

Table of Contents

Contents

Cession of Copyright..	i
Statement of Integrity ...	ii
Summaryiii
Key Terms .	.v
Dedication	.vi
Acknowledgments	.vii
Notes	ix
Abbreviations	.x
Author's Comments	.xi
1 The Introduction	1
1.1 Purpose	6
1.2 Parameters	7
1.3 Definitions	7
2. A Review of the Rise of Pentecostalism in the USA	8
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Holiness-Wesleyan Roots of Pentecostalism	10
2.2.1 John Wesley (1703-1791)	10
2.2.2 The American Methodist Church	13
2.2.3 Charles G Finney (1792-1875) and Oberlin Theology	15
2.2.4 Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874)	16
2.2.5 The American Civil War (1861-1865)	19
2.2.6 The National Holiness Association (1867-1894).	19
2.3 Reformed, Non-Wesleyan Roots of Pentecostalism	20
2.3.1 John Nelson Darby (1800-1882)	23
2.3.2 Dwight L Moody (1837-1899)	23
2.3.3 Reuben A Torrey (1856-1928)	26
2.3.4 Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836-1895)	28

2.3.5 Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843-1919) and the CMA	29
2.3.5.1 Simpson's Missionary Theology	32
2.3.6 Restorationism	34
2.3.7 Divine Healing	36
2.3.7.1 Divine Healing as an Evangelistic Tool	37
2.3.7.2 The American Healing Movement	38
2.3.7.2.a Ethan O Allen	38
2.3.7.2.b Elizabeth Mix	39
2.3.7.2.c Charles Cullis	40
2.3.7.3 William E Boardman and the International Conference on Divine Healing and True Holiness: London, 1885	41
2.3.7.4 A B Simpson and A J Gordon	42
2.3.7.4.a A B Simpson	42
2.3.7.4.b A J Gordon	44
2.3.7.5 Other Prominent Faith Healers	45
2.3.7.6 Final thoughts on the Healing Movement	45
2.4. The Development of Pentecostalism	47
2.4.1 Early Holy Spirit Conferences	47
2.4.2 Charles Fox Parham (1873-1929) and the Apostolic Faith Movement	48
2.4.3 William Joseph Seymour (1870-1922) and the Azusa Street Revival	61
2.4.4 The African American Pentecostals	72
2.4.4.1 Black Mission in a Black Neighbourhood	74
2.4.4.2 Black Pentecostalism and African Traditional Religions	75
2.4.4.3 Charles H Mason and the Church of God in Christ	77
2.4.5 To the Regions Beyond	80
2.4.6 Azusa Street Revival: <i>Centrifugal</i> and <i>Centripetal</i> .	81
3. The Lostness of Humankind	82
3.1 Those Who Have Never Heard the Gospel	84
3.2 Pentecostals and Interreligious Dialogue	85
3.3 No Other Name? The Exclusiveness of Jesus Christ	89

3.4 'Life Boat Salvation'	91
3.5 Pentecostal Hymnology	93
4. Church Planting and Evangelism	97
4.1 Evangelism Defined	97
4.1.1 Ecumenical Definition	99
4.1.2 Evangelical Definition	103
4.1.3 Pentecostal Definition	106
4.1.3.1 The Motivation For Evangelism	107
4.1.3.2 Supernatural Evangelism	109
4.2 Evangelism and Proselytism	109
4.2.1 The Pentecostal's Response	111
4.3 Church Planting	113
4.4 Some Final Thoughts on Evangelism	116
5. Indigenous Church Principles	117
5.1 Rufus Anderson (1796-1880)	117
5.2 Henry Venn (1796-1873)	118
5.3 Anderson's and Venn's Mutual Contribution	119
5.4 John Nevius (1829-1893)	120
5.5 Roland Allen (1868-1947)	121
5.6 A B Simpson and the CMA	124
5.7 The Three-selves Formula Critiqued	124
5.8 Alice E Luce (1873-1955)	125
5.9 Henry C Ball (1896-1989)	126
5.10 Melvin Hodges (1909-1988)	127
5.10.1 Indigenous Church Principles From a Pentecostal Perspective	128
5.10.1.1 I. Self-government	130
5.10.1.2 II. Self-support	131
5.10.1.3 III. Self-propagation	132
5.11 The Dynamic of the Holy Spirit in the Indigenous Church	133
5.12 Indigenous Church Principles Expanded and Modified	134

5.12.1 Morris Williams (1920-1991)	134
5.12.2 Partnership Defined	136
5.12.3 Morris Williams' Partnership	138
5.12.3.1 Paternalism	138
5.12.3.2 Fusion	139
5.12.3.3 Parallelism	140
5.12.3.4 Partnership	141
5.12.4 The Praxis of Pentecostal Indigenous Church Principles	144
5.12.4.1 International Pentecostal Holiness Church	144
5.12.4.2 The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada	145
5.12.4.3 The Church of God (Cleveland, TN)	146
5.13 The Pentecostal Contribution to the debate: 'A step further'	148
5.14 The Pain of the Policy in Praxis	149
6. Social Responsibility	153
6.1 The Ecumenical Position	153
6.1.1 Willingen-1952:	154
6.1.2 Canberra-1991:	154
6.2 The Evangelical Position	155
6.2.1 Berlin Congress 1966:	155
6.2.2 Lausanne Congress '74:	157
6.2.3 Lausanne II in Manila '89	158
6.3 The Pentecostal Position	158
6.3.1 The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada	161
6.3.2 The Church of God (Cleveland, TN)	163
6.3.3 The Assemblies of God (USA)	165
6.3.3.1 Personal Visions	167
6.3.3.2 Lillian Trasher Orphanage - Assiout, Egypt	167
6.3.3.3 Mission of Mercy - Calcutta, India	168
6.3.3.4 Latin America ChildCare (LACC)	169
6.3.3.5 HealthCare Ministries (HCM)	170

6.3.3.6 Overseas Relief Programme	171
6.3.3.7 'Startling Paradox': The pilgrimage	172
6.3.4 Towards a holistic mission theology: Kingdom of God motif	176
6.3.4.1 The Eschatological framework	177
7. Pneumatology: A Pentecostal Perspective	179
7.1 Historical Background	179
7.1.1 Xenolalia: Missionary Tongues	180
7.2 The Baptism In The Holy Spirit: The Classical Position	187
7.2.1 Subsequent To and Different From....	190
7.2.2 The Initial Physical Evidence	191
7.2.3 Experience-Certified Theology	193
7.2.4 Biblical Precedent and Narrative Theology: A hermeneutical issue ..	196
7.3 A Missiological Pneumatology	199
7.3.1 The Great Commission of Matthew 28:16-20	200
7.3.1.1 The Obligation: A Theology of Obedience	202
7.3.2 Pentecost As Impetus And Impulse For Mission	203
7.3.2.1 A Pneumatological Hiatus	205
7.3.2.2 The Missionary Nature Of The Church	207
7.3.2.2.a The Pentecostal Emphasis	209
7.3.3 The Holy Spirit and Missions	211
7.3.3.1 The Holy Spirit As Author And Finisher Of Missions	211
7.3.3.2 The Holy Spirit As Promoter Of Missions	212
7.3.3.3 The Holy Spirit Equips Believers	213
7.3.3.4 The Holy Spirit: Strategist Of Missions	214
8. Final thoughts	216
Appendix One: List of A/G missionaries trained under CMA	219
Appendix Two: Nevius Plan	221
Appendix Three: Chart of Black Pentecostal History	222
Appendix Four: <i>Christian History</i> Time Line	223
Appendix Five: Selected text from Lausanne Covenant	226

Appendix Six: Redefining the term 'Indigenous'- H W Fuller	228
Appendix Seven: Types of Relationships- M O Williams	230
Appendix Eight: Four-fold strategy of DFM	231
Appendix Nine: Omitted paragraphs from M L Hodges' book	232
Appendix Ten: Understanding of Mission- W A Saayman	233
Appendix Eleven: NT Eschatological view- G D Fee	236
Appendix Twelve: Pentecostal Prism- W B Newberry	237
Appendix Thirteen: Methods of Hermeneutics- Wm Menzies	238
Appendix Fourteen: Full Circle Missions- C P Wagner	239
Lists Of Works Consulted	240
Curriculum Vitae	277

Inclusions

Cession of Copyright

I hereby cede to the University of South Africa the entire copyright subsisting in any thesis that I may complete for the Doctor of Theology degree in Missiology, for which I am registered at the University of South Africa.

Rev. Warren B Newberry

Rev Warren Bruce Newberry

Date: 1999 15 May

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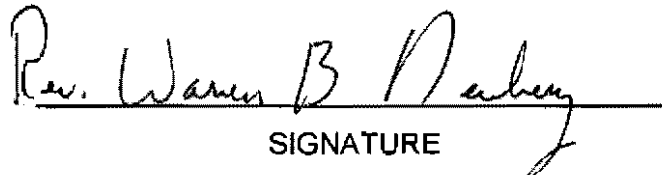
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Statement of Integrity

Student number: 466-735-2

'I declare that *Major Missiological Motifs In North American Classical Pentecostal Missions* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references'

Signed this 15th day of May, 1999


SIGNATURE
(Rev Warren Bruce Newberry)

Summary

1. 'Major Missiological Motifs In North American Classical Pentecostal Missions'
2. By: Warren Bruce Newberry
3. Degree: Doctor of Theology
4. Subject: Missiology
5. Promoter: Professor Willem A Saayman
6. Summary: This thesis is a study of several major motifs found in classical Pentecostal missiology in the North American scene. It is both a missiologically interpreted study based on the historical antecedents of Pentecostal mission theology and a Pentecostal interpretation of five major motifs germane to Evangelical and Pentecostal missiology in this present time.

The intent and purpose of this study is to begin in chapter two with the Antecedents and Matrix of Pentecostalism per se and interpret them through missiological eyes. Topics such as the Holiness-Wesleyan roots of Pentecostalism which includes looking at such personages as John Wesley, Charles Finney, et al are studied. As well, the Reformed, non-Wesleyan roots of Pentecostalism are highlighted which includes Premillennialism, Dwight Moody, Reuben Torrey, A J Gordon, and A B Simpson, and Divine Healing. Finally, one arrives at the matrix of modern day Pentecostalism. The major emphasis is placed upon Charles Parham, William Seymour, the Azusa Street Mission, and on African American Pentecostals.

The remaining chapters are an articulation, evaluation, and interpretation of five major Pentecostal mission theologies (practices) that emerged from the antecedents and appear to be in common with the majority of classical Pentecostal denominations.

Chapter three deals with The Lostness of the Human Race. Topics included are Interreligious dialogue, 'Life boat salvation', and the exclusiveness of Christ. Chapter four handles the concepts of Church Planting and Evangelism from perspectives of the Ecumencials, Evangelicals, and Pentecostals. In chapter five, the understanding of Indigenous Church Principles is studied from its origin to present-

day application. Notable persons are Melvin Hodges and Morris Williams. Most relevant to present-day missiology is chapter six which deals with Social Responsibility and how Pentecostal missiology has responded to this need. Finally, Pneumatology as characterized by Pentecostal mission theology is studied. Emphasis is placed on Xenolalia, the Great Commission, Traditional Pentecostal Pneumatology, Pentecostal hermeneutics, and the Holy Spirit in missions.

Key Terms

Title of Thesis:

Major Missiological Motifs in North American Classical Pentecostal Missions

Key Terms:

Pentecostalism; Healing Movements; Holiness Movements; Holy Spirit; Xenolalia; Azusa Street Mission; Assemblies of God; Black Pentecostalism; Charles Parham; William Seymour; Indigenous Church, Evangelism, Social Concern, Lostness of Humankind, and Pneumatology.

DEDICATION

To Annette,

Loving companion, Best friend,
and Esteemed colleague.

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With extreme gratitude and appreciation, I would like to thank the following persons and institutions for the important part they played in the completion of this study.

The Division of Foreign Missions of the General Council of the Assemblies of God (USA) in general and Rev John Bueno, Executive Director, and Rev Richard Nicholson, Latin American & Caribbean Regional Director, in particular for extra time while on deputational work to research and write a portion of this thesis.

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The University of South Africa Faculty of Theology, Missiology Department and the staff and subject reference librarians of the UNISA Library, especially Mrs Natalie Thion and Mrs M J Willemse for their invaluable assistance.

The late Prof David J Bosch, who first encouraged and propelled me in this venture. I am grateful!

I also gratefully acknowledge the interest and extreme encouragement of my promoter, Prof Willem A Saayman. His input, suggestions, guidance, and friendship have been most helpful and have made this study much better than it would have been. Zikomo Kwambiri, Aphunzitsi!

My wife, Annette, for her love and support when it looked like this study would never be completed and for her patience, endurance, and many lonely hours when it appeared that it would. A very special thanks goes to her for critically reading a draft of this manuscript and saving me from many embarrassing situations.

Last but not least, I wish to thank our Lord Jesus Christ for His grace bestowed upon me, His calling that has kept me in mission work some thirty one years, and for allowing me to be a 'pilgrim on the road.'

Notes

1. The terms 'Holiness' and 'Pentecostal' have been capitalized throughout this paper unless they are in a direct quotation from some source which did not capitalize them.
2. While this writer is a practicing Pentecostal, the intention of this paper is not to prove or defend the doctrine of Pentecostalism or divine healing, but rather to report and examine its development in the North American scene. References to divine healing are reported as perceived by the persons claiming the healing, and are not individually questioned.
3. Spelling has been referenced from the *Collins Dictionary of the English Language, Second Edition*, 1986 and from the spell checker of *WordPerfect 6.1 UK* language module.
4. The Style guide has been *Form and Style in Theological Texts*, second revised edition, 1989, by Jansie Kilian, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
5. The thesis was written with Corel's *WordPerfect 7.0*.
6. The bibliography was generated with Oberon's *Citation 7.1*. and edited to comply to Kilian's '*Form and Style...*'
7. The terms '*Thesis*' and '*Dissertation*' are used interchangeably in different parts of the world. This present writer uses the South African designation. Therefore, one speaks of a *doctoral thesis* and a *master's dissertation*.
8. The date of 1865 of David Greene's work is correct. Mention of this work is found in chapter seven and in the bibliography.
9. The reader will discover that there are some bibliographic citations with a published date later than the date of submission found on the cover page of this thesis. The examining committee of the University of South Africa referred the thesis back to this present writer for some revision and re-writing.

Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
A/G	Assemblies of God (USA)
AFM	Apostolic Faith Mission
AOG	Assemblies of God (others)
CCAP	Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (Malawi)
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
COGIC	Church of God in Christ
COG	Church of God (Cleveland TN)
CWME	Commission on World Mission Evangelization
DFM	Division of Foreign Missions (A/G)
DRCM	Dutch Reformed Church Mission (South Africa)
ERDO	Emergency Relief and Development Overseas (COG)
HMC	HealthCare Ministries
ICFG.....	International Church of the Foursquare Gospel
IMC	International Missionary Council
IPHC	International Pentecostal Holiness Church
LACC	Latin American ChildCare
MEC	Methodist Episcopal Church
PAOC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada
WCC	World Council of Churches

Author's Comments

The production of this thesis has taken a full-circle progression. In its original intent, the concept was to research and identify several missiological motifs that lie at the heart of classical Pentecostal mission theology. Included in this thesis was to be an in-depth study of the historical antecedents leading up to the advent of Pentecostalism. Following this, emphasis was to be placed in the study of the birthing process of Pentecostalism per se as it made its debut into the Christian arena at the close of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth.

Due to the untimely death of Prof David Bosch, who was the original promoter of this thesis, and the unusually long period of time this present writer has taken in completing this study, the emphasis reversed itself. The main focus shifted to a study dealing primarily with the antecedents and matrix of Pentecostal mission theology and the missiological motifs were included as a final capstone to the thesis. In this format, the thesis was submitted for examination to the University of South Africa examining committee.

It was then decided that a much more viable and original contribution could be achieved by returning the thesis back to its original intent. A chapter on the antecedents of Pentecostalism from the second century church leading up to the beginnings of Methodism was deleted and put into an unpublished form awaiting future publication (Newberry 1999). The other 'antecedent' chapters were condensed into the present chapter two, *A Review of the Rise of Pentecostalism in the USA*, and written in narrative form, with the deletion of most of the theological and missiological analysis.

The final chapter was expanded into four individual chapters, each dealing with its own subject matter as separate missiological motifs. A fifth chapter on Pneumatology was added to round out the emphasis. Thus, in the course of time, this study has come around full-circle; back to where it had originally been envisioned to be.



1. Introduction

This thesis is concerned with Pentecostalism and its mission theology. Major motifs in missiological studies have emerged within this theological confession which merit research and articulation. While these motifs are not unique to Pentecostals, their unique 'brand' of Evangelicalism brings a corrective dimension and emphasis to a pneumatological hiatus (Pomerville 1985) which had developed in the last centuries prior to this one, the twentieth century. Now the world stands on the threshold of ushering in another century in just a few short months and these motifs are still valid.

Pentecostalism and its mission theology will gradually become evident as the reader approaches the events of the final decade of the nineteenth century and of the first decade of the twentieth century. There he/she will discover a great pneumatic, restorationist (Blumhofer 1989a:15, 18ff) movement, missiological in nature, Pentecostalism, being birthed, which has literally taken the Christian religious world by storm. This movement has been likened as to a 'third force' in modern Christendom (Van Dusen 1958; Pomerville 1985). Pentecostalism has developed from a tiny infant to a full-grown confession (König 1974:181ff), taking its place amongst the Reformed, Covenant, Congregational, and Anglican theologies, et al.

David Barrett (1982:70-72) stated in his seminal work, *World Christian Encyclopaedia*, that Pentecostalism and its off-shoot, Neo-Pentecostalism (Charismatics), have *penetrated* [italics mine] every major Christian denomination in the world. There are now Roman Catholic Charismatics, Anglican Charismatics, Reformed Charismatics, Orthodox Charismatics, Baptist Charismatics, Evangelical Charismatics, and even Church of Christ Charismatics. It is a force worth reckoning with. It is a wave of the Holy Spirit which is sweeping over the land, bringing renewal, restoration, reconciliation and revival. The Spirit has no doors, no walls, and no certain doctrinal agenda. Across the land, the Spirit moves, filling those who 'hunger and thirst after righteousness' regardless of church affiliation, doctrine or any other factor. Today, Pentecostals make up the '...second largest family of Christians in the world after the Roman Catholic Church, the Pentecostal churches can now justifiably be called a major Christian "tradition" (Synan 1997:x).

A key element for understanding Pentecostalism and its theology of mission is the recognition that Pentecostalism did not fall on the twentieth century like some meteor from the skies, but it had forerunners in church history going back to the primitive church of the first century.¹ From a historical perspective, Bruner does a very good job in summarizing the probable antecedents to Pentecostalism:

The ancestral line of the Pentecostal movement could appear to stretch from the enthusiastic Corinthians (I Cor. 12-14) or even the Old Testament anointed and ecstatic (e.g., Num.11; I Sam.10), through the gnostics of all varieties, the Montanists, the medieval and the pre-Reformation spiritualists, the so-called radical, left-wing, or Anabaptist movements, the *Schwärmer* of the Reformation period, the post-Reformation Quakers and, when given fresh new parentage through the Pietist, Wesleyan, and revivalist movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Germany, England, and the United States, continuing in the first half of the nineteenth century briefly but very interestingly through Edward Irving in England, and lengthily and very influentially through Charles Finney in America, issuing in the latter half of the nineteenth century in the higher-life and holiness movements which gave birth to their twentieth-century child, the Pentecostal movement. (Bruner 1970:35)

South African theologians Mathew Clarke and Henry Ledertle (1989:8) correctly stated: 'Bruner seems to have covered most of the options available in the course of church history, with only the gnostics appearing rather out of place in his list.' McGee (1994:9) notes: '...there have always been individuals seeking for "something more" in the spiritual pilgrimage, occasionally prompting them to explore the meaning of Spirit baptism and spiritual gifts' throughout the history of Christianity. These

¹This present writer posits this in spite of differing opinion from Edith Waldvogel (1977:9) and Robert Anderson (1979:26) who feel there is no merit to such antecedents. Waldvogel (1977:10), for instance, says such a procedure '...fails to differentiate among the variety of historical and theological contexts in which glossolalia appeared.' She, of course, is right but that is out of the scope of this paper. Hart (1978:34-35) contrasts several writers who agree and disagree that this procedure is valid. Those noted as disagreeing are: George Cutten, H J Stolee, Anthony A Hoekema, Hugh Wamble, George Dollar, and C L Rodgers Jr. Those presenting a positive attitude to this position are: Klaude Kendrick, Morton T Kelsey, Leonard Carroll, Vessie Hargrave, George Williams, and Edith Waldvogel (1975) even though Waldvogel two years later jumps the fence and states the opposite as indicated above.

individuals are sparsely spotted throughout the centuries of the Common Era and have embraced the charismata and speaking in tongues.¹

Although this study is not to be considered exhaustive, this present writer will attempt to place some continuity in history as to show that this glossolalic movement (and its mission theology) is not some upstart like smoke in the wind that will be taken with the first breeze. Its antecedents run deep and wide throughout history (Anderson, A 1991:40). Sometimes, they are very obvious, other times, like underground streams, they are not seen but still flow until eventually they surface at a later time. The emphasis will be dual in nature. The historical events that culminated in the formulating of a Pentecostal theology per se, and the concurrent, but often unnoticed, formulating of a Pentecostal mission theology will both be studied and noted.

The missiological implications are often implicit within the framework of the emerging Pentecostal theology. Prof Saayman² has indicated that there are five items, amongst others, that make a dissertation/thesis missiological in nature. They are:

- a sensitivity for that which is 'missionary' in the topic of study;
- a stance of commitment (rather than rational scientism) to the Christian faith, matched by a fearless and self-critical scientific rigour;
- a reluctance to offer a complete and final definition of mission;
- an interest in the interrelations between God, Christian community, and world, and not merely an interest in descriptions of God, Christian community, and world;
- an awareness that it is not only designated aspects of humans' lives and of the Christian faith that are missionary, but all of it, coherently and holistically.

Pentecostal scholar, Allan Anderson (1992:17) penned: 'Pentecostal historians have almost unanimously adopted a strongly polemical approach to the study of their history' as he cites various Pentecostal leaders or scholars who all see the movement

²This information came as a result of a Masters and Doctoral seminar (no date) at UNISA in which the lecturers present were requested to indicate what they considered to be the missiological dimension of a theological dissertation, in contradistinction to a historical, systematic or ethical dissertation.

'...as the glorious culmination of all of church history, towards which every other movement in history has been heading.' He further states: 'The events which sparked off the Pentecostal movement are seen as "an outpouring of the Spirit," the "latter rain" unprecedented in the history of the church since New Testament times. The new Pentecostal phenomena were the long awaited fulfilment of Biblical prophecy.' This view is one held amongst popular Pentecostalism, that is, after the initial outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the New Testament primitive church, there began a long, almost two millennial paucity of pneumatic activity until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Out of the fire of revival and the ashes of its antecedents, Pentecostal mission theology rose to take shape and be defined. With the advent of so-called modern day Pentecostalism, many foreign missionaries, who eventually became Pentecostal, were already established on their respective fields of labour. Some would lose their credentials, appointments and former ministry by associating with this new pneumatic phenomenon. Many of these would join the various new Pentecostal fellowships being formed such as The International Pentecostal Holiness Church, The Church of God (Cleveland, TN), The Assemblies of God, and others. They would bring with them their former practices, methodologies, theologies, and other 'baggage.' But they shared two things in common, their divine calling into mission work and their Pentecostal experience of glossolalia.

Many Pentecostal theologies of mission would be forged on the anvil of 'trial and error' and of time. Many things would be tried. Not all things would work. Referring to the development of mission theologies, (Kirk 1997:50) stated: '...it is impossible to conceive of theology apart from mission. All true theology is, by definition, missionary theology, for it has as its object the study of the ways of God who is by nature missionary and a foundation text written by and for missionaries.' Jan Jongeneel (1999:29) defines 'the theology of mission' or 'missionary theology' as that '...part of missiology which connects mission with all the sections of both systematic theology....and practical theology....In fact, this final part of missiology as an academic discipline outlines and interprets mission systematically and practically from the perspective of God's mission (Latin: *missio Dei*), Christ's mission (Latin:

missio Christi), and the mission of the Holy Spirit (Latin: *missio Spiritu Sancti*), as well as from the perspective of the mission of the church (Latin: *missio ecclesiae*).'

Pentecostal mission theologies would be defined and fine tuned as their 'practical theology' developed. Church of God missiologist, Grant McClung (1990:86) states: 'Pentecostal mission theology has tended to be a "theology on the move," often acting now and theologizing later. It has been more experiential than cognitive, more activist than reflective, more actualized than analysed. Only recently have Pentecostal missiologists begun to solidify a more formalized Pentecostal missions theology.'

Commenting on the dialectics of theology, Harvie Conn (1983:13) refers to theoretical theology as 'reflection on praxis.' New Testament scholar and Pentecostal, Gordon Fee ([1983] 1993:76), notes that this type of 'doing theology' is commonly considered to be 'task theology' or 'task oriented', as opposed to being 'systematically oriented.' Therefore, Conn (1983:6) can say that the formation of 'theoretical or scientific theology' is the result of doing 'practical theology.' Thus, David Bosch (1980:138 1991:16) often quoted Martin Kähler's famous statement that 'mission is the mother of theology' when determining which came first, theology or mission.

Speaking of the formation of Paul's mission theology, Senior (1983:171) correctly states: '...Paul works out his mission theology not from plight to solution but from solution to plight.' Further in the same work, Senior (:171) continued to note: 'Thus Paul's mission theology was not an abstract construct dangling from a universal principle, but an analysis of reality triggered by an initial experience that gave Paul a new world-view.' His mission theology was a 'theology of the road' (Bosch 1979).

The involvement of *Homo sapiens* in this world's activities are never *creatio ex nihilo* (Strong 1907:380) and it is especially true of Pentecostal mission theology. Its antecedents and matrix go back in time for several centuries. Bosch (1991:366) stated that '...a paradigm shift always means both continuity and change, both faithfulness to the past and boldness to engage the future...' He continued to say that the response to change in some groups or sects resulted in an attempt to make a '...clean break with the past and deny continuity with their ancestry,' attempting to

'...push aside fifteen centuries of Christian history, [and] start with a completely clean slate.' In the formation of a Pentecostal mission theology, this approach did not happen.

From the antecedents and matrix of a Pentecostal mission theology emerged five concepts with which all Pentecostal missionaries have had to grapple. Not all have responded in the same way. There is no monolithic praxis on any of them. However, for the most part, they have become major principles in modern Pentecostal mission theology. Thus, chapters three through seven are an evaluation of five major motifs that have emerged from the antecedents and are incorporated into Pentecostal mission theology today. They are: a) the Lostness of Humankind, b) Church Planting and Evangelism, c) Indigenous Church Principles, d) Social Responsibility, e) Pneumatology.

Other issues could have been included but it was felt that the above mentioned issues lie at the heart of Pentecostal missiology. As such, they allow the reader to feel the heartbeat of missiology in Pentecostalism. Only as one understands the Pentecostal perspective to these issues will a Pentecostal mission theology begin to emerge and be evident. While it is true concerning missiology in general and Evangelical missiology in particular these theologies have been argued, dissected, scrutinized, and criticized from all angles, both from within and without, there is still the Pentecostal view-point that needs to tell its story. It is the intention of this present writer to tell the story well and to be as objective as a participant observer can be.

1.1 Purpose

This thesis is a study of five major missiological motifs as understood from a Pentecostal perspective. They are: a) The Lostness of Humankind, b) Church Planting and Evangelism, c) Indigenous Church Principles, d) Social Responsibility, and e) Pneumatology.

Chapter two deals with a review of the rise of Pentecostalism in the USA. Its antecedents are included as a historical study leading to the Pentecostal movement

and its subsequent mission theology. In this section, there were no plans to conduct primary research, but rather to interpret missiologically the existing historical sources and data.

1.2 Parameters

This study is mainly confined to the so-called classical Trinitarian Pentecostal bodies in the North American scene that developed in the first two decades of the twentieth century. There is no intent to deal with the vast plethora of Charismatics, 'Third-wavers' or Pentecostals of the 'Oneness/Jesus Only' persuasion. An exhaustive, inclusive study would go far beyond the intent and scope of what this present writer had in mind. Omission from this research does not imply unworthiness, undesirability, or doctrinal aberrations.

