinea were not available at the time.

⁶ For example, the history of the Assemblies of God in Fiji has been published by Lawrence R Larson, *The Spirit in Paradise* (St. Louis, MO: Plus Communications, 1997).

⁷ There are two island groups in Samoa. One is American Samoa, a territory of the USA, the other is Samoa, formerly known as Western Samoa, and it is an independent state. However, the Samoa Assemblies of God General Council is formed of the two countries. The writer is the newly elected general superintendent of the Samoa Assemblies of God General Council.

⁸ Maurice Luce, *Samoan Assemblies of God* (Fair Oaks: Maurice Luce, 1988), p. 3.

⁹ Luce, *Samoan Assemblies of God*, p. 6.

Keise Ae, one of the early Samoan converts who is still living today said, "The Pentecostal style of worship was very new to the Samoan people who were used to a traditional quiet style."¹⁰

The Samoan people were first exposed to Christianity around 1830, when a British missionary named John Williams arrived with the gospel.¹¹ Thus the Pentecostal movement did not arrive to a pagan, but to an already so-called Christian country. The Samoans were already introduced to God for almost a century when they were first exposed to the Pentecostal movement. Their resistance to Pentecostalism at first was not so much with the message it brought but their style of worship and proclamation. The Pentecostal expressive, joyful, shouting, hand clapping, dancing and loud singing was a new and even strange kind of Christianity. So when this early Pentecostal group gathered for worship, it was not unusual to hear a rain of rocks landing on their roof. It was a reaction from the outside spectators signaling their disapproval of this new religion. However, the early pioneers continued to preach the Pentecostal message until they began to see results as people accepted Christ as their Lord and Savior. Many of them who accepted Christ were the same ones who threw rocks on the church building. They testified later that their former non-Christian behavior was out of their ignorance of the truth about the Pentecostal movement.

Missionary Luce and early pioneers worked hard and the Lord began to add souls into his kingdom. Many of those early pioneers have gone to be with the Lord. A schoolteacher named Ieti Mageo was converted and was instrumental in literature translation, sermon interpretation, pastoring and teaching. Luce and Ieti Mageo established a Christian school called Happy Valley School where new converts were trained for the ministry. A businessman named Max Haleck, Jr. was saved in a service held in his movie theatre in 1956. Eight years later he became the Superintendent of the Assemblies of God in Samoa. He had held that position until recently.¹² This shows that Christian workers were very few at the time, and they were young Christians when released to work in the ministry.

¹⁰ Keise Ae, in an interview with the writer on 7 March 2003, at her house in Pago Pago, American Samoa.

¹¹ Charles W. Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1982), p. 3.

¹² Rev. Max Haleck, Jr. was the Superintendent for about 40 years. He is the longest serving Assemblies of God superintendent in the South Pacific, if not in the world. He was interviewed by the writer on 7 March 2003, at his office in American Samoa.

Around 1956, Happy Valley School established an extension at the village of Faleasiu in Western Samoa.¹³ That was how the Pentecostal movement reached the other side of Samoa. It is not known why it took so many years for the movement to reach Western Samoa, and it did not spread quickly after it arrived. It was not until 1962 when a couple from New Zealand named Makisua and Mau Fatialofa arrived in Western Samoa. A revival broke out at the village of Lotopa during their evangelistic meetings which lasted for weeks.¹⁴ From those meetings many pioneers of the Pentecostal movement in Western Samoa were saved. People like Barry Smith, a European teacher who has recently gone to be with the Lord, was greatly used as an evangelist worldwide, Tavita Tasi, who also went to be with the Lord, was the Superintendent for the Western Samoa Assemblies of God District for over twenty years, Samani Pulepule who is the Superintendent for the Samoan Assemblies of God in New Zealand, a post he has held for more than twenty years now, and many others, were the results of that outpouring of the Spirit at Lotopa, Western Samoa.

From both American Samoa and Western Samoa, the Pentecostal movement was spread to other parts of the world where Samoans live. People who migrated from the two Samoas spread the movement to the mainland, New Zealand and Australia. It is noted with gratitude that the western missionaries were used of God to introduce Pentecostalism to Samoa, but then it was left to the Samoans to spread it further not only in their homeland, but to other continents of the world.

2. The Growth of the Pentecostal Movement in Samoa

The Assemblies of God (AG) is the first Pentecostal church that arrived in Samoa, and it is also held to be the fastest growing church in Samoa.¹⁵ The AG adherents are converts from the mainline churches such as the London Mission Society, Methodist and Catholic. According to a survey published in 1994 by M. Ernst, there is a decline of

¹³ Interview with Fusipala Tasi, December 3, 2002 at Vailoa Faleata, Samoa.

¹⁴ Tasi interview.

¹⁵ M. Ernst, "Pacific Island (Survey)," *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement*, eds. Stanley Burgess, and others (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 194-96 (195).

membership in the mainline churches, and the reason for such decline is because of the “explosion of the AG.”¹⁶

In the month of July 2003, the Samoan Assemblies of God celebrated its 75th anniversary. The general council has about 98 established churches, with several outreach stations. American Samoa has 38 and Western Samoa has 65 churches.¹⁷ The Samoan Assemblies of God has three Bible schools, one in American Samoa and two in Western Samoa. People who have left the Assemblies of God have formed other Pentecostal groups.¹⁸

The growth was not without difficulties as members broke away and started other groups. The difficulty now is having two or three different Pentecostal groups carrying the name Assemblies of God, although with a slight change. However, the original Assemblies of God of Samoa continues to flourish with its endeavor to spread the Pentecostal message in Samoa and to other countries. Tuvalu is a nearby island that has a Samoan missionary who now heads a local church in that island.¹⁹

The Pentecostals introduced to the islands new ways of spreading the gospel. One is the outreach they called “open air.”²⁰ This draws people from all walks of life to accept the Lord as their Savior outside of a church building. It is very fitting with the island custom where people’s leisure time is usually spent in places like markets and shopping centers. These places are targeted by the Pentecostals to hold their “open air” services because a crowd is not hard to find. People who are engaged in their daily business can still have the chance to listen to gospel music and preaching through loud-speaker sound systems. The mainline churches do not practice this kind of service, but the Pentecostal churches harvest lots of unsaved people through the open air services.

¹⁶ M. Ernst, *Winds of Change: Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the Pacific Islands* (Suva: Pacific Conference of Churches, 1994), p. 166.

¹⁷ *General Council Statistics* (Apia, Western Samoa: District Office of the Assemblies of God, 2001).

¹⁸ The Full Gospel Church now Voice of Christ was started by Tilo, a former Assemblies of God pastor. So also the First Samoan Assemblies of God, and Samoan Pentecostal Assembly of God were started by former Assemblies of God members, who originated from the USA and New Zealand.

¹⁹ Faasegi Liuato, a graduate of Samoa Bible College, is considered a missionary from Samoa to Tuvalu, and is the pastor of the Assemblies of God church there.

²⁰ Suva the capital of Fiji, Apia the capital of Western Samoa, and Pago Pago the capital of American Samoa are locations where open air services have been held on a weekly basis.

The children and young people in Samoa and other Pacific islands are more attracted to the Pentecostal style of worship than the older folks. Pentecostals took advantage of this fact as they concentrated on trying to get the young ones saved. Then they in turn will invite their parents who will eventually join the Pentecostal churches for the sake of their young ones. Mainline churches have tried to formulate programs for their young people to help keep them in their churches instead of being attracted to Pentecostal churches,²¹ but the difference lies on the convicting power of the Spirit of Pentecost who convicts people of their sins in spite of their age. The Pentecostal movement emphasis begins from a spiritual encounter with Christ, which is in contrast with other religions' emphasis, which seems to begin from the physical and material aspect of life.²²

The Pentecostal movement has greatly influenced the church community of Samoa. With the rise of the Charismatic movement, other Christian circles have tried to accommodate parts of the Pentecostal worship into their services. An example of this is the use of Pentecostal choruses, action songs and hand clapping during services. This is a good sign to the Pentecostals when they see non-Pentecostal churches enjoying an aspect of the Pentecostal experience.

Contributing to the growth of the Pentecostal movement in Samoa is the use of the television and radio media. A Christian television network called Graceland Broadcasting Network, in cooperation with the Trinity Broadcasting Network from the USA, is broadcasting local programs hosted by Pentecostal ministers.²³ This Christian television network also broadcasts Pentecostal services from the USA by satellite twenty-four hours a day in Samoa. Two Christian radio stations, Laufou o le Talalelei and Graceland Radio Station, also broadcast mostly Pentecostal music and messages in Western Samoa. The Assemblies of God in Samoa also has a Christian radio station called WWJD, or What Would Jesus Do, radio station broadcasting in both American Samoa and Western Samoa.

²¹ A concentrated effort among mainline churches is to engage young people in sports activities.

²² To further clarify this, youth programs like sports may entertain the physical side of a young person, but only a spiritual encounter with Jesus fulfills a young person's desire. That is the emphasis Pentecostal churches concentrate upon.

²³ I have hosted a weekly TV program "Harvest Time" where the Pentecostal message is proclaimed to the TV audience both in American Samoa and Western Samoa.

While the Assemblies of God seems to have introduced the Pentecostal movement in Samoa, and while this church has grown rapidly as many souls have been saved, and churches have been established, the other side of the Pentecostal growth is seen in the establishment of other Pentecostal groups. Also, the Charismatic movement is beginning to rise in other traditional churches.²⁴ People from non-Pentecostal circles who have experienced salvation and the baptism in the Holy Spirit are returning to their churches with the desire to awaken them with their newfound experience.

The growth of the Pentecostal movement in Samoa is seen not only in the Assemblies of God, but it has spread through many other Pentecostal groups and independent groups with the Pentecostal emphasis.²⁵ Truly the Holy Spirit has moved to impact Samoa with Pentecostal power: first with the arrival of the Assemblies of God, and then through many other Pentecostal groups, which have sprung up later.

3. Challenges Facing the Pentecostal Movement in Samoa.

The Pentecostal movement faces several challenges in Samoa. These challenges can be referred to as cultural, anti-intellectual and ecumenical.

3.1 Cultural Challenge

Samoa, like other Pacific islands, has a unique culture which began from non-Christian practices, but Christianity is held by many, especially the born-again Christians in Samoa, as the standard for all cultures. Thus, the difficulty lies in how people evaluate culture in light of Christianity. The Pentecostal movement as a later form of Christianity arriving in Samoa strongly emphasizes sanctification that is exemplified by the

²⁴ The Catholic Church is welcoming adherents with the newfound Pentecostal experience. Others who have been saved in youth groups such as the Youth For Christ and YMCA are returning to their churches with the same experience. Rhema Bible Training is educating a variety of students from both Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal churches with the Pentecostal message and experience.

²⁵ Samoa has the Full Gospel Church, Voice of Christ, Evagelia Samoa, Worship Centre and many other independent churches besides the Assemblies of God.

denial of fleshly or carnal activities.²⁶ Those practices are seen by others in Christian circles as being of no harm to one's spirituality. So the challenge for the Pentecostal movement is striving to uphold its standard for holiness based on the Bible.

Another difficulty with culture is that other new Pentecostal groups seem to agree with the older ones like the Assemblies of God in doctrine, but not in practice. For example, traditional and worldly dances are permissible in some circles as long as Christian music is used for those dances.²⁷ This becomes a controversial issue in Pentecostal church groups, and it is a challenge that must be addressed in light of the scriptures.

Samoan family ties are very strong, and it is the culture of Samoa to be closely knit together as a family. However, this has its disadvantages in that many Samoans have become dependants all their lives. The challenge for the Pentecostal movement is to strike the balance between the communal and individual way of living in light of the scriptures. Another challenge is to emphasize faith and works as means to prosperity instead of totally depending on others.

Culture becomes the environment in which Christianity is practiced, as it is the context in which the scriptures are interpreted. The question is whether we need to totally forsake culture, or should we adapt some of it. "Christian beliefs must not be based only on Scriptures, but cultural values and personal convictions."²⁸ This means that the scriptures were specifically addressed to specific people to address specific situations. Thus scriptures do not seem to answer all questions, and that is why cultural values and personal convictions must be considered where the Bible does not give a direct clarification.

The Pentecostal movement will do well to carefully consider culture in the Pacific islands in light of the scripture. It is an ongoing challenge because culture keeps changing, thus Pentecostals must always adjust

²⁶ Drinking, smoking and gambling are examples of carnal behavior that born-again Christians do not do. However, other Christians hold that these behaviors do not hinder one's Christian life.

²⁷ I was invited to a wedding in a new Pentecostal group Worship Center where Christian music was played and members were called on to dance. People got up and performed worldly dances.

²⁸ Russell P. Spittler's statement to my question in the class, "Issues in Asian Pentecostalism" (Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio City, Philippines, Oct. 2002).

their views in relation to cultural changes, yet still uphold the scriptural view.

3.2 Anti-Intellectual Challenge

This challenge is both external and internal. The external aspect refers to the view by some non-Pentecostals that Pentecostal ministers lack ministerial training and education.²⁹ The internal aspect refers to the view held by some Pentecostals that ministry relies totally on the Spirit, thus education and training are not necessary.³⁰ This is a great challenge for the Pentecostals in the Pacific. The establishment of Bible schools in the Pacific is an attempt to face this challenge. South Pacific Bible College in Fiji was established as a central training institute in the Pacific where graduates from regional Bible schools in other islands can further their studies.³¹ Asia Pacific Theological Seminary in Baguio, Philippines has also established a master-level extension program in Fiji for the Pacific islands.³²

In Samoa, there are three Bible schools where future ministers are being trained for the ministry.³³ These Bible schools help supply the Assemblies of God in Samoa with trained ministers, and thus eliminate the view that Pentecostal ministers are not trained. Other Pentecostal ministers in Samoa are graduates of overseas Pentecostal seminaries, and are now instrumental in leading training institutes in Samoa.³⁴ Pastors' seminars and workers' workshops are held occasionally to help train lay people in ministry.

²⁹ This is because many Pentecostal ministers lack ministry training, due to their sudden call to ministry and the rare opportunity to enter seminary training.

³⁰ This is an issue in Pentecostalism in the Pacific, where many feel that training is not a necessity in ministry as long as one has the Spirit.

³¹ Almost all the Pacific islands have three-year program Bible schools. Only South Pacific Bible College has a four-year program, thus graduates with diplomas from other schools can complete BA degrees at this college in an additional year.

³² Those with BA degrees can enroll in various master's programs in seminaries.

³³ Samoa Bible College is in American Samoa. Harvest Bible College and Ierusalem Fou Bible College are in Western Samoa.

³⁴ Samoa Bible College and Harvest Bible College have principals who graduated from Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Philippines, while Ierusalem Fou Bible College's principal is a graduate of Assemblies of God Theological Seminary, Springfield, MO, USA.

Other Pentecostal groups have also established training institutes to train their workers for future ministries.³⁵ It is interesting to note that many non-Pentecostal church members are now studying in Pentecostal Bible schools.³⁶ The Pentecostal movement has seized the opportunity to train lay people, while non-Pentecostals concentrate on the clergy. This has improved the moving of the Spirit in Samoa as lay people experience Pentecostal power and impact their non-Pentecostal churches with their newfound experience. Although that effort has been confronted with opposition, as some traditional churches do not welcome what their members have brought, sometimes it has resulted in people leaving their traditional churches to join Pentecostal groups.

There is steady progress in education within the Pentecostal movement in Samoa and the Pacific. With the help from overseas in sending missionary teachers, and with many local workers who have returned to their homelands after pursuing studies overseas, training institutes have been strengthened.

The anti-Intellectual challenge can be dealt with by exposing lay people to training that equips them for the ministry. There should be a balance in emphasis given to both Christian education and the work of the Spirit which some claim to be the only requirement for ministry. While people of the anti-intellectual view support it by referring to the disciples as unlearned, they overlook the fact that the disciples were followers of the Master Teacher.

This challenge calls for a wider understanding among Pentecostals. One area that is lacking is Pentecostal scholarly writings. Preachers and teachers are rising within the movement, but most of their studies are drawn from textbooks written by non-Pentecostal scholars. Thus the need is for adherents of this movement to begin to address this lack and to make every effort in order for it to be overcome.³⁷ Bible school students of the Pentecostal movement must be provided with Pentecostal scholarly research writing.

Although the anti-intellectual issue seems difficult to deal with, it is encouraging to note the view of one of the older Pentecostal ministers in

³⁵ Full Gospel Church has a Bible school. Rhema Bible Training is another Bible school where Pentecostal workers are trained for ministry.

³⁶ Rhema Bible Training in Apia the capital of Western Samoa has many students from mainline non-Pentecostal churches.

³⁷ *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* published by Asia Pacific Theological Seminary (Baguio, Philippines) is one recent attempt within the Pentecostal movement to address this need.

Samoa which reflects a positive view regarding Christian education. Max Haleck, Jr., former superintendent of the Assemblies of God in Samoa for over forty years stated:

Bible School training is a must and seems to be the backbone of the Pentecostal movement in Samoa, if not the world. Without it, there will be no growth because people will continue to be ignorant of the proper direction to take, and the ministry will always lack workers to do the work of the ministry. Every effort must be made to enhance Bible School training within the Pentecostal Movement.³⁸

This view sums up the need for proper training within the movement. The opportunity is great for Pentecostals to be equipped both intellectually and spiritually, which will help to avoid the unbalanced view of the help of the Spirit many seem to claim. For this movement to continue to flourish in future generations, there needs to be an appropriate appreciation of the Spirit, his gifts, and the need for proper training. Proper training will safeguard the movement from unusual, and even, false interpretation of the scripture and the work of the Spirit, which eventually leads to false doctrines.

3.3 Ecumenical Challenge

William Menzies introduced this challenge when he asked, "How are Pentecostal and Charismatic organizations to arrange themselves so that they can not only function well within their own constituency, but also relate constructively to other church bodies?"³⁹ The early response which the Pentecostal movement in Samoa faced was that of resistance and hatred. But as years went by, and the power of Pentecost continued to penetrate and impact lives, the response somehow changed. Instead of resistance, there seems to be a curiosity from outside the movement regarding its methods and power. Thus, this challenge presents an opportunity for the movement to seek constructive ways to share what it has with other religious groups.

The Samoan Council of Churches invites all religious groups in Samoa to join. While one Pentecostal group has joined, the Assemblies

³⁸ Interview with Rev. Max Haleck, Jr. on 7 March 2003 at his office in Tafuna, American Samoa.