1.3 Definitions

A. Classical: 'old line', 'standard'; referring to the original Pentecostal bodies that emerged from the beginning of the twentieth century without doctrinal aberrations.

B. Pentecostalism: 'That segment of the body that ardently proclaims that Pentecost is repeatable, that there were repetitions of Pentecost *mutatis mutandis* within the post-Pentecost biblical history itself, and that a remarkable number of believers in the twentieth century has undergone a similar experience of being clothed with the same robe of heavenly power that mantled the human spirit of Jesus as He carried out His mission to the world' (MacDonald 1976:59).'

C. Charismatic: This refers to all manifestations of Pentecostal-type Christianity that in some way differ from classical Pentecostalism in affiliation and/or doctrine. Generally the Charismatics do not insist that speaking in tongues is the *sine qua non* of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. They are more concerned with the gifts of the Spirit than glossolalia. Glossolalia is an option.

**‘The farther backwards
you can look, the farther
forward you are
likely to see’**

Winston Churchill

Source: www.chesco.com/~artman/churchill.html
3/3/99

2. A REVIEW OF THE RISE OF PENTECOSTALISM IN THE USA: ITS ANTECEDENTS AND MATRIX

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The antecedents and matrix of Pentecostalism and its subsequent mission theology are as numerous as the facets on a diamond. One might think that it is fairly straight-forward to discover both the antecedents and matrix of the subject at hand. However, it is comparable to one of the largest and mightiest rivers (Harper 1965:13) in the United States, the Mississippi, which in the Midwest divides the country flowing from north to south. It is considered as one or perhaps the most important rivers of the country. In places, it is eighteen hundred metres wide and flows to the Gulf of Mexico, creating a mighty liquid highway for ship and boats. However, its size is due to the fact that other rivers flow into it. It is fed by the mighty Missouri, the Red, the Arkansas, and the Ohio rivers. Each of these are formidable rivers in their own stead, and yet each contribute their might and volume to the Mississippi. On top of that, two hundred and fifty other tributaries also feed the Mississippi. Thus, making it the great force that it is. So it is with Pentecostalism and its mission theology. There are many tributaries--'currents,' 'streams,' and 'creeks,' all feeding into and making a contribution to the mighty 'river' of Pentecostalism.

Historian Grant Wacker (1990:22) stated: '...the movement grew from the confluence of five distinct theological currents that had been churning within the Holiness and higher-life movements in Britain and North America for several decades.' He (:22-23) outlined five major items or 'currents' that contributed significantly to the formation of the movement (and ultimately to its mission theology). Those 'currents' are:

- The Wesleyan idea of sanctification as it was hammered out in the Methodist Holiness tradition.
- The teaching of Presbyterian and Congregationalist higher life advocates.
- The 'new' doctrine of dispensational premillennialism.

- The 'new' theology of divine healing.
- The restorationist teaching of restoring again the power and Spirit of the New Testament church.

This chapter is made up of three major divisions. They are: a) The Holiness-Wesleyan Roots of Pentecostalism, b) the Reformed, Non-Wesleyan Roots of Pentecostalism, and c) the Rise of Pentecostalism.

Having dealt with glossolalia up to the twentieth century in a separate essay (Newberry 1999), the concern of the first section is with the Holiness-Wesleyan roots of Pentecostalism. In this area of study, one is confronted with the major perfectionists of the last two centuries prior to 1900. Men and groups such as John Wesley, the Methodist Church, Charles Finney and the perfection theology of Oberlin college community, Phoebe Palmer, and the National Holiness Association; all are given attention. Attention is paid to how the idea of perfection or sanctification, later called the second blessing, came to be formulated, changed, and even dis-owned as Pentecostalism began to raise its head around the 1900s.

The next section deals with the Reformed, non-Wesleyan roots of Pentecostalism and its missiology. It is correctly argued that too often this area is over-looked in seeking Pentecostal antecedents and Edith Waldvogel [Blumhofer] (1977), an American church historian, came to its defence in her doctoral thesis. Items of major consideration in this division are premillennialism and Higher Life advocates, and divine healing. Notable figures of the nineteenth century such as D L Moody, A B Simpson, A J Gordon, R A Torrey, et al, are considered.

The final section for this part of the study brings the reader to the heart of Pentecostalism. Regardless of where one places the beginnings of Pentecostalism, one must take a close look at Charles Fox Parham and his Bible school students in Topeka, Kansas and then proceed to examine Bishop William Seymour and his contribution in California at what is now called 'the Azusa Street revival.' Emanating from this locale will be Pentecostal revivals reaching as far as India and other places. Mission theology in action! These too, are dealt with.

2.2 Holiness-Wesleyan Roots of Pentecostalism

2.2.1 John Wesley (1703-1791)

Writing of Pentecostalism, the academic world has noted that the movement is indebted to John Wesley and his teaching on Christian perfectionism for much of its praxis and theology. Scholars such as Paul Fleisch, an early German theologian, Fredrick Bruner, Walter Hollenweger, and Vinson Synan, et al, have commented on this (Dieter 1975:59). In fact, Dieter (:59) says: 'Fleisch wrote...that the holiness teaching of a clean heart as it was then being espoused by the tongues-speakers was a return "to the point of origin of the whole holiness movement--Wesley's teaching on holiness".' Synan (1971:13) calls Wesley the 'spiritual and intellectual father' of the modern Pentecostal movement. His emphasis on a second crisis experience subsequent to conversion was only one of many innovations which shaped the context out of which organized Pentecostalism would emerge (Williams & Waldvogel 1975:77). The experiences for John Wesley took the form of a series of journeys, short or long. There was, first of all, a *voyage* to Georgia, then a *visit* with Boehler, a *walk* to church, an evening *stroll* in Aldersgate, a *tour* of Hermhut, a *hike* to Oxford, and an *expedition* to Bristol [italics mine] (Norwood 1974:26).

Wesley came to America as a minister of the Church of England in Georgia in 1735 and remained until 1737. His purpose was to serve as a missionary to the Native Americans (McConnell 1942:42). Writing to a friend before he embarked for the Colonies, he (in Synan 1971:15) wrote: 'My chief motive, to which all the rest are subordinate, is the hope of saving my own soul.' When asked whether his soul could have been saved in England as well as in Georgia, he replied, 'I answer, no; neither can I hope to attain the same degree of holiness here which I may there' (:15).

The Native Americans of Georgia were not the gentle, innocent people, hungry for the gospel, as he had been told. Instead they were savage warriors who engaged in constant warfare during his stay (:15). After making a real effort, working with the indigenous population appeared to be out of the question. He was imperatively needed for work among the Europeans and turned to them in his quest for a ministry. Most of the Europeans were (1) poor debtors, released from prison in

England so that they might go to Georgia; (2) Salzburgers, devotedly pious but not at all English; (3) Moravians, stiffly set in their own ways; or (4) Highland Scots, not of much malleable quality (McConnell 1942:42). They all disliked him, accusing him of being too strict, cold, and formal. Later he was falsely accused and insulted, eventually hailed into court and disgraced before the very people he had tried to serve (Synan 1971:16).

While it is often noted that his ministry in Georgia as a missionary was a failure (Synan 1971:16), one must remember that Wesley was immature and that Georgia was his first parish. While he was over thirty years of age at the time of this experience, '...he was altogether youthful in his religious practice and conduct' (McConnell 1942:47). But life in Georgia helped train and develop him in the directions which counted mightily in the leadership of the Methodist revival (:49).

Upon returning to England on 1 February 1738 Wesley was discouraged. The next four months were a time of trouble, of deep spiritual struggle, and searching. During these times, he often visited Peter Boehler, a Moravian missionary en route to Carolina, in London. It was on his trip to America that he first made contact with Moravian Pietists from Germany who later greatly influenced his thought. While on board ship, during a storm, Wesley was greatly impressed with the Moravian's assurance of salvation and became a seeker after their perfectionist beliefs. Back in England, he also met with the Moravian bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg and Boehler (Synan 1971:16). When Wesley had thoughts of leaving the ministry for his own lack of faith, it was Boehler who encouraged him. Boehler (in Norwood 1974:26) is quoted as saying to him: 'Preach faith *till* you have it; and then, *because* you have it, you *will* preach faith.' In this event, Boehler was to be the pedagogue to bring Wesley to Christ (Wood 1978:1034). 'Peter Boehler and his associates became midwife not only to Wesley's revised concept of evangelical faith but also to his personal conversion as he "broke the faith-barrier..." (Carter 1983:62).

The turning point came on 24 May 1738 when Wesley went to St. Paul's Church on Aldersgate Street in London (Moore 1946:16), to attend a reading of Martin Luther's Preface to Romans. There in the vast space of the Wren masterpiece, his

heart was 'strangely warmed' as he listened to the reading (Wood 1978:1034). This was his famous conversion experience, simultaneously conscious, emotional, and empirical. Yet he did not feel that he had attained his goal of Holiness or Christian perfection in the Aldersgate experience, preferring to believe that for him perfect Holiness lay in the future (Synan 1971:16-17).

Shortly after his conversion, Wesley visited the Moravian settlement in Herrnhut, Germany and met Count Zinzendorf. He was impressed by the members of the community for they seemed to be 'saved from inward as well as outward sin' (in Synan 1971:17). However, the Count did not share Wesley's view of a second, perfecting experience of divine grace known as sanctification. The views of these two men were to be sharply debated in evangelical circles in the century that followed. The followers of Zinzendorf teaching that one was perfected at conversion and the followers of Wesley teaching that there is a second crisis experience of sanctification (:17).

As Wesley prepared himself for the ministry in his formative years, he read and studied several books that profoundly influenced his religious views. Among these were two by William Law, *Treatise on Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*. The ideas on perfectionism that eventually jelled in Wesley's theology were birthed in these works. Law advocated a Holiness life for the laity in which the church had reserved for the clerics. 'For there is no reason,' Law (in Synan 1971:15) stated: 'why you should think the highest holiness, the most heavenly tempers, to be the duties and happiness of a bishop, but what is as good a reason why you should think the same tempers to be the duty and happiness of all Christians.' From that time onward, his main goal was the pursuit of Holiness and Christian perfection (Caims 1967:418).

In the years from 1739 until 1777 Wesley wrote and constantly revised a tract entitled, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection as Believed and Taught by the Reverend John Wesley* (Synan 1971:18). He became a theologian (Wynkoop 1972:19). Love, as the essence of his new perspective (Bosch 1991:258), served as the unifying factor in theology and a humanizing application to life. Wynkoop's thesis

is that love is the dynamic of Wesleyanism (1972:21). However, at the heart of his theology was the concept of sanctification or perfection.

In developing the idea of Wesley's sanctification, it is important to keep in mind his distinction between justification and sanctification: justification is relative change in a life, and sanctification is a real change. He felt that if a person or an object is sanctified ceremonially (set apart), it does not necessarily undergo any inherent (real) change. By defining justification as a relative change, he intended a change of relation (Greathouse & Dunning 1989:91). This change was called entire sanctification or Christian perfection (:93). It was deemed as a second crisis experience.

Wesley felt that there were 'two separate phases of experience for the believer: the first, conversion, or justification, and the second, Christian perfection, or sanctification.' He, however, never taught 'sinless perfection' as often charged. 'The perfection which he taught was a perfection of motives and desires. "Sinless perfection" would only come after death' (Synan 1971:18). This became his most distinctive and misunderstood teaching (Outler 1991:51). Consequently, when he was asked what Christian perfection or entire sanctification meant, he (in Dunning 1988:488) always replied: 'It is loving God with the whole heart, soul, mind, and strength,' and 'our neighbour as ourselves.'

2.2.2 The American Methodist Church

During Wesley's early years, while studying at Oxford, he was the leader of a small club called the 'Holy Club.' There were just a few such as the Wesleys, George Whitefield, and several other serious young men (Lee & Sweet [1944] 1956:11). They met together, studied classics and devotional works, pooled funds to assist the poor, and ministered in the jails. It is thought that they became known as *Methodist* because of the regularity with which they attended church services and partook of the Eucharist. Thus when John Wesley came to America as a missionary to the Native Americans in 1734 Methodism was beginning to stand on wobbly legs.

At the conference at Leeds, in August 1769 following a visit by a Dr C M Wrangel, one of the king of Sweden's chaplains who had recently visited the colonies, Wesley stated that Wrangel had challenged him to send representatives to the new land. 'We have a pressing call from our brethren in New York (who have built a preaching house) to come over and help them,' he (in Sweet 1954:47-48) noted. He then asked for volunteers and two men, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor, stepped forward. A collection was taken and the next month they set sail for America. Thus, since the founding of the society (Methodist Church) until this date, almost thirty years had lapsed before there was any serious consideration in sending missionaries or representatives to America (:48). This is in stark contrast to the soon-to-be fledgling Pentecostal churches who would formally organize for the purpose of mission.

It was only after the American Revolution in 1783 that Methodism begin to make inroads into society and be trusted and accepted. One of many reasons was that during the revolution, Wesley had backed the Crown over against the colonialist. Naturally, when England was defeated, those who found themselves on the wrong side of the war had to do a lot of fence mending. This was the case of Wesley and his Methodist society. It must be remembered that those who were sent by Wesley during those years functioned under the umbrella of the Church of England. They were Methodist societies, and as far as Wesley was concerned, they should continue as societies within the Church of England. It was not until 1779 at a Christmas conference in Baltimore, Maryland when about sixty Methodist society preachers came together and decided they wanted to form their own church and break from the Church of England. It was to be called the Methodist Episcopal Church. They adopted twenty-five Articles of Religion, took Wesley's version of Anglican liturgy, *Sunday Service*, and the Wesley hymns. Coke and Asbury were elected as the superintendents. Thus the new church was established (Lee & Sweet [1944] 1956:40-41). And with the new church organized and '...transplanted to America, the doctrine of entire sanctification came along with it' (Synan 1971:19).

2.2.3 Charles G Finney (1792-1875) and Oberlin Theology

Finney was a self-educated lawyer with only limited formal education. His conversion came in 1821 after studying the Bible for himself. Turning from the law, he began to preach and in 1824 was ordained into the Presbyterian church. For the next eight years he conducted revivals in the eastern states with unusual results. In 1832 he became the pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in New York City, but dissatisfaction with the disciplinary system of the Presbyterian Church soon led to his withdrawal from the presbytery. During these years in New York, he delivered a series of lectures on revivals. These were published in 1835 and widely read.

In 1835 he became professor of theology at a new college in Oberlin, Ohio. The rest of his life was spent associated with this school, serving as its president from 1851 to 1866. All during his tenure at the college, he remained an evangelist, devoting a part of each year to actively preaching revivals (Shelly 1978:376).

By 1836 he had become convinced that entire sanctification was possible in this life. 'Soon his spellbinding revival sermons were filled with perfectionist thought...According to Finney, a person could achieve the coveted state of Christian perfection or sanctification by simply exercising free will and cultivating "right intentions"' (Synan 1971:26). He did not feel that sin and Holiness could exist in the same person, one or the other had to go. As well, at the college, the Methodist doctrine of perfectionism was being adopted, especially as the president, Asa Mahan, was espousing it (Smith 1957:111).

However, the doctrine of entire sanctification took on new nuances (Dayton 1987:68). Finney, with his Calvinist background, pulled back from the position of the Wesleyan formulations, while most of the faculty together with Mahan continued to basically follow the idea of a second blessing. 'As years passed, Finney drifted back toward the Wesleyan position, though his empirical description of the second experience was rarely clear or consistent' (Smith 1957:111). Those at the school who rejected the second blessing did not abandon the perfectionist ideal. 'By 1870, the school had a reputation of the "Oberlin Theology" which stated "every believer is

and given Him his whole heart” (:111). For the purpose of this study, Finney’s main contribution was that he made perfectionism with its second blessing scenario, the trademark of Oberlin teaching (Shelly 1978:376) and he was ‘...able to declare the doctrine of sanctification through the baptism of the Holy Spirit’ (Smith 1978:103).

2.2.4 Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874)

It was largely the work of women to rekindle the flame of the concept of Holiness that had flashed and burnt out within American Methodism. The catalyst for this spark was a series of ladies’ prayer meetings in two New York churches in 1835. Mrs Sarah Lankford had organized these meetings called the ‘Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness.’ But Mrs Lankford had a brilliant and remarkably articulate sister, Phoebe, who was married to a New York physician, Walter C Palmer (Ferguson 1971:271). By 1839 she became the leader of the group and began to write extensively on the subject of Holiness as she perceived it. Hundreds of both laymen and preachers flocked to hear of the ‘shorter way’ of achieving perfection and ecstasy that earlier Christians had taken a lifetime to acquire (Synan 1971:29).

Mrs Palmer ‘viewed sanctification as a second crisis event following conversion in which the Holy Spirit purges the believer of the will to sin, and therefore she viewed her own Holiness meetings as “strikingly imitative of the pentecostal”’ (Hughes 1986:239). Backed by her husband who not only supported her ministry but travelled with her, together they roamed from one end to the other of the United States preaching a ‘back-to-Holiness’ message. Not only was she a good speaker, but she could write and her many books spearheaded the popular propaganda of the perfectionist revival (Smith 1957:117). *The Way to Holiness*, a narrative of her own experiences, sold more than twenty four thousand copies by 1851 and ran to thirty six editions before the Civil War. Her *Faith and its Effects*, a collection of her correspondence on the subject went to twenty four editions. In all her writings, she combined personal testimony to the joys and privileges of entire sanctification with exhortations that believers should lay hold to the promised blessing by simple faith (:117).

Phoebe Palmer simplified and popularized John Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification, modifying it in six different ways. Charles E White (1988:198), writing in the *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, does a very fine job of articulating these six differences. First, she followed John Fletcher in his identification of entire sanctification with the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Fletcher was the first theologian to equate the experience of entire sanctification with the baptism of the Holy Spirit given at Pentecost. Mrs Palmer adopted this identification and compared instantaneous sanctification of a friend to the events of Pentecost. She urged folks to 'receive the Pentecostal baptism,' and began to speak in Pentecostal terms such as the 'baptism of the Holy Ghost.'

Second, she developed Adam Clarke's suggestion and linked holiness with spiritual power. In December of 1856 she realized that the baptism of the Spirit given at Pentecost empowered and impelled its recipients to speak for Christ. Tied to her Pentecostal terminology and imagery is the linkage of entire sanctification with divine power. It is of interest to note Adam Clarke in his commentaries, lists nine benefits of entire sanctification, yet hardly mentions divine power. In contrast, Mrs Palmer made it the central element of her teaching. She often declared 'Holiness is power.' If preachers failed to have the power, she blamed their failures on the lack of sanctification.

Third, she made a change in Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification by disrupting the balance between the instantaneous and the gradual elements. In Wesley's perfection there was a tension between sanctification as a gradual process and sanctification as an instantaneous blessing. Mrs Palmer uncoupled this tension between the gradual and instantaneous sanctification in Wesley's thought, placing her emphasis on the instantaneous. 'There is a shorter way!' was her cry.

Fourth, she shifted the place of entire sanctification in the chronology of the Christian life. Because entire sanctification is available to every believer this very instant, and every Christian ought to receive every blessing God desires to bestow, no believer should tarry long at the point of justification, but should quickly move on to entire sanctification. Wesley felt that perfection was obtainable, but was in the future,

a gift usually presented to the believer upon death. Palmer, on the other hand, opted for the 'now,' instantaneous blessing that God bestows with power.

Fifth, she began to systematize the way to seek sanctification in contrast to Wesley's method. Palmer substituted a 'shorter way' to holiness. All one needed to do was follow this simple three step process for being sanctified: 1) entire consecration, 2) faith, and 3) testimony. The first step is entire consecration; a perfect yielding up of all to Christ, an entire trust in Christ, and a continuous reliance on Christ. A once-and-for-all surrender of body, soul, spirit, time, talents, and influence; and also of the dearest ties of nature. The second step is to exercise faith. One must not doubt. To doubt that one is entirely sanctified is to doubt God's word. One must not trust feelings, one must trust the written word of God. The third step in the sanctification process is testimony. The work has already occurred, but it must be ratified as believers publicly bears witness to what, on the basis of Scripture, they know God had done in the heart. She warned that those who did not confess would not retain their sanctification.

Sixth, her final change in the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification was to insist that the witness of the Spirit, giving assurance of full salvation, was not some subjective experience, but was the objective word of Scripture. This is in contrast to Wesley who stated one would know he/she was sanctified when they had the inner witness of the Spirit. She felt her witness came from the Word (White 1988:198-208).

In developing her three-step plan as shown above, she conceived her 'altar theology.' Taken from Romans 12:1-2, she argues from a sacrificial imagery. Those who obtained entire sanctification were those who presented their entire bodies as a living sacrifice (Ro 12:1-2).

It is generally agreed that Phoebe Palmer shaped the pneumatology of the Holiness movement. The changes she made were institutionalized by the establishment of the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness in 1867. While her connection to the Holiness movement is often recognized, the connection between her and the Pentecostals has been overlooked (White 1988:207). She prepared the way for the modern Pentecostal movement by

modifying John Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection in the above mentioned six ways. 'Although Phoebe Palmer was not really the mother of the movement [Pentecostalism], she may lay claim to the title of grandmother' (:208).

White (1988:198) states: 'As a theologian she provided the link between John Wesley and the Pentecostals by modifying his theology of Christian perfection....and thus make[s] her arguably the most influential female theologian in Christian history.'

2.2.5 The American Civil War (1861-1865)

As the country prepared for a war which would split the nation, American thought drifted almost entirely toward the political and secular.¹ Theological differences and denominational distinctions became blurred as men disputed the issue of slavery and its ramifications for possible war. The slavery issue split the Methodist Episcopal Church, creating two separate groups. The southern group took the name of 'Methodist Episcopal Church, South' (Sweet [1930] 1973:305). As early as 1843 a group of Methodist ministers felt compelled to withdraw from the Methodist Episcopal Church over the slavery issue and formed the Wesleyan Methodist Church in February of that year. It organized at Utica, New York with six thousand members (:436). 'When the guns of Fort Sumter opened fire in April 1861, they signalled the end of the *early* [italics mine] holiness movement in the United States...' (Synan 1971:32).

2.2.6 The National Holiness Association (1867-1894)

After the war, the most important thing that happened to further the success and perpetuation of the Holiness movement was the formation of the National Holiness Association. From both the northern and southern branches of the Methodist Episcopal Church rose an outcry for the return to the Holiness revival that

¹The sociological impact of this time is very important and has been treated by able writers such as Timothy Smith (1957) and William Sweet (1973), et al. A whole study can and has been done on this subject. But as the risk of over-simplification, this writer will limit the remarks on this to just a few germane items relating to this study.



had swept the church in 1858 before the civil war. Many yearned for the camp meeting to be revived and a return of the preaching of sanctification and perfection (Robertson 1950:158). In the cities and big-town churches, the old Methodist emphasis upon the doctrine of Holiness had largely been bypassed. The result was a re-emphasis of the doctrine of Holiness and thus the Holiness movement began to be popular once more (Lee and Sweet [1944] 1956:109).

Through the efforts of men such as J A Wood, Reverend William B Osborn, and the Reverend John S Inskip, who pastored the Green Street Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City, a call was issued to all '...who feel themselves comparatively isolated in their profession of holiness' (Synan 1971:36). It was hoped that all would '...realize together a Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Ghost' (:36). With the opening of the camp meeting in Vineland, New Jersey on 17 July 1867 the modern Holiness crusade began (:37). Delbert Rose (in Synan 1971:37) stated: 'little did these men realize that this meeting would eventually result in the formation of over a hundred denominations around the world and indirectly bring to birth a "third force" in Christendom, the pentecostal movement.'

These meetings were an unqualified success, particularly within the Methodist Church. By the 1870s the Holiness crusade had assumed nationwide proportions. From a national organization, there soon sprang up state organizations such as the 'Georgia Holiness Association.' During one such Georgia conference, two hundred of the two hundred and forty ministers in attendance professed to have received the experience of sanctification as a 'second blessing' (Synan 1971:39). This 'second blessing' had several designations such as sanctification or perfection but increasingly it emphasized a dual reception of cleansing and power and was often accompanied by physical manifestations (Blumhofer 1989a:44).

2.3 Reformed, Non-Wesleyan roots of Pentecostalism

In 1977 Edith Waldvogel [Blumhofer] (:9-13) lamented that the Reformed contribution to Pentecostal roots had been grossly overlooked and that it represented an *independent* [italics mine] stream equally as strong as the Holiness movement

(Goff 1991:9). Writing earlier than Waldvogel, Synan (1971) had delved deeply into the antecedents of the subject but argued that the Reformed contributions represented a *theological diversion* [italics mine] within the Holiness ranks rather than an independent stream (Goff 1988c:9). Some of the more notable pioneers in Pentecostal research and writing such as Nichol (1966) and Hollenweger ([1972] 1988) failed even to pay lip service to the early antecedents and roots of Pentecostalism whether it be Holiness or Reformed.

Within the Reformed tradition during the nineteenth century, premillennialism had become increasingly important. The motif of 'imminency' of the *parousia* that was being advocated by the Plymouth Brethren began to take hold in the minds and hearts of other evangelicals and it prompted them to affirm their conviction of the rapidly approaching *eschaton*, the end of all things (Waldvogel 1977:14).

This movement sprang from '...complex and tangled roots in the nineteenth-century traditions of revivalism, evangelicalism, pietism, Americanism, and variant orthodoxies.' Among these traditions 'one encounters a strong emphasis on the return of Christ, particularly as a motive for mission' (Bosch 1991:315). 'The premillennialism that gained a wide following among American evangelicals in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was called "dispensationalism" and is classified as futurist and pretribulational' (Weber [1979] 1983:11).

Assemblies of God theologian Stanley Horton (1994:622) gives an abbreviated synopsis of premillennialism as follows: 'Premillennialists take the prophecies of the Old Testament, as well as those of Jesus and the New Testament, as literally as their contexts allow. They recognize that the simplest way to interpret these prophecies is to place the return of Christ, the resurrection of the believers, and the judgment seat of Christ before the Millennium, after which there will be a temporary release of Satan followed by his final defeat. Then will come the Great White Throne Judgment of the rest of the dead, and finally the eternal Kingdom of the new heavens and the new earth.'

Of course, Horton's statement is a generalization and does not touch on such a delicate matter as the 'rapture of the church' which has created a whirlwind of controversy since its introduction into theology by some of the Reformed 'Holiness' leaders in the nineteenth century.

John Darby is given credit for being one of the first to advocate the 'rapture' position. Weber ([1979] 1983:21) says: 'the pretribulation rapture was a neat solution to a thorny problem and historians are still trying to determine how or where Darby got it.' He continues to posit two other possibilities of its origin. First, some say that it originated about 1832 in the congregation of Edward Irving during an ecstatic utterance and secondly, a newer thought is that in the early part of 1830 a teenager, Margaret Macdonald, from Glasgow, Scotland had a prophetic vision and then later began to speak in tongues with a subsequent 'Pentecostal revival' taking place in the area. This led to attention being brought to the Plymouth Brethren elders who commissioned Darby to investigate the incident.

According to Darby's own testimony some twenty three years later, after his investigation, he had dismissed the so-called outpourings of the Spirit and left it at that. But later theories have surfaced implying that Darby actually had borrowed Margaret Macdonald's view of the rapture, 'modifying it at a number of points and fitting it into his system, without ever acknowledging his debt to her' (:22). However it happened, the teaching of the rapture of the church soon became a major dogma in premillennialism and has shaped the eschatology of a major part of Christendom to this day.

The two primary forces in premillennialism are the imminent return of Christ (Saayman 1987:12) before the tribulation, 'rapturing' all the saints, both dead and alive, and the end of the world as we know it, hinged with the idea that the world is on a course of destruction with things getting worse each day. That leads premillennialists to have an even more melancholy view of non-Christians than had prevailed among their predecessors. This mentally is delineated as 'essentially Manichean.' The world, in this view, is 'an arena for the conflict between absolute good and evil...' (Marsden 1980:211), the saved and the lost, the true and the false.

Conversion [then becomes] a crisis experience, a transfer from absolute darkness to absolute light. The millions on their way to perdition should therefore be snatched from the jaws of hell as soon as possible (Bosch 1991:317).

2.3.1 John Nelson Darby (1800-1882)

This view of history, as stated above, was articulated by John Nelson Darby, an Irish Anglican priest who helped shape the Plymouth Brethren movement in mid-nineteenth century Britain. Darby divided history into seven time periods called 'dispensations' and insisted that all of history could be categorized into one of these time periods. He also taught that the church was on the brink of the seventh and final dispensation when the secret rapture of the church would take place, followed by a seven year tribulation that would precede Christ's return to earth to reign for one thousand years. Since the return of Christ was imminent, believers must be 'ready' at all times and to make the world ready, if possible. This created a scenario of personal Holiness with emphasis upon continued repentance in order to be 'found worthy' and also an emphasis upon militant and aggressive evangelism. His teaching played a significant role in shaping the context in which Pentecostalism would emerge (Blumhofer 1993:16).

During his later career, Darby spent a lot of time proselytizing in North America. There was little interest in his new Brethren sect but his views of eschatology and methods of Bible interpretation were well received. Since he was himself an unrelenting Calvinist, it is of little surprise that his teaching was largely welcomed from clergymen with strong Calvinistic views, principally Presbyterians and Baptists of the northern United States (Marsden 1980:46). His influence extended to many Reformed leaders such as D L Moody, Reuben Archer Torrey, Adoniram Judson Gordon, and Albert Benjamin Simpson (Waldvogel 1977:15).

2.3.2 Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899)

As a lad of eighteen, leaving his widowed mother at the homestead in Northfield, Massachusetts, he sought his fortune in Boston working for his uncle in the

shoe-selling business (Ahlstrom 1972:743). While there, his Sunday School teacher, E D Kimball, witnessed to him in the back room of the shoe store. Moody made his decision for Christ on the spot and was converted and in 1856 became a church member (Chapman 1900:77). In September of the same year, he moved to Chicago.

His energy and enthusiasm soon won him a reputation as a salesman in the shoe trade but his interest was in his religious experience. Joining the Plymouth Congregational Church, Moody rented four pews which he filled each Sunday morning with whomever he could collect on the streets and in the boardinghouses (Moody 1900:47). Later, he took charge of a mission Sunday School in an out-of-the-way location in North Market Hall. There he gathered a membership of fifteen hundred 'down and outers,' urchins and drifters from the streets and out of the gutters and cellars of the Sands district north of the Chicago River. In 1863 from this unsightly lot was formed the Illinois Street Church, an independent and non-denominational congregation (Ahlstrom 1972:744).

During the next twelve years, Moody was the driving force of the Chicago YMCA and became a civic fixture of the community. His rise to success was spectacular. His YMCA work gave him contacts in England, where he eventually ministered with tremendous success (Marsden 1980:34).

Between 1867 and 1872 four decisive events occurred that made an impact upon Moody's life and ministry forever. First, through Harry Moorehouse, a Plymouth Brethren preacher from England, Moody discovered the love of God for sinners, a message which had been lacking in all his previous experience. Second, in 1870 he persuaded Ira Sankey (1840-1908) to join him as a chorister in his evangelistic endeavours. Third, in 1871 while in New York, Moody had a life-changing baptism in the Holy Spirit which he called 'an enduement with power' (Blumhofer 1989a:51, Lawson [1911] 1981:247). Fourth, in 1872, while in England on business for the YMCA, Moody was asked to substitute in a London pulpit. After his sermon four hundred people responded to his closing invitation. It was a sign from heaven; here was his life's work (Ahlstrom 1972:744).

The great campaign of the Moody-Sankey team of 1873-1875 reached between three and four million hearers. Back in America, thousands flocked to his meetings. From Philadelphia, New York, Saint Louis, and on to the Pacific coast, their names were a household word. Millions heard him speak, and thousands converted to Christ as he preached and Sankey sang (:744). His message was simple. It involved 'Three R's': Ruin by Sin, Redemption by Christ, and Regeneration by the Holy Ghost.' Saving souls was his preeminent goal (Marsden 1991:21). His conviction of a premillennial advent reenforced his commitment to an evangelistic ministry and persuaded him of his need for spiritual power (Waldvogel 1977:22). 'I look upon this world as a wrecked vessel,' he said in his most famous remark. 'God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, "Moody, save all you can."' (Marsden 1991:21, Bosch 1980:32, 1991:318, Saayman 1987:12).

Two other outstanding events took place under his ministry in 1886. The founding of Chicago Training Institute (Moody 1900:340) [later named Moody Bible Institute] and the formation of the influential Student Volunteer Movement, embodying the missionary enthusiasm of thousands of collegians in America and England for 'the evangelization of the world in this generation' (Marsden 1980:35).

After about 1870 Moody actively taught a new version of Holiness doctrine which emphasized 'victory' over sin. He also taught premillennialism although he was careful to avoid the doctrinaire and partisan spirit of the movement. Although he preached regularly on the subject, and many of Sankey's hymns dealt generally with the theme, Moody never endorsed the details of the *new dispensational* [italics mine] version of premillennialism (Marsden 1980:38).

Just two months before his death in December 1899, he reflected on the importance of the resulting 'endowment with power' that had happened in his life in 1871.

There are two epochs in my life which stand out clear. One is when I was between 18 and 19 years old, when I was born of the Spirit. There never can come a greater blessing to a man on this earth than to be born again, born from above, to have the God-nature planted in him.

God has been good to me. He has showered blessing after blessing upon me; but the greatest blessing, next to being born again, came 16 years after, when I was filled with the Spirit, and it has never left me.

(in Blumhofer 1989a:51)

Because of the meaning this experience had for Moody, he encouraged others to develop teaching on the subject (:51). To the Holiness movement, this blessing meant that Moody had received the second blessing of *entire sanctification*; to the Reformed movement, it meant that Moody had received *endowment with power*, and to the yet-to-be Pentecostals, it would mean that Moody had received the *baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues*.

Among Moody's associates, Reuben A Torrey became a prominent advocate of the Spirit-endued life (Blumhofer 1989a:51). Although Torrey did not agree with the Pentecostal demands for visible signs of the Holy Spirit's work, he is revered in all [above mentioned] three traditions (Marsden 1991:44).

2.3.3 Reuben A Torrey (1856-1928)

Reuben Torrey, the son of a banker, was born in Hoboken, New Jersey on 28 January 1856. He completed a degree at Yale College in 1875 and graduated from Yale Divinity School in 1878. He also spent a year abroad studying at Leipzig and Erlangen. While in Germany, he had 'such famous instructors as Delitzsch, Luthardt, Kahnis, and Frank. When he began his studies he was a pronounced higher critic, but ere [sic] he had completed them he was convinced of the falsity of his views, and swung gradually back to the old conservative doctrines' (Davis 1905:32).

After serving as pastor of several mid-western congregations, he was appointed as the first supervisor of Moody's Chicago Training Institute in 1889 and became pastor of the Chicago Avenue church in 1894 (Waldvogel 1977:23). Later he became the Dean of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles. He was one of Moody's most trusted and respected associates and became a prominent advocate of the Spirit-endued life (Blumhofer 1993:30).

Torrey was the closest person to becoming Moody's successor, becoming highly known and respected as a world-touring evangelist in the first years of the

twentieth century. He was 'one of the chief architects of fundamentalist thought...and represented the direct tie between fundamentalism and the New England tradition in which learning was so revered' (Marsden 1980:47).

Torrey and others believed and taught that there was a crisis experience resulting in true spiritual power that they called the baptism in the Holy Spirit. As well, he claimed to reject the Holiness views of entire sanctification and premise of two normative 'works of grace' (Blumhofer 1993:30). He viewed sanctification as a progressive experience that began at conversion and proceeded as the believer 'walked with the Spirit' and that it was not the baptism in the Holy Spirit (Blumhofer 1989a:52-53).

On the subject of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, he himself gives these explanations: 'In the first place, the baptism with the Holy Spirit is a definite experience of which one may and ought to know whether he has received it or not. In the second place, it is evident that the baptism with the Holy Spirit is an operation of the Holy Spirit distinct from and additional to His regenerating work. The next thing which is clear from the teaching of Scripture is that the baptism with the Holy Spirit is always connected with and primarily for the purpose of testimony and service' (Torrey [1910] 1974:145ff).

His greatest divergence from Pentecostal doctrine was his insistence that any [italics mine] of the spiritual gifts might be a manifestation of the baptism in the Holy Spirit and not just glossolalia and that Christians should not insist on or expect only tongues as a sign (Ward 1975:109). As well, he was very adamant that glossolalia was *not* the initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit (Blumhofer 1993:106, Marsden 1980:248,n34). In fact, because of Charles Parham's alleged sin of homosexuality in San Antonio, Texas in 1907 he charged that Pentecostalism was 'accompanied by the most grievous disorders and the grossest immoralities' (in Blumhofer 1993:106).

On the subject of evangelism, Torrey believed that the baptism in the Holy Spirit alone would facilitate the evangelization of the world before Christ's return. He (in Blumhofer 1993:31) taught that Spirit baptism was mandatory and stated: 'If I am

not willing to pay the price of this Baptism, and therefore am not so baptized, I am responsible before God for all the souls that might have been saved but were not saved through me because I was not baptized with the Holy Spirit.'

As for proof of this baptism, he told them that there was no single evidence of this baptism with the Holy Spirit but you should have the 'desire to learn more about Christ' and 'just keep asking and waiting for power' (:31).

Pentecostals found a special affinity in Torrey's theology of the Spirit. Donald Gee ([1941] 1967:4), an early Pentecostal writer and theologian, wrote: 'it was, perhaps, Dr Torrey, who first gave the teaching of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost a new, and certainly more scriptural and doctrinally correct, emphasis on the line of "power from on high," especially for service and witness (Acts 1:8). His logical presentation of truth did much to establish the doctrine.' As well, it is Bruner (1970:45) who quotes George B Davis advocating that R A Torrey '...served as a kind of John the Baptist figure for the later international Pentecostalism.'

2.3.4 Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836-1895)

A J Gordon was born in central New Hampshire in April 1836. He attended Brown University and Newton Theological Institute. After six years of ministry in a Boston suburb, he became the pastor of the Clarendon Street Church in Boston in 1869. He remained in this pulpit until his death in 1895 (Waldvogel 1977:23).

The great secret of Dr Gordon's wonderful success in the ministry was undoubtedly his own personal experience of the baptism and anointing in the Holy Spirit, which he seems to have received at one of Mr Moody's conferences at Northfield (Lawson [1911] 1981:234).

His teachings concerning the baptism in the Holy Spirit are very relevant to the Pentecostal movement. In fact, his language is the language of the Pentecostals. Speaking on subsequence, he states: '...the baptism in the Holy Ghost was given once for all on the day of Pentecost, when the Paraclete came in person to make his abode in the church. It does not follow therefore that every believer has received this baptism' (Gordon [1894] 1949:67). Furthermore, regarding Acts 2:38, he (:69-70)

states: 'This passage shows that logically and chronologically the gift of the Spirit is subsequent to repentance....it is an additional and separate blessing....The gift of the Spirit is grounded on the fact that we are sons by faith in Christ, believers resting on redemption in him. Plainly, therefore, it appears that the Spirit of God has already regenerated us.'

Fredrick Bruner (1970:340) in summarizing Gordon's teaching calls it the 'doctrine of two faiths.' That, of course, comes from Gordon's belief in a subsequent experience that he calls the baptism in the Holy Spirit: Faith for regeneration and faith for the subsequent pneumatic crisis experience.

2.3.5 Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843-1919) and the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA)

A B Simpson was born on 15 December 1843 in Prince Edward Island, Canada and graduated from Knox College, Hamilton, Ontario in 1865. He pastored for eight years in Hamilton before moving to Louisville, Kentucky to pastor the Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church [1874-79] (Nienkirchen 1992:6), and then later on to New York City (Waldvogel 1977:24). He was Scottish Presbyterian by birth and theological training but left that denomination to create various non-denominational agencies for evangelistic work (Blumhofer 1989a:60). This defection was a result of Simpson reading William E Boardman's *The Higher Christian Life*. 'The precise extent of Boardman's direct influence on Simpson is difficult to determine, but doubtlessly Boardman's attempted marriage of his Presbyterian background to a quest for sanctification drawn from Wesleyan and Oberlin circles was attractive to Simpson...' (Nienkirchen 1992:8). During his lifetime, he edited several journals and devotional papers, founded a Bible (missionary training) institute at Nyack, New York, established a faith home where divine healing was taught and practised, conducted camp meetings, and organized in 1887 both the Christian Alliance and the Missionary Alliance. He later merged these two in 1897 to form the Christian and Missionary Alliance (Blumhofer 1989a:61), often known as the CMA.

Simpson adopted a Keswickian view of sanctification, experiencing a remarkable spiritual and physical renewal in the summer of 1881 at a convention in Old Orchard, Maine (Menzies, W 1975a:87). At this convention, he (1915:162ff) testifies of being healed of a chronic heart disorder and was baptized by immersion in a Baptist chapel in New York City (Nienkirchen 1992:13). His Christocentrism influenced his views on healing, sanctification, and the Holy Spirit. Thus he created what is known as the 'fourfold Gospel:' Christ as Saviour, Healer, Sanctifier, and Coming King (Blumhofer 1989a:81).

A J Gordon's view of sanctification, which influenced Simpson, emphasized that sanctification is progressive, but also insisted that the baptism in the Spirit must be seen as a separate experience from regeneration, and subsequent from it (Menzies, W 1975a:88). Even though the Alliance language speaks of a second blessing called sanctification, the definition of the term is not Wesleyan, but Keswickian. Thus it is fair to state that the influences of the Christian and Missionary Alliance upon the Pentecostal movement are non-Wesleyan (:88).

'Historians have made various attempts at locating precisely Simpson's theology of the baptism of the Holy Spirit within the contours of late nineteenth-century holiness movements' (Nienkirchen 1992:58). '...[T]he entire corpus of his writings testifies uniformly to his understanding of the baptism of the Holy Spirit...as a necessary experience in the life of the believer subsequent to and distinct from conversion-regeneration' (:59). However, he remained adamant that glossolalia was *not* the initial evidence of Spirit baptism.

In 1907 during the hey-day of the Pentecostal uprising, a Pentecostal revival swept over the student body and assembled ministers at the general convention at Nyack Missionary Training Institute in New York. Several Alliance ministers received the experience of glossolalia. Later in the summer, two other Alliance camp meetings received a visitation from the Holy spirit in the form of Spirit baptism accompanied by speaking in tongues. Thus it appeared that the Christian and Missionary Alliance was quickly becoming Pentecostal with the Pentecostal experience of glossolalia (Menzies, W 1971:71). When A B Simpson discovered the ministers were teaching

Spirit baptism with glossolalia, he appointed Dr Henry Wilson to travel to Alliance, Ohio, where there was a strong Pentecostal group, to study and evaluate the phenomenon.

Following the report, Simpson published a manifesto setting forth his position and renouncing the doctrine that all who receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit must speak with tongues and advised all Alliance members *neither to seek to speak in tongues, nor to forbid it* [italics mine] (Menzie's, W 1975a:89). Menzie's (:89) also notes that this manifesto was a 'conciliatory document in its refusal to excommunicate Pentecostals. This, however, went unnoticed by the offending members who felt themselves being driven from the Alliance fold, and promptly left in great numbers.' Many of these were very close and personal friends of Simpson, those of the 'inner circle.' This departure placed a great deal of stress and anguish of soul upon Simpson. Kenneth Mackenzie, a very close associate of Simpson, stated: 'I cannot refrain from recording the agony through which he passed when so many of his most trusted and valued friends and workers withdrew from him because he did not go with them to the limit which was their ideal. He could not say of them, as did St. John, "They went out from us, but they were not of us," for they were. Their presence and prayers, their sympathy and service had been a bulwark to him in times of stress and strain' (in Nienkirchen 1992:108).

Leaving the Alliance were leaders such as Daniel W Kerr, David McDowell, William W Simpson, Minnie T Draper, George N Eldridge, Claude A McKinney, Carrie Judd Montgomery (:109), Frank Boyd, William Evans, J Roswell Flower, Noel Perkin, A G Ward, and D W Myland, and many of these were instrumental in articulating and defining the theology of the soon-to-be Assemblies of God. For instance, Evans shaped the Assemblies of God doctrine of sanctification in classic Keswickian language which stemmed from the Alliance (Menzie's, W 1975a:89-90). From the Alliance (through Keswick influence) '...came the Bible institute program, the ecclesiology of the Assemblies of God, the missionary vision, the emphasis on divine healing, much of its early hymnology, and even a significant portion of its early leadership' (Menzie's, W 1971:28).

McGee says the same thing in another way: 'The doctrines of the new organization [the Assemblies of God], minus the unique requirement for the baptism in the Holy Spirit, reflected Alliance beliefs....There are also distinct organizational similarities....Simpson and the Alliance also played a significant role in the development of Assemblies of God missions....Simpson's missionary vision combined with his premillennial eschatology to stir his followers in the last days....The fusion of Alliance theology and Pentecostalism took early form in the writings of David W Myland, one of the founding members of the Alliance....Another Alliance influence on the Assemblies of God was the plan to set up indigenous churches on foreign mission fields, a plan that met with unquestioned acceptance in the new Assemblies of God....Simpson's concern for New Testament principles and methods of evangelism undoubtedly placed a permanent imprint on Assemblies of God missiology....One other influence of the Alliance on the Assemblies of God was the development of a missionary agency and two institutions patterned after the Nyack school and staffed by former members of the Alliance: Bethel Bible Training School in Newark, New Jersey, and Central Bible Institute, Springfield, Missouri' (McGee 1986:64-65).

'Through the early 1920s, the largest number of alumni from any one school serving as missionaries of the Assemblies of God come from the Missionary Training Institute at Nyack' (:62). In fact, McGee (:62-63) lists a register of forty-two missionaries² who had either studied at Nyack or at the Wilson Memorial Academy (high school) at Nyack, including Noel Perkin, who became the Foreign Missions Director of the Assemblies of God (1927-1959) .

2.3.5.1 Simpson's Missionary Theology

Simpson was adamant that the Christian and Missionary Alliance was not to become a denomination or ecclesiastical body but rather a fraternal union of consecrated believers with an agenda of home and foreign missions and social

²See the complete list in the Appendices.

concern. 'What held the Alliance together was a zeal for foreign missions, a concern for the needs of the poor and disinherited...' (Weber 1983:78).

Premillennialism dominated Simpson's eschatology and forged his mission theology. Recognizing that the world situation would deteriorate as time progressed, he was not overly concerned if the majority of this world's population did not respond favourably to the gospel. Simpson (Hutchison 1987:117) is quoted as saying: 'God is not seeking universal conversion, even large-scale conversion; he is summoning only those few who are to be the rulers of the coming age. The people to be reached and converted are "the little flock," the chosen bride... Their number is small, and on that understanding the idea of "evangelization of the world in this generation" is perfectly practicable. All must hear the Gospel. If few respond, that is as it should be. "We cast our nets into the great sea, but we do not gather all the fish that are in the sea, and when we have gathered all who are willing to accept the Gospel message, this commission is ended".'

For Simpson, missionary work is to bring Christ himself back again (:118). Weber (1983:81) put it another way: '...the premillennialists were working with a new philosophy of missions which enabled them to deny that the world would ever be converted to Christ, yet work hard to evangelize it. Instead of cutting missionary involvement, premillennialism increased it, even when it denied that it could succeed.' Simpson's missionary vision was combined with his premillennial eschatology to stir his followers to action in the last days' (McGee 1986:84). 'The gospel had to be proclaimed to all with the greatest speed, and for this there could never be enough missionaries' (Bosch 1991:333).

As a result of this (Simpson's) mission theology, the CMA (Christian and Missionary Alliance) became a strong missionary force. After 1892 they were sending out between seventy and one hundred missionaries a year (Weber 1983:79). In 1896 the Alliance contributed US\$ 350 000,00 to foreign missions, an unheard of figure for that day.

The emphasis on Bible school training resulted in many young women and men preparing for missionary service. But '...there was neither time nor need for

drawn-out preparation for missionary service' (Bosch 1991:333). These institutes were geared for practical training and not as rigorous academic centres. 'Their chief aim was to produce a well-trained, biblically literate, and spiritually mature corps of lay people to meet the changing conditions in the nation and the world' (:70). Such was the training school of the CMA at Nyack.

Simpson charged that a preoccupation with the 'initial evidence doctrine' (of Pentecostalism) resulted in a reduction of evangelistic zeal. Moreover, because of some who had experienced the Pentecostal experience had divided their congregations, missionary giving was down in the Alliance. He also, while rejecting Parham's theology of xenolalia, noted that many 'inexperienced missionaries naively assumed that they would receive tongues as a substitute for language study' (Nienkirchen 1988:786).

2.3.6 Restorationism

Restorationism/Primitivism is described as: 'The impulse to restore the primitive or original order of things as revealed in Scripture, free from the accretions of church history and tradition' (in Blumhofer 1993:12).

'...[P]robably the most important...current that influenced Pentecostalism was a great longing for restoration of the power and miracles of the New Testament church' (Wacker 1990:23). However, the idea of restoring the New Testament order and charismata in the late nineteenth century is not to be equated with the restorationists fringe movement of 1948, the New Order of the Latter Rain (Riss 1988:112ff, Land 1993:194). While their concept of restoring the charismata and ministry gifts may be the same, the restorationists of the late nineteenth century did not form a movement or group. It was a spiritual concept that many people believed in and prayed for its consummation. 'It must represent a return to the baptism in the Holy Spirit as described in the New Testament and a renewal of the ministries of the gifts of the Spirit...' (Womack 1968:73). It was an idea, an expectation, a hope and prayer that God would once again restore (Dayton 1987:145, König [1974] 1982:181-183) to his church that which was once considered the norm in first century Christianity. Historian

Grant Wacker (1985:54) states: '...the whole nineteenth-century evangelical movement, Wesleyan as well as Reformed, might well be defined as historic Protestant orthodoxy spiced with a tingling expectation that the power of the Holy Spirit, lost since the days of the apostles, was about to be restored.' Recovery of the theology and presence of the Holy Spirit was of the utmost importance.

Steven Land, a Church of God (Cleveland, TN) theologian coined the term 're-vision' to mean restoration. He (1993:184) wrote: 'For the early Pentecostals the inbreaking of the kingdom with all the signs of the Latter Rain required a *re-vision* [italics mine] of the Christian life, the church and missionary priorities. This was in continuity with the nineteenth-century Holiness and revivalists themes but represented an eschatological intensification of those restorationist, perfectionist, premillennial motifs.'

As the final decades of the nineteenth century drew to a close, some restorationists desired to restore the apostolic faith, others wished for a divine restoration. Since these same restorationists who helped shape early American Pentecostalism were for the most part, premillennialists, they were expecting God's imminent intervention in history.

Blumhofer notes four functions which had particular significance for Pentecostalism: 1) Restorationism sounded a call to Christian perfection and religious reform. Perfection meant a return to the norms of an earlier era. History, with its accumulation of tradition, was irrelevant...Bennett Lawrence (in Blumhofer 1993:13) in 1916 writing of Pentecostalism, stated: 'This movement has no history. It leaps the intervening years, crying "back to Pentecost."...History-lessness was a badge of Honor. 2) Restorationists promoted assumptions of Christian unity and simplicity...In focussing on the unity of the early church, they ignored the turmoil and heterodoxy that had characterized Christian beginnings. 3) American restorationists grappled with eschatological issues. Some understood themselves as promoting America's destined millennial role. 4) Restorationist expectations occasioned and nurtured antidenominationalism....Early Pentecostals were often radical evangelicals whose preferences had marginalized them from the mainstream before they embraced

Pentecostalism....They interpreted rejection and persecution as measures of spiritual strength...Groups of restorationists sometimes succumbed to the temptation to regard themselves as a spiritual elite by insisting that they had recaptured more fully than other the dynamic, the message, or the form of the early church (Blumhofer 1993:13-14).

The groups that were to have a profound effect upon Pentecostalism were 1) Frank Stanford's Shiloh and his Bible training institute called the 'Holy Ghost and us' located at Durham, Maine, 2) The Christian Union in rural western North Carolina in 1886, 3) Charles Fox Parham and his followers in eastern Kansas, and 4) Alexander Dowie with his Christian Catholic Church and the establishing of the 'utopia' called Zion City in Illinois (Blumhofer 1989a:20-21).

2.3.7 Divine Healing

Although there has been a tradition of divine healing in the church throughout the ages, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in America, scattered demonstrations of healing were witnessed within various religious communities. In the later half of the nineteenth century, a fully endowed movement developed within the Evangelical community (Dayton 1982:2). They were referred to by various names such as 'faith healing,' 'faith cure,' 'divine healing,' and the 'healing movement' (Chappell 1983:v) and were/are used interchangeably. While its matrix was in the Evangelical camp, it was quickly incorporated into the corpus of Pentecostal doctrine and belief. The one tenet that made this movement unique in this period was the insistence that healing is found in the atonement of Christ. Wacker (1990:23) states it this way: 'The new theology of divine healing departed from historic Christian doctrine (which had enjoined elders to anoint and pray for the sick) by insisting that Christ's atonement provided healing for the body just as it provided healing for the soul.'

American church historian, Edith Blumhofer, lists five sources for the renewed interest in healing during this period: 1) The focus on healing as 'in the Atonement' and as one of the end-time gifts of the Spirit. 2) Healing harmonized with restorationist expectations.... which had demonstrably been part of New Testament

experience. 3) Healing was closely tied to the conceptions of the 'higher Christian Life.' 4) Interest in healing can correctly be seen as part of a broader cultural focus on health. 5) [Healing]...can be understood as a partial response to unorthodox healing movements like Christian Science and Unity (Blumhofer 1989a:26-27).

2.3.7.1 Healing as an Evangelistic Tool

The idea that divine healing serves as a tool for evangelism is not new. A healing or miracle always draws a crowd. The early evangelists used healing as signs of spiritual power to attract the people. Andrew Murray (1934:3), the beloved South African, stated: 'Jesus healed the sick; everywhere, He dealt with healing as one of the graces belonging to the kingdom of heaven. Sin in the soul and sickness in the body both bear witness to the power of Satan, and "the Son of God was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil" (1 John 3:8).' Further on he (1934:10,12) stated: 'But, it is said, miracles were much more necessary in the early days of Christianity than later. But what about the power of heathenism even in this day, wherever the Gospel seeks to combat it? It is impossible to admit that miracles should have been more needful for the heathen in Ephesus (Acts 19:11-12) than for the heathen of Africa in the present day? And if we think of the ignorance and unbelief which reign in the midst of the Christian nations, are we not driven to conclude that there is a need for manifest acts of the power of God to sustain the testimony of believers and to prove that God is with them?...The more the Spirit of God lives and acts in the soul of believers, the more will the miracles multiply by which He works in the body. Thereby the *world can recognize what redemption means* [italics mine].'

A J Gordon (1882:125) believes that the chief purpose of divine healing '... is for the furtherance of the gospel....Miracles are the signs and not the substance of Christianity. They are for the confirmation of the Word, and not merely for the comfort of the body. And this fact especially enhances the probability that they might not be entirely wanting in heathen lands.' He (:122) mentions a Presbyterian missionary serving in China who had to revise his theology after seeing the 'native Christians

[who] are constantly finding and putting in practice the promises for miraculous healing.' The missionary was quoted as saying: 'Healing is as much a part of this as any verbal proclamation of the good news. The ministry of healing, therefore, can not be divorced from the duty of the missionary.'

Maria Woodworth-Etter, the pioneer of salvation-healing crusades of the mid-late nineteenth-century, was a healing evangelist whose style best anticipated later Pentecostal preferences (Blumhofer 1989a:34). She acquired a tent which would seat eight thousand and travel across the United States preaching an evangelical message integrated with a emphasis upon divine healing. 'Such salvation-healing revivals would later play a pivotal but controversial role in the Pentecostal proclamation of healing' (:35).

Her own dairy (Etter 1916:117) gives an account of a young girl who 'could not talk or walk, and had no use of herself.' After the girl was prayed for, she was taken out of the tent and a bit later returned, walking and talking but no one could understand a word she was saying as she had been filled with the power of the Holy Spirit and was speaking in tongues. The girl was placed on the platform and 'she began to walk about and preach. With hands uplifted, pointing to heaven, and stamping her foot, she preached to the astonished multitude, showing what great things the Lord had done for her, for she spake some words in English.' Mrs Etter's testimony relates that through this miracle of healing, 'thousands were saved, and hundreds headed instantly and saved at the same time.'

2.3.7.2 The American Healing Movement

2.3.7.2.a Ethan O Allen

Crucial for the beginning of the healing movement was Ethan O Allen, who was healed of tuberculosis by the prayer of faith at a Methodist class leader's meeting in 1846. After his healing, he took it upon himself to visit poorhouses, where he prayed for the sick and continued a ministry of healing for fifty years in the eastern United States (Riss 1988:18). However, his lack of education and shyness prevented him from obtaining a large audience (Chappell 1988:358).