³⁹ W. Menzies, "Reflection of a Pentecostal at the End of the Millennium," *Asians Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 1 (1998), pp. 3-14 (10).

of God has not.⁴⁰ A variety of reasons are behind this. Some feel that to join such a council would limit the church's mission, as mainline churches would control the newer ones. Others feel that to join them opens up other avenues, which would have been otherwise inaccessible.⁴¹ It is difficult to determine the outcome of a move to join such a council, as most Pentecostal churches are still operating outside of it. The Assemblies of God would not tolerate a demand to limit its sphere of doctrines and practice, as the work of the Spirit must not be controlled by human demands.

Many times, Pentecostals feel the need to share with non-Pentecostals on matters that build up the body of Christ. As Donald Gee said, "It is time to burn the partitions, not one another."⁴² Gee particularly referred to the need for unity among Pentecostal groups. This was the beginning of unity with non-Pentecostal churches. Caution must be exercised among Pentecostal churches so that there are no barriers between them. It is hard to seek unity with non-Pentecostals when there is disunity among Pentecostals. Therefore, the ecumenical challenge is an opportunity for the Pentecostals to seek unity among themselves, as an initiative towards unity with other Christian groups.

Another way this challenge can be addressed starts from the leadership of both sides. Those in leadership positions within Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal groups must discuss ways to help build the kingdom of God. At present, this is not happening. For example, one Evangelical leader referred to Pentecostal ministers as "sheep thieves"⁴³ who build their churches on converts from other Christian groups. While Pentecostals do not usually respond to this kind of allegation, it shows that church leaders need to discuss matters pertaining to the church at large.

On the other hand, it appears that the younger generation of Evangelical ministers feels differently about Pentecostals. They are more open to what Pentecostals have and are beginning to accommodate

⁴⁰ Full Gospel Pentecostal Church recently joined the Samoa Council of Churches.

⁴¹ Only member churches of the Council of Churches have access to broadcast their services over the national television and radio in Samoa.

⁴² Donald Gee, *Toward Pentecostal Unity* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), p. 8.

⁴³ A statement of Oka Fauolo, chairman of the Council of Churches in Samoa in Cathrin Schaer, "Religious Clashes in Paradise," *Sunday Observer*, Nov. 24, 2002, p. 2.

anything that would benefit their ministry.⁴⁴ It is believed that in generations to come, the ecumenical challenge will bear good results. Future leaders have a good chance of working together in spite of religious differences. It is not only the Pentecostals who have something to give to other churches; Evangelicals and other Christian religious groups also have something Pentecostals must learn. This is the attitude each side must adopt. When we are able to learn from each other things that contribute to building up the body of Christ, that alone will bring revival as it will show unity among Christian churches to the world. Truly, the ecumenical challenge is an avenue towards unity among the Pentecostal movement and other Christian groups in Samoa and the Pacific.

4. Conclusion

The Pentecostal movement greatly influenced the Pacific islands. Its humble beginning as it arrived into a part of the world which had long being reached by the gospel was an opportunity God used to usher in the Pentecostal power of the Spirit. Many miracles were recorded in those early years of Pentecostal infancy. As one former evangelical minister, now Pentecostal, said referring to the Pentecostal movement, "It is God reaching out again to his people in a new dimension."⁴⁵

To evangelize a Christian nation is as hard as evangelizing a pagan one. Although there were persecutions and difficulties, the power of God sustained early pioneers of the movement who persevered through much hardship. As a result, the movement has impacted almost all islands of the Pacific. Fiji and Samoa are probably the two Pacific islands where the Pentecostal movement is most prominent, compared to other island nations in the Pacific.

Specifically speaking, the Assemblies of God as a Pentecostal church has grown rapidly in Samoa, and has also reached other countries where there are Samoan communities. Such growth has been noticed by other religious groups, and has been surveyed and researched by their statisticians. This is a good sign for the Pentecostal movement. It shows

⁴⁴ Ministers from non-Pentecostal groups often attend Pentecostal emphasis gatherings, such as the Benny Hinn Crusade in May, 2001. Pentecostal worship songs and practices are now being used in non-Pentecostal churches.

⁴⁵ Written response of Livi Toelupe to my questionnaire, Nov. 2002.

this movement is of the Spirit, or people would not be converted to it, and other religious groups would not have shown interest in it.

As times change, and each generation brings new challenges, the Pentecostal movement is faced with the need for adjustment and evaluation. Culture must be evaluated in light of the scriptures. The Pentecostals must always view the scriptures as the standard for all cultures. Where culture is not in line with the scriptures, the Pentecostal movement must never adopt it, especially in places like the islands where some of the culture is pagan oriented.

Education is moving at a fast pace, and the Pentecostal movement must make every effort to enhance Christian education. The anti-intellectual mindset must not be tolerated. The church must advance itself in proclaiming the gospel. Moreover, Pentecostals must take advantage of the available means and opportunities where they can be trained to fulfill their call. One must never stop learning. While it is encouraging to see many graduates from Pentecostal Bible schools and seminaries entering the ministry, they must also be challenged to take the opportunity for further study when it comes.

Our inheritance as Pentecostals must be shared. Others are longing to have the Pentecostal power. We must strive to bridge the gap between us and other non-Pentecostal groups. There are many more souls we can reach through a combined evangelistic effort with other Christian circles. There are also lessons we can learn from those other groups. Thus the ecumenical challenge must be seen as a blessing and not a threat. The purpose of God through Christ must be the purpose of our existence. When God is glorified through the Pentecostal movement, and souls are added into God's kingdom, we can gladly proclaim that the mission has been accomplished.

Samoa as a Pacific island nation is an example of how God, through the Pentecostal movement, has reached as far as the ends of the earth with his power. It has transformed those who may have been Christians by name, but did not have a personal encounter with God. The arrival of this movement has somehow quenched the thirst of souls who may have been longing for more than just a mere knowledge of God. What was needed was a personal encounter with an experience of his saving grace, followed by an empowering encounter with the Holy Spirit through baptism and speaking in tongues, and a manifestation of his power through signs and wonders. That was how the Pentecostal fire was lit in Samoa, and through the years, it has continued to burn brightly. It was not exempt from persecutions and trials, but God has been faithful in keeping that fire burning.

Thanks be to God for his sustaining power, and also to the early pioneers of this movement who labored courageously for the cause of Christ. Their labors have brought this movement to where it is today. There is a younger generation of eager Pentecostal students God is raising in the Pacific. Some are now engaged in ministry while many more are studying in their local Bible schools, and in other Pentecostal graduate and post-graduate schools.⁴⁶ These will carry on the work previous generations have begun. This movement has become a blessing to the islands, and we can humbly proclaim that this movement has truly invaded the uttermost. Amen.

⁴⁶ APTS in Baguio, Philippines, AGTS in Springfield now have graduates who are engaged in pastoral and Bible school ministry in Samoa and Fiji Islands. Students from the Pacific are presently studying at APTS.

REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF
DEMONOLOGICAL BELIEFS AND PRAXIS
AMONG BRITISH PENTECOSTALS

Keith Warrington

1. Introduction

Although British Pentecostals hold diverse views concerning the demonic and exorcism, they have fundamentally sought to maintain a sanguine stance with regard to these issues. They have been reticent to follow the latest trends and have generally sought to be guided by the biblical narrative for their beliefs and praxis. This has often resulted in very cautious assessments and assertions concerning exorcistic practices. After providing an historical survey of these beliefs and practices, this article will conclude with an assessment of the potential development of British Pentecostal demonology.

British Classical Pentecostal denominations accept the existence of a personal devil and influential demons though this is not stated in their denominational fundamental beliefs as neither is the practice of exorcism. Similarly, the very few British Pentecostals who have written concerning these topics have generally done so from a practical perspective.¹ Popular Pentecostal beliefs concerning demonological issues have been generated, by and large, through preaching and a historical context in which the belief in demons has developed mainly through people who have ministered in or been delivered from demonised situations. For many Pentecostals, the popular view of demons owes as much to medieval art and popular fiction as it does to

¹ D. Woodfield, "The total and absolute victory of Jesus over Satan," *Bread* 9 (Sept.-Oct., 1980), pp. 4-5; P. Sanderson, "The Occult," *Bread* 9 (Sept.-Oct., 1980), pp. 6-7; J. Henson, "Warfare in the Spirit," *Bread* 9 (Sept.-Oct., 1980), pp. 8-9; F. Royal, "Know your enemy," *Bread* 9 (Sept.-Oct., 1980), pp. 18-19.

the New Testament.² Similarly, visual experiences and phenomena³ associated with exorcisms or demonized activity have often been the catalyst for beliefs concerning demons rather than the largely veiled description of the New Testament.⁴ Fundamentally, they believe that casting out demons is part of the gospel commission,⁵ the authority contained therein being available to believers.⁶

2. Developments and Dissimilarities in Demonology

In general, the impact of Satan upon believers and non-believers has been assumed to be the result of demonic activity and has popularly been subsumed under two categories, possession and oppression⁷ though little critical analysis has been undertaken with regard to this classification. A

² F. Peretti, *This Present Darkness* (Minstrel: Eastbourne, 1989).

³ Thus J. Edwards, "Delivered from Evil," *Redemption*, Feb. 1990, pp. 13-14 changed his mind concerning demonic activity in believers after seeing "demons manifest...in those I knew were faithful believers, serving God, exercising spiritual gifts, yet needing to have evil spirits cast out."

⁴ G. Canty, "Demons and Casting out demons," in *Pentecostal Doctrine*, ed. P. Brewster (Cheltenham: Elim, 1976), pp. 241-57 (254) states, "There is nothing in Scripture about coughing or spitting out demons...nor are we given any encouragement to hold conversations with demons...they should be told to leave." Though offering no evidence, he suggests, "Demons themselves enjoy having attention paid to them and tend to turn up where they are talked about a great deal. There is simply no sense, nor any Scripture, for long battles with a demonised person, battles lasting for many years."

⁵ Matt 10:8; Mark 16:15-20; Luke 9:1, 2; 10:1, 17; Acts 10:38

⁶ P. Stormont, "Authority," *Elim Evangel*, Nov. 18, 1961, pp. 723-24 (723).

⁷ L. G. McClung, Jr., "Exorcism," *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements (NIDPCM)*, eds. S. Burgess, et al. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 624-28 (626) suggests "oppression, obsession and possession"; P. Parker, *Elim Bible College Correspondence School* (n.d., n.p.), 29.8 states, "Obsession means an evil spirit...influencing...with the object of possession...when a foothold is gained...it is possession"; R. E. Wright, "Demon-possessed Christians: A contradiction of terms," *Paraclete* 7:3 (1973), pp. 24-28 (27) notes, "Demon possession...does not mean that the demon is giving expression of himself 24 hours a day; ...rather, the demon is at the helm of that human life"; cf. V. Cunningham, "Can a Christian Have a Demon?," *Redemption Tidings*, Nov. 15, 1973, p. 3; G. W. Gilpin and T. W. Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report* (Cheltenham: Elim, 1976), p. 2.

number of books and articles exploring these issues have been produced by individuals. Thus, Barrie confirms, “there is a definite doctrine of demonology taught in Scripture”⁸ and Richards defines demons, on the basis of the New Testament, as being “real,”⁹ “unclean,”¹⁰ “hostile”¹¹ and “powerful.”¹² Cunningham affirms that a clear distinction should be preserved between those illnesses caused by demons and those which are not,¹³ confirming his view that no particular disease is exclusively related to demonic activity.¹⁴ Although Satan, always under the authority and in the context of the sovereignty of God, is the cause of all suffering in its broadest sense, most Pentecostals would separate sickness from demonic elements,¹⁵ though accepting that sickness/suffering may be caused by the presence of demons that need to be exorcised, as a result of which, the suffering would be expected to cease.¹⁶ Wright notes, “The Bible differentiates between mental derangement and demon possession (Matthew 4:24)...all mental disorder cannot be attributed to demon

⁸ R. Barrie, “The Discerning of Spirits,” *Study Hour*, Jan. 15, 1948, pp. 14-17 (14).

⁹ W. Th. H. Richards, “Demon Possession,” *Redemption Tidings*, Oct. 11, 1973, pp. 10-13 (11). Also Mark 1:24, 5:7ff; Acts 19:16; James 2:19.

¹⁰ Mark 1:23; 5:8; 7:25; 9:17

¹¹ Matt 12:22; Mark 1:26; 9:20; Luke 11:14; Acts 19:15

¹² Mark 5:3; Acts 16:17-18

¹³ Cunningham, “Can a Christian Have a Demon?,” p. 5 (Matt 8:16; 10:1; Mark 1:32; Luke 7:21; 13:32; Acts 8:7; 19:12).

¹⁴ Cunningham, “Can a Christian Have a Demon?,” p. 4 writes, “The epileptic son (Matt 17) is cured by having a demon cast out of him. But in Matt 4:24 ‘epileptics’ are listed separately from ‘demoniacs’.”

¹⁵ Canty, “Demons and Casting out Demons,” p. 250 states, “In all cases, the healing of the sick and the deliverance of the possessed are kept quite distinct.” See Matt 4:23; 8:16; Mark 1:32; Luke 7:21; 13:32; Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, p. 1.

¹⁶ Canty, “Demons and Casting out Demons,” p. 249 states, “The idea of a demon residing in a joint and so setting up an arthritic condition or setting himself in the skin and creating an infection or irritation finds no support whatsoever in any Bible verse.” M. J. C. Calley, *God’s People* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 94 notes that West Indian Pentecostal groups “believe that illnesses (though not perhaps all illnesses; nobody is clear about this) are caused by spirit possession.” Thus, in healing rites, the “spirit of sickness” is instructed to “leave...in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.”

possession for much of it has purely physical causes.”¹⁷ Nevertheless, the implication of the latter statement is that there is the possibility that some mental problems can be due to demonic involvement as is the case of physical sickness.

However, the lack of biblical support for much that has been written often makes the practice of exorcism and associated demonic investigation subjective and even suspect, leaving a trail of speculation and, at worst, confusion for the readers.¹⁸ As an example of this tendency, Hughes speculated, “evil spirits specialize...spirits of infirmity...deaf and dumb spirits...unclean spirits...manifesting uncleanness through mind, speech and action.”¹⁹ Similar attempts have been made to discern the names and activities of demons by some.²⁰ Gerver believes that the different descriptions of demonic spirits or powers in the Bible represent different demons.²¹ Canty, however, rejects the view that “a particular demon can hold sway over certain geographical areas,” describing it as “a curiosity of the ‘lore’ of current demonology.”²² He also notes, “no hovering demon can spread an

¹⁷ G. Wright, *Our Quest for Healing* (Cheltenham: Grenehurst Press, 1981), p. 36.

¹⁸ J. Richards, “The Church’s Healing Ministry and the Charismatic Renewal,” in *Strange Gifts*, eds. D. Martin, P. Mullen (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), pp. 151-58 (151) describes, “an over-awareness of spiritual warfare, leading to an inflated demonology” which exists in some Pentecostals.

¹⁹ R. T. Hughes, “Demon Possession,” *Study Hour*, May 15, 1948, pp. 95-97 (96).

²⁰ See McClung, “Exorcism,” p. 626; Livesey, “The Ministry of Casting out Demons” p. 8 describes them as “multitudinous and multifarious,” differing “in capacity and capability to do evil.”

²¹ Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, pp. 12-13 identifies different demonic entities including unclean spirits (Mark 5:7-13; Luke 9:41; Acts 5:16), spirits of divination (Acts 16:16), a prince of the power of the air (Eph 2:2), seducing spirits (1 Tim 4:1), wicked spirits (Eph 6:12), evil spirits (Acts 19:15), spirits of fear (2 Tim 1:7) spirits of jealousy (Num 5:14) and spirits of infirmity (Luke 13:11), though Linford, “No Entry,” p. 16 describes these terms as indicating “a figure of speech”; V. Cunningham, “The Claims of the Exorcist,” *Redemption Tidings*, Nov. 27, 1973, pp. 3-5 (3) rejects the idea of “demons of uncleanness...of fear...of nicotine.”

²² Canty, *The Practice of Pentecost*, p. 193.

irresistible miasma around...such as a 'demon of resistance' in a neighbourhood."²³

It is not surprising that Hollenweger described demonic activity as "an unsolved problem in Pentecostal belief and practice."²⁴ There are still many unsolved issues concerning the demonic including the cause of demonic activity in an individual though many varied reasons have been offered,²⁵ including hereditary links,²⁶ occult activity,²⁷ lust,²⁸ shock,²⁹ drugs,³⁰ rebellion,³¹ negative thoughts³² and physical weakness.³³

²³ Canty, *The Practice of Pentecost*, p. 194.

²⁴ W. J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM, 1972), p. 379.

²⁵ Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, p. 1 suggests it may result from occasions of low resistance such as "ill health, moral delinquency, or impaired reasoning and a subsequent weakening of the will"; Hughes, "Demon Possession," p. 97 suggests that demons can force their way into a person by pressure of superior numbers, using Matt 12:43-45 as support.

²⁶ K. Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare* (London: Peniel, n.d.), p. 18, providing Exod 20:5 as evidence.

²⁷ J. Barr, "The Christian and the Occult," *Elim Evangel*, Oct. 31, 1987, pp. 3, 11 (3) suggests, "In some cases, it is enough merely to have been present when an occult contact took place or to have read a book on the subject. That alone can give ground to oppressing spirits." He also accepts the possibility of occult curses being "laid on them (people) or their ancestors"; R. Parker, "The Occult," *Redemption*, Oct. 1991, pp. 36-37; M. Banks, *Healing Secrets* (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1986), p. 90 states, "past association with the occult is very often a contributory factor" to demonic activity; Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, p. 18 offers Deut 18:10-12 as evidence, commenting also on the significance of divination (18-21), magic (21-23) and spiritism (23-26) to demonic influence in the life of a person.

²⁸ R. T. Hughes, "Demon Possession," *Study Hour*, June 15, 1948, pp. 110-13 (111).

²⁹ Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, p. 26; Hughes, "Demon Possession," p. 97 describes a situation where he claims "shock was the moment of possession, the victim being not the mother but the unborn child within."

³⁰ Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, p. 28.

³¹ Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, p. 27.

³² G. Cove, *How to Make Your Healing Permanent* (Sandbach: Wrights, 1956), p. 52; they "attract evil spirits."

³³ Hughes, "Demon Possession," p. 110.