Allen became the first member of the American healing movement to associate officially the doctrine of Christian perfection with divine healing. Like Wesley, Allen '...believed that Christ's atonement provided not only for justification but also for purification of the human nature from sin. Agreeing with Stockmayer that sickness was caused by sin, Allen maintained that the purification of human nature from sin by the experience of sanctification would eliminate illness' (:357).

Using Genesis 3:15 and Luke 10:19 as proof-texts, Allen taught that every believer, not just the clergy, had authority over Satan, the author of disease. He produced a three-fold argument from these verses to uphold his position. 1) Christ put satan's head under his feet at Calvary, thus bruising him, i e, defeating him. 2) Christ has given to every believer the right to tread on satan's head and to bruise (defeat) him.

3) God has promised each believer the power to subdue satan if he will simply appropriate by faith the victory of Christ on the cross (in Chappell 1983:101-102).

Chappell (:104) further states: 'Since his was the first systematic divine healing ministry in America, A B Simpson entitled him the "Father of Divine Healing" in this nation.'

2.3.7.2.b Elizabeth Mix

The most important person that came into the healing ministry due to Allen's influence was an African American, Mrs Elizabeth Mix. She was healed of tuberculosis under Allen's ministry and became one of his first assistants. Together, with her husband, Edward, they travelled with Allen until they branched out with their own faith healing ministry (Riss 1988:17-18). She was articulate, well-educated, and persuasive. An unusual combination for the time period she lived in. She became the first African American healing evangelist in the nation, male or female. Chappell (1988:358) states: 'her healing ministry was so well received that even the most outspoken opponents of divine healing, such as James Buckley, editor of the *Christian Advocate*, respected her and her accomplishments. Interestingly, even physicians sent their patients to her for prayer.'

An important theological contribution to the movement was her instruction to patients to 'pray in faith and then act upon their faith....petitioners must act out their faith by making physical exertions to demonstrate their professed belief that God is actually healing' them (:358). According to Buckley (in Chappell 1983:98), Mrs Mix's most significant contribution '...was her instrumentality in bringing others into the faith healing ministry.'

2.3.7.2.c Charles Cullis

Cullis, an Episcopalian homeopathic physician in Boston did '...more than any other man to bring healing by faith to the attention of the church in the last century' (in Dayton 1982:7). In April of 1862 he was confronted by a person deemed to be incurable by Massachusetts General Hospital and thus was refused admittance. Cullis began to think about the possibilities of assisting such people himself. With the financial assistance of a Captain Kelso Carter, he purchased a home in May of 1864 and opened it in the following September. Taking his cue from Dorothea Trudel of Switzerland, he began to pray for his patients. Thus 'the idea of rest homes for the sick and homeless became quite popular in Holiness circles, and there were over twenty five "faith homes" in the U S by 1887' (Riss 1988:19).

According to Chappell (1983:104), Cullis '...was the single most important figure in the development of the divine healing movement in America....[He] functioned as a vital link between the Holiness and divine healing movements, and his significance in linking these two movements is demonstrated by his success in convincing prominent Holiness leaders that full salvation included not only salvation or healing of the spirit but also the healing of the physical body.' He influenced noted Holiness leaders such as John Inskip, William McDonald, William Osborn, Daniel Steele, William Boardman, A J Gordon and others. By the time of his death in 1892 the doctrine of divine healing was firmly established in the American religious community (:358).

Before his death, during the 1880, he established a multitude of social concerns. These included: '...four homes for consumptives, a school of nursing, a

publishing house, five churches, various urban missions, a high school, and a Bible college, two orphanages, a home for cancer patients, a home for patients with spinal problems, a home for paralytics, a faith-cure home, a home for 'fallen women,' a home for the insane, a mission to American Jews, a college and orphanage for African-American college freshmen in the South (Boydton Institute), a mission to the Chinese in America, a school at Renick's Valley in West Virginia, an evangelistic outreach to African-Americans in Oxford, North Carolina, and several missions in California. His work became international in scope when he sent missionaries to India and South Africa' (Chappell 1988:358).

The capstone for Cullis came through his faith conventions that focused the message of divine healing on the evangelical church throughout America. But perhaps his greatest contribution was 'the conversion of other individuals who were to provide theological and practical leadership in the [healing] movement' (:360). One of the most important was William Boardman, one of the leaders of the American Holiness movement.

2.3.7.3 William E Boardman and the International Conference on Divine Healing and True Holiness: London, 1885

Boardman, as an avid proponent and leader in the Holiness movement had travelled to Europe with Cullis in 1873 to visit various healing ministries there. He had already made his fame by publishing the popular book on Christian perfection, *The Higher Christian Life*, and in 1875 published, *In the Power of the Spirit*, in which 'he delineated the differences between the gift of the Spirit for conversion and that for sanctification. He concluded that the baptism of the Spirit is not a gift of miraculous powers conferred on a few, but is the normative gift of the Holy Spirit himself provided for all the children of God who will receive him' (:360).

As well, in the same year of 1875 he returned to England to permanently reside there. He published another book in 1881 *The Lord That Healeth Thee*, which made him an international figure and teacher on healing. The following year, along with two others, Charlotte Murray and Mrs Michael Baxter, they jointly opened a faith

home in London³ called 'Bethshan,' which in Hebrew meant 'House of Rest.' Healing services were conducted⁴ several times a week and unlike Cullis's homes, medicine and medical treatment were not dispensed (Dayton 1982:10).

Although settling in England, Boardman continued to maintain contact with Cullis and other healers in the American movement, many of whom he invited to an 1885 London 'International Conference on Divine Healing and True Holiness' (:10). The London conference was particularly important in that it brought together divine healing proponents and teachers from many places on the globe. They came from Germany, America, France Switzerland, Scotland, Italy, Sweden, Australia, and England. It '...was a historical first for the new faith healing movement in that it was the first effort to bring together the world leaders of the movement and to share their composite knowledge and experience in the area of divine healing' (Chappell 1983:157).

2.3.7.4 A B Simpson and A J Gordon

Since both of these figures have been treated in an earlier section, This writer will concern himself only with the contributions they made to the healing movement.

2.3.7.4.a A B Simpson

'Simpson made the 'gospel of healing' a major theme of his ministry and an organizing principle of the Christian and Missionary Alliance' (Blumhofer 1993:21). He (1915:155-174) based this on a personal healing of a heart problem which he describes as a turning point in his ministry. Desperate for healing, he made three

³Chappell notes that before Boardman opened his home in London, Charles Spurgeon was conducting a significant healing ministry at Metropolitan Tabernacle. Spurgeon's biographer, Russell Conwell, reported that it was common for parishioners to request prayer for healing and that 'thousands of cases of healings could be documented' (1988:361).

⁴One of the most prominent and significant persons to receive physical healing at Bethshan was Reverend Andrew Murray of South Africa. His testimony is recorded in his book, *Divine Healing* (1934).

pledges to God which he attributes to being cured. He stated: '...I went out into the silent pine woods, and there I raised my right hand to Heaven and in view of the Judgment Day, I made to God, as if I had seen Him there before me face to face, these three great and eternal pledges: 1) As I shall meet Thee in that day, I solemnly accept this truth as part of Thy Word, and of the gospel of Christ, and, God helping me, I shall never question it until I meet Thee there. 2) As I shall meet Thee in that day I take the Lord Jesus as my physical life, for all the needs of my body until my life-work is done; and helping me, I shall never doubt that Thou dost so become my life and strength from this moment, and wilt keep me under all circumstances until Thy will for me is perfectly fulfilled. 3) As I shall meet Thee in that day I solemnly agree to use this blessing for the glory of God, and the good of others, and to speak of it or minister in connection with it in any way in which God may call me or others may need me in the future' (Simpson 1915:162-163).

Healed, he resolved to make divine healing an integral part of his ministry for the remainder of his life (Blumhofer 1993:21). At Boardman's healing convention in London, he delineated three great epochal experiences in his life: first, twenty-seven years earlier, he had accepted Christ as his Saviour; second, twelve years later, he believed in Christ as his Sanctifier; and third, he believed that it was the will of God that Christ be his complete Saviour *for body* [italics mine] as well as soul (Dayton 1982:12). He resigned his pastorate at the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church in New York City and in 1883 he opened up a 'Home for Faith and Physical Healing' called the Berachah Home or the 'House of Blessing' (Blumhofer 1993:21). He stood by his theological position that divine healing is part of the completeness of the redemption of Christ. The normative view in the healing movement was that sickness was a direct result of the fall, thus healing rests in the atoning sacrifice of Christ and Simpson concurred with this position. He encouraged believers to ignore the symptoms of sickness and claim the reality of their healing (Chappell 1988:363).

He was a staunch advocate that one should not use medical means if one was to be divinely healed. When questioned about the use of medicine, he (1959:130) responded: 'God's Word does prescribe to us all varieties of simple, wholesome food,

but not medicine. From Genesis to Revelation you will find no single explicit direction to use human remedies. But you will find numerous directions to bring your sickness to God.'

'For thirty-seven years, A B Simpson stood as one of the most effective and popular exponents of the divine healing message in America....[He] left behind an extensive permanent structure (the CMA with its hundreds of ministers) to perpetuate the message of divine healing worldwide' (Chappell 1988:364). In the preface to Simpson's book, *The Lord For The Body*, Reverend Walter M Tumbull makes a significant statement about the faith healer. He noted with much respect that in spite of the fact that Dr Simpson was renown for his healing ministry and teaching, he did not establish a healing cult nor did he wish to place healing above spiritual blessings and the salvation of the lost. 'While faithful to the whole truth of God, he nevertheless placed soul-saving, the instruction of believers in deeper spiritual truths, and earnest missionary efforts *before* (italics mine) any ministry of healing' (in Simpson 1959:6).

2.3.7.4.b A J Gordon

In the early 1870s as Gordon began to associate with faith healers such as Cullis, he observed and appreciated their efforts, but did not accept any personal involvement in divine healing. It was only in 1877 during a D L Moody meeting in Boston when Gordon actually witnessed an opium addict and a missionary's cancerous jaw healed that he began to give serious study to the subject of divine healing (Riss 1988:22). By 1882 he was converted to the doctrine and had become one of its chief advocates and apologists. That same year, he published his still famous book, *The Ministry of Healing*, with Cullis giving him strong encouragement and support. This book radiates with the spirit and sources of Cullis's thought. He too, embraced the idea of healing in the atonement. He ([s a]:16) said: 'In the atonement of Christ there seems to be a foundation laid for faith in bodily healing.'

Gordon avoided the Holiness doctrine of eradication and sanctification as a second blessing (Dayton 1987:129) but saw that regeneration and healing were 'two streams of blessing.' Again he ([s a]:43) penned: 'Two streams of blessings started

from the personal ministry of our Lord, a stream of healing and a stream of regeneration; one for the recovery of the body and the other for the recovery of the soul, and these two flowed on side by side through the apostolic age.’ While he believed that one is healed by faith, he recognized the sovereignty of God and stated that it might not be the will of God to heal everyone (:212). This balanced approach to divine healing has been one of the reasons that his book has stood the scrutiny of time and is still appreciated and revered. Interestingly, while a firm advocate of the healing movement, he never brought the practice into his regular church ministry yet privately, he continued to pray for the sick. His main influence on healing came through his book which caused even his most adamant critics such as Benjamin Warfield (in Blumhofer 1989a:29) to acknowledge that it is ‘the most readable and the most rational presentation of the views of the Faith-Healers.’

2.3.7.5 Other prominent Faith Healers

While in this study it is not possible to be exhaustive, one would be remiss if the names of John Alexander Dowie, Maria Woodworth-Etter, Robert Kelso Carter, Carrie Judd-Montgomery⁵ and Charles Fox Parham were not mentioned. All of these were engaged in extensive healing ministries during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. While some were considered great (Dowie) with tragic endings, others (Judd-Montgomery) were the epitome of grace and example. Yet each played a major part in the establishing of the healing movement of the period.

2.3.7.6 Final Thoughts on the Healing Movement

The lives of several figures in history have been sketched who made a significant contribution to the healing movement that eventually became a major tenet of the Pentecostal doctrine and theology. Dayton (1982:15) states: ‘it cannot be doubted that the basic source of the 19th century healing doctrines is to be found in a

⁵She was also involved with various social concerns. Chappell (1983:241ff) indicates that she founded a rescue mission, an orphanage, faith home, Bible training institution, inter alia.

radicalization of Holiness doctrine that began to find in the atonement of Christ the basis for an instantaneous deliverance from the sin principle.' And yet, in spite of its seemingly wide acceptance, there came a major decline in its emphasis and acceptability. Several reasons have been postulated by Dayton (1982:13-18).

In the first place, not all major evangelical leaders accepted the healing doctrine. D L Moody being one of the most notable. He refused to have anything to do with it. Other leaders such as Daniel Steele and William McDonald, who were converted to the idea of divine healing, could not accept the premise that healing was found in the atonement. As well, the National Holiness Association eventually banned both healing and premillennial doctrines from its national meetings.

Second, there was a tendency over a period of time for some of the more radical faith healers to either retreat from some of their earlier positions or make retractions. R Kelso Carter, for instance, by the end of the century was publishing retractions of some points and confessing that earlier he had been mistaken. Due to a serious illness, he was forced into using medicine that would allow him to return to his work. This was a serious shift from his early position. Other advocates moderated their own stances as they, in turn, suffered some serious physical illness, especially those of the Christian Alliance.

Third, the Holiness rootage of healing doctrines was also a hindrance in gaining wider acceptance in some circles. Alexander Dowie's stance on retracting the doctrines from Holiness thought can be seen in his life as he attempted to persuade the National Holiness Association to adopt healing as a separate plank in their platform and not continue to hinge it to salvation and sanctification. Because of Dowie's life and extreme views, many evangelicals wanted to distance themselves not only for him, but also from his doctrines. At any rate, as evangelicalism marched into the twentieth century there was a distinct tendency to abandon the Holiness teachings of perfection in favour of the more classical, Reformed theology. Even the Methodist Church made a public statement that perfection as Wesley taught it was no longer acceptable.

Fourth, the death blow to the healing movement came as Pentecostalism came into vogue in the first decade of the new century. There was a mad scramble to avoid any identification with the 'tongue talkers.' The new movement, while a step-child of the Holiness movement, was to be avoided like the plague. The Holiness groups wanted nothing to do with them. The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, dropped the word 'Pentecostal' from their name due to the stigma attached to it. The result was a radical purging of Pentecostal-like terminology and practices from the Holiness movement's midst. 'And in the process a major movement of divine healing was largely buried, only to be reasserted generations later through the influence of the Charismatics, great-grand children of the Pentecostals once repudiated' (Dayton 1982:18).

2.4 The Development Of Pentecostalism

2.4.1 Early Holy Spirit Conferences

By 1890 a sub-movement with emphasis on the Holy Spirit began to develop amongst the followers of D L Moody. The basic structure and forum was the conference (Chapman 1900:215). Moody's Northfield⁶ was already established as a conference centre and strong base. Other major conferences were Winona Lake, Indiana conference and the noted Keswick conference (:216). But in 1890, A C Dixon, one of Moody's men, organized the first conference on the Holy Spirit (Marsden 1980:79). Since there had already been several conferences on prophecy and biblical inspiration, Dixon saw it fitting that the Holy Spirit should be emphasized because it was such a contemporary topic. The speakers underscored the importance for Christians of the current age to be filled with the Holy Spirit as recorded in Acts 2:4. Dixon (in Marsden 1980:79) wrote that at least one hundred ministers present at the conference '...requested prayer for the fulness of the Holy Ghost.'

⁶Northfield was the home of D L Moody which he developed into a full fledged conference centre. The first conference held there was in 1880 (Chapman 1900:218). In 1894 a beautiful brick auditorium was constructed on the site (Moody 1900:373).

Marsden (:79) noted that this Holy Spirit conference had no particular theological slant or doctrine to propagate. It was just a conference for people desiring more from/of God. The buzz word that generated the most interest at this meeting was the practical concept of 'power for service.' Dixon used the concept of electricity and the power of the dynamo as an analogy. He (in Marsden 1980:80) said: 'God's power is like the Niagara [Falls] current. Faith is the connecting wire between the battery of God's power and the hearts of men.'

In the next Holy Spirit conference in Brooklyn in 1894 the speeches emphasized the importance of the '...Spirit's power for service in a host of evangelical activities--missions, evangelism, Sunday-school work, young people's work, church administration, city evangelism, institutional churches, and rescue missions' (:80). As one can see, this list broadened the scope of their work from evangelism and missions to include social work as an integral part of their evangelical agenda.

These conferences, while not especially emphasizing the baptism in the Holy Spirit as subsequent or second/third crisis experience, played an important role in keeping the idea of the Holy Spirit before the evangelical Christians of that era.

2.4.2 Charles Fox Parham (1873-1929) and the Apostolic Faith Movement

Until recently, Charles F Parham has normally been considered to be the father and founder⁷ of the modern Pentecostal movement (Goff 1988b:660, Tyson

⁷However, with Pentecostal scholarship coming into its own, Parham's position in history is very shaky. Research has become more scholarly and less popular. The African American academy has become more vocal. Pentecostal-Holiness academia as a whole is willing to scrutinize more closely the events of the past.

Presently, there is a feeling that because of Parham's racist and white supremacist theology (Sanders 1996:29-30), that alone should eliminate him from the competition for that position. Others (Anderson, A 1992:24, Nelson 1981:81, Bartleman 1980:xi, et al) feel that the honour should go to William Seymour, and still another element (Clemmons 1996:42, Lovett 1998:1, et al) feel that past historiographies have been biased, inadequate and misleading in their reporting and research.

Synan (1997:89n13) states: 'Most Pentecostal writers acknowledge Parham's place as the formulator of the Pentecostal doctrine, but none call him the "father" of
(continued...)

1992:18, Martin 1994:24, et al). While glossolalia had been around and known for years as earlier demonstrated, it was never taken seriously until someone attached a doctrinal statement to it. Parham with his emphasis on glossolalia as the initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit (Dalton 1978:24) began to articulate what others were thinking but did not express, but for the most part, it had escaped the theological academy and Christianity in general (:24) with the exception of Irwin as indicated earlier in section 2.2.12.

Parham was born in Muscatine, Iowa on 4 June 1873. His early childhood was a constant fight for survival due to a childhood illness (probably encephalitis) that left him weak and stunted his growth. Also, at age nine, he was stricken with rheumatic fever and during this bout with the fever, he felt the call into the ministry (Goff 1988b:660) and years later pledged himself to serve as a missionary in Africa (Goff 1988c:26). While the fever would remain in remission for a long time, it always eventually returned to further weaken him and cause physical struggles.

The year 1890 found him enrolled at Southwest Kansas College for ministerial training. During this first year of school, he suffered a complete vocational relapse. Having taken a hard look at the ministers of his adopted denomination, the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, he (in Goff 1988c:27) concluded that the ministry was too difficult, with too many hardships, and 'not quite as alluring as some other professions.' Physical comfort with its financial security became paramount to him. Thus, early in 1891 he switched his studies to a medical career, anticipating as a physician he could both help to alleviate human suffering and at the same time become financially secure. Later, he would conclude that *he* [italics mine] could not be both a physician and a Christian at the same time and soon found himself in what he called a 'backslidden' state (:28).

⁷(...continued)

the movement. Because of later questions about his personal ethics his place in Pentecostal history has been de-emphasized.⁷

The reader is also referred to the present writer's comments on Parham and Seymour in section 2.3.3 where a different interpretation is presented.

In the Spring of 1891 the rheumatic fever returned with such intensity that he begged to die. Yet, he knew that he would not die because God had called him to preach during his first bout with the fever and he felt that this reoccurrence was a powerful reminder of that calling. The next months were spent in intense pain accompanied by injections of morphine as a sedative. During this time, he overheard his physician state that his condition was terminal and unrecoverable. Fearing death, the young man surrendered to God, repenting of his spiritual condition and trusted God to heal him. While some healing came about, it was not complete and he was left with a physical handicap. His legs and feet were too weak to function properly and he had to walk on the sides of his feet. Eventually, in December of 1891 he reconsecrated himself to preach the Gospel and even to quit college if that is what God wanted. He later wrote that at that moment of dedication, he found his ankles 'instantly healed' (in Goff 1988c:29).

After struggling with three years of study at the college, he eventually resigned and left, mostly for financial reasons and the intense desire to get out and preach. He was licensed as a local preacher in the Winfield District of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North and in June of 1893 was appointed as the 'supply pastor' for the Eudora congregation. He was twenty years old and unmarried.

Despite his success in this new work, there began to develop doubts about his ability due to some theological aberrations that began to surface. The first ripple was his deep devotion to the doctrine of 'entire sanctification' when the Methodist Church was rapidly trying to divest itself of this unwanted doctrine. However, more than that, he decided that water baptism was a meaningless ritual at best and true baptism was a baptism that imparted a special level of divine power by God's spirit (:35). To his credit, much later, he refined his belief and allowed that water baptism was an important complement to Spirit baptism. Failing to emphasize church membership was another area of concern with his elders. He taught membership into God's family came about by conversion and growth in that relationship by sanctification and Spirit baptism. He had little concern for numerical growth at his local parish and actually encouraged listeners to join other churches instead of the Methodist Church. The

worst theological problem came when he began to espouse an unorthodox position on eschatological rewards and punishment. Due to the influence of an elderly Quaker, David Baker, Parham concluded that the unredeemed would suffer, but it would be a punishment of total annihilation instead of eternal punishment. 'Thereafter, he included the "destruction of the wicked" into his growing arsenal of theological weaponry' (:35). These things coupled together with his growing disdain of ecclesiastical authority placed his position as 'supply pastor' in jeopardy. However, no action was taken to separate him from his flock at Eudora. Realizing if he became ordained, he would not be free to follow the dictates of his conscience or heart. In March 1895 he surrendered his local preacher's license and severed all connections with the Church (Goff 1988b:660). Now he was free to preach and believe whatever he felt was the truth without fear of man or church.

In 1896 he married the granddaughter of his Quaker friend, David Baker, Sarah Eleanor Thistlethwaite. Soon after the birth of their son, Claude, Parham faced another crisis in his life. First, he became very sick to the point that doctors advised him to abandon his ministry of preaching. Then, his son, Claude, took deathly sick. These events caused Parham to again turn his attention to divine healing. He reported that God touched his body and made him 'every whit whole' (in Goff 1988c:39). Recognizing that he needed to demonstrate his faith in God for his health and that of his family, he renounced all medical assistance and medicines. His son was soon healed and he attributed the healing to his new found faith in divine healing.

Topeka, Kansas was a thriving city of around thirty thousand and it was there that in 1898 that Parham moved his family to establish a 'healing home.' He named it the Beth-el Healing Home and for the next two years it functioned under his care and administration. The home offered a variety of services. The most important was the healing ministry with the home serving as a resort for the ill and disabled. Parham recognized that while God could heal all diseases by one's faith, often that faith needed building up within the patient. Thus, the home provided a place where the sick could stay while their faith was encouraged and lifted up. He also recognized that in the absence of real faith, healing might take place gradually rather than

instantly. Then the home served as sort of an infirmary for those awaiting the faith cure. He also provided a 'Bible Institute,' a temporary orphanage service and an *ad hoc* employment bureau (:45). Parham's ministry also included publication of a bimonthly Holiness journal, *The Apostolic Faith*, which was used as an instrument to propagate his beliefs, publicize his healing home, and publish testimonies of healing.

Embarking on a tour of Holiness religious centres in the summer of 1900 (Martin 1994:18), Parham visited Zion City, Illinois where the famous faith healer, Alexander Dowie, had established a so-called utopia for Christian living and then on to a smaller work run by one 'Evangelist Kelly.' Stops were also made to 'Malone's work' in Cincinnati, Ohio and A B Simpson's Christian and Missionary Alliance school at Nyack, New York (:59). However, his goal was to go to Durham, Maine and enroll as a summer student at the 'Holy Ghost and Us' Bible school at Frank Sandford's Shiloh, a Holiness commune being run with much success and reputation (Hiss 1978:158-160).

Parham had met Sandford in Topeka when the former had arrived in June and conducted meetings there. Sandford had greatly impressed the young Parham and prompted him to make the journey to Maine for studies and a good look at how things were organized and administered (Goff 1988c:59). Murray (in Hiss 1978:247) noted that Parham stayed in Shiloh about a month, held meetings in Winnipeg with Sandford for another month before returning to Topeka, Kansas.

With the 'Holy Ghost and Us' Bible school at Shiloh as a model and the burning conviction that there was more to the Christian experience than sanctification, Charles Parham decided to open his own Bible school in Topeka, Kansas. He called it 'Bethel Bible College' and proceeded to recruit students. While there were no academic prerequisites for matriculating students, they were required to be willing to forsake all and everything to study the Scriptures and pray. 'They would join together to pray to God to provide for all their earthly needs by moving upon the hearts of others to give them food, fuel, rent money and even their clothing, while they devoted themselves to "the high ambition of preparing themselves to preach the Gospel" to be "witnesses to all the world before the end of the age" (Matt.24:14)' (Wessels 1993:13).

The school was housed in a rented building known as 'Stone's folly.' Twenty years prior to this, one Erastus R Stone, a wealthy man, had started constructing this building as his dream house. Nearing completion, the three story mansion, with its many towers, balustrades, ornate cornices, stained glass windows, etc was indeed a sight to behold. 'Each of the fifteen completed rooms was finished in a different kind of wood, and the hall and staircase are in cedars of Lebanon' (Parham in Goff 1988c:65). But financial ruin overtook the owner and he was forced to sell the home before it was completed. Due to its large size, most of the time it remained vacant. Eventually, Charles Parham would see this structure as his own 'Shiloh' and hastened to secure its rental.

The school was opened on 15 October 1900 and soon there were some thirty four to forty students living on the campus. These were mature, mostly married, who had actual ministerial experience and/or had studied in other Bible schools such as the one at Nyack or Chicago. 'All of them were of the Holiness persuasion and shared Parham's desire for a new experience of the Spirit, and for new power in evangelistic work' (Anderson 1979:51). He 'began teaching his assortment of religious doctrines, placing special emphasis on the two ideas he had added most recently---life by faith and Holy Spirit baptism for the purpose of world evangelism' (Goff 1988c:61).

'The purpose of this school was to fit men and women to go to the ends of the earth to preach, "This Gospel of the Kingdom" Matt. 24 as a witness to all the world before the end of the age....Our purpose in this Bible School was not to learn these things in our heads only but have each thing in the Scriptures wrought out in our hearts' (Parham in Parham, S [1930] 1985:51).

During the month of December as examinations were due, Parham (:51) put to his students this question. 'What about the 2nd chapter in Acts?' He (:52) then stated: '...many different religious bodies claim different proofs as the evidence of their having the Pentecostal baptism, I set the student at work studying out diligently

what was the Bible evidence of the baptism in the Holy Ghost, that we might go before the world with something that was indisputable because it tallied absolutely with the Word.' His own recounting of the story tells it all:

Leaving the school for three days at this task, I went to Kansas City for three days services. I returned to the school on the morning preceding Watch Night Services in the year 1900. At about 10 o'clock in the morning I rang the bell calling all the students into the Chapel to get their report on the matter in hand. To my astonishment they all had the same story, that while there were different things occurred when the Pentecostal blessing fell, that the indisputable proof on each occasion was, that they spake with other tongues. About 75 people beside the school which consisted of 40 students, had gathered for the watch night service. A mighty spiritual power filled the entire school.

Sister Anges N. Ozman, (now LaBerge) asked that hands might be laid upon her to receive the Holy Spirit as she hoped to go to foreign fields. At first I refused not having the experience myself. Then being further pressed to do it humbly in the name of Jesus, I laid my hand upon her head and prayed. I had scarcely repeated three dozen sentences when a glory fell upon her, a halo seemed to surround her head and face, and she began speaking in the Chinese language, and was unable to speak English for three days. When she tried to write in English to tell us of her experience she wrote the Chinese, copies of which we still have in newspapers printed at that time.

(in Parham, S [1930] 1985:52-53)

Thus began what has come to be known as the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance. Three days later, Parham returned to the school after speaking to a Free Methodist church in Topeka. There he found the sound of many languages being spoken as twelve ministers (students) from other denominations were filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke in other tongues. Others received the gift of interpretation, enabling them to translate the new tongues into English (Goff 1988c:68). Upon seeing what Parham (in Parham S [1930] 1985:54) described as the '...evidence of the restoration of Pentecostal power...', he began his own quest for the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Falling on his knees, he vowed to the Lord that he would endure whatever came his way if this blessing could be his. Parham (:54) later testified: 'Right then there came a

slight twist in my throat, a glory fell over me and I began to worship God in the Sweedish [sic] tongue, which later changed to other languages and continued so until morning.'

Of course, it was not long until the outside world heard about the events and soon Parham (in Parham S [1930] 1985:54-55) noted that they: '...were besieged with reporters from Topeka papers, Kansas City, St. Louis and many other cities sent reporters who brought with them professors of languages, foreigners, Government interpreters, and they gave the work the most crucial test. One Government interpreter claimed to have heard twenty Chinese dialects distinctly spoken in one night. All agree that the students of the college were speaking in the languages of the world, and that with proper accent and intonation. There was no chattering, jabbering, or stuttering. Each one spoke clearly and distinctly in a foreign language, with earnestness, intensity and God given unction.'

There is much controversy over Parham and his deductions concerning the evidence of the Holy Spirit. There are those (Goss [1958] 1977, Martin 1944, Tyson 1992, Brumback 1961, Kendrick 1961, Durasoff 1972, and Flower 1950, et al) who feel that he, not having the answer himself, set the students on a three day quest seeking the biblical answer to the initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. In spite of popular opinion, others (Goff 1988c, Blumhofer 1993, Anderson 1979, and this present writer, et al) feel that Parham had already decided for himself that speaking in other tongues was, in fact, the initial evidence but wanted his students to come to the same conclusion themselves without his assistance .

Being the person he was, he had already carefully considered and weighed the Scriptures, concluding that the Act 2:4 experience was to be considered normative and evidential (Blumhofer 1993:51). His ego would not have allowed him to admit to his students that he did not have the answer. While in his own words, he did not tell them that he knew, his instructions to them lead us to believe that in a teacher-student relationship, he told them to seek for themselves the answer while he was off on a trip of three days. This was a timely and orchestrated departure (Anderson 1979:55-56). Upon his return, had the students not come up with the correct answer, this writer is

sure that Parham would have given them the correct nudge and pointed them in the desired direction. His astonishment was due to the fact that *all* had come to the same conclusion, that is, the initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit is speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.

It is the considered opinion of this writer that Parham had been contemplating this for some time. It was not the reaction of an Archimedes who shouted, 'Eureka, I have found it!' as it suddenly came to him. This revelation came gradually to Parham over a period a time of reflection and study (:54). Very significant is the fact that he came to this conclusion without having experienced the phenomenon himself. Most people, first, encounter an extra-spiritual experience, then turn to the Bible for reinforcement and proof-texts. While he had been exposed to tongues at Shiloh and as already indicated, he had at his fingertips various histories of spasmodic pneumatic interruptions into history even into his own nineteenth century, it is not the same as an actual, personal, empirical experience.

'Parham wanted to prove to his students that the Baptism of the Holy Spirit should have some tangible evidence---something unmistakably biblical and functional....and ...glossolalia would be the obvious *utilitarian link* [italics mine] between Holy Spirit power and evangelism' (Goff 1988c:75). Goff (:75) continued to say: 'There can be little doubt that Parham was consciously motivating his students toward this mission tongues concept....What Ozman and the other students discovered at Parham's training school was, in effect, a holistic approach to missions. In the urgency of the last days, Christian workers would be consumed with power from on high. The experience would both inspire and equip them for service.' Long after all other Pentecostals ceased to teach that the baptism in the Holy Spirit resulted in xenolalia and thus equipped one for the mission field, Parham held to that belief until his dying day (Goff 1988c:159).

Was Miss Ozman there at Bethel College to receive xenolalia so she could proceed to the missions field as Parham indicated? Her own testimonies and writings indicate some discrepancies between her version of the story and of Parham's. Obviously, time has a way of making us remember some things while forgetting

others. Who was correct? We are not sure, but Blumhofer, Anderson and Goff, all side with the Ozman story. Agnes Ozman indicates in a poorly composed letter by her own hand, written to Eudorus N Bell⁸ on the 28th of February 1922 that 'before receiving the Comforter I did not know that I would speak in tongues when I received the Holy Ghost for I did not know it was Bible. But after I received the Holy Spirit speaking in tongues it was revealed to me that I had the promise of the Father as it is written and as Jesus said.'

The excitement of their new found languages soon began to diminish as its popularity subsided. While Parham and his students at Bethel College went out and tried to enlist enthusiasm for the baptism in the Holy Spirit, it did not catch on as they had thought. On the 21st of January with seven spirit-filled followers, Parham set out on a missionary tour of the United States and Canada. Their first stop at Kansas City was a success largely due to a '...series of dramatic healings, most notably that of Mrs Jennie Caine who had been crippled since childhood...' (Goff 1988c:82). In spite of this, both the crowds and the offerings remained small and in mid-February, the group together with about eight new converts returned to the Bible School in Topeka.

While the poor financial support would have made it impossible for the band to continue, the winter snow storms that year were worst than normal, dumping about twenty-five centimetres of snow on Kansas City in early February. To the north, worst storms would have made further travel extremely difficult (:82).

Several incidents occurred including the death of his year-old son, Charles F Parham Jr, that led to the disintegration of Parham's ministry. Many of his students abandoned him, some in disillusionment, others had their own agendas to pursue, a few, including Agnes Ozman, departed to study at Shiloh with Frank Sandford. 'They travelled as far as Kansas City, when, they claimed, their "lack of the presence of God" and their "powerlessness" convinced that they had followed "a voice which was not the Lord's"' (Blumhofer 1993:53). Both Anderson (1979:58) and Nelson (1981:69)

⁸E N Bell was elected as the first chairman (later called General Superintendent) of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, USA, at the founding congress. He served in that capacity from April-November 1914, was reelected in 1920 and served until his death in June 1923.

indicate that Ozman, along with other Bethel students, repudiated their recent Pentecostal experience. However, that seems not to be the case. She (1909:1) states: 'For a while after the baptism I got into spiritual darkness, because I did as I see so many others are doing these days, rested and revelled in tongues and other demonstrations instead of resting alone in God. My power to speak in tongues has not been lessened by giving up the errors which have become attached to this work, but instead it has increased.' The woman evangelist, Maria Woodworth-Etter (1916:432) printed Miss Ozman's testimony in which she stated: ' Not understanding God's dealings with me, I got into the flesh and was under a cloud spiritually, and was willing to lay down the baptism because of criticism and censure.' Again, she (1922:5) wrote: 'Some time passed and the work of the school seemed to have been finished. Those having the burden of the work went in evangelistic or in mission work....I went in rescue mission work in Kansas City for a time with some workers who did not have the baptism...' The case is made that she returned to non-glossolalic ministries, however, one must remember that there were few, if any at all, glossolalic ministries other than Parham's. Where else could she turn?

'...[T]here was nothing in the immediate aftermath of January 1901 to suggest an infectious outpouring of the Holy Spirit that would impact the world; the first tongues-speaker became silent about the event until after Azusa Street, few others were won over to the experience, and immediately after the Topeka events divine healing seems to have become the focus of Parham's preaching more than the baptism in the Spirit' (Hocken 1994:31).

On the heels of the exodus of the majority of Bethel's students, 'Stone's folly' was sold, forcing Parham to find other quarters for his school. As things steadily declined, Parham closed the school in the fall of 1901, moved his family to Kansas City and there 'began a period of deep introspection' (Goff 1988c:86).

While in Kansas City, he began writing his first book, *Kol Kare Bomidbar: A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*. This writing symbolized Parham's belief that he, as a modern day John the Baptist, had announced the arrival of a new dispensation and also like the Baptist, had endured many hardships and trials. 'Nevertheless, the book

affirmed his optimism that Holy Spirit baptism marked the dawn of a new era in world evangelism and Christian living. [The]...book [also] marked the first published example of Pentecostal theology in history' (:86).

The one positive thing about being on the bottom is that there is only one way to go and that is up. Starting the year 1902 with such a positive up-beat note, an elegant looking Bible school, a new message, and '...a leading role in the eschatological climax of the present age' (:87), Parham finished the year defeated, rejected and demoralized. He (in Blumhofer 1993:53) wrote: 'Both the pulpit and the press sought to utterly destroy our place and prestige, until my wife, her sister and myself seemed to stand alone.'

In 1903 things seemed to turn in his favour when the Parhams went to El Dorado Springs, Missouri to conduct services at a mineral bath health resort. Since most of the clients were there with physical ailments, he preached on divine healing and was well received. Among the many sick and infirmed was one Mrs Mary A Arthur, a resident of Galena, Kansas. She suffered from vision loss in one eye and was born blind in the other. As well, she suffered from '...dyspepsia for fourteen years also with prolapsis [sic], hemorrhoids [sic] and paralysis of the bowels' (Goff 1988c:89). She was prayed for, received her healing and both she and her husband became staunch supporters of Parham and his ministry. Since she was known by many, the healing opened many doors for Parham to minister throughout the Galena area and 1903 found him on the rise again to fame as hundreds claimed healing, conversion, and Spirit baptism. 'Parham had become a sensation. He had also finally found acceptance. For the rest of his life, the region would provide his most loyal following, and for most of those years his home was near Galena in Baxter Springs, Kansas' (Blumhofer 1993:89).

After a couple of setbacks involving both his own physical health and the death of a child, Nettie Smith, whose father had followed Parham's doctrine of not seeking medical help or taking medicine, Parham felt the call to move on. He had established Apostolic Faith churches (called assemblies) in the major towns and area around Galena and was restless. 'The unmistakable divine voice that had spoken so

often in the past seemed to tug at his heart and say "Go to the southland!" (Goff 1988c:95). He set off for the small southern town of Orchard, Texas, near the present city of Houston in early April 1905.

His decision to travel to Orchard, Texas was the result of local residents, the Walter Oylers, having visited the revivals in the Kansas area the previous year. In the Galena revival the Oylers had received their Spirit baptism. Knowing of Parham's weakened physical condition, they had invited him to come to a nicer climate, preach and see what God could do to revive the folks in Texas as he had done in Kansas.

Shortly after arriving, Parham's health was strengthened as he preached. Revival broke out and numerous healings and conversions were reported to have taken place (:95). Finding the area receptive, Parham returned to Kansas, recruited workers and made his way back to Texas full of hopes and enthusiasm. Working in teams, the Apostolics moved from house to house, visited jails, preached on street corners and in rented halls.

Again, a spectacular healing brought Parham wide publicity. 'The wife of a prominent lawyer in Houston, whose suit for injuries suffered in a street-car accident had been widely publicized, was carried in the hall and prayed for by Parham. Rising from her chair, she "walked about the hall in a state of ecstatic joy, shouting, clapping her hands and praising the Lord"' (Anderson 1979:60). However, Anderson (:60) believes that Parham's greatest victory was in winning the independent Holiness mission of W Fay Carothers. For some years afterwards, that mission would be the headquarters of the Apostolic Faith Movement in Texas. However, for Pentecostalism, Parham's decision to open a short term Bible school in the Houston area would be momentous.

As the workers of the area increased, Parham again felt the need to give training to his workers and announced that he would be opening a Bible school along the lines of the old defunct Bethel College of Topeka but that '...with the additional innovation of teaching by the Holy Spirit directly through "prophecy," and through "messages" in tongues and interpretation' (:60).

The Bible school would be established to train and send out ministers. During the school sessions, the students would fan out into the city with Parham in revival and street meetings (Lawrence 1916:64). Lawrence (:64) further noted that upon the closing of the school 'about fifty preachers and workers [were] in the field...having great revivals.'

2.4.3 William Joseph Seymour (1870-1922) and the Azusa Street Revival

The one student who would attain fame far more than anyone would have ever thought was an African American named William Joseph Seymour, the person who would have been selected by his peers and counter-parts as the 'one most likely **NOT** to succeed.' 'Pentecostalism has become a global vehicle for the restoration of primal hope. The movement started from the bottom. A partially blind, poor, black man with little or no book learning outside of the Bible heard the call. Seymour was anything but a Paul of Tarsus, trained by the leading religious scholars, or an Augustine of Hippo, schooled by the most polished Roman rhetoricians, or a Calvin or Luther educated in the original languages of scripture. He was a son of former slaves who had to listen to sermons through a window and who undoubtedly travelled to Los Angeles in the segregated section of the train. Yet under Seymour's guidance, a movement arose whose impact on Christianity, less than a century after his arrival in Los Angeles, has been compared to the Protestant Reformation' (Cox 1995:119).

Born of former slave parents, William Seymour was raised as a Baptist and yet was given to dreams and visions as a young man. From 1900 to 1902 while working in Cincinnati, Ohio, he came in contact with the Holiness movement. Accepting their emphasis on entire sanctification, he later joined the Church of God Reformation movement also known as the 'Evening Light Saints.' The emphasis of the group was a belief that there would be a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit before the rapture of the church (Synan 1988:780). Previously, while working in Indianapolis, Indiana, he had lost the use of his left eye due to smallpox. Reflecting on his illness, he had accepted the call to preach and before long, he was licensed and ordained as a minister of the 'Evening Light Saints' movement (:780). 1903 found Seymour in

Houston, Texas in search of his family. While there, he began to attend a Holiness church pastored by an African American woman, Lucy Farrow. Pastor Farrow had gone to Kansas in 1905 to be a governess in the home of Charles Fox. In her absence, Seymour was asked to fill the pulpit of the Houston congregation (Nelson 1981:167). Returning in October of 1905, Lucy Farrow shared the experience of her new found Spirit baptism with William Seymour. Hungry for more of the Word and curious of the new teaching on tongues, he hurried to gain acceptance upon hearing that Parham had moved to Texas and was opening a Bible school in the same town.

'The most important decision at the Houston school, considering the later history of Pentecostalism, was Parham's decision to allow William Joseph Seymour, a black Holiness evangelist, to attend the daily Bible classes' (Goff 1988c:107). Texas, at this time, had what was known as the 'Jim Crow' law which forbade African Americans from mixing with their Caucasian counterparts. To satisfy this law and mores, Seymour was allowed to sit outside the door of the classroom with the door open, taking notes and learning Apostolic Faith theology (Nelson 1981:167). William Menzies (1971:49), an Assemblies of God historian, stated: '...Seymour became convinced of the truth of the Pentecostal experience as he listened to the teaching of Parham...He came to believe that the initial evidence of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance is the accompanying normative pattern. But Seymour had not as yet received the experience himself. These were indeed days of preparation, however, for evidently God had a special mission for Seymour to accomplish.'

Nelson (1981:168) believes the reason that Seymour had not yet received his Spirit baptism was that Parham in his services seated all the African American worshippers in the rear of his meetings and would not permit '...interracial mingling at the altar afterwards. This hindered Seymour, preventing him from receiving glossolalia.' 'In the final analysis, Parham was neither a racial reformer nor a champion of white supremacy.⁹ Rather, he occupied a paternalistic middle ground

⁹Dr Cheryl Sanders (1996:26-27), an African American professor at Harvard University takes great exception to such statements. She, correctly, condemns the racism and white supremacist theology of Parham, even if he was a child of the times.

typical of many, if not most, white ministers from the Midwest. His goal was the radical salvation of Christianity in the twentieth century through the renewal of Pentecostal power. Missionaries would be endowed with the gift of language to ensure the glorious end time revival. Such a revolutionary goal, of necessity, included all races' (Goff 1988c:111).

Seymour was soon visited by a young African American woman from Los Angeles, California, Neely Terry. Miss Terry came with the invitation for Seymour to journey to California with the prospect of becoming their pastor. '...After some hesitation, he acquiesced and accepted the invitation' (Tyson 1992:95). Obviously, Parham was not too happy with the news. He had hoped that Seymour would work with the African Americans in Texas while he worked with the whites. However, Seymour felt '...confident that the call carried with it the direction of the Holy Spirit. Parham finally gave the determined disciple his blessing and even contributed toward his travel expenses to Los Angeles' (Goff 1988c:111). 'With prayer and the laying on of hands, Seymour was dispatched from Houston to Los Angeles....It was a turning point. As he laid his hands on the kneeling Seymour, Parham was unknowingly passing on the leadership of the movement to others. He would continue to have a following in the Midwest, but would never achieve prominence among Pentecostals nationally. What had been under Parham a relatively small, localized movement, was to assume international proportions through the Los Angeles ministry of the obscure, chunky black man who sat gazing out of the sooted train window, lost in prayer and meditation as the Texas plains slid behind him' (Anderson R 1979:61).

Although lacking the experience himself, Seymour set out for California with his teacher's central thesis in his heart, that is, a third crisis experience evidenced through speaking in other tongues which '...would revolutionize the world through spiritual power and missionary zeal' (Goff 1988c:111). Arriving in Los Angeles, he preached at the church pastored by Julia Hutchins, which was the actual church he had come to candidate for. He took his sermon from Acts 2:4 and announced that the evidence of the Pentecostal experience was speaking in other tongues. Pastor Hutchins was both upset with this message and received opposition from the Holiness

Association within the area. She locked the church door and Seymour was forced to find '...refuge in the home of Richard Asberry on Bonnie Brae Avenue' (Synan 1988:780).

Using the front verandah as a platform, services were conducted for several weeks at this site. During this period, Seymour received his personal Spirit baptism. Now he could 'practice what he preached.' As the crowds increased, the necessity for more permanent quarters became obvious. A search led them to an abandoned two story storage building that one time had been an African Methodist Episcopal church. This was the now-famous site at 312 Azusa¹⁰ Street, Los Angeles, California (:780), '...the mission soon to be heard of around the world' (Menzies W 1971:51).

Seymour began holding services at the Azusa Street mission on 14 April 1906. He fashioned a very unusual seating arrangement. The pulpit was placed in the centre of the room with the altar in front of it. During the invitation, it would serve as a bench for persons coming forward to pray following the invitation. The 'pews' (really just timber planks on boxes) formed a circle surrounding the pulpit and altar. There was no raised platform for the clergy or leader. All would sit on the same level. 'This plan reflected the oneness in equality Seymour envisioned. Worshippers gathered in a new way completely equal in the house of God....This unconventional seating plan revealed Seymour's conviction that events transpiring at Azusa Mission were different, unique, and revolutionary' (Nelson 1981:194).

Black Pentecostal scholar Lovett (1975:136), very defensively but correctly, states that the initial revival was a 'black Azusa Street revival' to which some whites attended. This had been the case even at the Asberry home. But it seemed the intention of Seymour to create an atmosphere of unity in which all races could come and worship without concern of skin colour (:136). Reflecting on the racial issue,

¹⁰Douglas Nelson (1981:318-321, 1988:187-189) has provided a very interesting account of the original meaning of 'Azusa.' The story coming from a Native American maiden who supposedly had healing powers and was given the name of 'Azusa' which meant 'blessed miracle.' As her fame spread, anyone who was sick was told to 'go to Azusa' for healing. According to the account, the physical site where the healings transpired was the identical local of the Azusa Street mission. 'Go to Azusa for your miracle.'

Assemblies of God historian C Robeck stated: 'Azusa was typically described by the press as a 'colored' congregation that met in a 'tumbledown shack' and made the night 'hideous' through the 'howlings of the worshippers,' yet it was a church where whites, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and others met together regularly and where from their own perspective the 'color-line' was virtually nonexistent. Clearly, Seymour may be credited with providing the vision of a truly 'color-blind' congregation. His was a radical experiment that ultimately failed because of the inability of whites to allow for a sustained role for black leadership' (Robeck 1988:36).

The theme of racial unity ran deep throughout the revival. 'Blacks and whites worshipped together' (McGee 1988a:58). Here was the son of freed slaves, leading a predominately black congregation but encouraging his people to worship with the whites. 'There were far more white people than colored coming. The "color line" was washed away in the blood [of Christ]' (Bartleman [1925] 1980:55). In 1915 Seymour published *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission*. In this publication he (in Irvin 1995:30 n11) notes that in the amended Articles of Incorporation the leadership '...must be people of color' and that in Article I of the document in reference to the purpose of the corporation, states: '...[it] shall be carried on in the interests of and for the benefit of the colored people of the State of California, but the people of all countries, climes and nations shall be welcome.'

Recounting the early days at the mission, Seymour (in Irvin 1995: 30 n11) wrote in his 'Apostolic Address' of the *Discipline*: 'Very soon division arose through some of our brethern [sic] and the Holy Spirit was grieved. We want all of our white brethern and white sisters to feel free in our churches and missions, in spite of all the trouble we have had with some of our white brethren in causing diversion, and spreading wild fire and fanaticism....We must love all men as Christ commands. (Heb 12:14). Now because we don't take them for directors it is not for discrimination, but for peace. To keep down race war in the Churches and friction, so they can have greater liberty and freedom in the Holy Spirit.

As has been reported and researched many times, true revival broke out '...sparking one of the greatest spiritual awakenings of the twentieth century' (McGee

1988a:58). But '...it also became the focus of a campaign of misrepresentation, vituperation, and outright persecution' (Miller 1994:29).

By May, more than a thousand¹¹ people were trying to jam into the small twelve by eighteen metre building '...to witness the scenes that rivalled those of Cane Ridge a century earlier' (Synan 1988:780). 'The revival proceeded non-stop for three years....Reports circulating from the revival noted that men, women, and children received the Pentecostal baptism and spoke in other tongues. Singing, shouting, speaking in tongues, healings, deliverances, and the expectancy of Christ's imminent return characterized the services' (McGee 1988a:58). An eyewitness to the revival, Frank Bartleman ([1925] 1980:51ff) wrote: 'At "Azusa Mission" we had a powerful time. The saints humbled themselves. A colored sister both spoke and sang in "tongues." The very atmosphere of heaven was there....Conviction was mightily on the people....When men came within two or three blocks of the place they were seized with conviction....The work was getting clearer and stronger at "Azusa." God was working mightily. It seemed that every one had to go to "Azusa" (:53).

John Lake, who would become a missionary to South Africa, ([1981] 1991:15) visited Azusa Street and testified: 'It was not what he [Seymour] said in words; it was what he said from his spirit to my heart that showed me he had more of God in his life than any man I had ever met up to that time. It was God in him who was attracting people.'

Nothing was scheduled in advance, be it speaker, sermon, or song and the meetings followed no formal programme. 'No choirs were used, nor offerings taken, and no advertising was purchased; yet the congregations grew' (Kendrick 1961:67). 'The central feature at Azusa Street, however, was glossolalia, which electrified the services and attracted many to the altars to receive "the baptism"' (Synan 1988:780).

¹¹Robeck (1988:33) writes that a more accurate count would be around three hundred to three hundred fifty on any given service. Naturally, there would have been times of ups and downs. He does note that on occasions, the number could double from what he quoted. On the other hand, Frank Bartleman ([1925] 1980:47), stated that on the 19th of April 1906 he counted only 'about a dozen saints' but that was the very next day following the San Francisco earthquake and Los Angeles had tremors on the 19th.

Knowing that what God was doing at the mission was important, Seymour hastened to acknowledge its relationship with the work of Charles Parham. 'In July 1906 he wrote to W F Carothers, field secretary of the AFM, asking for promised ministerial credentials from Parham. Carothers sent the note on to Parham, remarking that he had filled the request' (Robeck 1988:34).

The mission had begun to publish its own newspaper called *The Apostolic Faith*, after Parham's paper. The first issue heralded the headline 'Pentecost Has Come' (Hocken 1994:45). 'Since Seymour recognized Parham as his "spiritual father," and the "projector of the movement," he invited the Kansas evangelist to hold a "union revival" in October 1906' (Synan 1988:781) to consolidate the movement. This was reported in the September issue of *The Apostolic Faith*. The next month, Seymour related in his newspaper the story of Agnes Ozman and the message of Pentecost during the Topeka, Kansas pneumatic visitation. 'Now, however, [Seymour reported,] it had "burst out in great power" and was being carried worldwide from the Pacific Coast' (Robeck 1988:34).

Charles Parham's visit to the mission on Azusa Street was a fiasco. Seymour had hoped that Parham would put his stamp of approval on what was happening and give it some integrity. However, that was not to be the case. Instead, Parham repudiated what he saw. Robeck (:34) wrote that: 'Theological, racial, and power issues all entered into his assessment and the resulting rupture.' 'When Parham arrived he was repelled by the noisy demonstrations and the perceived influence of spiritualists in the meetings. His attempts at correction only alienated Seymour and his followers. The two suffered an irreparable break when Parham was rejected by the Azusa Street elders' (Synan 1988:780-781).

Aside from the apparent fanaticism that Parham witnessed, Goff (1988c:131ff) mentions two items that really caused Parham to be alarmed. One was the issue of race equality and interracial services. True, Parham had ministered to blacks back in Houston and had a good ministry amongst them, but he still remained at arms-length from them without any social intercourse. He was, in fact, a product of his time, a southerner who still felt that African Americans were inferior and destined by God to

be so. He also feared miscegenation. Seeing the mixing of races in the services, Goff (:131) notes that: 'Parham was personally *revolted* [italics mine]...Parham was certain the cooperation and goodwill did not necessitate a complete blurring of racial roles.' His former paternalistic racism which he had practised in the Midwest, now gave way to a very harsh, blatant racism, becoming critical of black religious expression and very careless in his remarks about the mission and Seymour. Later, in 1912 he would write concerning this issue: 'Men and women, whites and blacks, knelt together or fell across one another; frequently, a white woman, perhaps of wealth and culture, could be seen thrown back on the arms of a big "buck nigger," and held tightly thus as she shivered and shook in freak imitation of Pentecost. Horrible, awful shame!' (:132).¹²

Second, was Parham's '...concern that verifiable xenoglossia should mark the reception and exercise of Holy Spirit power in the life of every Pentecostal believer. Parham's theological platform contained three vital planks, each of which was adopted by Azusa worshippers' (:132). They were: ' 1) Tongue-speaking served as the *sine qua non* of Holy Spirit baptism. 2) Those receiving Pentecostal power had been 'sealed' for the impending rapture and would soon form a pivotal role as Christ's bride during the eschaton. 3) Xenoglossic tongues would make Pentecostal evangelism effective' (Goff 1988c:132-133).

By the middle of 1907 Seymour began to tone down his rhetoric concerning tongues being the *sine qua non* of Spirit baptism. Robeck (1991:80), in examining Seymour's newspaper, *The Apostolic Faith*, notes that up to May of 1907 the paper presented a solid position that glossolalia or better yet, xenolalia was *the* evidence of Spirit baptism. Then in September, he printed an article aimed at the 'baptized saints' which stated: 'Tongues are one of the signs that go with every baptized person, but it

¹²The reader should remember that while Parham was definitely a racist, he was the product of his southern Midwest up-bringing. It would have revolted any 'southern gentleman' of that era to think that an African American man had touched the skin of a white woman of wealth or culture except in the role as a servant. Later, many African Americans were hanged for such actions. A sad commentary on a 'Christian' society.

is not the real evidence of the baptism in the every day life. Your life must measure with the fruits of the Spirit. If you get angry, or speak evil, or backbite, I care not how many tongues you may have, you have not the baptism with the Holy Spirit, You have lost your salvation. You need the Blood in your soul' (Seymour 1907:2). Was this a change in his theology or a warning against the sins of backbiting, etc? The context of the article is in favour of sanctification as opposed to thinking that glossolalia would cover such sins as mentioned above.

By the last issue of the paper, in May 1908 Seymour has changed his speech a bit. The term 'evidence' has been dropped from his statement. He does mention that: 'The Azusa standard of the baptism with the Holy Ghost is according to the Bible in Acts 1:5,8; Acts 2:4 and Luke 24:49. Bless His holy name. Hallelujah to the Lamb for the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire and speaking in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.' Further into the article he stated: 'So, beloved, when you get your personal Pentecost, the signs will follow in speaking with tongues as the Spirit gives utterance. This is true.'

By 1908 things began to take a turn for the worst for Seymour. First, his trusted white workers, Clara Lum and Florence Crawford, took the mailing list for *The Apostolic Faith* with them to Portland, Oregon (Synan 1988:781) where they (notably Florence Crawford) established their own Apostolic Faith denomination unrelated to that of Parham or Seymour (Apostolic Faith Mission 1965:46; Blumhofer 1988:20). By this time, they had a circulation of around 50 000. 'Without this mailing list, Seymour could no longer communicate with the thousands of people who looked to him and Azusa Street for leadership' (Synan 1988:781).