Not all have agreed with these views. Barrie, for example, argues, "Christ...never treated the possessed as morally responsible for their condition."³⁴ Furthermore, Cunningham notes that the New Testament never ascribes the causes of sin in Christians to demons "nor is the remedy for them in the Christian's life the casting out of a demon."³⁵ Richards agrees, writing, "Many are ascribing every fault, mistake, sickness etc. to the work of demons...they fail to see the difference between 'works of the flesh' and 'evil spirits'."³⁶ It is of interest to note that Jesus never provided any reasons for a person being afflicted by demonic forces neither did he indicate that the sufferer was responsible for the demonic attack or the expulsion. Similarly, Paul does not blame the demonized girl (Acts 16:16-18).

3. Demons and Believers

Pentecostals have, in general, refused to accept the possibility of a Christian being "possessed" by a demon,³⁷ Conn describing such a theory as "one of today's most dangerous suggestions."³⁸ Kay concludes that in the 1970s, neo-Pentecostals, in general, confirmed that a Christian could be possessed while "the classic Pentecostals, after some debate, said a firm no."³⁹ Linford argues, "such an invasion...is anti-God," accepting that while Satan "may oppress us, even obsess us, he can never possess us," adding, "this must be doubly so with those who are baptised in the

³⁴ Barrie, "The Discerning of Spirits," p. 35.

³⁵ V. Cunningham, "Demons or the Old Nature?," *Redemption Tidings*, Nov. 22, 1973, pp. 3-5 (3).

³⁶ Richards, "Demon possession," p. 10.

³⁷ *Elim Bible College Correspondence Course*, 11.3; Orloff, "The Christian and Evil Spirits," p. 12 deduces, "no true believer can be possessed by an evil spirit"; the official position of the Assemblies of God printed in *The Pentecostal Testimony*, June 1975, pp. 16-18 rejects the view that a Christian may be demon possessed; so Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, p. 3.

³⁸ C. W. Conn, "Can a Christian Be Demon-possessed?" *Elim Evangel*, Sept. 29, 1962, p. 612 states that such a view would demand that the demon owned the person it possessed, a view he describes as "unreasonable and anti-scriptural," basing his belief on 1 Cor 6:19-20 (p. 613).

³⁹ W. Kay, *Inside Story* (Mattersey: AOG Bible College, 1990), p. 337.

Holy Spirit.”⁴⁰ It is impossible that the Spirit of God and demons can “occupy the same body.” Canty writes, “There is no Scripture...for the possessed believer teaching.... The idea must be rejected...it makes nonsense of almost the entire theology of the Church on the subject.”⁴¹

Cunningham examines three New Testament narratives, sometimes viewed as supporting the possibility of Christians being demon possessed, and rejects them all.⁴² Furthermore, he offers Romans 8:9⁴³ and Canty provides 2 Cor 6:16 as proof of the safety of Christians from demonic possession.⁴⁴ The latter notes that even Job's suffering, “needed a special dispensation from the Lord to allow Satan even to touch Job.” Furthermore, Canty argues, “[As] the preaching of the Gospel is deliverance...it would be absurd to think of a great conversion of a man leaving him with demons still in his heart. Can a man be saved through faith in the Gospel and then need a second experience to save him from Satan? From what was he saved in the first instance?... We are delivered at conversion and do not require further special deliverance since we belong to God.”⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Linford, “No Entry,” p. 16 uses Rom 8:38; Eph 4:30 as support. He views the experiences of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:3) and Judas (Luke 22:3) as Satan taking “possession of the mind” (p. 17).

⁴¹ G. Canty, “Do Demons Cause Sickness,” *Elim Evangel*, Feb. 2, 1968, pp. 66, 67, 78 (78); so Livesey, “The Ministry of the Exorcist” pp. 8-9; Carr, “Can a Christian Be Demon Possessed?,” p. 24; Cunningham, “Can a Christian Be Demon Possessed?,” p. 3; Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, pp. 1, 2.

⁴² Cunningham, “Can a Christian Be Demon Possessed?,” p. 4 argues that the woman (Luke 13:11) was a daughter of Abraham, and not necessarily a believer in Christ; while in the cases of Judas, Ananias and Sapphira, he writes, “none of them remained in a state of grace; they were totally possessed by Satan; and in becoming sons of Satan ceased to be sons of God”; P. Lyne, “Spiritual Enemies,” *Bread* 9 (Sept.-Oct., 1980), pp. 21, 22 (21) however, views the woman (Luke 13:11) as “a picture...of so many Christians” and suggests that Christians should learn to recognize and repent of sins that have resulted in demonic problems, including possession.

⁴³ Cunningham, “Can a Christian Be Demon Possessed?,” p. 4.

⁴⁴ Canty, “Demons and Casting out Demons,” pp. 248-49.

⁴⁵ Canty, “Demons and Casting out Demons,” pp. 248-49.

Wright concurs, noting, “A demon-possessed Christian is an impossibility—biblically, theologically and practically.”⁴⁶ Cunningham offers a relatively popular rationale for people, who are Christians, who, at a later date, are “‘delivered,’ fell on the floor, cried with a loud voice...,” as a result of which it may be claimed that they were possessed by demons. He offers three options. Either, “they really do have a demon...in which case they cannot have been real Christians, or they have lapsed from the faith” or “they are very new professing Christians (who are still getting straightened out and are effectively still in the throes of conversion) who need deliverance from evil spirits as part of the cleansing from sin” or “they have done what they were told to do...the trouble is that many Christians and especially Pentecostals...are extremely suggestible.”⁴⁷ Some have contradicted his model.⁴⁸ Thus, Hughes states, “under certain conditions people who have known the forgiveness of sins may become victims of enemy possession...there can be a ministry of spiritual gifts and yet that person may need deliverance... (1 Samuel 10:1; 2 Peter 2:16).”⁴⁹

For many Pentecostals, the answer to the question concerning the relationship of the demonic to believers has been assumed to be contained in the biblical narrative. If it is to be concluded that there is no evidence that a believer in the New Testament was possessed by a demon, then it is accepted by many that there is no reason for assuming a different scenario today, though there are exceptions to this general rule and belief.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Wright, “Demon-possessed Christians,” p. 24; similarly, he records (p. 26), “The idea that Christians can be possessed by demons both calls in question the nature of the Holy Spirit and disavows the sanctifying work in the life of believers...what communion could He possibly have with evil?... Intrusion of evil spirits into the inner life of one who wills to follow God is not merely an unscriptural concept—it is antiscritptural!” He rejects (p. 25) the following verses that are sometimes used to support the view that Christians can be demon possessed: 2 Cor 2:11, “Nothing in this passage refers to demon possession”; 2 Cor 11:3-4, “Verse 1 indicates that the mood of the passage is irony.”

⁴⁷ Cunningham, “The Claims of the Exorcist,” p. 8.

⁴⁸ Edwards, “Delivered from Evil,” pp. 13-15 views Acts 19:11 as evidence of a believer needing exorcism (p. 15); since sickness can inhabit the temple of the Holy Spirit, he argues, “to be consistent” so can demons (p. 14).

⁴⁹ Hughes, “Demon Possession,” p. 95.

⁵⁰ H. Carter, “Demon Power,” *Study Hour*, Aug. 16, 1941, pp. 2-4 (2) refers to people who have been hindered from receiving the baptism in the Spirit as a

4. Developments and Similarities in Demonology

Partly as a result of the great variation in belief concerning demonic issues within British Pentecostalism, in 1975, a Committee was formally appointed by the Executive Council of the Elim Pentecostal Church to consider these topics and a number of papers were presented and discussed. One of the major results of the documentation provided was to present a cautious response to some of the more unguarded current beliefs and practices. Thus, Walker noted the danger of blaming demons for sinful tendencies instead of being “a persistent, developing, on-going disciple.”⁵¹ He advocated dealing with demoniacs in a private manner. Similarly, Gilpin, on the basis of the New Testament, noted the rarity of exorcisms, suggesting that they may have been particularly “associated with the earthly ministry of our Lord and interpreted as an outburst of demoniacal opposition to the work of Jesus.”⁵² Despite the variety of opinions, a number of constants remain:

- 1) The devil and demons are antagonistic foes of the church.
- 2) They have been eternally overcome by Christ.
- 3) They still affect individuals malevolently.
- 4) They can be resisted and overcome by and through Christ.

Similarly, although forms of exorcism vary,⁵³ a number of features would be recognized as being important to many Pentecostals involved in exorcistic ministry:

result of previous occult experiences. He advises that they “wrestle for victory...that the binding power be broken.” J. Barr, “The Christian and the Occult,” p. 3 sought to show that occult involvement in the past can produce an influence in a person that is not automatically removed by Christ at conversion, writing, “We are not automatically released from the effects of occult involvement when we become Christians...We must appropriate our freedom... God requires us to renounce every occult contact individually,” offering a prayer, “I renounce in the name of Jesus Christ, all psychic inheritance I may have and I break any demonic hold or bondage affecting me or my family line for the past 10 generations on both sides of my family.” Similarly, in “The War Is on,” *Direction*, Feb. 1991, pp. 24-25 (24), he writes, “demons do not meekly leave because we say the sinner’s prayer.”

⁵¹ Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, pp. 1, 2.

⁵² Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, pp. 1, 2.

⁵³ Parker, *Elim Bible College Correspondence Course*, p. 9 states that music can “for a time hold off the influence of the evil spirit”; Canty, “Demons and Casting out Demons,” p. 254 notes, “The particular method is of very small consequence.”

- 1) Preparation including prayer,⁵⁴ and possibly fasting⁵⁵ and the recognition of the importance of the gift of discernment.⁵⁶
- 2) The use of the name of Jesus.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ J. Hurt, "Mattersey Hotline," *Redemption*, June 1993, p. 15 states that prayer is sufficient in confrontation with demonic forces for Christ has already bound the strong man; M. Livesey, "Demons," *Redemption Tidings*, Jan. 17, 1980, pp. 4, 5 (4), a missionary often involved in the ministry of exorcism while in India, writes "we did not have long sessions of prayer with them but in private we...would bring them before the Lord in prayer and fasting." The emphasis on private prayer is mentioned in a subsequent article, M. Livesey, "The Ministry of casting out demons," *Redemption Tidings*, Jan. 24, 1980, pp. 8, 9 (9); cf. anon. "Wiseowl," *Direction*, Sept. 1995, p. 9 (9) recommends that others pray for the one(s) involved in the exorcism, with the recommendation that the exorcist work with others; Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, p. 1 states that those ministering should prepare by prayer and dedication, advocating working with "two or three for strength and balanced judgment," although the Committee (p. 2) noted, "the use of an expression as a kind of formula to be repeated is not really necessary," whilst encouraging that those ministering should seek protection "through the blood of Jesus Christ," rebuke the demon and command it to come out in the name of Jesus "many times if needed until the command is obeyed."

⁵⁵ Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, p. 31.

⁵⁶ Canty, *The Practice of Pentecost*, pp. 194-97; Canty, "Demons and casting out demons," p. 255 warns, "Discernment should not only detect demons but also where there are no demons"; Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, p. 1 advocates careful analysis suggesting, "some sort of clinical analysis and prolonged probing"; D. Orloff, "The Christian and evil spirits," *Elim Evangel*, Oct. 31, 1987, pp. 6, 11 (6) notes, "Our protection and power base...is the armor of Eph. 6:10-18"; Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, p. 15 identifies those "able to deal with such spirits are...submissive to God...supernaturally endowed with power...set in the local church...self denying...sent with authority...seeing their victory in Christ"; J. Barr, "The War Is on," p. 24 offers seven suggestions that might indicate the need of deliverance in a person: "disturbance in the emotions...thought life...uncontrolled use of the tongue...recurring unclean thoughts...addictions...certain bodily afflictions...religious error"; Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, p. 2 suggested as possible symptoms of demon possession, speaking "in a voice totally different from the normal and often powers of telepathy or clairvoyance"; Cunningham, "The Claims of the Exorcist," p. 3 rejects the following claimed symptoms of demon possession including schizophrenia, sudden change of mood, bad breath, talkativeness, glazed eyes noting, "these symptoms can't be authoritatively proved or not, they depend on arbitrary assertion."

- 3) The incorporation of a command that the demon leave its victim.⁵⁸
- 4) A recognition of the authority of Christ that is also invested in the Christian.⁵⁹
- 5) The belief that permanent relief “is obtained only by and in the power of Christ.”⁶⁰

Other elements that have little biblical precedent, vary depending on the religious, social and cultural context of the people concerned and have received limited comment by Pentecostal writers. Such aspects

⁵⁷ Mark 16:17; Acts 16:18. Canty, “Demons and Casting out Demons,” pp. 253-54 states, “The vital element is not the formula but the presence of Jesus in the life of the person casting the demons out.... The pronunciation of the name... was partly a testimony to those who observed what was happening.... The fact is that demons left people when the name of Jesus was not uttered.... The casting out of demons does not require a barrage of words with the voluminous repetition of the word ‘Jesus’ or ‘Christ’”; Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, pp. 14, 30, however, states that the name of Jesus is of vital importance for demons “refuse to confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh (1 Jn. 4:2ff)” advocating the use of the phrase “Jesus is the Lord (1 Cor. 12:3)”; he also encourages reference to “the precious blood” though for the latter, he offers no text as evidence; Livesey, “The Ministry of Casting out Demons,” p. 8 confirms, “we used the name of Jesus” though notes, “I do not think that long periods of prayer and calling the name of Jesus repeatedly for hours in the presence of the victim and the public is essential.” However, she also “claimed the power of the precious blood of Jesus.”

⁵⁸ Livesey, “The Ministry of Casting out Demons,” p. 9 notes, “the actual command of the demon to leave...is...of short duration”; Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, p. 2 noted, “The Bible word is ‘command’ not ‘coax’” with regard to exorcism.

⁵⁹ Richards, “Demon Possession,” p. 13; Canty, “Demons and Casting out Demons,” p. 252 concludes, “on the whole, the power of Satan over believers is vastly reduced through Christ’s victory”; Orloff, “The Christian and Evil Spirits,” p. 6 states, “We must not fear Satan...the victory of Christ over Satan is total and complete”; thus, M. Banks, *Healing Revolution* (Basingstoke: Marshalls, 1985), p. 151 advocates commanding the demon to depart; Hughes, “Demon Possession,” p. 111 speaks of “the word of authority.”

⁶⁰ Parker, *Elim Bible College Correspondence Course*, p. 9; Livesey, “Demons,” p. 5 warns people “that if they continued their idol worship after they had been delivered...and the devils returned to them, it would be difficult to pray for their deliverance again”; Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession Report*, p. 2 advocates, “the liberated one should be encouraged to surrender fully to Christ and His claims.”

include inviting people to be exorcised,⁶¹ the laying on of hands on those needing deliverance,⁶² physical manifestations of the sufferer,⁶³ conversation⁶⁴ with and identification of demon(s),⁶⁵ forms of actual expulsion,⁶⁶ longevity of the exorcism⁶⁷ and post-exorcistic care of the person concerned.⁶⁸

⁶¹ Richards, "Demon Possession," p. 11 notes, "there is no warrant in Scripture for this procedure."

⁶² Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, p. 31 accepts the possibility of this on the basis of Luke 13:11.

⁶³ A. Linford, "No Entry," *Redemption*, Feb. 1990, pp. 17, 18 (17) states, "the choking, spitting and vomiting manifestations (bags supplied) are all farces...the victims are not demon possessed but...brainwashed with deceit. Seducing spirits are adept at deceiving...those who propagate these anti-Scriptural ideas are themselves, albeit unconsciously, agents of evil"; similarly, Richards, "Demon possession," p. 10 describes the practice of bringing bags in which to spit demons as being "revolting"; Cunningham, "The Claims of the Exorcist," p. 3 rejects any association of demons with breath as a result of which some have taught that they manifest themselves via the mouth; Livesey, "Demons," p. 4 comments, "there was no outward evidence that they had been delivered when we prayed for them."

⁶⁴ Livesey, "Demons," p. 4 comments, "we refused to hold conversations with demons"; Carr, "Can a Christian Be Demon Possessed?," p. 25 rejects the need to know details concerning the sufferer or the demon in exorcisms.

⁶⁵ Livesey, "Demons," pp. 4-5 acknowledged, "there are many kinds of demons. Some cause women to be barren...other demons came upon women when they were advanced in pregnancy and slew the baby in the womb." However, she states, "to give names to demons such as envy, etc. is bordering on the frivolous"; Cunningham, "The Claims of the Exorcist," p. 7 however remarks, "I cannot find where authority to command demons to name themselves is delegated to any minister of Christ. Jesus only asks once...on every other recorded occasion where unclean spirits wanted to speak, Jesus refused to allow them."

⁶⁶ Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, p. 31 advocates the use of "an anointed cloth," on the basis of Acts 19:12.

⁶⁷ Livesey, "Demons," p. 4 notes, "some were delivered immediately...for others it took weeks or months."

⁶⁸ Gerver, *Spiritual Warfare*, pp. 33-34 recommends, "baptism of the Spirit with the clear evidence of speaking in other tongues...fellowship...live a disciplined life...worship...recognition of the truth of the Word...ministry to the possessed...preoccupation with Jesus."

5. Reflections

Pentecostals have consistently held to a belief in the demonic and the ministry of exorcism though very few have witnessed an exorcism and an even fewer number have participated in one, though increasingly some have been to Asian or Africa where they have been exposed to such phenomena. Exorcism has been uncommon in Pentecostal experience for most of its history in Britain,⁶⁹ most recorded instances describing events that have taken place abroad and some have sought to provide reasons for this.⁷⁰ Thus, Canty suggests, “demons were strategically strong in Christ’s days on earth to thwart salvation’s scheme...but casting out demons even then did not occupy anything like the priority given it today by some.”⁷¹ It is true that the main reason for the exorcistic ministry of Jesus, other than to announce the presence of the kingdom, was to make it possible for those demonized to accept the message of the kingdom, an option unavailable to them during their demonic bondage.⁷² Thus, it may be more apparent in some individuals where similar activity occurs today.

In recent years, there has been much less written about these matters by British Pentecostals (and other Christian writers) while the practices of other Pentecostals and Charismatic believers that include methods for exorcism and the identifying of hierarchies of demonic structures have been largely ignored, if not rejected. This may be as much due to the significant demise of exorcistic activity in the UK rather than the provision of more appropriate exorcistic models. Although the 1970s saw a flurry of popular literary activity concerning demons and exorcism in particular, the focus has drifted away from such issues in recent decades. Very few articles or books are now published concerning these subjects.