Second, a further erosion came in 1911 when William Durham came to Azusa Street from Chicago. He was the former pastor of the North Avenue Mission, Chicago, IL. While at Los Angeles and at Azusa Street, he preached his controversial doctrine, 'The finished Work of Calvary.' This belief denied the Wesleyan idea of entire sanctification as a second work of grace and the eradication of the sinful nature. He found approval to speak in the Azusa mission during a time when Seymour was on a trip back east. Because of the controversy, the elders called

Seymour to return to handle the problem created by Durham. Upon his return, he found that Durham was determined to either 'rule or ruin.' Seymour could not accept Durham's doctrine, having been spiritually reared in the Wesleyan tradition before meeting Charles Parham in Houston and Durham did not respect any other point of view. It was either his way or no way. Finally, knowing of no other way to stop Durham, Seymour, with padlocks and chains to the doors, barred Durham and his followers from further entrance to the mission (Nelson 1981:248). 'Those who followed Durham's teaching eventually organized the Assemblies of God denomination in 1914' (Synan 1988:781).

'The struggles with Parham, Crawford, and Durham effectively ended Seymour's major role of leadership in the Pentecostal movement. This also ended Seymour's dream of an interracial Pentecostal movement that would serve as a positive witness to a racially segregated America' (:781).

There were several significant events Seymour and the Azusa Street revival contributed to: 1) In terms of local impact, by 1912 several (twelve) congregations were established as a direct result of the mission's influence. As well, Blumhofer (1993:61) notes that it is '...estimated that some thirteen thousand had spoken in tongues...' at the end of 1906.2) in terms of national impact, many congregations were established or renewed including Stone Church in Chicago linking with the North Avenue Mission where Durham had one time pastored. Glad Tidings Tabernacle in New York City became Pentecostal. Throughout the South and Midwest many missions and churches were planted. 3) In terms of international impact, Lovett (1975:138) correctly stated when Seymour was locked out of the church pastored by Julia Hutchins (before Azusa Street), '...he transformed the bolted door into an international gateway for the pentecostal movement.' Many people, filled with the Spirit, claiming to have been pneumatically given some foreign ('heathen') tongue, gave themselves to foreign missions and circled the globe with the message of salvation (Robeck 1988:35). 4) In 1775 at Concord, Massachusetts, the first shots of the American revolution were fired and were called the 'shots heard around the world.'

At Azusa Street, the first Pentecostal 'shots' were fired and heard around the world. There was a rippling effect that went out from the mission to the regions beyond, to the ends of the world.

To Canada, to Norway and the Scandinavian countries, to India, to South Africa, Liberia, South America, Hong Kong, China, the Philippines and Egypt went the missionaries armed with their Bibles, 'trained in the language by the Holy Spirit,' and preaching the Pentecostal message. While many would fail, they would also discover they had, in fact, to learn the language the old fashioned way and there was no short cut for it, even pneumatically.

If Charles Parham can, correctly, be called the 'theological father' of the Pentecostal movement, William J Seymour can, correctly, be called the 'father' of the Pentecostal movement, the one who put theory to work and lived to see the empirical evidence of his labours. Parham had the vision and understood that the baptism in the Holy Spirit with tongues as the *sine qua non* was the gateway to end-times evangelism but he did not have the charisma or the integrity to make his vision work. In contrast, Seymour, taking his theology from Parham, and even with many negative traits against him, was able to transform Parham's vision into reality. Parham was the Moses who stood on Mt Nebo, looking into Canaan but unable to cross over the Jordan. Seymour was the Joshua who led the 'children of Israel' over to victory. 'John Wycliffe was to the Protestant Reformation what Parham was to contemporary pentecostalism. Wycliffe was the dawn star of Protestantism, but Martin Luther was its catalyst. Seymour was to contemporary pentecostalism what Luther was to the Reformation, a major catalyst' (Lovett 1975:137). '...There is little doubt that "Daddy" Seymour was the leader of the events that transpired in Azusa Street, and spiritual father to multitudes of early Pentecostals, including John G Lake' (Anderson, A 1992:23). Lake revisited Azusa Street on at least one occasion to report to Seymour about what was happening in South Africa (Lake [1981] 1991:23). This placed an African American in a unique and pivotal position at the genesis of the 'third force in

world mission.¹³ Considering the sociological factors of that era and locale, this was almost unheard of. Missiologically, there are several implications that require attention.

2.4.4 The African American Pentecostals

As stated earlier, the African American William Seymour, both by default and providence, became the 'father' of modern Pentecostalism. By default because there appeared to be no heir apparent and he automatically slipped into the role as the Azusa leader. By providence because God was leading him into this pneumatic leadership position in order to accomplish something that in the natural was not possible, lead a multi-racial revival in an era when it was almost unthinkable.

Many writers of Pentecostal history point to Parham as the 'father' of the modern Pentecostal Movement but this writer has already (hopefully) laid to rest that notion. Yes, Parham articulated the concept that the *sine qua non* of the baptism in the Holy Spirit was the evidence of speaking in tongues and in that theological articulation this writer defines him as the 'theological father:' the one person who gave the concept its birth in history but not its impetus. 'Parham laid the doctrinal foundations of the movement, while Seymour served as the catalytic agent for its popularization. In this sense, the early pentecostal movement could be classified as neither "Negro" or "white," but as interracial' (Synan 1971:168).

The city of Los Angeles, California was indeed, a melting pot for various races who had come to the United States for immigration. Just as there were many nations represented at the first baptism in the Holy Spirit in Acts 2:4 ff, there were, Chinese, Mexicans, Russians, Negroes, Whites, Italians, Indians and other ethnic groups who all mingled and worshipped at the Azusa Street Mission (:168). 'Seymour saw glossolalia above all as the sign that the Spirit was breaking through the barriers between the races, sexes and nationalities and was reconciling all people with one another....He saw this confirmed when blacks and whites, Americans and foreigners,

¹³This present writer is indebted to Prof W Saayman for this concept.

professors and washerwomen prayed and sang together with sounds of glossolalia. In this way people who had no common language experienced a unity which transcended the barriers of language' (Suurmond 1995:5-6). It, indeed, was a interracial congregation.

Seymour was not a stranger to integrated worship. After moving to Indianapolis, Indiana in 1895 he soon attached himself to the interracial Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC). Nelson (1981:161) stated that this was 'Seymour's... first clear indication he gave of seeking racial reconciliation.' By the year 1900, the MEC had lost most of its language for racial integration and was singing the old song of "exclusively white." In that same year, Seymour moved to the city of Cincinnati, Ohio where an evangelist named Martin Wells Knapp, a Methodist minister, was preaching the Holiness message and reaching out to both blacks and whites at the same time (:163). This, of course, attracted Seymour to Knapp and for an appreciation of Knapp's interracial ministry.

Also located in Cincinnati was another Holiness group called the Evening Light Saints (later it would be called the Church of God Reformation Movement). Ithiel Clemmons (in Nelson 1981:164) observed that the Evening Light Saints reached out 'vigorously to include blacks.' Nelson (:165) noted: 'Amid rising national racism this was the last major effort of any Christian group to secure fair treatment for blacks or fellowship with them.'

William Seymour was attracted to this group, the Evening Light Saints. He received the call into the ministry while with them. After receiving this calling, he refused to enter the preaching ministry. Shortly afterwards, he contracted smallpox which left him with facial scars and the loss of vision in his left eye. Accepting this as divine punishment for disobeying God's call on his life, he entered the ministry which eventually led to his ordination¹⁴ (:165).

¹⁴Dale Irvin (1995:34 n21) indicates that while Nelson's account of Seymour's ordination may be true, there is no documentation that supports this. In fact, Irvin notes that Seymour, while in Los Angeles, wrote back to Parham in Texas requesting credentials for his ministry. However, this does not mean that Seymour did not have
(continued...)

Thus when Seymour found himself in Houston, Texas, worshipping in Parham's racially integrated but separately seated services, he felt at home. While in Houston, Seymour and Parham preached together in the black sections of the city. His background had prepared him for both these experiences and the one to come, his interracial ministry at Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles, California.

2.4.4.1 A Black Mission in a Black Neighbourhood

In preceding pages, it has been noted that while in Houston, Texas, Parham allowed African Americans to attend his meetings (see section 5.2.5) but they were required to sit in the rear of the meeting hall. William Seymour, his future African American protégée, was also required to sit outside the classroom with the door open while attending Parham's Bible training school. All of this because of their skin colour. The Jim Crow law would not allow people of colour to mix with their Caucasian counterparts.

When the young African American lady, Neely Terry, invited Seymour to be the assistant pastor of a small black Holiness congregation meeting in a store-front mission on Santa Fe Avenue in a black neighbourhood alongside the railroad tracks, neither she or Seymour knew of the ramifications that would result. Upon arrival in Los Angeles, Seymour preached his first message from Acts 2:4 and proclaimed the message of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. It should be remembered from previous mention that the pastor, a Holiness minister, was not happy with his message and locked him out to prevent him preaching any further.

This led Seymour to begin preaching in house or cottage meetings. He first went to 'the home of "Irish" Lee, black adherents of one of the Peniel missions, and later in the home of another black couple, the Baptist "Brother and Sister" Asbury,¹⁵

¹⁴(...continued)
the ordination from the Evening Light Saints.

¹⁵There appears to be at least three variations of this name. The one given by the Bonnie Brae web site is 'Asberry.' Other spellings include 'Asbury' and 'Asbery.' See www.bonniebrae.org

who lived at 214 North Bonnie Brae Street in the depressed section north of Temple Street. In the beginning, Seymour's flock consisted primarily of Negro washerwomen' (Anderson R 1979:65).

After finding that the Bonnie Brae home was too small to accommodate the crowds, Seymour found an abandoned building located on Azusa Street. It was a run- down, former African Methodist Episcopal church which had been converted into a stable and storage warehouse with a rooming house on the second level. This was cleaned out, seating arranged in the center of the floor and service commenced. From the beginning, it was '...already a black Azusa Street revival...' which whites attended (Lovett 1975:136).

2.4.4.2 Black Pentecostalism and African Traditional Religions

'...[N]o responsible historian of religion now disputes that pentecostalism was conceived when essentially African and African American religious practices began to mingle with the poor white southern Christianity that sprang from a Wesleyan lineage' (Cox 1995:149). Saayman (1993:40) states: '...this Black Pentecostalism can be linked directly to the African religious culture of the American slaves.' 'Interestingly, William J Seymour, W E Fuller, first overseer of the black wing of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church of the Americas, C H Mason, founder of the Church of God in Christ, and G T Haywood of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, were the sons of emancipated slaves. Their holistic view of religion had its roots in African religion' (Lovett 1975:138). For this reason, W Saayman (1993:40) states '...that the arrival of Pentecostal missionaries in South Africa can therefore be regarded as a "homecoming" of a mission model with African roots.'

Hollenweger (1996:4) notes that the Los Angeles community was also influenced by oral culture, an African legacy of the Black slaves. He (:4) stated that 'proclamation took place not in doctrinal statements but in songs, not in theses but in dances, not in definitions but in descriptions....What held believers together was not expressed by a systematic account of faith or creed, but by the fellowship that was experienced, by songs and prayers, by active participation in liturgy and diaconia.'

'We have', says Allan Anderson (1992:27), 'in African Pentecostalism an adaptive remoulding of African religious practices in a decidedly *Christian* context.' He continues to state that there is a greater continuity between the manifestations of the Holy Spirit in Pentecostalism and African traditional religions. J N Horn (in Anderson A 1992:27) stated: 'Seymour and his Black followers carried their ideals and the liturgy of Black Christianity with their emphasis on freedom, equality and community and a liturgy of shout, song, dance and motoring into the Pentecostal movement.'

Christian de Wet (1989:20) quotes MacRobert in stating that the 'Black understanding and practice of Christianity which developed in the crucible of New World slavery was a syncretism of Western theology and West African religious practice and beliefs.' De Wet also gives the Dutch Pentecostal leader, G R Polman credit for recognizing the black origins in Pentecostalism (:21).

Harvey Cox (1995:101) stated: 'At Azusa Street, a kind of primal spirituality that had been all but suffocated by centuries of Western Christian moralism and rationality reemerged with explosive power. Along with primal speech, this newfound spirituality became the second key feature of the revival.' Throughout his book, Cox uses the concept of 'primal' to describe Azusa Street spirituality.

In contrast, M Millner (1998:2), an African American student of Black Pentecostalism, states: '...many scholars, primarily white, from inside and outside of Pentecostalism, characterize the Los Angeles, Azusa Revival from 1906 to 1908 as a wedding between blacks' African retentions in slave religions and whites' [sic] theological/doctrine continuation of evangelicalism with the Holiness movement. This view is inadequate for several reasons. It suggests that blacks merely brought "style" in Pentecostalism, while whites brought doctrinally or theological "substance"....The same non-Pentecostal scholars who would interpret Azusa in all its sociological and cultural significance, beyond that of a new Christian doctrine, also do poor scholarship to actively link Azusa to Africa.'

J. Rodman Williams, a Presbyterian and Pentecostal theologian wrote a review of Harvey Cox's book, *Fire From Heaven*. In this review, Williams (1998:2)

takes Cox to task about using the concept of 'primal spirituality' to describe Pentecostal spirituality. He asks the following penetrating question, 'But is there not something distinctive about Pentecostal spirituality? Is it only a powerful breaking forth of what is latent anywhere and everywhere?'

Synan (1975:176-179) notes that there are several reasons why African Americans have adopted the Pentecostal religion in such great numbers: ' 1)The emotional nature of Pentecostal worship has always held a strong appeal to the Negro. 2)The Pentecostal movement is essentially a religion of the socially disinherited and the economically underprivileged. 3)The low educational standards for the ministry among the Pentecostals attracted many Negroes who felt that they would have a greater opportunity to preach there than in the old denominations.'

2.4.4.3 Charles H Mason and the Church of God in Christ (CGIC)

Of the many who came from far and near to experience what God was doing was one African American, Elder Charles L Mason, the leader of a Holiness group known as the Church of God in Christ with headquarters in Memphis, Tennessee. He came with two of his associates, D J Young and J A Jeter. They remained in Los Angeles for five weeks, listening to Seymour and evaluating his message. During this visit, Mason received the baptism in the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues (Clemmons 1988: 587). They returned home convinced that Seymour's preaching was from God (Tyson 1992:125). However, his congregation and his colleague in ministry, Charles P Jones, were not happy with the Pentecostal message which led to Jones and Mason parting ways and a split congregation. Mason remained with the Church of God in Christ, reorganized it and became their General Overseer in 1907 (Clemmons 1988:587).

Synan (1987:75) stated: 'It just may be, however, that the nation's largest and oldest Pentecostal group ...is the largely black church known as the Church of God in Christ...' In their reorganizing struggle, they wrote into their Articles of Faith, a Pentecostal statement which separated the baptism in the Holy Spirit from the

experience of sanctification. It stated that 'the full baptism in the Holy Spirit is evidenced by speaking in other tongues' (in Synan 1987:79).

Mason's now Pentecostal church was very unique in that it consisted mostly of African American members and that it had a government recognized charter to function as a religious body. In order for a minister to be deferred from the military service, or to obtain clergy permits for use on the railroads, or even to be bonded as a marriage officer, the minister in question had to demonstrate that he/she belonged to a recognized religious body. The Church of God in Christ with Mason at the helm held this prized and official incorporation charter. Consequently, many white ministers sought his organization out and affiliated with it in order to receive ordination from an approved church (Clemmons 1988:587). In fact, Clemmons (:587) adds: 'There were as many white Churches of God in Christ as there were black, all carrying Mason's credentials and incorporation.' Synan (1987:82) states: 'As time went on, some of the white pastors began to hold separate Bible conferences while keeping their relationship with Mason intact. Finally, a "gentlemen's agreement" was struck whereby the whites could issue credentials in Mason's name and that of the Church of God in Christ...'

The essence of this agreement appears to be in question. Some writers (Clemmons, Lovett, Tyson, et al) feel Mason was used by the white ministers. Others (Nichol, Synan, Goss, et al) indicate there was no real relationship between the CGIC and the white ministers other than 'shirt-tailing' on to their legally recognized church in order to be credentialed. In retrospect, it is very easy to see how this man of God, an African American, was used by his white peers and colleagues. As long as he was needed for their benefit, they united with him, how-be-it, very loosely. When it became apparent that they no longer had use of him, they discarded him and his organization and went their own way.

However, by 1913 some of the white Pentecostals began to advocate that they should have their own organization and began to follow the 'segregating practices of American culture. The color line that had been washed away in the blood of Jesus at the Azusa Street revival reappeared' (Clemmons 1988:587).

The result of this was the issuing of a call in April 1914 to the white Pentecostal ministers to come together and organize a new Pentecostal denomination which also could be chartered and recognized by government. Most of the founders of the Assemblies of God who gathered in Hot Springs, Arkansas for this purpose were credential holders of Mason's Church of God in Christ (Synan 1987:82).

Lovett (1975:139), an African American Pentecostal scholar, let his animosity show as he stated: 'When whites could not "Europeanize" Pentecostalism (Parham led the way by speaking in derogatory terms of certain excesses at the Azusa meeting) and purge it of its "Africanisms," they separated and formed their own denominations. Thus white pentecostals conceded to the pressures of a racist society.' 'Thus the organization of the Assemblies of God was at least partially a racial separation from Mason's church' (Synan 1987:83). In a later publication, Synan (1971:170 n7) is a bit more tolerant as he states: 'Although race was not mentioned as a basis for forming the Assemblies of God group, it is evident from the records that white ministers using credentials from Mason's Church of God in Christ were dissatisfied with the arrangement.' Robert Anderson (1979:189) on the other hand, takes a total different attitude about the Assemblies of God formation and stated: '...no hostility, *racial* [italics mine] or other, seems to have been involved...' In fact, Nichol (1966:109) indicates that since the Church of God in Christ had its background in the Holiness tradition and that most, if not all, of the white ministers who eventually formed the Assemblies of God were theologically oriented to a Reformed tradition, he stated: 'No national organization existed to serve the thousands of Pentecostals who were either not from the South, or if they were, who were not from the *Holiness wing* [italics mine]. A few men were aware of this, however, and it was they who provided the impetus for establishing the Assemblies of God'¹⁶...

¹⁶Grant Wacker (1983) states the Assemblies of God was formed from five distinct bodies '...partly from necessity and partly from theological affinity.' They were: a) the core of Parham's followers; b) a group centred in Alabama [unnamed], aligned with the Apostolic Faith in 1910; c) Parham's converts from Dowie's Zion City; d) two
(continued...)



2.4.5 To The Regions Beyond

In the wake of the Azusa Street revival, the Pentecostal message spread into many places of the world. While many revivals were the result of contact with Azusa Street, there were some indigenous Pentecostal revivals that broke out without any influence of Seymour's group (McGee 1988a:59). One such revival occurred in south India in 1905 at the Mukti Mission founded by the famed Pandita Ramabai (McGee 1994:10).

Of the many personages impacted by the Azusa Street revival, Thomas B Barratt, a Norwegian, carried the Pentecostal message not only to his home in Norway, but to England, Sweden, and other European countries (McGee 1988a:59).

'Internationally, the message spread rapidly as people who believed themselves to have been freshly touched by the Spirit and, in many cases, to have been given a gift of languages (tongues) for purposes of missionary work, went abroad' (Robeck 1988:35). Frank Bartleman made a two year tour to Europe, Lucy Leatherman circled the globe, Thomas Junk to China, M L Ryan together with a number of young people went to the Phillippines, Hong Kong and Japan. The A G Garrs went to India and Tom Lake to South Africa. A host of African Americans went to Liberia with the Pentecostal message and in Toronto the Hebden Mission was established (:35). Thus, it was not long before the Pentecostal message and revival had spread through the mission fields of the world.

Other personalities touched by the revival included Cecil Polhill, founder of the Pentecostal Missionary Union in Great Britain (1909); Minnie T Draper, Allan A Swift, and Christian J Lucas, founders of the South and Central African Pentecostal Mission (1910); William F P Burton and James Salter, founders of the Congo Evangelistic Mission (1915), now the Zaire Evangelistic Mission; Willis C Hoover, father of the Methodist Pentecostal Church in Chile (1910); Daniel Berg, Gunnar Vingren, Luigi Francescon, Nels Nelson, and Samuel Nystrom, missionaries to Brazil (1910) and after; G R Polman, organizer of the Pentecostal Mission Alliance in the Netherlands (1920); Charles

¹⁶(...continued)

groups in Chicago, William Durham's and William Piper's followers; e) persons withdrawn from Simpson's CMA.

Hamilton Pridgeon, director of the Evangelization Society of the Pittsburgh Bible Institute (1920); and Paul B Peterson, founder of the Russian and Eastern European Mission (1927). (McGee 1988a:59)

2.4.6 Azusa Street Revival: *Centrifugal* and *Centripetal*

Christian de Wet (1989:23ff) is both correct and incorrect in his assessment of Pomerville's (1985:47ff) 'Jerusalem-Centrifugal' theory. In this writer's opinion, there does not have to be an 'either-or' situation as both de Wet and Pomerville call for. Why can't there be a bit of both?

From the vast amount of material at the researcher's disposal at this present date, one can easily conclude that the 'Jerusalem-Centrifugal' has some merit. Both writers include a long pedigree of scholars who support their view. However, the few above-mentioned facts would seem to this writer to justify, at least on a limited basis, the concept of the centrifugal premise. In fact, probably a more correct way would be to state that the Azusa Street revival was both *centrifugal* and *centripetal* (Blauw 1962:34, Peters 1972:21). Peters (:21) stated that 'the centripetal method...may be thought of as sacred magnetism that draws to itself. Certainly, the phenomena that took place at the Azusa Street Mission attracted (Robeck 1988:35) people from all over the United States and other countries, just as a magnet does; it attracts.

As well as both attracting people (centripetal) to itself and sending missionaries and evangelists out into the world (centrifugal), there was at the same time frame, an independent move of the Holy Spirit that began to sweep across the land. Knowing no boundaries, limitations, or hindrance, God began to send the Pentecostal revival totally independent of any action or circumstance at Azusa Street or elsewhere. It was revival time across the land and around the globe.

Mission is the 'Mother of Theology'

Martin Kähler, 1908

Source: David Bosch 1991:16

3. The Lostness of Humankind

Pentecostals and most Evangelicals alike all have a common denominator when it comes to the lostness of the human race. Both '...acknowledge a shared conservative theological tradition. In fact, the statement of faith of the [now defunct] Pentecostal Fellowship of North America (founded in 1948) is precisely the same as that of the National Association of Evangelicals [founded in 1943] with the sole and notable exception of article five, pertaining to holiness of life, healing, and the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the "initial evidence" of speaking in tongues' (Hart 1978:98; Nichol 1966:4-5).

General Superintendent of the Assemblies of God in Malawi, Lazarus Chakwera (1991:39), stated: 'One of the fundamental axioms in Assemblies of God missionary thinking is that humankind is lost. It is lost now and it will be lost forever unless repentance and faith in Jesus Christ occur.' Dr Billy Graham (1975:28), in the keynote address before the International Congress on World Evangelism, emphatically stated: 'The Bible portrays man as originally created by God for fellowship with him. However, *sin* intervened in the garden of Eden. Man is now born alienated from God. Without Jesus Christ, he is lost and without hope in this world or the next.'

His lost condition means that man has become: a lost sheep, needing the Good Shepherd to find him; a blind sinner, needing to be anointed with Christ's eyesalve that he might see the wondrous things out of God's law; a naked disgrace, needing to be clothed with the 'garments of salvation'; a dead corpse in trespasses and sins, needing to be quickened by the eternal life-giving Physician; a stumbler fallen into a horrible pit of miry clay, needing to be pulled out and set upon the Rock of Ages; a forlorn traveller in darkness, needing the Light of the World; a hungry soul needing the Bread of Life; a thirsty heart, needing the Water of Life which forever springs up into everlasting life; a stormy heart, needing the Prince of Peace [that] 'passeth all understanding.'

Gamede 1997:138)

In the mind of Pentecostals, the Scriptures 'plainly' teach that the whole of humankind is as stated by Billy Graham: unless there is repentance, they are eternally lost without Christ. This precept is one of the main driving forces that has sent

countless missionaries around this globe. The slogan, 'Win the lost at any cost', has been used as a 'war cry' to rally the 'troops' into action for many decades.

In an address given in 1901 entitled *The Responsibility of the young People for the Evangelization of the World*, the famous missionary statesman, John R Mott (1981:262; York 1990:5), inter alia, declared: '...all people need Christ.' This is the position that Pentecostals take when it comes to the lostness of humankind. All people need Christ! There is no exception!

Hodges has indicated that being spiritually lost entails several scriptural concepts. They are:

- Perishing*: Loss of original form, usefulness, and hope....there remains no hope that he [humankind] can attain the original purpose for which he was created.
- Everlasting destruction*: Man [humankind] experiences destruction rather than attainment of divine purpose.
- Separation*: Man [humankind]is now eternally separated from his source and his fulfilment.
- Outer darkness*: No light. God is light, but this light has been rejected. This includes the absence of all good.
- Torment*: Compared to fire. This is doubtless something different from physical fire. Without question this includes remorse and anguish, which could be the results within a person for his sin.
- Second death*: Cut off from life forever. As natural death removes a person from the life of this present world, the second death ends forever his opportunity to enjoy the life of God beyond this world.

(Hodges 1977:90-92)

Scripturally, Harold Cook ([1954] 1971:24ff) has indicated four basic teachings from the New Testament concerning the lostness of humankind. He adds:

- First, every man is a sinner before God.* (Ro 3:23; 5:12)
- Second, it is our sins that have separated us from God* (Eph 2:1,5)
- Third, God in His infinite mercy has provided a way of salvation in Jesus Christ.*
- Fourth, God has prescribed only one means by which this salvation can be made effective. It is the way of faith* (Heb 11; Acts 15:9).

Ralph Covell, one-time editor of *Missiology*, cites the Lausanne Covenant¹ of 1974 in regard to the topic at hand. He (1993:163) quotes: 'All men are perishing because of sin, but God loves all men, not wishing that any should perish, but that all should repent.' Adding to this line of thought, Norman Correll, one-time Administrative Assistant to the Foreign Missions Executive Director of the A/G in the USA stated:

The greatest tragedy of our generation is that 2.7 billion [in 1987] people--over half the world's population--have never heard the gospel. Why haven't they heard? The disturbing answer lies in our own beliefs about Christ's mission to us and to others....Do we truly believe there is only one way to God, that being Jesus Christ? Do we understand people who have never heard the gospel are forever lost?

(in Chakwera 1991:40)

3.1 Those Who Have Never Heard The Gospel

Concerning the spiritual fate of a person who had never heard the gospel and died, Dr Delmar Guynes (1996:21), current president of Southwestern Assemblies of God University, wrote: 'The question is not correctly stated, for men are already lost. Adam's sin plunged the entire human race into the lost condition of being separated from God. It is not a question of whether or not men will be lost if they have not heard of Jesus. Mankind is lost and his only hope is in Jesus Christ.² Therefore we must do all in our power to tell men about Jesus Christ so they may be saved.' It '...appears clear that Scripture teaches that even men whose knowledge is limited to the light of nature or of conscience are forever lost if they die without the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ' (Lindsell 1975:1213). Therefore, Oscar Cullmann (1964:167) states: '...every generation must proclaim the gospel anew to the nations of their time, *without*

¹See the Appendices for the text of the appropriate section.

²Charles Kraft, professor at the School of World Mission, Fuller Seminary, attempted a reconciliation by drawing attention to the fact that many populations today are '*informationally B C*' while '*chronologically A D*.' He (1979:254ff) argues that in the same way that Abraham and all Old Testament people were saved, those living in this present era, who only have the same 'light' as OT saints, will also be saved. Of course, this is straining at the fact and attempting to provide an accommodation and a compromise response to the present day theological debate between the Conciliar and Evangelical camps.

being troubled by the question as to whether their ancestors had already had the opportunity to hear it [italics mine]. On the basis of this Primitive Christian conception, therefore, the Church must proclaim the gospel to the entire world in every generation.’

Suffice to say, the Pentecostals and others adamantly feel that humankind is lost without a saving knowledge of Christ and anyone who does not accept Christ will eternally be lost. Of course, this very narrow view is not accepted by most Conciliar theologians and missiologists but nevertheless, it is the classical Pentecostal position.

3.2. Pentecostals and Interreligious Dialogue

That the world is now a plural society is a fact no one can deny. People from many cultures, races, and religious commitments all live together in our cities, countries and continents. Cultural pluralism accepts the idea of a variety of different cultures and life-styles which all enrich human life. Religious pluralism, however, ‘...is the belief that the differences between the religions are not a matter of truth and falsehood, but of different perceptions of the one truth; that to speak of religious beliefs as true or false is inadmissible. Religious belief is a private matter. Each of us is entitled to have --as we say -- a faith of our own’ (Newbigin 1989:14).

Religious pluralism in the modern world has ‘decreed’ that peoples of all faiths come together for dialogue. This concept runs the total gambit from seeking a common religious experience or faith to just dialoguing for dialogue’s sake. One-time editor of *Missiology: An International Review*, Arthur Glasser, penned an editorial addressing this issue. He (1981:394) asked: ‘What constitutes a valid evangelical perspective on interreligious dialogue?.’ In continuing, he noted that too many Evangelicals are incapable of discussing the issue in an objective manner. Their dogmatic stance on the exclusiveness of the gospel will not allow most of them to make an objective assessment of another faith or religion, much less find or seek salvific potential in them.

'Is dialogue with adherents of world religions a help or hindrance in the task of world evangelization?' asked Ralph Covell (1993:162). To this, we would respond that many Pentecostals and Evangelicals would gladly sit at a table and dialogue with their counterparts of other religions, but they would also come to that table convinced that there is an absolute exclusiveness of the gospel that makes Christianity the 'one true faith.' Newbigin, however, states that this kind of dialogue has no value since '...nothing vital is at stake; it is merely a sharing of varied experiences of the same reality' (1989:176).

Glasser (1981:396) further wrote: 'The church has been mandated to bear witness to Jesus Christ. This demands the use of the dialogic method in that the objective must be to engage the listeners' minds -- by listening and learning as well as by speaking and instructing. Only through such dialogue can one be assured that this witness is relevant and that the conscience is addressed (2 Cor 4:2).' He (:401ff) posits a new way of looking at the debate, noting that the following concepts or theses will mark the beginning of a 'new paradigm approach'³ to the dialogue issue.

1. Each religious system constitutes an apodictic paradigm....
2. No two religious systems ask precisely the same ultimate questions, nor do their answers occupy the same proportionate importance within the whole 'Truth'....
3. We tend to assume that Christianity is likewise a distinct paradigm. And it is -- within the parameters of Scripture....
4. Within the paradigm of Christianity defined above there have often been competing theories...But despite their differences, all these theories have been regarded as tolerable since all have continued to give the same general answers to the basic questions....
5. However, a new 'Christianity' paradigm will emerge when the assumptions, questions and sources are changed.

(Glasser 1981:401-402)

³Glasser has made frequent use of Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 1970, concepts of paradigms to show that there is something new waiting in the wings to replace the present concepts that one has held as absolute or important. David Bosch (1991) picked up on this in his, *Transforming Mission*, and takes it a step further. He incorporates Kuhn's thinking into the ideas of Hans Küng to postulate his major 'paradigm shifts' throughout church history.

Professor Saayman (1995:2-13) argues that the current approaches to interreligious dialogue are inadequate. First, he defines the 'conservative evangelical' position as belief that salvation is only possible through Christ and that all other religions are '...nothing but idolatry and works of the devil.' This exclusive approach he calls monopolar. Secondly, he notes that there is a more universalistic, inclusive approach which states that there is '...God's revelation in Christ, and the authenticity of the religious experience of humankind outside Christ. This bipolar approach endeavours to avoid the question of salvation and '...preferably not introduced into the debate at all.'

Stating that both of the above are inadequate, Saayman (:5) introduces his concept of a tripolar approach to interreligious dialogue. This approach considers a) 'God's saving revelation through Jesus Christ', b). 'Humankind's authentic religious experience', and c). 'The influence of demonic powers.' He (:5) writes: 'My essential conviction is therefore that human religion, in all its various forms, contains a mixture of these three dimensions: there is an authentic element of God's involvement with a specific human being or group of human beings, but this is tied up with human limitations and shortsightedness, as well as the influence of demonic powers.'

David Bosch (1991:483-489) deals with the topic of *Dialogue and Mission* in his *Transforming Mission*. In this section he makes several astute statements that require attention. One important statement is that '...both dialogue and mission manifest themselves in a meeting of hearts rather than of minds.' He attempts (successfully) to indicate that true dialogue with non-Christian religions requires both a commitment to one's own theological convictions and a willingness to listen to those of our neighbours. Without that conviction and commitment to the gospel, he says: '...dialogue becomes mere chatter; without the authentic presence of the neighbour it becomes arrogant and worthless' (:484). On page 487, Bosch (1991) further elucidates that '...dialogue is neither a substitute nor a subterfuge for mission. They are neither to be viewed as identical nor as irrevocably opposed to each other. It is fallacious to suggest that, for dialogue to be "in", mission has to be "out", that commitment to dialogue is incompatible with commitment to evangelism.'

For Pentecostals, as with all Christians, much can be gained from interreligious dialogue. For the most part, Pentecostals have shied away from this topic and action, fearing that it might be construed as 'watering down the gospel.' In other instances, criticism is levelled at the persons doing the dialoguing, hinting that liberalism has crept in one's theology and that there is no common ground for such dialogue.

While Bosch (1991:483ff) makes a case in favour of dialogue and does so with complete defence of the World Council of Churches stand, Pentecostals must take heed and listen to what he is saying. Approaching with a strong biblical commitment and conviction and yet willing to listen to what others have to say, seems to this writer to make a lot of sense. Certainly, Pentecostals can dialogue with non-Christians without losing their own convictions.⁴ This present writer has personally attended Hindu worship services, being invited by local Hindus to come and observe their worship. This was accomplished without any criticism or any negative sign exhibited towards those worshipping. In fact, it generated a greater resolve in this writer to bring the gospel to them in a way that they could see "the light" of Christ and find him as their Lord and Saviour. As well, this writer has sat (invited) in on the worship of African traditional religions, observed their liturgy, and still retained the conviction that Christ is Lord and a greater determination to win them to Christ. Likewise, through invitation, this writer has been involved in Muslim weddings, prayed in Mosques, talked to Muslim Sheiks, all the while still retaining conviction that Christ is Lord and that Muslims need Christ. This writer has danced to the drums of the

⁴A case could be made for David du Plessis, the South African Pentecostal, who became legendary in his lone voice to dialogue with the Conciliar world and especially the Roman Catholics. His own, the Assemblies of God (USA) 'asked' him to surrender his credentials but it did not deter him from his convictions and feeling that God intended him to make these overtures to the Ecumenical world. Resulting from this came the Roman Catholic-Pentecostal dialogue, This was a major achievement for du Plessis in particular and for Pentecostalism in general (Spittler 1988a:253).



African Zionist Church, prayed with them, and found communion with them. Bosch has something to say to the Pentecostals and their interreligious dialogue and it needs to be heard.

Dialogue does not have to mean that one accepts the non-Christian religion as equal to Christianity. In fact, Pentecostals would reject outright statements such as made by Maimela (1985:74) in which he adamantly declares that in African Traditional Religions 'there is indeed a salvation in those religions, which are genuine channels of God's redemptive activity in response to sins and problems Africans find oppressive...'

The Pentecostal scholar and academic can and should listen with respect to those of a different faith. 'Neither presupposes a "completely open-mind" -- which, in any case, is an impossibility. In both cases, we are witnessing to our deepest convictions whilst listening to those of our neighbours' (Bosch 1991:487).

3.3 No Other Name? The Exclusiveness of Jesus Christ.

The idea that there is salvation only through Jesus Christ has caused no small stir in recent years. 'The heritage of Christian exclusiveness runs deep into the New Testament and dominates the tradition from earliest times to the present. But from the beginning the very same tradition has created loopholes to provide people outside the Christian circle with the chance of salvation' (Braaten 1980:14).

Living in a pluralistic world has caused many theologians to reconsider former doctrinal statements that reflect 'no other name salvation.' Publishing *No Other Name?* his now famous book, Roman Catholic theologian Paul Knitter (1985) opened the door for renewed reflection and consideration on this subject. He posits the concept that to be a modern Christian or theologian, there must be new and modern thinking. Thus he (1985:5) states: 'The new perception of religious pluralism is pushing our cultural consciousness toward the simple but profound insight that *there is no one and only way.*' Close upon his heels came Lesslie Newbigin's *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society* (1989). He echoes the same sentiment as Knitter when he (:155) says: 'The famous watchword "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation"...is inappropriate for today's world. For our grandparents, who were

ignorant of the spiritual riches of the great world religions, the idea that these were all to be displaced by a triumphant Christianity was excusable. It is not excusable today....the old missionary attitude is not merely inexcusable but positively dangerous.'

Against this attitude stands the conservative Evangelical and Pentecostal. They both take a high view of Scripture.⁵ Their hermeneutic and theology is 'Bible based.' Regardless of modern thinking or modern philosophies, they look to the Scriptures and their way of doing hermeneutics convinces them that there is **NO OTHER NAME** by which humankind can be saved. 'Acts 4:12 is the classical locus of this Christological exclusiveness...' (Braaten 1980:13). A wrong hermeneutic?⁶ Perhaps or perhaps not!

'Friend or foe alike tend to agree that, when taken on its own terms, the New Testament does make exclusive claims for Jesus the Christ. However, in the biblical writing, there is no systematic and full defense [sic] of these claims as a theoretical problem set against other religions' (Brunk 1994:42).

Again, Covell (1993:163), citing the Lausanne Covenant quotes: 'Jesus Christ, being himself the only Godman, who gave himself as the only ransom for sinners, is the only mediator between God and man. There is no other name by which we must be saved.' However,

[i]t would be preposterous to conclude that Jesus thought no salvation had preceded him in Israel (or the nations?) or that no saints existed during his lifetime before his ministry to them. However one understands the exclusiveness of Jesus, it is not a simple matter of salvation here, non-salvation elsewhere. One must speak of salvation

⁵Saayman (1984:116ff) correctly points out that the Ecumenicals also utilize Scripture in the formulating of their theology. He states: 'The real difference lies rather in the way of using Scripture and understanding and interpreting its authority in a specific context.' He further states that if the controversy between the two groups is to be resolved, '...it is essential that both groups acknowledge this reality [of how they are different] and abandon the false assumption that one group is faithful to Scripture and the other is not.'

⁶Bosch (1980:38) notes that the Evangelicals do their hermeneutics through the deductive method while the Ecumenicals uses the inductive method.

in Jesus as final in the sense that it supersedes all previous modes of salvation. It fulfills the older in a manner analogous to Jesus' fulfilment of the law -- the former is not negated, but is taken up into something greater. And, in this sense, it claims acceptance from all. This, then is the basic paradigm with which we are to understand the exclusiveness of Jesus Christ. (Brunk 1994:45)

While it would be possible to continue to cite a host of Evangelical or Pentecostal scholars to support (and another host to denounce) the 'no other name' thesis, suffice to say, this concept is a major fundamental doctrinal statement and position of classical North American Pentecostals. It is taught in their Bible institutes, Bible colleges, seminaries, and emphasized in their in-house publications, both popular⁷ and academic. It is a basis and foundation for missionary work and endeavour. It stands as one of the prime motivating forces and concepts that has and will continue to send Pentecostal missionaries around the globe to preach the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ.

3.4 'Life Boat Salvation'

The Pentecostal is very concerned with personal salvation. In fact, this concept governs his attitude about eschatology, evangelism, witnessing, and soul winning. While Ecumenicism has condemned and berated both Evangelicals and Pentecostals alike for their 'inadequate' model, it still remains a very fundamental concept. Consequently, the idea of personal salvation has been dubbed 'life boat salvation' by many. Apparently this concept came from Dwight L Moody (1837-1899) when he made the analogy of rescuing people who are drowning. He (in Weber [1979] 1983:53) stated: 'I look upon this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, "Moody, save all you can". God will come in judgment and burn up this world, but the children of God don't belong to this world; they are in it, but not of it, like a ship in the water. This world is getting darker and darker; its ruin

⁷For example, in an editorial of the Assemblies of God's missionary periodical, *Mountain Movers* (May 1990) Dr George Flattery addresses the 'no other name' issue and emphasizes the common and accepted position of most Pentecostals.

is coming nearer and nearer. If you have any friends on this wreck unsaved, you had better lose no time in getting them off.' With a bit of 'tongue-in-cheek', Bosch defines and embellishes it this way:

The church is a tiny lifeboat on a tempestuous sea, busy picking up survivors. The survivors are hauled into the uncomfortable lifeboat where they cling together for fear that the waves might toss them out of the boat. There they huddle, enduring discomfort, cold, damp, or the scorching rays of the sun. There is little they can do but sail round and round, looking for more survivors. And their full attention is rivetted on the distant horizon. For one day -- nobody knows exactly when, although all kinds of calculations are frequently made -- a luxury liner will appear and take them to a safe harbour. They live only for that day. The little lifeboat is their 'church', but in reality it serves primarily to protect them against drowning and sharks and to sustain them in view of that glorious day in the (distant?) future. There is little positive or dynamic relationship between the lifeboat and the sea. The sea, the environment, is hostile, evil, and a permanent threat. (Bosch 1980:32)

Most Pentecostals would consider themselves eschatologically to be premillennialists who '...see this world on a rapid course downward, awaiting judgment. They view it "as a sinking vessel whose doomed passengers could be saved only by coming one at a time into the lifeboats of personal conversion"' (Kuzmič 1985:145). While this view has not been popular amongst non-Evangelical missiologists and theologians, it has served the Pentecostals well. Emphasis (cf Verkuyl 1978:181; Saayman 1987:13) has rightly been made that this model of salvation is too 'other-worldly', with little or no concern for 'this present world.' Particularly in past times, this would have been truer than today. The academy has called the Evangelicals in general and the Pentecostals in particular back to a more centre position where the tension between the 'already' and the 'not yet' (Cullmann 1964:84) is less. This has resulted in both the Evangelicals and Pentecostals being more concerned with the social injustices and humanitarian efforts in this present world.⁸

⁸This topic is dealt with in chapter six.

3.5 Pentecostal Hymnology

More than theology books, Pentecostal hymnody has both set the tone and written much of the practical and popular Pentecostal theology in regards to 'lifeboat salvation.' Writing about theology evolving from hymns, Don Tanner (1974:105), an Assemblies of God minister and educator, wrote: '...the only textbook of theology the average Christian sees is the hymnal.' The missionary section of most Pentecostal hymnals carry a standard repertoire of hymns designed to buttress the concept of a world lost without Christ and going to hell.

Richard Mauney (1993:91), in his doctoral thesis, noted that '[m]any missionary hymns emphasize the equality of all humanity -- that no one, regardless of race, language, or education should be denied the opportunity to hear the message of salvation.' Pentecostal missionary hymns were and are written to convey this message.

Pentecostals have moved away from the hymnal and adapted to the postmodern charismatic practice of singing popular praise and worship songs and have in many cases, relegated their hymnals to the basement or attic storage room. Guthrie (1992:160) has pointed out that when this happens in Pentecostal circles, this continued type of '...praise does not allow the congregation to express itself in singing its total theology and biblical understanding.'

The following hymns selected from Pentecostal hymnals are indicative of the missionary theology of Pentecostalism and reflect the concept of a lost world that requires a 'lifeboat':

1. **Throw Out The Life-Line** by E S Ufford

Church Hymnal, 1951. Tennessee Music and Printing Company, Cleveland, TN

Throw out the life-line across the dark wave,
There is a brother whom someone should save;
Somebody's brother, O who then will dare
To throw out the life-line,
his peril to share?

Throw out the life-line with hand quick and strong,
Why do you tarry, my brother, so long?

See, he is sinking, O hasten today,
And out with the lifeboat, away, then away.

Throw out the life-line to danger-fraught men,
Sinking in anguish where we've never been;
Winds of temptation and billows of woe,
Will soon hurl them out where the dark waters flow.

Soon will this season of rescue be o'er,
Soon we shall go to the fair Eden shore;
Then in the dark hour of death may it be,
That Jesus will throw out the life-line to thee.

Chorus:

Throw out the life-line! Throw out the life-line!
Someone is drifting away,
Someone is sinking today.

2. Let The Lower Lights Be Burning by P P Bliss
Gospel Melodies, 1961. Gospel Publishing House, Springfield, MO

Brightly beams our Father's mercy
From His light-house evermore.
But to us He gives the keeping
Of the lights along the shore.

Dark the night of sin has settled,
Loud the angry billows roar;
Eager eyes are watching, longing,
For the lights along the shore.

Trim your feeble lamp, my brother:
Some poor sailor tempest tossed,
Trying now to make the harbor,
In the darkness may be lost.

Chorus:

Let the Lower lights be burning!
Send a gleam across the wave!
Some poor fainting, struggling seaman
You may rescue, you may save.

3. Bring Them In by Alexcenah Thomas

Gospel Melodies, 1961. Gospel Publishing House, Springfield, MO

Hark! 'tis the Shepherd's voice I hear,
Out in the desert dark and drear.
Calling the sheep who've gone astray,
Far from the Shepherd's fold away.

Who'll go and help this Shepherd kind,
Help Him the wand'ring ones to find?
Who'll bring the lost ones to the fold,
Where they'll be sheltered from the cold?

Out in the desert hear their cry,
Out on the mountains wild and high,
Hark! 'tis the Master speaks to thee,
"Go find my sheep where'er they be."

Chorus:

Bring them in, bring them in,
Bring them in for the fields of sin.
Bring them in, bring them in,
Bring the wand'ring ones to Jesus.

4. Send The Light! By Charles Gabriel

Tabernacle hymns Number Five, nd (Publishing data missing).

There's a call comes ringing o'er the restless wave,
'Send the Light!.....Send the Light'
There are souls to rescue, there are souls to save,
Send the Light!...Send the Light!

We have heard the Macedonian call today,
'Send the Light!....Send the Light!'
And a golden offering at the cross we lay,
Send the Light!....Send the Light!.

Let us pray that grace everywhere abound;
Send the Light!....Send the Light!.
And a Christ-like spirit everywhere be found,
Send the Light!....Send the Light!.

Let us not grow weary in the work of love,
Send the Light!....Send the Light!.
Let us gather jewels for a crown above,
Send the Light!....Send the Light!.

Chorus:

Send the Light!...the blessed gospel Light;
Let it shine from shore to shore!
Send the Light!...the blessed gospel Light,
Let it shine forevermore.

Nine times out of ten, when this present writer ministers in churches in the USA, one of the above songs is usually sung. More times than not, it will be *Send the Light!*. 'Lifeboat salvation' is ingrained into the Pentecostal worldview from the time a believer is incorporated into the church body.

This present writer remembers too well his first year of Bible college some four decades ago. The first week of the term was missionary emphasis. On the platform was erected a large replica of a light-house. With each service, *Let the Lower Lights Be Burning*, was sung with enthusiasm and dedication. In this writer's mind, visions of multiple hordes of lost humanity raced to their spiritual death as they fell from a high cliff to the rocks below, with no one to warn them or stop them. Lengthy prayer sessions resulted with a great outcry for God to save a lost world that was perishing in sin. The light-house replica reminded all that we had the 'Light' and unless we hastened that 'Light' to the four corners of the world, millions would be eternally lost.

What that Bible college lacked in academics,⁹ it made up for by instilling missionary vision to its students. At that time, more students eventually went as foreign missionaries (including this present writer) from that institution than from any other of the nine colleges of the Assemblies of God (USA). To the Pentecostal, 'lifeboat salvation' is not mockery, it is real and to this day continues to challenge young people to give their lives to mission work.

⁹At that period of time in the late 1950s, it was a Bible institute, and not a university.

4. Church Planting and Evangelism

'One of the outstanding strong points of Pentecostalism from a missiological point of view is the strong evangelistic drive which characterised the Pentecostal movement from its inception' (Saayman 1993:51). While church planting and evangelism are normally considered two separate items of one's mission theology, many present day Pentecostals tie these two together so closely that often there is not one without the other.¹⁰ Therefore, both concepts will be dealt with in this section.

Doing evangelism without the goal of planting a church is, sad to say, often done. The fruit of the thrust is left to whoever can gather it up, if it is gathered up at all. Correctly so, one of the main criticisms of 'mass crusades' is the lack of concern that the fruit should be conserved in a local church or a new church planted as the result of that crusade.

4.1 Evangelism Defined

In an attempt to indicate a historical survey of the usage of the word 'evangelize', David Barrett (1987) has shown how it and its derivatives have evolved, been understood, and used throughout church history, including the modern usage. Important to its understanding is the realization that there are about as many definitions for it as defining theologians.

In preparation for the 1938 Tambaram, Madras (South India) International Missionary Council (IMC), Barrett (:41ff) notes that John R Mott was assigned the task of soliciting various views on evangelistic work from church leaders around the globe. Mott received over 125 responses to his query and published them in preparation of the council. Barrett included 79 of the 125 responses in his book as being both '...wide-ranging and illustrative of the truly complex nature of evangelism.' While the IMC never bothered to analyse these definitions, Mott (in Barrett 1987:46) stated: '[e]ven after reading thoughtfully the many definitions of evangelism, the final

¹⁰This was not true in the beginning of the rise of Pentecostalism in the first decades of the twentieth century. Saayman (1994:11) correctly states that church planting had a very low priority in the beginning stages.

impression is one of the inability to express adequately the height and depth of all that is involved in this God-given undertaking.' In summarizing his study, Barrett notes:

In English [alone], over 300 different definitions of the concept 'evangelize' have been proposed in print, using vastly different terminology and employing over 700 different terms or synonyms or near-synonyms or part-synonyms. Some definitions have been claimed to be fully comprehensive, or exclusively true, or all-embracing, but are found on examination to be oversimplifications. Many definitions are narrow and exclusivist. Some take the view 'Evangelizing' means proclamation only, not winning converts, others the view 'Evangelizing' means winning converts, not proclamation only', and each has denounced the other as inadequate or incorrect.
(Barrett 1987:77)

Prior to Barrett, the late David Bosch (1984a) had defined nine aspects of evangelism as he understood them. They are:

1. Evangelism is the *core, heart* or *centre* of mission....[It] is calling people to a personal encounter with the living Christ. It aims at conversion, which means a switch of allegiance to Christ and his Lordship.
2. Evangelism is not the same as recruitment of church members....Authentic evangelism may, in fact, cause people *not* to join the Church, because of the cost involved.
3. Evangelism begins with what God has done, is doing, and will do. Only then can the rest follow....
4. Evangelism is *witnessing* to what God has done. Witnesses primarily give testimony to what has already happened....
5. To be such a witness, is privilege rather than duty (Rom. 1:5), it flows from gratitude rather than from law....
6. It flows from the previous point that evangelism is *invitation*, not coaxing, much less threat....
7. The authentic witness will respect the other person's dignity and never ram the gospel down his listener's throat, so to speak. Nor will he make *his* interpretation of the message the final and inescapable one....
8. The witness has no control over how the gospel he proclaims will 'come alive' in the hearer's context. It may surprise him. Not only that; he may find *himself* changed in the process....
9. To evangelize is not only to invite people to accept Christ as Saviour, but also to inform them what following Jesus implies. Evangelism is not to be understood and practised in a way that makes the Church an end in itself rather than the servant of the Kingdom. To call evangelism the

purpose of the Church's existence is like saying that enlistment is the purpose of the army. Winning men and women to personal faith in Jesus Christ is crucial. But what are they saved for?

(Bosch 1984a:170-172)

4.1.1 Ecumenical Definition

Certainly in the Ecumenical camp, the concept of evangelism is very fluid. Previewing the various assemblies, congresses, councils, etc, one can trace the movement of the concept as it takes various nuances of definition and emphasis. It is certainly not in the scope of this thesis to do justice to both the evolution of the definition of evangelism and its current usage. However, in spite of noting these limitations, a brief analysis is in order to make a reasonable contrast to an Evangelical model in general and to a Pentecostal model in particular.

One will easily recognize that for the World Council of Churches (WCC) and most Ecumenicals, '[t]he debate between evangelistic activity and the concern for social justice and service can no longer be maintained' (Potter 1968:114). At the risk of oversimplification, '*in word and deed*' will be the theme that constantly emanates from the WCC documents.

In an very enlightening and informative essay, Prof Priscilla Pope-Levison (1994:126-140) gives an account of evangelism in the WCC from New Delhi in 1961 until Canberra. The following is a synopsis and summary of her essay:

1. New Delhi - 1961 and the CWME (Commission on World Mission Evangelism) conference at Mexico City -1963:

At both of these meetings evangelism is defined by the phrase, 'the commission given to the whole Church to take the whole Gospel to the whole world.' The 'whole Gospel' must witness to all realms of life --- physical, social, economic, and spiritual. As well, it must be prepared to engage in the struggle for social justice and for peace. Traditional evangelism is considered to be proselytism since it is interpreted as 'call on the part of insiders to outsiders inviting them to come into the inside.' While evangelism is not really defined in detail, what it should NOT be is the act of rescuing persons from an evil world.

2. Uppsala Assembly - 1968:

This assembly reported that a 'new humanity' now dominates. This 'new humanity' is the goal of God's mission, and it is also a gift of God that is received by faith. Evangelism is that which enables people to respond to this gift of the new humanity.

3. Bangkok - 1973:

Salvation was stressed at Bangkok and it was noted that salvation is a part of evangelism. However, no mention is made of a conversion that begins or even includes a turning towards God. Evangelism seems to be understood as proclaiming God's salvation in Jesus Christ and calling people to salvation.

4. Nairobi Assembly - 1975:

The Nairobi document distinctly and without hesitation brings together evangelism and social action as integral parts of the 'whole Gospel.' These two are one in the 'whole gospel', according to the statements. The unity of evangelism and social action should be a part of the Christian life even from the time of conversion. If one or the other is missing, the conversion is void of potential or meaning.

A positive outcome from this assembly was the highlighting of the role of the Holy Spirit. It is the Holy Spirit who bears witness to Christ. It is the Holy Spirit who prompts the church to evangelize.

At Bangkok evangelism rarely appears, while at Nairobi evangelism emerges as an important and an inclusive entity. Thus Paul Löffler wrote:

It is true that evangelism's connection with other aspects has been underscored in these assemblies, and evangelism in ecumenical circles is wholistic, not restrictive. Still, it is unclear in what way, the WCC has preserved the "specific character" of evangelism. The danger, of course, is that in broadening evangelism to avoid the narrowness, almost anything can be classified as evangelism. This is precisely the fear that Mortimer Arias expressed in his speech at Nairobi.

(in Pope-Levison 1994:131)

5. Melbourne Assembly - 1980:

Proclamation became the keyword at the Melbourne Assembly. It is understood in three parts: a) the announcement that the kingdom of God is at hand; b) a challenge to repent; c) an invitation to believe. Proclamation also has two other

characteristics of importance: a) it is contextual and b) it denounces injustices. It is contextual in that it should never be related to a universally applicable message. It is related to the particular context or culture in which it finds itself. Denouncing injustices accompanies a contextual proclamation, for injustices vary depending on the context.

Jesus is seen as the pattern for evangelism that began in Uppsala. At Melbourne, Jesus Christ is the example for the church, especially for evangelism. Jesus announced the kingdom; the church must do the same. Jesus evangelized the poor, so must the church. Jesus was consistent between word and deed, and the church must follow his example. The example of Jesus is the basis for evangelism.

6. Vancouver Assembly - 1983:

This Assembly really had nothing new to add to the idea of evangelism. However, a new dimension came into focus, that of dialogue. Dialogue was defined as '...that encounter where people holding different claims about ultimate reality can meet and explore these claims in a context of mutual respect. From dialogue we expect to discern more about how God is active in the world, and to appreciate for their own sake the insights and experiences people of other faiths have of ultimate reality' (Scherer & Bevans 1992:56).

Witness 'invites' a response to the good news; dialogue is not interested in a response. Dialogue is merely an opportunity for learning and exploring, whereas witnessing speaks of Jesus Christ. With these varying goals, dialogue and witness appear to be opposed to each other; yet the Vancouver report maintains their interrelatedness.

7. San Antonio Report:

In this report, there is an indication of a shift in the locus of evangelism in the WCC. In these documents, evangelism finds its home in ecclesiology and, in particular, at the very centre of the church's life--worship. Earlier studies had indicated that evangelism was centred in the world, not in the church. Now it is understood the church mistakenly understood itself as being at odds with the world, and mistakenly understood evangelism as its way of rescuing people out of the world and bringing them to safety within its walls. The role of evangelism, then, was to

discover and become involved at the very place where God's plan, *missio Dei*, was being implemented in the world. This study relocated evangelism within the context of the formula, GOD--WORLD--CHURCH, from the church to the world.

The San Antonio report complements the pattern of Jesus with an exploration of the motivation for evangelism. Evangelism is done simply because of God's unconditional love for humanity and the world.