⁶⁹ Gilpin & Walker, *Elim Committee on Demon Possession report*, p. 3 notes, “Until recent years, even months, the topic of demonisation has not been prominent.”

⁷⁰ *Elim Evangel*, Mar. 6, 1965 reports on South Africa; June 12, 1965 on Brazil; Nov. 15, 22, 1969 on Congo; Oct. 3, 1987 on Thailand; Similarly, *Redemption Tidings*, Jan. 17, 1980; *Joy*, Feb. 1995 on India.

⁷¹ G. Canty, *The Practice of Pentecost* (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1987), p. 192.

⁷² A. Carr, “Can a Christian Be Demon Possessed?,” *Direction*, Sept. 1993, pp. 24-25 (24) records that exorcism “was not a major preoccupation in the early church.”

A number of reasons account for this, one of which is a reaction to the tendency to unthinkingly ascribe demonic activity to many problems that have affected people. In the same way that many British Pentecostals were led to expect the return of Jesus during the last decades of the twentieth century, resulting in a demise in preaching and teaching concerning the second coming when it did not occur, so also there has been a tendency to guard against repeating similar mistakes caused by previous gullibility with regard to demonic activity. This has often resulted in a lethargy resulting from an over exposure to such issues in the past and a reticence to be similarly misled in the present.

Another reason appears to be largely due to the limited expressions of overt demonic activity in the western world, including Britain, in forms that are traditionally associated with diabolical expressions as they have been experienced in the past and as they are described in the Gospels. Most British Pentecostals have had limited practical experience concerning overt demonic activity, resulting in a literary vacuum in which little exploration is undertaken. There is an unspoken assumption by many that an absence of such phenomena may be evidence that a concentration on such issues in the past may have been unnecessary and even sensationally motivated, albeit often unwittingly. At the same time, there is an increasing awareness that demonic activity may be less obvious and overt but as ever present and dangerous. Thus, although there may be less evidence of individuals being affected by demons in ways reflected in the New Testament, that does not mean that demons have ceased their malevolence. This should result in a greater awareness of appropriate ways of responding to these more subtle manoeuvres of the enemy.

There has also been a reticence to accept that which is not clearly reflected in the New Testament, whether it refers to expressions of the demonic or exorcistic practices. This is largely due to an assumption that only that which is recorded in the New Testament should be affirmed as a basis for belief and praxis. This matrix may need to be reconsidered as there is much concerning these issues that is not reflected in the New Testament and the latter was not provided as a comprehensive statement of all spiritual activity.

Thus to look to Acts 16:16-18, the only recorded exorcism outside the Synoptics, for guidance for contemporary exorcistic procedures may be inappropriate as it is not clear that Luke ever intended that this narrative should function as a paradigm for the expulsion of demons. Other reasons motivated his inclusion of this narrative. Similarly, the exorcisms of Jesus are not clearly presented by the authors as offering

step-by-step guidance for ridding individuals of demons. Similarly, Richards cautions that Jesus “did not seek to cast the devils out of everyone who was controlled by them...but when He was confronted with demon power then Jesus dealt with it.”⁷³

Neither are the many questions concerning the demonic answered in the biblical text. Scholars and practitioners argue opposing positions from the Bible including the viability of a demon residing in a believer, the relationship of sickness and the demonic, exorcistic procedures, varying degrees of demonic bondage of an individual and the sources of demonic intrusion into a person’s life. McClung notes that, a review of the literature, history and oral “stories” of Pentecostalism reveals the centrality of the practice of exorcism in the expansion of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements but also “a broad diversity in specific beliefs and ministries surrounding exorcism.”⁷⁴ A basic issue is still in need of resolution and it relates to the source of guidance in relation to demonic issues, especially concerning the identification and expulsion of demons for the lives of individuals.

Of course, there needs to be sensitivity and care in such a quest. Although Pentecostals do not distinguish between leaders/clergy or laity functioning in exorcism, they have generally expressed wisdom in areas relating to the demonic, partly driven by an awareness of the dangers associated with getting this ministry wrong. Thus, Richards writes, “there is no place here for the novice or for any Christian believer to act presumptuously.”⁷⁵ This is a sphere for apostolic ministry.” Few would claim to have a gift of exorcism and the role of exorcist has not been adopted within Pentecostalism.⁷⁶ However, issues related to the formation of appropriate exorcistic methodologies need to be addressed; otherwise, Western Pentecostals may be in danger of holding to a belief that is rarely observed in reality. Two sources of guidance are available for ongoing support with regard to ministering in the context of the demonic: the Bible and the Spirit in the church.

⁷³ Richards, “Demon Possession,” p. 13.

⁷⁴ McClung, “Exorcism,” pp. 626-27.

⁷⁵ Richards, “Demon Possession,” p. 11.

⁷⁶ Canty, “Demons and Casting out Demons,” p. 255 states, “Nobody manifested a ministry exclusively for dealing with demons...nobody was ever given a special gift of exorcism” in the New Testament.

6. Listening to the Bible

Belief in the existence of evil spirits was widespread in the worldviews of Jesus' contemporaries, and both Jews,⁷⁷ pagans⁷⁸ and later Christians⁷⁹ recognized exorcism as a valid means of achieving deliverance.⁸⁰ However, there is limited information in the Old Testament that would indicate a developed demonology or satanology and scant evidence concerning the practice of exorcism.⁸¹ Even the word "Satan" is less of a proper name and more the description of a role undertaken by someone.⁸² He is created by God (Gen 3:1), operates as his servant (Job 1, 2) who can tempt (1 Chr. 21:11-13) and accuse (Zech. 3:1-3), though is a poor competitor to God. Evil spirits are referred to though even these are seen to operate under the authority of God.⁸³ There are references that indicate the fact that the Jews believed in demons and sacrificed to them.⁸⁴ However, the demonic is largely marginalized in the Old Testament and none of the demons of the non-Jewish world (Lillith, Resheph) are referred to as demonic beings. God is seen to be in complete control.

Other Jewish literature provides some information which suggests a more developed demonological structure though this is located in apocryphal literature. Tobit links sickness and death with demons while 1 Enoch 16:11ff describes the malevolent nature of demonic spirits, suggesting that they derived from illegitimate sexual activity between

⁷⁷ 1QGA 20:1-29 (based on Gen 12:10-20, this Qumran document, records the sickness of Pharaoh as being caused by an evil spirit); the prayer of Nabonidus links demonic spirits with the sin of an individual (4QNab 1:3f); cf. E. Yamauchi, "Magic or Miracle? Diseases, Demons and Exorcisms," in *Gospel Perspectives* 6, eds. D. Wenham and C. Blomberg (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), pp. 89-183 (115-21).

⁷⁸ E. A. Leeper, "Exorcism in Early Christianity" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1991), pp. 8-73.

⁷⁹ Leeper, "Exorcism in Early Christianity," pp. 125-347.

⁸⁰ Josephus (*Wars* 6.3) believed that illness was caused by demons and eradicated through exorcism and magic.

⁸¹ V. A. Miranda, "A Cristogia dos Demonios," *VoxScrip* 10:1 (2000), pp. 3-18.

⁸² Job 1:6-12; 1 Chron 21:1 (cf. 2 Sam 24:1 where the same individual is identified as Yahweh); Zech 3:1, 2.

⁸³ 1 Sam 16:14-23; 1 Kings 22:17-23

⁸⁴ Lev 17:7; Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37

heavenly beings and earthly women, they oppress and destroy and are hungry though never eat.⁸⁵ The Book of Jubilees provides a more elaborate demonology (ch. 10) in which they are described as subject to Satan, called evil spirits and demons, lead astray the sons of Noah, and bound by the good angels, though one tenth are left for Satan to use as he wishes.

Although exorcisms are included in the Synoptics, it is significant to note that John's Gospel does not record any.⁸⁶ The author chose to use a selection of signs to enforce his teaching and it may be that the exorcisms did not achieve his purposes.⁸⁷ The paucity of exorcisms in the Acts of the Apostles and the absence of exorcisms in the rest of the New Testament are also of interest. It may be that exorcisms were more prominent in the ministry of Jesus, given the dynamic nature of his person and his radical message concerning the new kingdom, and resulted as a violent backlash from his demonic foes. Jesus' exorcisms were clear proof of his initiation of the kingdom and demonstrated his ability to control its development.

Outside the Synoptics, the guidance offered by other New Testament writers⁸⁸ relating to the demonic is that the most appropriate ways of

⁸⁵ 6:7, 16; 8:1-3; 11:8-15; Josephus (*Ant.* 6.166) believed that demons caused strangulation and suffocation.

⁸⁶ Though see E. K. Broadhead, "Echoes of an Exorcism in the Fourth Gospel?," *Zeitschrift NTWiss* 86:1-2 (1995) pp. 111-19.

⁸⁷ For further, see G. Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1999), pp. 222-24. He suggests that to have presented Jesus as an exorcist may have associated Jesus with contemporary exorcists and provided an unhelpful context for his description of Jesus as the Son of God; also, insofar as John does not concentrate on the kingdom of God, it is understandable that the clearest sign of the kingdom (exorcisms) are omitted; as exorcisms in the Synoptics demonstrate the demise of Satan, in John, this is achieved in the cross; E. Plumer, "The Absence of Exorcisms in the Fourth Gospel," *Biblica* 78:3 (1997), pp. 350-68 also understands them as being inadequate vehicles of the Johannine kerygma.

⁸⁸ Social scientific theories concerning demonization are not discussed here as they have been presented elsewhere: S. Davies, *Jesus the Healer* (London: SCM, 1995), pp. 79-89 suggests that those exorcized by Jesus were people who found themselves "in intolerable circumstances of social subordination" in which "becoming a demon is normally a mode of response, a coping mechanism and not a supernatural event per se" (p. 86); cf. E. Bourguignon, *Possession* (San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp, 1976), pp. 53-55; C. Myers, *Binding the Strong Man: A Political Reading of Mark's Story of Jesus* (New York: Orbis, 1988), pp.

responding to such forces are through being filled with the Spirit, receiving the word (Mark 4:15-20) and resisting temptation (1 Pet 5:8).⁸⁹ In Romans 16:20, Paul encourages Christian behavior, as a result of which God will crush Satan under their feet. Similarly, self control (1 Cor 7:5; Eph 4:26-27) and forgiveness (2 Cor 2:11) are viewed as antidotes to Satan's measures against the believer. Indeed, Paul deduces that all principalities are subservient to Christ (Col 2:10), were originally created for him (Col 1:16) and were disarmed at the cross (Col 2:15; cf. Rom 8:38-39). At the same time, he is aware of demonic malevolence (Eph 2:2; 6:12) and calls for the believers to resist them, mainly through the ministry of love within the Christian community (Eph 4:1-6:9). Thus, Paul asserts that his readers are supported by the powerful Spirit in their battle with evil. Rather than explore secondary questions related to demons, he identifies the resources of believers to undermine the role of evil in their lives and contexts. Indeed, he implies that the influence of a demon on a believer is largely determined by the believer.⁹⁰

Thus, although the biblical text provides information relating to the combat between the believer and demonic forces, it offers little by way of guidance for the implementation of a normative exorcistic procedure, let alone answer many of the questions that have been asked in recent years concerning issues relating to the demonic. Indeed, outside the ministry of Jesus in the Synoptics, there is only one successful exorcism recorded in the rest of the New Testament that is carried out by anyone other than

141-52, 243-47; H. C. Waetjen, *A Reordering of Power: A Socio-political Reading of Mark's Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), pp. 113-19; S. A. Galipeau, *Transforming Body and Soul: Therapeutic Wisdom in the Gospel Healing Stories* (New York: Paulist, 1990), pp. 23-28. Also, insofar as the above authors often conclude that demonic issues are of limited relevance to contemporary Christianity due to their assumption that they are based on the worldview which undergirds the beliefs of the first-century Jew and therefore of little relevance to modern life, their conclusions are of limited value to our purposes.

⁸⁹ See further D. Hamm, "The Ministry of Deliverance and the Biblical Data: A Preliminary Report," *Deliverance Prayer*, eds. M. Linn and D. Ramsey (New York: Paulist, 1981), pp. 49-71.

⁹⁰ Cauty, "Demons and Casting out Demons," p. 250 notes, "It is the yielding of the will to evil more than anything else which makes it easy for the devil to obtain entrance." He suggests, "It is the will of a man which makes a way for the devil and therefore repentance is required as well as exorcism.... It is wrong to assume that a particular evil in a man's life is the result of demon control. It is more likely that the evil was there first, permitting the entry of satanic power."

Jesus. Acts 16:16-18 provides a unique insight into an occasion when Paul exorcised a demon and is worth considering in a quest to determine how much the biblical narrative can offer guidance in the process of conducting an exorcism.

Luke describes a demonized girl as having a spirit of divination (*puthōna*).⁹¹ The god Apollo, who was associated with the pronouncement of oracles, was worshipped at Delphi as the Pythian god. Puthon was the name of the snake that inhabited Delphi, functioning as a symbol of the underworld and of Apollo in particular.⁹² It was believed to have been killed by Apollo who was thus named Pythian Apollo. Plutarch describes the people who devoted themselves to this god as those whose utterances were beyond their control.⁹³ Page suggests that this description may reflect the desires of the owner to claim that her prophecy was as reliable as the oracle at Delphi.⁹⁴

Dunn assumes that she spoke on the basis of having “picked up phrases used of and by the missionaries.”⁹⁵ However, this overlooks the conflict nature of the scene as presented by Luke in which the (evil) spirit attempts to demonstrate its authority by revealing its ability to identify Paul as the servant of God. It is unlikely that this was an involuntary affirmation of the gospel by the demonic source; it was not supporting the mission of Paul. It was intending to damage it, perhaps by linking it with the occult in the minds of the listeners or by simply being a constant and irritating, affirmatory heckler.

The force of emotional outburst on the part of Paul is strong (16:18).⁹⁶ The term *diaponeomai* is also used in 4:2 to describe the annoyance felt by the priests and Sadducees due to the continuing preaching of the Apostles. The irritation felt by Paul is probably because this activity on the part of the girl had been continuing for many days

⁹¹ Whether she is a slave or a prostitute/slave is discussed in C. K. Barrett, *Acts 15-28* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), p. 784.

⁹² Barrett, *Acts 15-28* explores the derivation and meaning of the term, noting that it may have been translated, “to inquire” though he establishes its meaning as being linked with the cognate form that refers to the art of ventriloquism.

⁹³ *The Failure of the Oracles*, 9.414e.

⁹⁴ S. H. T. Page, *Powers of Evil: A Biblical Study of Satan and Demons* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), p. 210. The authority of the oracle of Delphi was well attested in ancient sources (Herodotus, *Persian Wars*, 1.51, 66, 67; 5:42, 43).

⁹⁵ J. D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Peterborough: Epworth, 1996), p. 221.

⁹⁶ Barrett, *Acts 15-28*, p. 787 suggests, “I have reached the end of my patience.”

though he may have suddenly got tired of the constant intrusion, especially galling because the source was demonic.

Why Paul did not exorcise the demon earlier is a question not addressed by Luke. Ferguson suggests that Paul did not want to accept testimony from such a source,⁹⁷ though this does not explain why he took so long to deal with the situation. It is probable that he dealt with the spirit only when it began to hinder his ministry. Indeed, it may have unwittingly served a valid purpose, attracting people to him. Given the worldview of the people which entertained the possibility of truth being related to such diviners, the proclamation may have encouraged people to listen to Paul as one who was apparently being affirmed by an authentic source associated with the great Oracle at Delphi. However, there came a time when Paul decided that the purpose had been fully served and the (evil) spirit was cast out. The fact that this is the only recorded exorcism in Acts is worthy of comment and a number of conclusions may be proposed.

The ministry of Jesus with regard to demonic activity does not appear to be replicated in the early Church as far as the record of Acts is concerned. Neither are individual exorcisms recorded elsewhere in the New Testament, including James 5:13-18, nor the charismatic gift lists in the Pauline literature. Wright writes, "They therefore stand out, by the criterion of dissimilarity, as being part of a battle in which Jesus alone was engaged."⁹⁸ Though he goes too far, on the basis of the evidence, nevertheless, it is appropriate to note the dissimilarity. It is probable that exorcistic activity of Jesus was recorded as being a more appropriate manifestation of his authority for it acted as a powerful and clear sign of the inbreaking of the kingdom of God (Matt 12:28//Luke 11:20). It is also possible that demonic phenomena were more pronounced because of the presence of Jesus.

In the light of a great deal of interest in the demonic by some Christians, it is instructive to note the paucity of such comment by the writers in the New Testament outside the ministry of Jesus. That is not to suggest that exorcisms did not occur; they did and Luke records this in 8:7 and 19:12. It is even conceivable that they occurred regularly, but were not commented on individually. A parallel may be drawn with some contemporary African and Asian contexts where exorcism is a frequent phenomenon, and as such, warrants little comment because of its

⁹⁷ E. Ferguson, *Demonology of the Early Christian World* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1984), p. 8.

⁹⁸ N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (London: SPCK, 1996), p. 195.

regularity. The one incident in the book of Acts need not be taken to indicate a rare example of exorcism in the early church.

However, rather than simply recording an exorcism, Luke demonstrates a more sobering fact that has timeless application concerning supernatural opposition leveled against the church. Although the exorcism is recorded in one verse, the following 22 verses record the consequences of the exorcism. This is not a story recording the demise of one evil spirit; it is a story recording the potential death of the Apostles and the demise of their mission in Philippi. The focus of the story is not on the authority of Paul to cast out a demon but on the authority of God to overcome all obstacles placed before the mission of his delegated messenger, whether they be demons (16:18), mobs (16:19), rulers (16:20-21), physical abuse (16:22-24) or prison (16:24). The supremacy of the Lord over these (demonically inspired) obstacles is demonstrated in the expulsion of the demon, the occurrence of an earthquake which shakes all the doors off their hinges and unfastens the fetters of the prisoners (16:26), the expression of faith by the jailors (16:31-34), the apologies of the rulers to the apostles (16:39) and the encouragement of the believers (16:40).

The question hangs in the air as to whether Paul should have carried out the exorcism. Would his ministry have been unimpeded, if he had ignored the demonized girl? Luke presents the subtlety of the opposition force against Paul and his potential dilemma. If he ignores the spirit, it will act as a constant irritant; if he exorcises it, it will result in the truncation of his mission in Philippi (and, unbeknown to him, result in the Apostles being beaten and imprisoned). The exorcism appears to have indicated that the spirit had won a decisive battle in its intrusion in Paul's mission. In removing the girl from bondage, the apostles are themselves bound. However, the story ends with the jailer's family becoming believers and being baptized. Although the opposition forces seem to have won the battle, Luke is desirous of demonstrating that they are pawns in the hands of the one who is supervising the destiny of Paul. This is less a story of an exorcism of a spirit; more a record of the malevolent mastermind which seeks to destroy the mission of Paul; but of much greater importance is the confirmation that Paul is guarded by a superior power. Any lessons to be gleaned from this narrative of relevance for exorcistic procedures must be sourced after first exploring the purpose of the author in recording the narrative in the first place. Luke is less interested in the former and more interested in demonstrating the authority of the Lord who guides Paul and who supervises the mission to the Gentiles.

Some lessons may be learned for exorcistic practice from the Acts 16 narrative in that the name of Jesus was instrumental in the procedure followed by the immediate restoration of the girl concerned. However, to suggest that this is the only legitimate way of responding to demons is to misunderstand the purpose of the narrative in Acts which is not to portray an exorcistic method.

What may be concluded from this brief overview of the biblical narrative is that demonic activity is not a central focus of its message. That is not to say it did not occur much then nor to assume that it is marginal today. But neither should one assume, in the light of the limited information available in the text, that the Bible was intended to provide comprehensive guidance for responding to demonic activity when one experiences it. Paul refers to the possibility of Satan functioning in the guise of an angel of light (2 Cor 11:14) armed with an array of schemes and plots (2 Cor 2:11). Such a foe may not be guarded against on the basis of a pre-determined battle plan but in cooperation with the Lord who is aware of the changing strategies of the enemy and can influence the outcome by guiding believers in their fight.

It is possible that Pentecostals have been too reliant on the information provided in the Bible as if it was the only guidance available to them for identifying demonic activity and responding to it. Instead, they should be increasingly realizing that an enemy who may change his strategies to accommodate different contexts and cultures needs to be guarded against and responded to with supernatural guidance available from the dynamic Spirit as well as that which is contained in the text. Too often, western Pentecostals have looked for evidence of the demonic as it is described in the Synoptics when different practices and strategies may have been devised by those forces. The unobservant will have missed these changes and, more worryingly, have assumed that the demons are dormant. Without making the devil and his minions the central focus of our activity, it is also necessary to recognize that the biblical narrative does not describe all the ways in which they can function. Our role is to be aware of their potential intrusion into our lives and to combat it; it is in this regard that the role of the Spirit and our readiness to listen to him individually and through the church is crucial.

7. Listening to the Spirit through the Church

As well as an awareness of all that may be gleaned about the demonic from the biblical narrative, it is necessary for believers to listen

to the Spirit, who dynamically functions in the present, as he offers guidance that is appropriate to particular contemporary contexts, including the identification and expulsion of demons and the restoration and counseling of those who have been delivered. It is in this context that mistakes are regularly made, often because individuals have functioned without the safety mechanisms provided by a supportive circle of mature colleagues. However, to reject the successful ministries of some simply because their practices are not located in the Bible may be inappropriate; they may be following the leading of the Spirit. It may be that their practices are extra-biblical but not necessary unbiblical; if the former, caution is advised but also an awareness of the voice of the Spirit in that evaluative exercise.

Also, although the Pentecostal church in the West which exists in the context of a western worldview may not need to change its worldview necessarily, it does need to be open to the beliefs and practices of Pentecostals elsewhere who function in the context which may view the demonic differently from a British Pentecostal would. Similarly, their identification of and confrontation with the demonic may differ than that in western societies. To determine which is the most appropriate on the basis of the New Testament may be less helpful and even inappropriate as it is not clear that the latter was intended to function as a textbook for correct exorcistic practice. Neither should it be assumed that evil functions similarly in different world contexts and cultures. However, listening to the Spirit and exploring the contemporary experience and praxis of others, even where it may differ from ones own, are necessary elements in the developing of a practical strategy with regard to demonic issues.

Furthermore, the experiences of those in Africa and Asia who are aware of these issues partly as a result of their religious and cultural contexts but also because of their experience in dealing with them are to be resourced by those in the West. African and Asian Pentecostals have much light to shed on this topic.⁹⁹ At the same time, the contextualization of some of those experiences and practices will help guard against an inappropriate and presumptuous ministry that may be less valuable in settings where the demonic presents itself in a differing guise.

⁹⁹ O. Onyinah, "Deliverance as a Way of Confronting Witchcraft in Modern Africa: Ghana as a Case History," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 5:1 (2002), pp. 107-34.

8. Conclusion

It is possible that the role of the demonic in many western contexts is more subtle and disguised than elsewhere. Rather than assume that the limited number of exorcisms indicates an absence of the demonic, it may be more appropriate to acknowledge the opposite and to be led by the Spirit in considering other ways in which it may be functioning. It is probable that demonic activity in the West is even more dangerous by its devious nature and believers need to be aware that the battle is not always overt but also subliminal and no less undermining. The Bible, but more so, the Spirit and other believers need to be recognized as potentially playing a significant part in combating it.

THE CHRISTOLOGY AMONG SMITH'S FRIENDS:
A MISUNDERSTOOD IMPULSE
FROM THE KESWICK TRADITION?

Geir Lie

1. Introduction

They are a church without membership rolls, clergy, central administration, tithing, or even a name. They are called "Smith's Friends" after their founder, Johan Oscar Smith. Although there are many thousands of them in churches throughout the world, they are virtually unknown. When some Norwegians hear the expression "Smith's Friends," they think the speaker is referring to the Mormons, who follow the teachings of Joseph *Smith*. When some Americans hear the term, they think they are being told about a Quaker offshoot, a branch of the Society of *Friends*. They often ask how a Norwegian religious reformer could have the very un-Scandinavian name of Smith. Answer: Because his father planned to immigrate to New Zealand and adopted an appropriate name for the planned, but never taken journey.¹

The indigenous Norwegian denomination The Christian Church² (or Smith's Friends, as they are known to outsiders) was founded by a non-commissioned officer in the Norwegian Navy, Johan Oscar Smith (1871-1943). By 1996 this unique denomination claimed 211 churches in 50 different nations, and the Norwegian researcher Knut Lundby estimated

¹ Lowell D. Streiker, *Smith's Friend: A "Religion Critic" Meets a Free Church Movement* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), pp. 1-2.

² "Outside of Norway, besides 'the friends' or 'the fellowship,' the church is known as 'the Norwegian Brethren,' 'the Norwegian Movement,' or simply as 'the church' (USA and Canada)." Kjell Arne Bratli, *The Way of the Cross: An Account of Smith's Friends* (Tananger, Norway: Skjulte Skatters Forlag, 1996), p. 4.

its membership at 25,000 to 30,000 and growing.³ As much as two-thirds of the members live outside of Norway. The success of this Norwegian denomination in establishing itself on all continents of the world is in itself quite amazing.

The Friends have not been able to escape media attention and have even been the subject of some scholarly analysis. One of the first attempts of the latter was an article by Nils Bloch-Hoell which provided “an overview of the movement in order to assist researchers who might desire to obtain a deeper understanding of the movement’s history and characteristics.”⁴

My main concern in this article is not primarily to write the movement’s institutional history, but rather to document its confessional roots. This documentation takes as its point of departure the Christological views of the group’s members. However, these Christological views are not treated as isolated doctrinal themes. Rather, they will be analyzed as an extension of hamartology (and particularly the movement’s understanding of sanctification) and anthropology.

2. The Understanding of Sanctification Compared with Related Movements

Many of Bloch-Hoell’s observations are interesting and should be carefully considered. This particularly holds true for his treatment of the movement’s sanctification doctrine. Bloch-Hoell suggested a certain similarity between the “old-Methodist teachings on Christian Perfection and Pentecostalism’s emphasis on cleansing, on the one hand (since inherent in these teachings was the expectation that it was possible to live one’s life without incurring personal guilt, while at the same time taking into account the possibility of defection from one’s ethical standard, including the possibility and necessity of growth in ethical cognition”),

³ Knut Lundby, “Religion, medier og modernitet. Kommunikasjonsmønstre i sekt og kirke i en norsk kommune” [Religion, Media and Modernity: Communication Patterns in Sect and Church in a Norwegian Municipality], *Sosiologisk tidsskrift* 4 (1996), pp. 265-84 (266).

⁴ Nils Bloch-Hoell, “Smiths Venner: En eiendommelig norsk dissenterbevegelse” [Smith’s Friends: A Peculiar Norwegian Non-conformist Denomination], *Tidsskrift for teologi og kirke* 27 (1956), pp. 165-77 (165).

and on the other, the distinction made by Smith's Friends between "sins that lead to guilt and errors committed through ignorance."

Even Christ during his walk on earth grew in cognition and—according to the Friends—did not sin against the fourth commandment during his stay in the temple as a twelve-year old, because it was, as Bloch-Hoell put it, an "error of ignorance."⁵

Of particular relevance here is the Friends' early contact with the Pentecostal movement in Norway, and with the related indigenous movement De Frie Evangeliske Forsamlinger.⁶ Johan Oscar's younger brother, Mr. Aksel Smith, cooperated with T.B. Barratt (Pentecostalism's founder in Norway) during the first few years after Barratt introduced Pentecostalism to Norway in 1906-1907.⁷ Indeed, Aksel experienced Spirit baptism and spoke in tongues.⁸ Johan Oscar Smith was baptized in water by Mr. Erik Andersen Nordquelle, the founder of De Frie Evangeliske Forsamlinger. However, in his dissertation on the Pentecostal movement in Norway, Bloch-Hoell documented an ever-increasing disassociation of the Pentecostals from the Friends. In the city of Ålesund, for instance, the Friends according to Barratt were the cause of internal schism.⁹ Similarly, the Friends grew wary of the Pentecostals.¹⁰ Consequently, Bloch-Hoell wrote, "Oftentimes there has

⁵ Bloch-Hoell, "Smiths Venner," p. 172.

⁶ Audun Erdal, "'Smiths venner': innblikk i en norsk frimenighets oppkomst og egenart" [Smith's Friends: Insights into the Origins and Characteristics of an Indigenous Norwegian Denomination], *Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 2 (1987), pp. 81-101 (83).

⁷ Kjell Arne Bratli, *En Herrens tjener. Sigurd Bratlie 1905-1996* [A Servant of the Lord: Sigurd Bratlie 1905-1996] (Tananger: Skjulte Skatters Forlag, 2003), pp. 34, 38-39; Kjell Arne Bratli, *Seilas mot Himmelens Kyst. En beretning om Johan Oscar Smith* [Navigating towards the Coasts of Heaven: The Story about Johan Oscar Smith] (Tananger: Skjulte Skatters Forlag, 1997), pp. 140-41.

⁸ Bloch-Hoell, "Smiths Venner," p. 166.

⁹ Nils Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen. En undersøkelse av pinsebevegelsens tilblivelse, utvikling og særpreg med særlig henblikk på bevegelsens utforming i Norge* [The Pentecostal Movement: An Analysis of Its Origins, Development and Characteristics with Particular Emphasis on Its Appearance in Norway] (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1956), p. 236 n. 149.

¹⁰ Elias Aslaksen, *Et ugudelig overgrep. Kirke- og pastoruvesenet. En av den religiøse verdens største synder* [An Ungodly Violation: The Nuisance of Churches and Pastors: One of the Most Serious Sins of the Religious

been a warlike situation between the two related movements. The war was carried on both in *Skjulte Skatte* [that is, the Friends' official journal] and *Korsets Seir* [that is, the Pentecostals' official journal], as well as in specific polemical writings."¹¹

Despite their similarities and the close but conflicted relationship between them, Bloch-Hoell was right, in my opinion, to emphasize the differences between original Methodism and Pentecostalism on the one hand and the Friends on the other, on the point of sanctification:

The Old-Methodism and the Pentecostal movement, particularly during their first phase, taught instantaneous sanctification. Among the Friends, however, it is rather a matter of a gradual *mortificatio carnis*.¹²

It is correct, as most outside observers have noted that Johan Oscar Smith had Methodist roots from his hometown of Fredrikstad. And, we cannot dismiss the possibility that he was influenced by Fredrikstad-born Ole Peter Petersen (1822-1901), the founder of Methodism in Norway. I agree with the late Norwegian researcher Tore Meistad, who claimed that Petersen's teachings found a receptive audience among Norwegians familiar with Pietism because these same teachings united elements of Haugeanism, Methodism and the "entire sanctification" teachings that characterized the Methodist branch of the American Holiness movement.¹³

The American Holiness movement, in turn, was Pentecostalism's predecessor. Most of the latter's adherents had a Methodist background that appealed (rightly or not) to founder John Wesley's teachings on sanctification—thus the somewhat misleading term "Old-Methodism" (*gammelmetodisme*). It is a matter of record that in the U.S. Wesley was read in the light of his successor John Fletcher, the latter having radicalized the former's views on sanctification by insisting that the believer must receive the "baptism with the Holy Spirit"—a reference to

Community] (Hønefoss: Privately printed, 1953), pp. 9-11. See also Elias Aslaksen, *Svar på S.H. Lærums og T.B. Barratts angrep på Jesu Kristi disippelskap* [A Response to S. H. Lærum and T. B. Barratt's Polemics against the Discipleship of Jesus Christ] (Hønefoss: Privately printed, 1937).

¹¹ Bloch-Hoell, "Smiths venner," p. 166.

¹² Bloch-Hoell, "Smiths venner," p. 172.

¹³ Tore Meistad, *Methodism as a Carrier of the Holiness Tradition in Norway* (Alta: ALH-forskning, 1994), p. 138.

a specific experience of sanctification which eliminated the believer's sin nature and consequently made it possible to conquer conscious sin.

Despite Johan Smith's Methodist background, the Friends' gradual *mortificatio carnis* reveals a striking doctrinal affinity with another branch of the broader holiness movement: the British Keswick tradition.¹⁴ Perhaps the clearest evidence of the connection between the Keswick tradition and Smith's Friends is seen in the 45 articles by the Welch devotional writer Jessie Penn-Lewis published in the official Friends' journal, *Skjulte Skatter*.¹⁵

Just as within the Methodist branch of the Holiness movement, Keswick adherents also considered it possible to conquer conscious sin. This possibility, however, was not anchored in any specific sanctification experience, whereby God removed one's sin nature, but rather in the fact that the believer, by the indwelling Spirit's endowment, could subdue his ever-existing sin nature.

I am not disputing Bloch-Hoell's suggestion that the Friends' teachings on sanctification "developed as a conscious response and reaction against the seeming absence of practical holiness within Norwegian Christendom, and after a while, with specific opposition against the sanctification views which were taught within the Pentecostal movement."¹⁶ Barratt's own background was Methodist, and throughout his entire life he embraced the sanctification views that were taught within the Methodist branch of the American Holiness movement. However, I cannot follow Bloch-Hoell when he implies that the Friends arose as "a more or less conscious reaction against the one-sided emphasis on grace within the Scandinavian Neo-Evangelicalism" and that it reflected "the tension between a more Rosenian understanding of grace and an older understanding of penance leading to sanctification."¹⁷

I find Bloch-Hoell's suggestions just as speculative as Norwegian researcher Steinar Moe's attempt to locate the Friends within the same confessional tradition as the Lutheran Pietists Spener, Francke and

¹⁴ Geir Lie, "Hellighetsbevegelsen i USA og Storbritannia: et historisk riss" [The Holiness Movement within the U.S. and the UK: A Historical Overview], *Refleks* 2:1 (2003), pp. 3-20.

¹⁵ All 45 articles appear between 1913 and 1938.

¹⁶ Bloch-Hoell, "Smiths venner," p. 172.

¹⁷ Bloch-Hoell, "Smiths venner," p. 172.

Pontoppidan.¹⁸ Certainly, Moe, in another context, was quick to admit that “Much basic and time-consuming labor remains—at least as far as [the movement’s] historical roots and doctrinal background are concerned.”¹⁹ Naturally, I do not debate the movement’s Pietist roots. My concern, rather, is to give the movement a much more precise confessional location in the Keswick branch of the Holiness movement.

Moe’s somewhat imprecise confessional location prevented him from forming a theory to explain “whether [including how] there exists a specific connection between this type [Lutheran] of Pietist reasoning and the understanding of the Gospel which one later finds among the Friends.”²⁰ It is important to point out here that Moe has not identified a single reference to any of the Lutheran Pietists that he claims have influenced the Friends (although Francke’s name does show up a time or two in the Friends’ devotional writings). By contrast, I would suggest that the Friends were most influenced in this respect by the Keswick tradition. In the pages ahead, I will develop a theory that can explain how a connection existed between the Keswick tradition (e.g., via Jessie Penn-Lewis) and the Friends so far as the doctrine of sanctification is concerned.

Bloch-Hoell described the movement’s characteristic Christology as “a consequence of their understanding of anthropology and sanctification.”²¹ My thesis is that Keswick-influenced anthropology and holiness teaching [including the implicit understanding that the believer’s sin nature is not eliminated during his/her walk on earth] shaped the distinctive Christology of Smith’s Friends in which Jesus also partook of an indwelling sin nature. This particular dogma will be carefully considered in the following paragraphs.

¹⁸ Steinar Moe, “Fokus på Smiths Venner” [Focus on Smith’s Friends], *Tønsberg Blad* 5 (March 1996), n.p. Moe’s suggestion is repeated in his article “Evangelieforståelsen i Den kristelige menighet. Et bidrag til konfesjonskunnskap” [The Understanding of the Gospel among Smith’s Friends], *Tidsskrift for teologi og kirke* 2 (1996), pp. 111-30 (122).

¹⁹ Steinar Moe, *Hva lærer Smiths venner? Et bidrag til konfesjonskunnskap* [What Do Smith’s Friends Teach?] (Larvik: Færder Forlag, 2002), p. 5.

²⁰ Moe, “På leting etter røtter” [Searching for Roots] (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), p. 1.

²¹ Bloch-Hoell, “Smiths venner,” p. 175.

3. Christology among Smith's Friends

The Friends believe that the pre-existent Christ was “divinely united with the Father and not subordinate to Him or a different being than Him.”²² The Incarnation, however, involved a kenotic process whereby Christ temporarily laid aside some of his divinity so that Jesus as “true man” could receive a truly human will. Certainly, Jesus did not receive “sinful flesh,” but he purportedly had “sin in the flesh,” i.e., he was actually tempted by sin, but chose not to submit to these temptations. During his entire walk on earth he was “holy and pure in thoughts, words and deeds.”²³ As one of the movement's leaders explained in polemics against Pentecostals Lærum and Barratt: “If Christ without exception had not been pure and blameless in thoughts, words and deeds, then he could never have saved neither us nor anybody else!”²⁴ With his point of departure in Hebrews 5:7,²⁵ Elias Aslaksen claimed that Jesus' human will, which he had voluntarily taken on, was “in disharmony with the Father's will,” but that it was always “submitted (albeit under internal struggle) under the Father's will.”²⁶

Accordingly, it seems likely that Smith's Friends applied Keswickean anthropology and holiness teachings to Christology—possibly without being consciously aware of their actual departure from Keswickean Christology. Of course, I do not mean to imply that these doctrinal impulses have come exclusively from the Keswick tradition. As we have seen, proof texts like Hebrews 5:7-8 also played a role. However, to the extent that Smith's Friends during the early phase of their history may have been conscious of their indebtedness to the Keswick tradition and have desired to maintain doctrinal fidelity towards it, the discontinuity (as far as Christology is concerned) may possibly be

²² Moe, *Hva lærer Smiths venner?* p. 37.

²³ Elias Aslaksen, “Åpent brev til Ivar Welle, Håkon E. Andersen, S. Anker-Goli og andre likesinnede” [Open Letter to Ivar Welle, Håkon E. Andersen, S. Anker-Goli and Other Likeminded Ones] (tract/brochure, n.d.), p. 2.

²⁴ Aslaksen, *Svar på S.H. Lærums*, p. 9.

²⁵ “Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared; though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered.”

²⁶ Aslaksen, *Svar på S.H. Lærums*, p. 11.

explained by the Friends' lack of understanding of the importance of theological reflection about Jesus' character.

In his 1956 dissertation on Pentecostalism, Bloch-Hoell critiqued Pentecostal believers, not only for their "one-sided emphasis on the second person within the Godhead,"²⁷ but also for their accentuation of Jesus' utilitarian value as "savior and friend, shepherd and comforter and as the individual's bridegroom."²⁸ However, as Bloch-Hoell himself noted, "This one-sidedness" (the undue emphasis on Christ leading to the implicit belittling of the Father and the Spirit) is hardly unique to Pentecostals. Indeed, Bloch-Hoell quite properly, in my opinion, declared that "the entire modern revivalistic piety is a pronounced Jesus-cult."²⁹

Scriptural passages such as Hebrews 13:8—"Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and today, and forever"—have both in hymnals and regular preaching been exclusively applied to his beneficial deeds towards the believer and not to his person. So-called lay preaching has always had the ideal of being applicable, and that pragmatic bent has shown little patience for theological hair-splitting. Although conclusive documentation is difficult to find, I would suggest that the Friends have misunderstood Keswickian Christology and therefore have uncritically applied the latter tradition's anthropology and holiness teaching to Christology precisely *because* they basically have been preoccupied with praxis, the pragmatic element within Christology: e.g., that the believer is called to follow Christ's example. It is not a matter of debating Christ's unique standing *vis-à-vis* the believer, but rather that the emphases of one's reflections have been anchored in practical rather than theoretical systematic theology. As long as the believer—according to Keswick teachings—had an ongoing struggle against his or her indwelling sin nature, the *Friends* have had few if any difficulties with Jesus' voluntary participation in the very same corrupted sin nature.

4. Influence via Jeanne Marie Bouvière de la Motte Guyón?

A seeming weakness with my thesis concerning the Friends' doctrinal dependency on the Keswick tradition is the movement's affinity

²⁷ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, p. 315.

²⁸ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, p. 316.

²⁹ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, p. 315.

to the Catholic mystic Madame Guyón. Her book with the Norwegian title *Bønner* was published by Skjulte Skatters forlag in 1912 as the Friends' first book-length publication. Johan Smith wrote to his brother Aksel in 1909 that he was reading a Swedish translation of Madame Guyón's autobiography to his wife Pauline: "Granted, some of her ideas are strongly influenced by the Catholic Church, but God has given us light so we are able to separate the wheat from the chaff."³⁰ Probably, it was because of the Catholic distinctives, not in order to prevent a view into the movement's confessional roots that Johan admonished his brother "not constantly [to] quote...Madame Guyon."³¹

Bloch-Hoell found the frequent quotations from Guyón in the movement's official journal to be perplexing, especially since the *Friends* differed from the Quietists in so many respects. For example, Bloch-Hoell noted that "ecstasy among the Friends primarily is exaltive and not, as in Quietism, contemplative (apathetic)."³² Despite these differences, however, Bloch-Hoell observed important similarities, such as "analogies to the very same *mortificatio carnis*-reasonings in Madame Guyón as those having been noted among Smith's Friends."³³

Steinar Moe is correct, then, when he on one occasion claims:

Catholic thought processes concerning salvation [primarily that Christ delivers us, then one allows oneself to be delivered, and then, finally, with Christ in his/her life, the believer continues the battle. So then, salvation is not something that is done and over with, but rather a process that is moving forward toward a goal] and thoughts and ideas from old pietistic theology from the 1700's can be fitted into Smith's Friends' understanding of the gospel in the twentieth century.³⁴

At the same time we should not forget the fact that Madame Guyón was very controversial within her own Roman Catholic tradition, and that she has been greatly admired within the Holiness movement. The

³⁰ Johan Oscar Smith, letter to Aksel Smith, Oct 23, 1909 in *Letters of Johan O. Smith*, 2nd English edition (Tananger, Norway: Skjulte Skatters Forlag, 1999), p. 171.

³¹ Smith, letter to Aksel Smith, Oct 23, 1909.

³² Bloch-Hoell, "Smiths venner," p. 174.

³³ Bloch-Hoell, "Smiths venner," p. 174.

³⁴ Moe, "Fokus på Smiths Venner," translated into English by Lowell D. Streiker in Streiker, *Smith's Friends*, p. 107.

American Holiness leader Thomas Cogswell Upham published her autobiography, *Madame Guyón*, which came out in 37 editions.³⁵ Penn-Lewis also cherished the French mystic³⁶ and once admitted, “I owe a great deal to the books of Madame Guyon.”³⁷ An abbreviated edition of one of Guyón’s books, *Spiritual Torrents*, was published by Penn-Lewis under the title *Life out of death*. Penn-Lewis explained in the preface that the original edition was “too analytical, too involved in expression, too overdrawn, too mystical” for the average reader.³⁸

Just as was the case with many in the Holiness movement, the Friends primarily benefited from Madame Guyón’s books as inspirational writings. In 1909, Johan Smith wrote, “I firmly believe that it is very healthy and edifying to read about god-fearing souls and the battles and hardships they had to endure in order to gain light.” As an example, he explicitly mentioned the life of Guyón. “Madame Guyón’s book,” he continued, “has truly been a blessing to me, because I detect a zeal in her which blesses my heart. Not many people in each century give themselves over so unreservedly to God.”³⁹

Nonetheless, heritage from Guyón is by all appearances an indirect one, mediated through the Holiness movement in general and through Penn-Lewis in particular. I cannot see that the appreciation of Madame Guyón weakens my thesis that the Friends’ holiness teachings are influenced by the Keswick tradition, and that their Christology has been formulated, at least in part, through the adaptation or appropriation of Keswick anthropology and holiness teachings.

³⁵ Dale Hawthorne Simmons, *E.W. Kenyon and the Postbellum Pursuit of Peace, Power, and Plenty* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1996), p. 89.

³⁶ Brynmor Pierce Jones, *The Trials and Triumphs of Jessie Penn-Lewis* (North Brunswick, NJ: Bridge-Logos, 1997), p. 16.

³⁷ Quoted from Mary N. Garrard, *Mrs. Penn-Lewis: A Memoir* (London: Overcomer Book Room, 1930), p. 34.

³⁸ Jessie Penn-Lewis, *Life out of Death* (Poole, Dorset: Overcomer Literature Trust, n.d.), p. 5.

³⁹ Smith, letter to Aksel Smith, Oct 23, 1909.

CONTRIBUTORS

Bonjour BAY (bbc1224@chol.com, <http://bay.pe.kr>, SungKyul University, #147-2, Anyang-si, Kyunggi-do, South Korea) is Professor of Church History and Dean of the Seminary of Sungkyul University, Anyang, Korea.

Simon K. H. CHAN (schan@ttc.edu.sg, 490 Upper Bukit Timah Road, Singapore 678093) is Earnest Lau Professor of Systematic Theology at Trinity Theological College and dean of studies. He also serves as spiritual advisor to Herald Assembly.

Paul ELBERT (pelbert@alltel.net) is adjunct professor of Theology and Science at the Church of God Theological Seminary and of New Testament Theology at Lee University. He is a member of the Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical and Theological Research.

A. Kay FOUNTAIN (kay.fountain@apts.edu, P.O. Box 377, Baguio 2600, Philippines), a New Zealand missionary, is Associate Dean of Center for Asian Pentecostal Studies and instructor of Old Testament Studies at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Walter J. HOLLENWEGER, a Swiss theologian, is former Professor of Missiology, University of Birmingham, UK.

Dongsoo KIM (dk204@unitel.co.kr) serves as Assistant professor of New Testament at Pyungtaek University, Korea and teaches New Testament and Pentecostal Studies as guest lecturer at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Geir LIE (geir@refleks-publishing.com, Ravnkroken 60G, 1254 Oslo, Norway) is editor of *Refleks*, a Scandinavian Pentecostal journal, and its Refleks-series.

Tavita PAGAIALII (aogfaleula@lesamoa.net, P.O. Box 1168, Apia, Samoa) is General Superintendent of the General Council of the Samoa Assemblies of God. He is in the Doctor of Ministry program at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Phil PARSHALL (parshall@mozcom.com, P.O. Box 3104, Makati 1271, Philippines) has been a missionary of SIM International in Bangladesh and the Philippines, also serving as a Non-resident Faculty member of Islamic Studies at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Keith WARRINGTON (keith.warrington@regents-tc.ac.uk, Regents Theological College, London Road, Nantwich, Cheshire, CW5 6LW, England) is the Director of Postgraduate Studies and senior lecturer in NT Studies at Regents Theological College.

Luke WESLEY, a pen name, is a missionary in China for about ten years, is the Field Director for the China Training Network, a Christian mission organization dedicated to the training of pastors, evangelists and church planters in China.

Amos YONG (a-yong@bethel.edu) is Associate Professor of Theology at Bethel University, St. Paul, Minnesota, USA, while serving as Book Review Editor of *Pneuma: Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*.

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THE RENEWAL OF PENTECOSTALISM:
A RESPONSE TO JOHN CARPENTER

Simon K. H. Chan

I believe Carpenter and I are basically agreed that early Pentecostalism was either directly or indirectly influenced by certain Evangelical bodies and traditions such as the Wesleyan-Holiness movement, various Reformed-Baptistic groups and the Plymouth Brethren. What we disagreed over is, given the fact of these historical links, how should Pentecostals understand themselves in relation to other Christian traditions? Carpenter would like Pentecostals to reaffirm their historical linkage. This, he thinks, is the “only” way for a “genuinely Pentecostal traditioning” to be done (p. 313).¹ I am, however, calling on Pentecostals to reevaluate those links and develop a broader vision of themselves as part of the larger Christian spiritual tradition without thereby repudiating their evangelical heritage.

It is vital at this point to make a distinction between evangelicalism that belongs to the larger Christian tradition—what Donald Bloesch describes as “true evangelicalism” which “is at one with a true Catholicism”²—and the Evangelicalism³ represented by various movements and bodies, especially in Britain and North America, which over the last hundred years or so has come to be identified with a particular theory about the scripture and a reactionary attitude towards culture. The former seeks to be true to the teachings of the apostles concerning Jesus Christ and to maintain a confessional standard that is

¹ All the pages references are to John B. Carpenter, “Genuine Pentecostal Traditioning: Rooting Pentecostalism in Its Evangelical Soil: A Reply to Simon Chan,” *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 6:2 (2003), pp. 303-26.

² *Essentials of Evangelical Theology*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978), p. 12.

³ In this paper, when Evangelicalism is capitalized it refers to the latter.

universally binding.⁴ In a pluralistic age when truth is relativized, the insistence on a confessional standard is crucial. It is, according to Braaten, what makes the evangelical faith different from the gospel of neopaganism.⁵ The Evangelical movement, on the other hand, may embody this evangelical faith, but it has tended to distinguish itself from the larger Christian tradition. It sees features of the larger tradition such as sacramental theology, episcopacy and liturgical worship as representing at best a compromised gospel. It is a deeply paradoxical movement. While resisting the influence of non-Christian culture, it is nonetheless deeply influenced by that very culture. This has been well documented by historians of the movement.⁶ Not all the influences were bad,⁷ but the impact of romanticism on the Holiness and Keswick movements (two movements that had a direct contribution to twentieth century Pentecostalism) did more harm than good. As Bebbington noted, “[b]y shifting the fulcrum of Christianity from the head to the heart, [the Holiness movement] blurred ecclesiastical boundaries and softened the doctrinal inheritance.”⁸ Carpenter is perhaps aware of the problem; this is why he seems to prefer the Reformed and Puritan strands of the Evangelical movement. Yet, as I shall point out later, as long as Evangelicalism continues to operate without regard for the larger Christian tradition, it will ultimately fail in its renewal efforts.

I am all for an evangelicalism that is understood as an authentic spiritual impulse that runs through historic Christianity. Such an evangelicalism transcends the Evangelicalism which came about as a largely reactionary movement against the threat of liberalism. The trouble with a reactionary movement is that its basic identity becomes more and more shaped by what it opposes than by positive belief. Reaction to a false belief has tended to result in an over-compensated

⁴ I am basically in agreement with Carl Braaten’s understanding of what it means to be evangelical. See *Mother Church: Ecclesiology and Ecumenism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), pp. 32-43.

⁵ Carl Braaten and Robert Jenson, eds., *Either/Or: The Gospel of Neopaganism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).

⁶ See, for example, George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 3-4; David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 80-97.

⁷ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, pp. 57-74.

⁸ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 180.

belief. Like Phariseeism that seeks to put a hedge around the law, Evangelicalism confuses its own questionable accretions with the historic Christian faith. That is, instead of affirming the authority and normativeness of the scripture, it sought to defend a particular theory of the scripture, namely, inerrancy (which in fact bears little resemblance to the views of the magisterial Reformers).⁹ Instead of affirming the historic saving work of Christ, it sought to defend a particular theory of the atonement. It takes an anti-liturgical view of worship and an anti-sacramental view of the church. There is no question that “establishment” Pentecostals have developed close affinities with this kind of Evangelicalism, as Carpenter’s references make clear.¹⁰ My concern is that as they do so, they will be drawn into the same narrow vision and end up equally impoverished, unable to appreciate and contribute to the larger Christian tradition of which evangelicalism is a part.¹¹

The fact that Pentecostalism was not *directly* influenced by the larger Christian tradition does not mean that it has nothing to do with the latter. What is remarkable is that the distinctive Pentecostal experience from the 1960s has found a home within Roman Catholicism, Orthodoxy and many mainline Protestant denominations. This shows that as far as Pentecostal experience is concerned, the sacramental tradition is not foreign soil, contrary to what Carpenter may think (p. 305). There is a kind of catholicity in Pentecostal faith and experience that cannot be confined to a narrowly defined Evangelicalism. Even within the Evangelical movement, as David Bebbington has noted, there has been significant crossovers into the sacramental tradition.¹² My attempt to forge a link with a catholic Christianity, therefore, is not simply to create a “myth of origin” (pp. 305-306). Historian of Pentecostalism Walter Hollenweger has shown that the first ten years of the Pentecostal revival exhibited a much bigger vision than what their immediate Evangelical

⁹ See the insightful discussion of this issue by Michael J. Christensen, *C. S. Lewis on Scripture* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), pp. 81-92.

¹⁰ In particular, his reference to Douglas A. Oss (pp. 305, 310).

¹¹ The evangelicalism I have in mind here is similar to that which Richard Foster identifies in his book *Streams of Living Water: Celebrating the Great Traditions of Christian Faith* (New York: HarperCollins, 1998). It is one of six valid streams (the others being the contemplative, holiness, charismatic, social justice, and sacramental) which together make up the “Great Tradition” of the Christian faith.

¹² Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 97.

precursors bequeathed to it.¹³ This point has been noted by other Pentecostal scholars as well.¹⁴

My view of traditioning, however, does not depend on recovering the “golden age” of Pentecostalism, even though there is more to be said about this than Carpenter’s “return to the pristine faith of the Bible” (p. 319). Carpenter sees traditioning as largely the work of applying to the present a fixed body of truth given in the past. Here, in fact, is the Evangelical creation of a myth—the myth that the Bible can be read objectively, and that one could get at its pure objective meaning through “sound exegesis” (p. 310). If this were the case, I wonder why Carpenter would need to be concerned about learning from Evangelicals’ puritan forebears—if the truth can be independently established apart from any interpretive community. The idea that an objective meaning exists apart from the interpretive community has its origin not in the Bible but in Cartesian philosophy and came to influence Evangelical thinking through Scottish common-sense philosophy. It is this tradition of interpretation that underlies much of the Evangelical distinctiveness, including the doctrine of inerrancy.¹⁵ In other words, the kind of traditioning that Carpenter advocates is itself the product of an interpretive tradition or community, but mythically projected as a “return to the pristine faith of the Bible.” The tradition that Carpenter ostensibly favors (sixteenth

¹³ “Pentecostals and the Charismatic Movement” in *The Study of Spirituality*, eds. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright and Edward Yarnold (London: SPCK, 1986), pp. 550-51. Hollenweger especially noted the ecumenical spirit of the Pentecostal pioneer William J. Seymour and refers to the early years of Pentecostalism as the “heart” rather than the infancy of the movement.

¹⁴ E.g., a study of early Pentecostal spirituality by Steven Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993). Gerald Sheppard, “Pentecostalism and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship,” *Pneuma* 6:2 (Fall 1984), pp. 5-34 has shown that the earlier Pentecostals were non-committal towards dispensationalism.

¹⁵ See the critique by Harriet A Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 90-92. Ron Ruthven, *On the Cessation of the Charismata: The Protestant Polemic on Postbiblical Miracles* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), pp. 44-52 has shown that Scottish common-sense philosophy was also the basis of Warfield’s doctrine of cessationism. It is no coincidence that Warfield was an ardent defender of the theory of inerrancy as well. Common-sense philosophy implies that truth is “static and open to investigation to people irrespective of time or place” (p. 47). The doctrine of inerrancy is simply the application of this idea to the scripture.

century Reformation-Puritanism-Evangelicalism) is one that is thought to maintain this primitivistic impulse.¹⁶ But as D. H. Williams has observed, this “fall paradigm” (nothing good came from the church after the apostles and before the sixteenth century Reformation) undermines the very process in which the church came to canonize its scripture and uphold orthodoxy:

How can any church today claim a connection with the apostolic era when it has remained ignorant of and often rejected in practice the church age which followed the apostles and which was *the* critical period for the very formation of the New Testament, for the propounding of the doctrines of Christ and the Trinity, for the confessions of redemption and eternal hope—in short, for the development of what it is to think and live as an orthodox Christian?¹⁷

Failure to appreciate the epistemological issue has led Carpenter to misrepresent what he calls the “post-liberal” idea that theology is “merely a community’s ‘talk’” (p. 309). Barth and Lindbeck are singled out as representing this “post-liberal” view. For Carpenter, it has to be a choice between pure objective truth and mere community’s talk, neither of which actually represents Barth’s position. Stanley Hauerwas in his recent Gifford Lectures has, in fact, shown that Barth’s theology is quite the opposite of what Carpenter makes it to be.¹⁸ In my book I have sought to argue for a dialectical relationship between the scripture and the interpretive community.¹⁹ Only in this dialectical relationship can the process of canonization and other doctrinal developments, as noted by Williams above, be properly understood.

Carpenter’s own proposal is for Pentecostals to “start with a new Pentecostal historiography” which “must be rooted in the core values of the evangelicalism of which Pentecostalism is a part” (p. 316). Is

¹⁶ But as I have noted earlier, the sixteenth century Reformers were not the wooden literalists that some modern Evangelicals made them to be.

¹⁷ *Retrieving the Great Tradition*, p. 27

¹⁸ Stanley Hauerwas, *With the Grain of the Universe* (London: SCM, 2002). It is interesting to note that Hauerwas contrasted Barth with William James and Reinhold Niebuhr. The latter two sought to develop a theology from religious experience; whereas for Barth, theology is *about* God based on God’s revelation of himself in Christ.

¹⁹ *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), ch. 1.

Carpenter suggesting that historical conditioning should determine how Pentecostals should shape their own identity? Must Pentecostals remain dispensationalists because it was a system that shaped much of its history? I suspect that that is not the reason for Carpenter's proposal. The reason why Pentecostals are told to let their historical links with Evangelicalism shape their own identity is because the latter is believed to be true. In other words, Evangelicalism as Carpenter understands it, and whose historiography he outlines in his article (pp. 315-26), is set forth as the true tradition. This is an assertion that I want to challenge and which I would like to show to be inadequate.

First, Evangelical historiography based on the "fall paradigm" has to ignore large chunks of Christian history, or at best consign them to a position of relative unimportance. This accounts for its anti-liturgical, anti-eucharistic stance. It does not matter that as far back as the early second century, Christian liturgy already revealed a eucharistic "shape";²⁰ for Evangelicals, if it is not clearly taught in the scripture it cannot be of any real consequence for the church.²¹ This has led to a rather constrictive view of Christian history. Only the tradition of interpretation that follows such Evangelical distinctives as the "primitivist" impulse, the "fall paradigm" and their idea of Christian "fundamentals" (such as the penal-substitutionary theory) is considered true. Nowhere is this constrictive reading of history more apparent than in Carpenter's understanding of Wesleyan history. Basically, it is read with an Evangelical lens (p. 319). Ostensibly, the only thing that might be worth retrieving would be its Reformed and Pietistic strands, which have to pass through, to use a different analogy, the Evangelical sieve. From this perspective, the rich and multifaceted nature of Wesleyanism is regarded as "a mutt, not a pure breed" (p. 320). The fact that the Wesleyan revival was, according to Methodist theologian Geoffrey Wainwright, a eucharistic revival²² has no real place in Carpenter's historiography, since such a fact is not part of the Evangelical tradition,

²⁰ See, e.g., the classic study by Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (Glasgow: Dacre, 1945).

²¹ But even what is perceived as clearly taught in Scripture is actually based on a particular tradition of interpretation which, under Cartesian influence, Evangelicals fail to recognize.

²² See his "Introduction" to the Wesleys' *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, facsimile reprint (Madison, NJ: Charles Wesley Society, 1995).

although for the Wesleys themselves, eucharistic theology and spirituality played no small role in the Wesleyan revival.²³

Like the Wesleyan tradition, the Reformed and Puritan traditions are filtered through Carpenter's brand of Evangelicalism. For Reformed theology, Carpenter appears to privilege the Princeton School. But what about the Mercersburg School? Is it less Reformed because it advocates a high eucharistic theology?²⁴ Similarly, Puritanism is not so monolithic a movement as Carpenter makes it to be. Even if we discount the Quakers as Puritans, it still includes a wide range of spiritual traditions which cannot be comprehended within a narrow Evangelicalism. My own research has uncovered a strong contemplative tradition with deep affinities with popular Catholic devotion.²⁵ Or, again, if we consider the Evangelicalism of today we discover at least two discernible strands: the Evangelicalism represented in, e.g., the Chicago Council on Biblical Inerrancy (cf. p. 305) and the Evangelicalism in the Chicago Call (1977). The Chicago Call is especially significant because it acknowledges the need for Evangelicals to enlarge their historical and theological frame of reference. Among other things, it calls on Evangelicals to recognize the "evangelical impulse" that runs through the entire church, not just among the Protestant Reformers (Article 1). It also calls for Evangelicals to "sacramental integrity" (Article 5). Over all, the Chicago Call represents a new awareness among Evangelicals in the late 1970s that if the movement is to continue as a vibrant tradition it needs to discover its roots in the larger Christian tradition. This explains why of the eight articles of the Call, four (Articles 1, 3, 7, 8) deal with the *catholicity* of the church. It is noteworthy that in recent years we are seeing a group of "younger evangelicals" who are heeding the Call.²⁶ Are these

²³ For a recent discussion of this see Lorna Khoo, "Wesleyan Eucharistic Spirituality: Its Nature, Sources and Future" (Ph.D. dissertation, Open University, 2002).

²⁴ The Mercersburg School is characterized by its high churchmanship. Among its better known scholars are Philip Schaff (1819-93), the church historian and John W. Nevin (1803-86), a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian who wrote *Mystical Presence: A Vindication of the Calvinistic Doctrine of the Eucharist* (1846), facsimile reprint (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1963).

²⁵ "The Puritan Meditative Tradition: A Study in Ascetical Piety" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1986).

²⁶ See Robert E. Webber, *The Younger Evangelicals: Facing the Challenges of the New World* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002). Webber identifies three types of evangelicals: the "pragmatic," the "traditional," and the "younger" evangelicals.

evangelicals any less evangelical because they are also catholic? What Carpenter has offered us is a highly selective reading of evangelical history. Yet it is within this narrow strand of Evangelicalism that Carpenter would like for Pentecostals to understand themselves!

Secondly, when we examine the attempt of the more serious Evangelical scholars²⁷ at dealing with problems within their own tradition, it at once reveals the inadequacy of the Evangelical tradition at self-correction. This is exemplified in the works of David Wells. Wells has done a brilliant job analyzing and critiquing a culture-bound Evangelicalism.²⁸ But when it comes to renewing Evangelicalism, his answer is a return to "Protestant orthodoxy."²⁹ This is manifestly inadequate for two reasons. First, it implies that the sixteenth century sets the benchmark by which all theologies must be judged. This could only lead to a fossilized theology as it does not allow for further development of doctrine *from* the sixteenth century. It is this static view of doctrine that has led many Evangelicals to a static view of the church. Evangelicals, of course, believe in the need to ensure that our present-day doctrines are truly in line with the teachings of the apostles. There needs to be continuity of doctrine: "Believers succeed the apostles as they accept what the apostles taught. It is a succession not of ecclesiastical power as the Church of Rome teaches but of doctrine."³⁰ But the succession of doctrine is not so easy to determine as Evangelicals make it out to be. For some, it is simply a matter of correct interpretation of the scripture. But as we all know, everyone can claim that his or her doctrines are biblical, including Mormons, Moonies and Jehovah Witnesses. How do we know that what we believe is truly what the apostles taught? The only way to know is when we can trace its continuity in *history*. And the way to establish historical continuity is by way of the living tradition of the church, the historic interpretive community. What Evangelicals have done is to replace the authority of the church as the interpretive community with the authority of the theologians. Secondly, the return to Protestant orthodoxy has tended to mean largely a return to the rationalistic stream of Protestant orthodoxy.

²⁷ These are the "traditional evangelicals" in Webber's classification.

²⁸ *No Place for Truth, or Whatever Happened to Evangelical Theology?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) and *God in the Wasteland: The Reality of Truth in a World of Fading Dreams* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1994).

²⁹ *No Place for Truth*, p. 12.

³⁰ Wells, *No Place*, p. 103.

Carpenter's understanding of "Evangelical" and Protestant orthodoxy is remarkably similar to Wells'. But recently, Pentecostal Terry Cross questions if this stream alone is able to rescue Evangelicalism from its theological vacuity.³¹ Cross argues that the evangelical movement, once unified, is being pulled apart in different directions. He faulted those "mainline" Evangelicals like Carl Henry and Millard Erickson for focusing only on the rationalistic stream of the evangelical tradition (viz., the Reformed wing) and ignoring the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition. The result is a wooden doctrine of the scripture (inerrancy, grammatical-historical interpretation) and a pneumatology that is only concerned with the revelation of Christ and illumination of the scripture.³²

Finally, the Evangelical tradition that Carpenter regards so highly has been shown to be seriously flawed in its ecclesiology. In fact, according to Stanley Grenz in his recent study, it has no ecclesiology.³³ The church is understood as a voluntary society, the result of like-minded, born again believers banding together for a common mission. Even then, the "real" church of true believers remains invisible and cannot be identified with any visible, organized church. Grenz calls it a "(non)ecclesiology" or a "parachurchicity"; that is to say, church is only a "ministry" existing alongside of the ecclesiastical structures.³⁴ More accurately it should be called a docetic ecclesiology, since the "real" church is inward and spiritual and does not correspond to any visible structure. Such a view of the church means that spiritual renewal is seen as largely the work of the Spirit in the individual's heart. If there is one thing that the postmodern world has made us deeply conscious of, it is the fact that the individual does not exist in isolation; rather, the individual's identity is decisively shaped by the community of which he or she is a part. Failure to understand this fact has resulted in a superficial renewal at best. For, unless the individual is changed as part of a traditioning community, the transformation will be short-lived. Our focus on the church, however, goes beyond this postmodern insight. Ultimately, our ecclesiology must draw on the resources from the

³¹ Terry L. Cross, "A Proposal to Break the Ice: What Can Pentecostal Theology Offer Evangelical Theology?" *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 10:2 (2002), pp. 44-73.

³² Note his critique of Mark Noll and Wells in "A Proposal," pp. 50-53.

³³ *Renewing the Center: Evangelical Theology in a Post-Theological Era* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), pp. 288-308.

³⁴ *Renewing the Center*, pp. 289-94.

Christian tradition itself: our faith in the triune God, the confession in the “one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church,” and the church’s liturgical and sacramental life which presupposes an essentially theological understanding of the church.³⁵ Failure to understand its theological nature would reduce the church to another sociological entity. In other words, while valuing the postmodern insights on the role of interpretive communities, we need to see the church as not just another interpretive community, but as the polity of the Spirit.³⁶ Its special link to the triune God through the Spirit makes it a “divine-humanity.”³⁷ As Grenz puts it, what Evangelicals need is a “theological ecclesiology” that sees ecclesial life as existing in perichoretic union with the triune God through the Spirit. It is what gives the church its true mark as the church of Jesus Christ.³⁸ This is to recognize the ontological status of the church. Traditional Evangelicalism has a strong ontology of persons, which accounts for its emphasis on “convertive piety.” This has been the strength of evangelicalism. But what it needs is to move beyond personal ontology to an ontology of the church which the Catholic and Orthodox traditions provide. Evangelicalism has tremendous potential for good for the kingdom of God if its convertive piety is combined with a more “generous orthodoxy”³⁹ that recognizes the contribution of the larger Christian tradition.

The difference between Carpenter and me on the way tradition is conceived reflects different understandings of the church. For Carpenter, the church’s task is to preserve the fixed deposit of truth embodied in the scripture that can be objectively retrieved. For me, if we go back to Protestant orthodoxy it is because Protestant orthodoxy was able to return to the church truths that had been neglected in the course of Christian history. In short, Protestant orthodoxy represents a valid and important

³⁵ The view that the church is not merely a social construction but an ontological reality is an insight shared by the major Christian traditions. Among Protestants, the most cogent expression of this ecclesiology can be found in Robert Jenson, *Systematic Theology*, II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), esp. part IV.

³⁶ See Jenson, *Systematic Theology*, II, pp. 204-205.

³⁷ Sergius Bulgakov, *The Bride of the Lamb*, trans. Boris Jakim (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), pp. 253-55.

³⁸ *Renewing the Center*, pp. 321-24.

³⁹ The term was coined by Hans Frei and used by Grenz to call Evangelicals to embrace a broad-based orthodoxy (the “center”) that goes beyond the modernist-fundamentalist controversy. See *Renewing the Center*, pp. 331-51.

phase in the church's doctrinal development rather than the epitome of all the truth the church needs to know. I see an organic link between the scripture and the church. The scripture forms the church and the right interpretation of the scripture could only come from that community that is shaped by it. This means that the nature of doctrine cannot be understood apart from the nature of the church, whereas for Carpenter, the scripture and the truths it contains could be retrieved and understood quite independently of the church. The nature of the scripture and the church is the basic point at issue. I believe that on this issue the future of the evangelical (and Pentecostal) movement will be decided.

BOOK REVIEWS

Anselm Kyongsuk Min, *The Solidarity of Others in a Divided World: A Postmodern Theology after Postmodernism* (New York: T & T Clark, 2004). vii + 245 pp., ISBN: 0567025705, US\$ 27.00.

Anselm Min is a Korean-American Roman Catholic, and has taught theology, philosophy and religion at the Claremont School of Theology and Graduate School since 1992. While he is, in all probability, a stranger to readers of *AJPS*, his new book is important for *AJPS* readers for at least three reasons: its taking seriously but not uncritically our postmodern situation; its presenting and defending a robust pneumatological theology; and its broaching global issues through the particularity of Min's Korean-American liberation theology perspective. Let me very briefly elaborate on these.

Part one of this volume includes four chapters wherein Min provides one model for doing theology in critical and constructive dialogue with postmodernism. While applauding how the postmodern emphasis on difference destabilizes the modern emphasis on totality, yet difference itself cannot be absolutized without undermining the possibility of ethical action. So even if Levinas rightly calls attention to the transcendence and infinity of the other, his denial that such is historically mediated results on our inability to engage the concrete factuality of others as particular historical beings. Similarly, Derrida's deconstruction and *differance* leads him to posit a messianism that is only ideal; thus Derridean "religion" is an ahistorical abstraction, irrelevant at best and legitimating of the status quo at worst. Both champions of the postmodern deconstruction of totality leave them incapable of engaging the actualities of the social, political, and economic realms within which all humans live, move and have their being. The modern totality and the postmodern difference therefore need to be sublated into "the solidarity of the different," and this precisely because of the demands of justice and liberation. Classical insights into human nature as referring to basic needs, capacities and structures common to all human beings allow for the possibility of justice, while postmodern perspectives on human nature as historically located insist that the concrete establishment of justice involves social, political and economic life. What emerges is a trinitarian dialectic between totality (concrete historicity), infinity (the immeasurable dignity of the other), and solidarity (the interdependence of others), each understood as permanent "existentials" of the human condition. Engaging this dialectic seriously requires a praxis that seeks to create liberating totalities.

In general terms, Pentecostalism both extends and rejects modernity, albeit in different ways. On the one hand, Pentecostal movements have been precipitated in part by the social changes accompanying modernization and globalization. On the other hand, the Pentecostal experience has also been seen as a counter discourse to the homogenizing forces of modernity: arguably, glossolalia not only resists the rationalizations of the western paradigm, but also legitimizes the pluralism of indigenous languages, cultures and ethnicities. Certainly Min's constructive yet critical engagement with postmodernity can help Pentecostals who are wrestling with their own questions about whether or not to get on the "postmodern bandwagon." But even more specifically, might Min's "solidarity of the different" serve as a sophisticated philosophical explication of the many tongues of Pentecost declaring the wonders of God?

Part two begins to answer this question by moving from philosophical to theological analysis and reflection. (Min is eminently qualified to move between and betwixt these disciplines given his PhDs in philosophy and theology from Fordham and Vanderbilt Universities, respectively.) The constructive pneumatological and postmodern theology after postmodernism of this book proceeds from two related moves: that of developing a theological anthropology of concrete totality, and that of renewing the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The former calls attention to the concreteness of human economic and social interdependence in our global context. If human beings are defined both by their personal and social aspects, and by their transcendental and historical—minimally: the economic, political, and cultural—dimensions (whereby each side mediates and is thereby dialectically constitutive of the other side), then theological anthropology needs to pay attention to both other-worldly and this-worldly salvation, the latter being the explicit domain of liberation theology. The latter renewal of pneumatology involves the retrieval of the patristic model of the Spirit as the mutual love of the Father and the Son in order to suggest that the Spirit is the power of relating, reconciling and creating communal solidarity in the life of the immanent and the economic Trinity. At the level of the immanent Trinity, Min insightfully sees a kind of "solidarity of others" since each of the trinitarian persons are persons in different ways, yet unified together. At the level of the economic life of the Trinity, Min's pneumatology emphasizes the Spirit's power to create, inspire and liberate finite creatures for relationship with God and for communal (historical) solidarity with other creatures. The body of Christ instantiates the solidarity of the Spirit, since it transcends fragmentation

and regionalism but not by mandating any kind of uniformity. This is why Min talks not about a “solidarity with others”—which still puts “us” in a privileged position—but about a “solidarity of others” where each is related to and dependent upon everyone else. Otherness is transcended in terms of difference with “us” even as it is preserved in the solidarity of “us all.” As such, solidarity resists both the hegemony of the individual and the totalitarianism of the whole.

Min’s creative re-reading of pneumatological themes in scripture recaptures familiar texts and passages and results in a cosmic and liberative anthropological pneumatology that goes far beyond traditional individualistic or ecclesial articulations of the doctrine of the Spirit. Here, Min elaborates further on the constructive liberation theology he has been working on for decades. Whereas his earlier *Dialectic of Salvation: Issues in Theology of Liberation* (State University of New York Press, 1989) advanced the thesis that human nature is not only personal but social and that salvation and conversion therefore have to be understood in both personal and social terms, *The Solidarity of Others in a Divided World* extends this basic anthropological and soteriological thesis through more in-depth pneumatological and trinitarian theological reflection. The much stronger theological axiom that emerges is that liberation dialectically conceived emphasizes social agency as part and parcel of the Christian life, neither accidental nor extrinsic to it, precisely because the incarnational and pentecostal movements of the trinitarian life have entered into history and been poured out upon the people of God who are thereby empowered to accomplish together what individuals on their own cannot: the concrete social and historical transformation of the human condition.

As important, however, is the attention Min gives to how to discern and respond to the presence and activity of the Spirit in our world. Two examples will have to suffice about how Min’s perspective is illuminating for spiritual discernment. The first concerns his bold but important claim that the economic dimension of human life is arguably the most important. If otherness is signaled by historical, social, ethnic, political, religious, cultural, linguistic, economic, etc., differences, the last is nevertheless the most crucial because economic discrimination allows for and realizes the kind of oppression that other forms of discrimination do not. Hence, otherness is defined ethically, in terms of economic justice and of our obligatedness to and solidarity with those with whom we live in interdependence. Because economic injustices demand social, political and structural action, the Spirit’s liberative presence needs to be measured not only by what individuals do, but by

collective human activities. Here, Min's personal and sustained engagement with the Korean situation over the decades has undoubtedly sensitized him to the concrete (even if complex) demands of theological praxis in global context.

The second example of how Min's analysis yields insight into spiritual discernment concerns the subject of religious pluralism. While the challenge of religious pluralism recurs throughout the volume, two essays address specifically the question, what about the other religious traditions? Min's liberationist approach to religious pluralism is to raise it precisely as a problem for praxis rather than just for cognition. The clash of religions today signals the challenges of different communities struggling for physical, economic, political and social survival. Hence, against both the exclusivism of traditional approaches which presumes a supra-historical position that judges other religious traditions "from above" and the relativism of pluralist approaches which abandons the uniqueness and normativity of Christ, Min proposes an inclusivist and "confessionalist pluralism of praxis." This recognizes that religious claims are inevitably confessions of faith continually negotiating the tensions between conviction and revisability, particularity and universality, the standpoint of faith and the pluralism of horizons. The integrity of religious differences therefore needs to be engaged not only theoretically and dialogically in terms of the interreligious encounter but practically in terms of interreligious initiatives directed toward peace and justice in our global village. Because religious beliefs and practices cannot be disentangled from the social, political and economic aspects of human life, the Spirit's liberative presence needs to be measured not only by what individuals claim to believe, but by what religiously inspired human action accomplishes.

Good books raise important questions. Perhaps in future work, Min will further elaborate on his christological and soteriological theology of religious pluralism. Also, how Min's affirmation of Jesus Christ as the "final, universal, normative Savior of humanity" (p. 187) relates to his pneumatology and to Western/Latin doctrine of the *filioque*? There also remains the question of what kind of eschatology follows—or ought to follow—from the thoroughly dialectical philosophy of history which Min deploys: can Min tell us anything more about how both history and the eschaton retain their full integrity in our theological reflection given their dialectical relationship?

In the meanwhile, *The Solidarity of Others in a Divided World* will help Pentecostals think through prolegomena issues related to epistemological, hermeneutical, and methodological issues for a

postmodern and Pentecostal theology. Further, Pentecostals rethinking their understanding of the Holy Spirit will benefit from Min's dialectical approach to pneumatological theology. But most importantly, Min's emphasis on the necessity of concrete social, political and economic praxis to sound pneumatological thinking cannot but help challenge Pentecostal theological reflection. This is just as Min would have it; he is thus to be thanked for this book.

Amos Yong

French L. Arrington, *Encountering the Holy Spirit: Paths of Christian Growth and Service* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 2003). 546 pp., Paper, ISBN: 0-8714-8226-6, US\$19.95.

Pastors, students in Bible colleges, and Christians who want a practical and reliable account of how the Holy Spirit is currently operating in fulfillment of New Testament prophecy might consider professor Arrington's new guide a "must read." Although the book is aimed for the educated layperson and Bible college student, scholars also will not at all find the work unprofitable, given that the domain of the Holy Spirit, especially the gift of the Holy Spirit to disciple-believer-witnesses who pray earnestly for this empowering gift, is in need of further clarification. Given several centuries of confusion following the Lukan cessationism of the Reformers, further embellished in the Evangelical traditions, fresh approaches are in order. Building on the past century of scholarship and experience in the Pentecostal tradition, together with that in the various Charismatic Renewal Movements among the Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and increasing blocks of Protestantism, Arrington sweeps away a good bit of the ecclesiastical fog surrounding a vital and timely topic. Here we have a realistic guide for practicing Christians who want to use their Bible in an understandable and accurate manner, becoming cognizant of a budding scholarly tradition within the Pentecostal Reformation, now the fastest growing sector of world Christendom.

It is a pleasure to welcome this well written and persuasive presentation of what the Bible actually says about leading a Spirit-filled life. Arrington engages the biblical witness with great care and clarity. Aside from his lucid explanations of biblical passages and their connections, we find many helpful summaries of main points, along with lists of penetrating questions causing us to think afresh about ourselves. I

must say that it is not often that we have the opportunity to consider and apply such needed lessons in concert with a work of obvious integrity. In today's book market we sometimes find authors who tell us about what they would like the biblical writers to have written, instead of what they actually wrote. It is refreshing and pastorally instructive to read *Encountering* and readily appreciate an author's genuine faithfulness and humble submission to the inspired witness of the Bible.

Beginning with "The Witness of the Old Testament to the Holy Spirit" (pp. 27-52), Arrington reviews with thoughtful precision the activities of the Spirit, focusing especially upon the prophecy of Joel. We live in a time of prophetic fulfillment when God is fulfilling this prophecy in its entirety as cited in Acts 2:16-21. In addition we are offered a rich review of all the OT references to the Holy Spirit along with a guide for discussion (these discussion-guides judiciously placed throughout *Encountering* make this book especially suitable for use by small groups of Spirit-filled believers on the mission field and in local churches.)

In "Encountering the Holy Spirit in Conversion" (pp. 55-80) we see how the Spirit helps convict us of sin, bringing repentance, faith, forgiveness, salvation and conversion, as in the soteriological nexus of Luke's portrayal, and incorporation into the body of Christ, as in Paul's description. One might also infer a personal relationship of repentant sinners to the Father, given the parable of the Prodigal Son. From the examples and precedents recorded in the Gospels, this particular ministry of the Spirit began during the ministry of the earthly Jesus¹ and it continues today. Arrington develops the early Christian concept of walking in the Spirit, a metaphor for experiential (including non-rational) personal fellowship with God, as leading to spiritual fruits and righteousness. All Pentecostals, Neo-Pentecostals or Charismatics, and Evangelicals will benefit from a deeper grasp of our relationship with the Spirit that this section provides.

A central section on Spirit Baptism (pp. 83-228) is divided into four useful parts: Understanding the Bible, Spiritual Empowerment after Conversion, Initial Physical Sign of Spirit Baptism, and Reception and Results of Spirit Baptism. Given the Pentecostal/Charismatic

¹ So too, William P. Atkinson, "The Prior Work of the Spirit in Luke's Portrayal," *Australasian Pentecostal Studies* 5-6 (2001), pp. 107-14; and Youngmo Cho, "Spirit and Kingdom in Luke-Acts: Proclamation as the Primary Role of the Spirit in Relation to the Kingdom of God in Luke-Acts," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 6:2 (2003), pp. 173-97

Reformation's phenomenal growth over the past century, it behooves global Pentecostalism to once again articulate the tenets of the Fourfold or Fivefold Gospel with substance and clarity. One of these prophecy-fulfilling tenets proclaimed over the past century as an integral part of the Gospel is the role of the heavenly Jesus as Baptizer in the Holy Spirit. Arrington offers here a substantial and stimulating pastoral grounding in this matter. Evangelicals who may be looking for a more accurate understanding of the Scriptures than they have traditionally been offered may find this presentation to be especially helpful.

Rightly dismissing the old Protestant Reformation-based popularization that the gift of the Holy Spirit in Jesus' teaching on prayer (Luke 11:2-4 with the presumptuous dispensational erasure of 11:5-13) was only intended for twelve male apostles and that its initial benefit then somehow theoretically trickles down to all future generations, Arrington implies that such dispensational theories only shape a dispensational Jesus, not the earthly and heavenly Jesus portrayed in Luke-Acts. Given that the heavenly Jesus remembers and supports the ministry of the earthly Jesus, such dispensational popularizations are so far removed from the intentions of the NT writers that they are long overdue for retirement. Instead of beginning with worn out theories, Arrington begins with what Paul and Luke actually write. He sketches out a set of instructive interpretive principles and shows that 1 Cor 13:12 refers to "baptism by the Holy Spirit into Christ at conversion" (p. 103). This figurative description is not to be confused with Paul's language of Spirit-reception (see Paul at 1 Cor 2:12 and Luke at Acts 2:38; 19:2). Then, the various delicate descriptions Luke employs for Christians being baptized in or with the Holy Spirit by the heavenly Jesus are helpfully tabulated (p. 109). These correlate nicely with Paul's language. Arrington's approach affords readers the opportunity to understandably perceive how the early Christians developed and commonly employed experientially descriptive language, language that allowed them to communicate effectively among themselves. Pentecostals might share more of this important message of NT connectedness. Another value of Arrington's work should be to help Evangelicals come out from under the confusing camouflage of the ecclesiastically self-serving dictums of "apostolic age" interpretation and into the clarity of communication that the early Christian communities apparently enjoyed due to a commonly shared experientially based language.

The treatment of "Spiritual Empowerment after Conversion" (pp. 115-51) and "Initial Physical Sign of Spirit Baptism" (pp. 153-87) affords English speaking people everywhere a thorough, accurate, and

easily understandable account of what Luke intends us to realize and personally apply. Luke renders the belief that the prophetic fulfillment of John the Baptist's prophecy (Luke 3:16), and Jesus' own encouragement toward its realization (Luke 11:5-13; 24:48; Acts 1:4, 5, 8), is now an ongoing promise to all disciple-believer-witnesses, to those who hear the Gospel and repent (Acts 2:38c, 39). From the examples and precedents recorded in Acts, we see the heavenly Jesus fulfilling the prophecy of Joel as coupled with the teaching and narrative prediction of the earthly Jesus, and also coupled to the narrative prediction of John the Baptist. This ministry of the heavenly Jesus continues today according to prophetic prediction. Despite the dispensational callousness which the Pentecostal Reformation has been exposed to and often intimidated by, given the proper historical realization of God's irrevocable intention to fulfill the prophecies which He has divinely inspired, it is arguably correct to make the point that the "Pentecostal experience is inseparable from Christian experience, since the Pentecostal life is Christian. In fact, Pentecostals believe that the Pentecostal experience is available and even intended for all believers."² Although scholarship may certainly anticipate more work along these lines, Arrington's treatment reveals this exciting personal application of ongoing prophetic fulfillment. His narrative investigation quite appropriately encourages determined prayer.

Following on, in a lovely train of thought, is "The Reception and Results of Spirit Baptism" (pp. 189-228). Here we learn how our experience of Spirit-filling and inspired prophetic speech in unlearned languages is designed to provide more boldness to witness for Christ. This mysterious increase in our ability for personal witness, and increased appreciation of the non-rational dimension of the Holy Spirit, would of course vary with each individual according to God's will. Each disciple-believer-witness today, as Luke describes Christians at the end of his Gospel, may be empowered today by a "personal Pentecost" so as to increase his or her personal witness, given due obedience to the earthly Jesus' teaching on prayer. This personal Pentecost is a prophetic heritage for all believers. Arrington's pastoral study may serve to lessen the possible fear of the supernatural and facilitate understanding as to why speaking in unlearned languages (other tongues) is a good sign of Spirit-filling from the heavenly Jesus. This Spirit-filling as described by Luke leads to desirable experiential consequences in our spiritual life, to

² Paul W. Lewis, "Towards a Pentecostal Epistemology: The Role of Experience in Pentecostal Hermeneutics," *The Spirit & Church* 2:1 (2000), pp. 95-125 (103).

a deeper appreciation of His interior presence, thus helping us to work *with* the Lord to expand and make real His everlasting kingdom.

Going around or bypassing Luke-Acts and Paul's Spirit-reception language (1 Cor 2:12) to claim interpersonal spiritual gifts may be a slight of hand. This detour is unwise and little more than a dispensationally wedded extraction of Scripture from its original context. Arrington's "Introduction to Gifts of the Spirit" (pp. 231-73) is an appreciated counterbalance to a current trend in some Evangelical quarters that "all the Pauline spiritual gifts are for today." Such an admission, after centuries of denial by the Protestant Reformation tradition, is often theoretical or diplomatic, not a practical pastorally applicable statement. Participants in the Pentecostal Reformation should not be swayed by such potentially misleading trends taken out of biblical context, trends which may come and which may also quite easily go along with renewed efforts to protect ecclesiastical positions, but instead should adhere to the entire NT context as Arrington wisely does.

For Roman Catholic readers of *Encountering*, I would commend two pastorally useful volumes which are again harmonious with the entire NT context, but which might be best considered in light of the more extensive treatment provided by Arrington. These are those by Lucy Rooney and Robert Faricy,³ and by Raniero Cantalamessa.⁴ Noting these allows me to also call attention to Arrington's accompanying list of scholarly resources (pp. 491-517).

In a review of a five hundred page pastoral benchmark like *Encountering*, all its significant aspects cannot be adequately surveyed, but are nevertheless noteworthy and worthy of deployment, like Arrington's "Gifts of Leadership" and "Gifts of Service, Power, Revelation and Worship" (pp. 275-374). But I would like to close with what will continue to effectively serve the witness of global Pentecostalism, the credible personal testimony. In "Personal Stories of Encounters With the Holy Spirit" (pp. 423-66) we find a charming collection of personal testimonies that is both edifying and entertaining in the best Christian sense. Unlearned prophetic speech is understood and applied. Spirit-filling and its mysterious empowerment have practical consequences in the Christian life of a housewife. The Spirit guides missionary work in the inner city. Dreams, visions, and healings

³ *Lord, Teach Us to Pray*, 2nd ed. (Vatican City: International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services, 1998).

⁴ *The Mystery of Pentecost* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2001).

accompany missionary endeavor. This is the voice of the genuine prophetic tradition amidst suffering and struggle. This is why, for example, 90% of all Protestantism in Central/South America is Pentecostal. When the blinding constraints of rationalism and materialism are removed, and the heavenly Jesus is sought persistently in prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit according to the teaching of the earthly Jesus, then a host of personal stories inevitably burst forth among the bands of disciple-believer-witnesses around the world.

As we engage the task of evangelizing the world we need to encourage young people to consider the call to the mission field and not be ashamed of credible personal testimony related thereto.⁵ Similarly, reading Arrington's accounting of personal stories and his "Challenges for the Spirit-Filled Church Today" (pp. 377-420) could be a tonic to faith and a motivation to *get back to the basics*. *Encountering* offers many revitalizing and stimulating thoughts that can assist its readers to become better, more obedient Christians, combining accurate biblical guidance with much needed practical resolve.

Paul Elbert

Wonsuk Ma, William W. Menzies, and Hyeon-sung Bae, eds., *David Yonggi Cho: A Close Look at His Theology and Ministry* (Baguio, Philippines: APTS Press; Gunpo, Korea: Hansei University Press, 2004), Paper, pp. x+309 pp., ISBN: 971-8942-08-4, US\$14.50.

Twelve competent theologians and missiologists have contributed to this valuable book. Korean David Cho is pastor of the largest church in the world. It so happens, perhaps inevitably, that he is also one of the most controversial church leaders of any denomination. Therefore, it is timely and appropriate to have a public dissection of the ministry of this high profile man of God.

As would be expected, this series of essays is highly favorable of Cho. Four members of his staff contributed articles. The authors did, however, seek to objectively address various criticisms that have been leveled against Cho.

⁵ For example, in the account of Elva Vanderbout by Julie C. Ma, *When the Spirit Meets the Spirits*, Studien zur interkulturellen Geschichte des Christentums 118 (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2000), pp. 74-86.

David Cho's theology and ministerial *modus operandi* have been extensively influenced by the American Assemblies of God. But Cho has sought to stamp his own imprimatur on his unique Korean style of contextualization. His "Five Fold Message" and "Three Fold Blessing" seek to relevantly impact his Korean audience. But, as several essayists point out, Cho was quite willing to swim against the current of Korean culture by emphasizing the extensive appointment of women leaders within his ministry.

Critics speak of "Cho's Pentecostal Shamanism." By this they mean Cho's emphasis on the spirit world, mountains as places of good spirits, and issues of poverty and suffering, all as being too much in line with Buddhism. Cho's answer is that he, in the interest of being relevant to the people, has contextualized the gospel to fit the Buddhist worldview. But he and his supporters adamantly deny syncretism.

David Lim, a Filipino church leader, praises Cho for his emphasis on cell groups. But he asserts the need to go beyond cells and seek to make each group into a viable, self-sustaining church. Lim also would like Cho to become more politically involved in society.

It was pointed out that Cho has numerous projects which assist the poor and needy. Chief among these is the 3.3 million US dollars that his church has contributed toward 3,000 heart operations. For this and other acts of social involvement the Korean Government bestowed upon Cho its highest civilian honor, the Moogoonghwa Medallion.

Wonsuk Ma, ever the visionary, in his essay suggests that Cho spearhead four initiatives: 1) to create a number of David Cho endowed chairs in various universities and seminaries; 2) to develop a top-rate Pentecostal academic journal; 3) to sponsor periodic theological forums; and 4) to fund a "Global Renewal Press."

All of the above would keep Cho's ministry and impact alive and current far beyond his demise. Of course, the scope of these projects would go beyond Cho as a person and into the Pentecostal movement as a whole.

My only criticism of this excellent book is the repetition throughout. But that is to be expected when twelve essays on one subject become a book. That notwithstanding, I highly recommend this insightful exploration of a man of God and his expansive ministry.

Phil Parshall

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(Continued from front inside cover)

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