8. Canberra Assembly - 1991:

It is noted that with some regret that the Canberra assembly had little interest in evangelism except to use it in relation to proselytism. In contrast, the preparatory material sent out ahead of time indicated that evangelism would have a high place in the meeting. Although the preparatory material lifted up evangelism and personal liberation, the Canberra document presents this personal experience in a negative context. The report cites the 'exclusively internal and personal experience' of the Holy Spirit as the reason why witnessing to the gospel is forgotten. There is no suggestion that inner freedom and social liberation can enhance each other.

From this very lengthy but necessary synopsis, the WCC concept of evangelism emerges; ***word and deed***. For the majority of missiologists and theologians in the camp of the Ecumenicals, this motif will serve them well. The dualism that permeates the Evangelicals and Pentecostals is to be avoided like the plague.

In a very simulating essay, Hoekendijk (1972:41-55) presents the concept that the main aim of evangelism '...can be nothing less than what Israel expected the Messiah to do, e.g. he will establish the shalom. And shalom is much more than personal salvation. It is at once peace, integrity, community, harmony, and justice' (:47). He calls this the 'Messianic shalom.' Hoekendijk (:48-49) then proceeds to argue that this Messianic conception of evangelism requires a rejection to the following two well-known methods:

1. A total rejection of anything that tends to be propaganda.
2. A rejection of the common tradition that interprets the aim of evangelism as the planting of or the extension of the church.

Hoekendijk (:50) postulates that the Messianic shalom should be evident in the following:

1. This shalom is proclaimed in the kerygma.
2. This shalom is lived in koinonia.
3. This shalom is demonstrated in humble service, diakonia.

Bosch (1983a:53) argues that for the apostle Paul and biblically speaking, 'word' and 'deed' were not opposites or stood against each other. 'It is the "Word made flesh" that is the gospel. The deed without the word is dumb, the word without the deed empty....there are times when words are cheap and deeds are costly and there are times when deeds are cheap and words cost lives. The dichotomy that opens up in our perceptions at this point is part of the deepgoing dualism that we inherit from the pagan (Greek) roots of our culture and which the biblical witness has never been able to eradicate' (Newbigin 1982:146).

One is tempted to continue this line of discussion, for it is intriguing to this present writer. But it must be brought to a close. However, one final thought should be made concerning the Ecumenical understanding of mission. Professor Saayman (1983)¹¹ addressed this issue of 'word' and 'deed' with a stimulating illustration using a prism and sunlight. He argues (:89) that just as sunlight passes through a prism and reflects various colours of red, blue, green, etc, in the same way he understands the *missio Dei*. When this concept is filtered through our *theological-analysis-in-context* 'prism', the result is an array of dimensions, e g, *evangelism, healing, compassion, justice, etc*. He further states that one cannot eliminate one without eliminating all. This leads to a non-prioritizing of the dimensions and ministry of Jesus which should also be our ministry.

4.1.2 Evangelical Definition

1. Berlin 1966 World Congress on Evangelism:

According to the *Christianity Today* magazine, the aims of the congress were:

- 1) To define biblical evangelism, 2) to show the modern world the

¹¹See the Appendices for a detailed summary of his argument and illustration.

relevance of Christ's mission, 3) to stress the urgency of evangelistic proclamation throughout the world in this generation, 4) to discover new methods of relating biblical evangelism to our times, 5) to study the obstacles to biblical evangelism and to propose the means of overcoming them, 6) to consider the types of evangelistic endeavour currently employed in various lands, and 7) to summon the church to recognize the priority of its evangelistic task.

(in Bassham 1979:220-221)

The closing statements of the Congress, *One Race, One Gospel, One Task* (1967:6), defined evangelism as '...the proclamation of the Gospel of the crucified and risen Christ, the persuading condemned and lost sinners to put their trust in God by receiving and accepting Christ as Savior through the power of the Holy Spirit, and to serve Christ as Lord in every calling of life and in fellowship of his Church, looking toward the day of his coming in glory.' The verbal proclamation of the gospel became the primary focus of the congress.

One other major contribution to this congress was the stressing of the importance of the relationship between evangelism and social action (Bassham 1979:225) but this subject will be dealt with in a subsequent section of this thesis.

2. Lausanne '74, International Congress on World Evangelism:

According to Bassham (:243), 'the Lausanne Congress marks the highpoint in the development of evangelical mission theology.' While Berlin emphasized personal evangelism, the Lausanne Congress would shift its focus '...upon the growth of the church' (Johnston 1978:294). While nine distinct aims were defined, '[t]he controlling aim endorsed by the Committee was to "rediscover and re-examine in the light of our times the basic biblical evangelistic message"' (:297).

In the keynote address of the congress, Billy Graham (1975:26) stated: '...[t]he world church has floundered. It has lost much of the vision and zeal of those [former] days, for three primary reasons:

1. The loss of the authority of the message of the Gospel.
2. The preoccupation with social and political problems.
3. The equal preoccupation with organizational unity.'

According to the Congress's Covenant, evangelism is defined as: 'Evangelism itself is the proclamation of the historical, biblical Christ as Savior and Lord, with a view to persuading people to come to him personally and be reconciled to God' (in Bassham 1979:239). While Donald McGavran's church growth theology was introduced and accepted, Graham noted:

...evangelism and the salvation of souls is the vital mission of the Church. The whole Church must be mobilized to bring the whole Gospel to the whole world....No evangelism is effective unless it is "personal." But some things never change. The Word of God never changes. The power of the Spirit to transform lives never changes. The demand for obedience never changes. Our commission to go to the ends of the earth never changes. And Christ's promise to be with us to the end never changes....In other words, the "message" we proclaim never changes -- only "methods" change! The task of this Congress therefore is to relate the changeless Gospel to a changing world.
(Graham 1975:32)

3. Lausanne II in Manila, International Congress on World Evangelism, 1989:

According to the organizers, Lausanne II has a different mandate and is shrouded in a different world. Leighton Ford, the Chairman of the Lausanne Committee, noted in his keynote address that the world is a different place than in '74 at the first Lausanne meeting. He stated three personal objectives that he hoped would result from the Congress. They are:

First, in the theological dimension, I hope and pray that we will come to a convincing reaffirmation of the uniqueness, adequacy, and attractiveness of the Christ we proclaim the only hope of our world and of eternal salvation.

Second, in missiological terms, I hope and pray that we may receive fresh, sensitive, and compelling insights into the ways in which Christ is, and must be made known in the various situations of our world in which people seek life abundant and eternal.

Third, in spiritual terms, I hope and pray that God would give us a renewed outpouring of his Holy Spirit which will enable all God's people -- especially laymen and laywomen, and the emerging younger leaders -- to proclaim Christ with creativity and authority, with integrity and unity in the decades ahead.'

(in *Proclaim Christ until He Comes* 1990:51)

As with many groups of this period (1989-1990), there was a feeling that it was possible to complete the task of world evangelization before AD 2000. Lausanne II was no exception. This theme ran throughout the papers and speeches.

The concept of the 'Whole Church' permeated the Congress. Emphasis on laity, Tentmakers, local church participation, and the Christian life in Christ were constant themes. Bible studies relating to evangelism, the lostness of humankind, and the Spirit-filled life dominated the Congress. Now that social concern had been affirmed at Lausanne I and even at Berlin, it was afforded a prominent place in the papers and discussions. Highlighting the Congress was the inclusion of some 42 '*Tracks*' or workshops and discussion groups which the participants could be involved in.

At the conclusion, a manifesto, called '*The Manila Manifest*' was issued. Three thousand delegates, from 170 countries affirmed twenty-one affirmations. Neatly interlaced throughout the document were statements on the 'The Whole Gospel', 'The Whole Church', and 'The Whole World.' The primacy of evangelism was again placed upon the Evangelical's pedestal and raised high for all to see.

4.1.3 Pentecostal Definition

In sharp contrast to the Ecumenical's model of evangelism, the Evangelical's in general and Pentecostal's in particular model of evangelism is definitely what Bosch (1980:202-204) describes as being dualistic; if dualism indicates advocating the primacy of evangelism over any other ministry or dimension. The average Pentecostal is greatly concerned with the individual saving of souls and the primacy of evangelism.

Pentecostals have always exhibited a priority for evangelism. Taking proof texts such as Mat 28:19-20 and Acts 1:8, they have galloped away on their steeds to win the world for Christ through the preaching (witnessing) of the Word. However, Pentecostals and their '[e]vangelistic proclamation is not an end in itself but a means to an end -- the persuasion of sinners to accept Christ as Lord and to follow him as responsible, reproducing members of a local church' (McClung 1988:284).

Pentecostals believe that their foundation for evangelism is biblically based and is on

solid theological ground. McClung (:285) further states: 'For Pentecostals, the connection of the "power" in Acts 1:8 to the evangelistic task is quite clear; only the coming of the power of the Holy Spirit to those who are witnesses for Christ makes the work of evangelism possible. The "power" passages of Acts 1:8 and 2:1-4 and the "endowment" passage of Luke 24:48 have been central to Pentecostal preaching and teaching on evangelism.'

Writing on the connection of the charismata and evangelism, Donald Gee (in Womack 1993:203), early British Pentecostal theologian, author, and lecturer, wrote: '[n]o spiritual gift exercised in the Spirit will ever violate that rule [of every thing being done in decency and order, 1 Cor 14:40] and therefore will never hinder true evangelism. Rightly understood and rightly used, the gifts of the Spirit are the Church's only adequate equipment for fulfilling her Great Commission, worldwide evangelization.' He correctly and fully understood that evangelism and not the charismata should be seen as the primary result of the infilling or Baptism in the Holy Spirit. The gifts of the Spirit revolve around the ministry of evangelism, not vice versa. 'In his writing he argued for a combination and balance¹² between the manifestations of spiritual gifts and evangelistic proclamation to unbelievers. He believed that if spiritual gifts could not flourish in the arena of public witness, there was something wrong with their usage' (McClung 1988:285).

4.1.3.1 The Motivation For Evangelism (and mission)

The motivation for evangelism (and mission) has remained pretty much the same throughout the years since the advent of modern day Pentecostalism: the fulfilment of the commission of our Lord Jesus Christ to evangelize the world before the Parousia. Expressing the sentiments of most classical Pentecostals, Ralph Riggs, then-assistant general superintendent of the A/G, wrote in 1952:

The Lord has actually told us that we can hasten His return. In Second Peter 3:12 we have it clearly said, 'Looking for and hastening

¹²Joseph Flower, one-time general secretary of the Assemblies of God (USA) says that 'because of his avoidance of issues of contention....Donald Gee became known as the Apostle of Balance' (in Womack 1993:9).

the coming of the day of God.’ Jesus said, ‘This gospel¹³ shall be preached in all the world for a witness, and then shall the end come.’ God is waiting.

The longsuffering of our Lord means salvation for somebody. He is waiting for somebody to be saved. This evangelistic program of ours, this missionary program of ours, this home missionary program of ours, this Sunday School program of ours, is in God’s will. He want us to go full steam ahead into all the world, preaching the gospel, thereby to hasten His return. (in McGee 1986:169)

McGee (:169) continued to state that the interpretation that Riggs placed on the verses quoted, including the Mat 24:14 passage enjoined great popularity with both missionaries and clergy, including the then-present director of foreign missions, Noel Perkin. ‘It emphasized man’s role in hastening the return of Christ for His church and the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth after a 7-year tribulation.’ However, ‘[j]ust as Albert Schweitzer wrongly viewed Jesus’ death as a triggering of the “final eschatological explosion which would end world history with the revelation of the Son of Man” (Jeremias 1967:xii), it is just as wrong to view proclamation [and evangelism] as just a vehicle to usher in the Parousia’ (Newberry [1981] 1985:12).

McClung notes three major aspects that are concerned with motivation for evangelism:

1. Pentecostals have understood an obedience to evangelize as one of the primary steps of obedience in Christian discipleship. Therefore, evangelism is not an end within itself once a person has been reached and led to personal belief in Christ. Immediately this new convert is urged to testify to others and to begin preaching. “He is saved to serve.”
2. It has been crystal clear in the theology of Pentecostal evangelism that humankind is lost and is under the judgment of eternal punishment unless reached with the good news of the gospel.
3. The imminent return of Christ and the end of all things. There is an “eschatological urgency” inherent in evangelistic theology and practice of Pentecostals....“ Men must be told!” (McClung 1988:285)

¹³McGee points out that Riggs left out the word ‘this kingdom’ from of the verse he was quoting from, indicating that there was a division of thought as to what constituted the ‘kingdom’ and he did not want to cause a controversy.



4.1.3.2 Supernatural Evangelism

Ray Hughes (1968:63), one-time General Overseer of the Church of God (COG), stated that the thing that makes Pentecostal evangelism distinctive is what he calls 'supernatural evangelism.' 'For Pentecostals, every healing and miracle and every spiritual manifestation or "power encounter" in exorcism becomes an "earnest" of the kingdom of God and the means whereby the message and dominion of this kingdom are actualized in the lives of people who are delivered' (McClung 1988:287). Missionary evangelist, David Godwin (1984:55), has indicated that in the many churches he has been instrumental in planting in Latin America and other countries, church planting has always been accompanied by 'supernatural evangelism.' He states: '...I asked [Dr. Bernhard Johnson, world famous Pentecostal evangelist (Brazil)] what he saw as the keys to penetrating the unreached fields. After reflecting a moment, he said, "I am convinced there are only two things that will break down those barriers: (1) spiritual warfare in intercession and (2) miracles."' (:55).

In John Wimber's (1986:35) famous book, *Power Evangelism*, he discusses this concept. 'By power evangelism I mean a presentation of the gospel that is rational but that also transcends the rational. The explanation of the gospel comes with a demonstration of God's power through signs and wonders. Power evangelism is a spontaneous, Spirit-inspired, empowered presentation of the gospel. Power evangelism is evangelism that is preceded and undergirded by supernatural encounters of God's presence.'

4.2 Evangelism and Proselytism

Cecil Robeck (1996:2), Assemblies of God professor of Church History and Ecumenics at Fuller Theological Seminary decried: '[p]roselytism is a blight on the veracity of the Christian message and on the effectiveness of Christian mission.' It is seen as the '...opposite of authentic evangelism, which emphasizes "confidence in God and His economy" as the basis of mission.' (Kerr 1996:13).

The problem with definition is that the modern usage of the word and its usage by the early Christians are at opposite ends of the spectrum. Blocher

(1966:111), Kerr (1999:8) and Heideman (1996:10) make serious attempts to compare the two usages and come to a similar conclusion. For the early Christian church the word *proselyte* was almost exclusively used to describe a convert to Judaism and that the early church did not apply the word to its own converts to Christianity. When converts were made to Christianity, they were called 'saints', 'disciples', or 'Christians.'

Conversely, the modern usage of the word *proselyte* almost always has the meaning (implicit or explicit) of 'sheep-stealing' or as Volf puts it, 'fishing in the neighbour's pond' (1996:26). Blocher (1966:112) notes: 'The terms *proselytism* and *proselytization*, derived from the word *proselyte*, commonly connote the practice of inducing people to leave their original religious affiliation to unite with a church or any other religious body of their own choosing.'

Had this section been a full-blown essay on *proselytism*, it would have been necessary to deal in depth with the subject in relation to the Roman Catholic, Eastern and Oriental Orthodox, and Jewish positions. Suffice to say, since they are all traditional and of ancient belief systems, they are target for every modern Evangelical and Pentecostal group that would attempt to 'Christianize' or 'evangelize' their followers. Heideman notes three complaints about *proselytism* that he feels are very valid:

1. In the contemporary world one hears the complaints of one set of Christian churches against the aggressive evangelism or churchmanship of other Christians, who are often charged with 'sheep-stealing.' One also meets the charge, especially on the part of ancient and often persecuted churches, that newer Protestant sects and evangelists are arrogant and lack respect for the centuries-long faithful witness and worship in those churches.
2. The objection in the Western world to *proselytism* has shifted from being a political/cultural issue to being a moral issue. In Europe before the seventeenth century, when the religion of the prince was the religion of the people, a change of religious community was a political matter.
3. Objections are raised by followers of non-Christian religions. Their objection often is particularly related to their fear of disruption of their cultures and personal relationships, with special force at the point

when persons are baptized and are understood to change loyalty from their own to the Christian community, often accompanied by a change in political allegiance. (Heideman 1996:11)

The World Council of Churches has made several statements concerning their distaste for the idea of proselytizing. For example, in the Nairobi '75 Report, article 61, they stated: 'We also deplore proselytism of any sort which further divides the Church' (in Scherer and Bevans 1992:11).

In the Latin American scene, Evangelicals in general and Pentecostals in particular are singled out by Roman Catholics as '...being very aggressive in their proselytizing' (Robeck 1996:4). Quoting bishops in the Baja California area of Mexico, Robeck (:4) notes: 'We feel that evangelicals display a lack of understanding and appreciation both of the rich history of the Catholic faith in Hispanic culture and of the theology of baptism.' In the African scene as well, Roman Catholics echo the same sentiment, especially being critical of the methods of African Independent Churches.

4.2.1 The Pentecostal's Response

The matter of proselytism is a theological matter for the Evangelical and Pentecostal. It is not so much a disrespect of culture or a misunderstanding of the theology of baptism, it is a soteriological matter. It has to do with the understanding of who is 'saved' and who is not 'saved.' It is a matter of personal salvation as opposed to salvation through ecclesiastical patterns or methods.

Addressing the issue of nominalism, *Track 650* of the Lausanne in Manila Congress noted:

As the workshop framed the gospel for nominals, it addressed the saving message to four types: the 'ethnic/religious/identity' nominal, who is literally Christian in name only; the nominal second generation, which does not see the relevance of Christ for them; the ritualistic nominal, whose performance does not flow from a regenerate heart; and the syncretistic nominal, who mixes Christianity with other religions or ideological traditions. This last type also includes the secularized nominal....We are encouraged that the Manila Manifesto draft specifically identifies the nominal as a target group for evangelism....We request that....other research arms define more

clearly the category *Christian* so the nominal ceases to be a 'hidden people' and can be specifically identified as a group which may then be targeted for evangelism. (Douglas (ed) 1990:447)

For the Pentecostals, there is absolutely no difference in the 'lapsed', 'inactive', 'backslidden', or 'nominal' Christian. It makes no difference when or where a person was baptized. It makes no difference of one's past spirituality. The issue that counts is the *present* state of spirituality of the person in question. It is a difference of who is 'in Christ Jesus' and who is not 'in Christ Jesus', not who is 'in the church.' This makes all ancient and traditional Christian religions and sects 'fair game' in their evangelism. This makes Judaism 'fair game' in their evangelism. This makes all mainline and so-called 'historic' denominations 'fair game' to their evangelism. It also, makes their own kind, Pentecostals, 'fair game' to their own evangelism (or renewal). Be it correct or incorrect hermeneutics, the Pentecostal's understanding of soteriology is the determining factor in proselytism, not 'sheep-stealing.'

This present writer vividly recalls his early days of missionary work in Malawi when the Assemblies of God, along with other denominations were attempting to promote an evangelistic programme called 'New Life For All' within the Evangelical community. The CCAP (Nkhoma Synod),¹⁴ while not a member of the Evangelical Association in Malawi, was also cooperating. The problem of Pentecostals attempting (rather successfully) to 'steal' members from the CCAP was under discussion. One Malawian pastor mentioned to this present writer that 'if one is out in the bush hunting for game and comes upon an antelope hanging under the veranda of a house, the hunter does not shoot that animal, but continues to hunt for 'live game.'

Much of the present day 'success' of Pentecostal churches in sub-Sahara Africa and Latin America comes from 'shooting game that is hanging under the veranda' of historic churches and denominations such as Methodist, Presbyterian,

¹⁴The reader will recall that the Dutch Reformed Church Mission from South Africa was the founding mission of this group.

and Roman Catholics. Yet, in the worldview and mind set of the Pentecostals, these people were and are not 'saved.' Using the lifeboat analogy again, they need to be rescued before they perish. Once again, it is a matter of soteriology, even if the Ecumenicals declare it to be a warped or aberrant soteriology.

4.3 Church Planting

The rubric of church planting could equally have been treated under the section of The Indigenous Church or even had its own separate treatment. This present writer has chosen to treat it under the section of Evangelism. Suffice to say and as noted elsewhere, evangelism and church planting are often considered as 'hand-in-glove' relationships, especially in Pentecostal missiology.

Quoting William Read, who had conducted extensive empirical research into Pentecostalism in Brazil, Church of God missiologist Grant McClung (1988b:4) noted: '...this is not merely rapid growth, but a new kind of growth. The Pentecostals are engaged almost wholly in church planting.' Consequently, McClung then states: 'Pentecostals have seen the planting of responsible, reproducing congregations as the abiding fruit of world evangelism and have often measured their progress...by the development of mature congregations and the buildings which they erect.' B E Underwood (1988:127), then-director for World Missions of The Pentecostal Holiness Church, stated emphatically that 'world evangelization must have as a basic priority the planting of churches.' And this is emphasized by this statement from an A/G missiologist: 'The task of evangelism is not complete until local churches are established' (Hodges 1973:18).

Pentecostals see the indigenous church as the best model of church planting in any given culture. And Hodges (1957:15) says: '...there is no place on earth where, if the Gospel seed be properly planted, it will not produce an indigenous church.' He (1966a:143) further notes that '...every true Christian everywhere has a part in church planting.'

A typical church planting scenario is exemplified in much of the church planting accomplished in Malawi during the last two decades. As noted elsewhere, given the sovereignty of God and his move upon peoples, the Assemblies of God in

that country experienced incredible growth and expansion. The goal was to plant new, indigenous local churches in areas where no Assemblies of God church existed within a reasonable radius (Wilson, E A 1997:187).

Taking all resources available, the first major step was to secure a site and erect a tent. At this site, a major crusade would take place, often with visiting evangelists¹⁵ from the USA or elsewhere. Services would be held nightly for several weeks on end without any break. Throughout the crusade, it was constantly announced that the purpose for the crusade was to establish and build a church, both in people and a building.

After the emphasis on the crusade, the tent would remain as a temporary shelter and meeting place for the new congregation. A pastor, selected prior to the crusade, would be provided and be on site to function in his ministerial duties. In many cases, the church in question was being constructed in a city atmosphere where the cost of building totally within an indigenous process would have been out of the question. Funds would be raised or provided by the visiting evangelist (actually from the church that he pastored in the states) for the construction. During the construction phase, services would be held on a regular basis under the tent. People became accustomed to attending and coming out even without a building. However, as construction progressed, it served as an encouragement that in the near future the people would have their own building.

Upon completion of the construction (often including the manse), the congregation attempted to become self-supporting as quickly as possible. This included providing the livelihood for the pastor and caring for the maintenance of the building. One of the major requirements was that the church had to be totally 'indigenous' within three years. At that time, any and all aid or assistance would cease. The congregation should not only be self-supporting but be active in establishing branch churches (outstations) of their own. This would entail house

¹⁵This was accomplished most successfully under the auspices of Dr Daniel T Sheaffer and his congregation of Crossroads Cathedral, Oklahoma City, OK, USA. All of the city churches planted within a fifteen year time frame resulted from their initial evangelistic outreach and subsequent total funding of the projects.

meetings and supplying funds for lay pastors who would supervise these small congregations. The goal was to make these outstations fully indigenous congregations in their own right.

This method has worked time and time again in Malawi as a prime example to practical church planting using evangelism coupled with the indigenous church concept (modified a bit). To date, there are strong local churches in that country, most of them started in this same manner. This is Pentecostal evangelism in action producing local churches.

It should be noted that this has not always been the case with Pentecostals. In the earlier days of mission work, the supreme task was oriented to evangelization with very little thought given to ecclesiology. Church planting certainly was not viewed as the supreme task in contrast to the Church Growth Movement which emphasized the establishing of churches as the most important task of the sending church. Saayman (1994:12) correctly accesses the matter when stating: 'According to the Pentecostal understanding [of church planting]...the church (ecclesiology) is understood missiologically, or in other words, the church is no more than a mission movement. The church has only one reason to exist, and that is to fulfill its missionary obligation.'

This is best understood in describing a complete circle, in which the sending church sends out missionaries, evangelism takes place, converts are won and then disciplined, a church is planted and becomes a sending church. The whole thing has made the complete circle and starts around again with the new church as the sending church.

Charles Watt (1991:182), in describing the AOG in South Africa notes that ecclesiology is very important in their thinking. In fact, he states: '[t]he efforts of the movement [AOG-South Africa] are biased heavily towards establishing new congregations and maintaining the existing ones.' He maintains that they are so ecclesiocentric that there is the possibility that they could lose their sense of mission. He (:185) further laments that: '[t]he ecclesiocentric mission of the AOG has resulted in a certain limitation of sense of mission. The missionary drive that brought pioneers from overseas to this country [South Africa] has not found a responding echo. There

is no 'mission programme' in the AOG looking beyond this country to others.' The circle is not complete! A Pentecostal, pneumatic correction needs to be made in order for the circle to continue and the AOG to create its 'mission programme' which will extend their vision beyond the borders of South Africa and see the world (Acts 1:8).

4.4 Some Final Thoughts On Evangelism

Behind various conflicting models of evangelism, lies a vast difference in the eschatology of the Ecumenicals and the Evangelicals/Pentecostals. Bosch (1983a:46) is very correct when he states that in reality, this is where the problem lies and not the model of evangelism itself. This present writer concurs with him. While the Pentecostal will admit that there exists a tension between the '*already*' and '*not yet*', it would be very difficult to place all Pentecostals in the same arena. Assuming that one had a sliding scale from one to ten, placing the '*already*' at one end and the '*not yet*' at the other end, where would the Pentecostals be? And for that matter, where would the Ecumenicals be on the scale? The ideal for both is that we, as Christians, are dwelling in the '*already*', where in Christ, we 'live, move, and have our being.' We are in this world, but not of this world. We are all pilgrims of the road. The question is, should we attempt to make a difference while travelling on the road? Or should we pass through as pilgrims without creating any fuss or causing a scene? Should our expectations of the '*not yet*' enamour us so that our eyes are only for the future and not for the '*already*'? How we answer these questions determines our eschatology or should we say, more correctly, that our eschatology determines how we answer these questions?

5. Indigenous Church Principles

Bosch notes (1991:331) that during '...the heyday of nondenominational mission societies, mission had been understood predominantly as *conversio gentilium*- a conversion of individual persons.' A reaction and remedy against this notion resulted in what missiologists now call 'Indigenous Church Principles' or 'The Three-Selves.' This principle was explained as planting churches that would be become self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating (Pomerville 1995:189).

In Pentecostal mission work, it is often thought that the indigenous church principles are the original work of the late Dr Melvin Hodges, an Assemblies of God missiologist. This present writer will take longer than usual with the antecedents leading up to Hodges to indicate the proper Three-selves ancestry and pedigree.¹⁶ The two main early proponents of this school of thought were Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn.

5.1 Rufus Anderson (1796-1880)

Born in a Congregationalist parsonage in the state of Maine in 1796, '...he was immersed in concern for mission from infancy' (Beaver 1979:94). He later studied at Andover Seminary and while, studying, worked at the office of the ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions). After graduation, he applied for missionary work in India but the ABCFM decided that he could make a greater contribution to missions in the home office and he was selected as the assistant secretary. In 1832 he was appointed as the General Secretary of the ABCFM and remained in that position until 1866 (Saayman 1994:7).

Beaver (1979:94) states that Anderson was often considered to be '...a tyrant who ruled the American Board, the Prudential Committee, and the missionaries with an iron hand.' This was the obvious result of his new-found mission strategy of

¹⁶The continental missiologists such as Warneck and Gutmann, who were involved in the indigenous church debate are purposely excluded. Beyerhaus and Lefever (1964) have given an excellent overview and synopsis of their contributions.

indigenous principles he was endeavouring to impose on missionaries who were already set in their ways of paternalism.

He stated that his main thesis was that '...missions are instituted for the spread of a scriptural, self-propagating Christianity. This is their only aim.' Included in this aim were these factors: '(1) the conversion of lost men, (2) organizing them into churches, (3) giving these churches a competent native ministry, and (4) conducting them to the stage of independence and (in most cases) of self-propagation' (in Beaver 1979:95).

While espousing the total package of the Three-selves, Shenk (1990:29) states that Anderson's main emphasis '...about the indigenous church [was] from the angle of developing indigenous *leadership* [italics mine]' in contrast to Henry Venn's preoccupation with financial self-support. Later, in his ministry, Anderson would describe '...the mission structure as "scaffolding" while the indigenous church was the "edifice"' (Shenk :29). Was this thought borrowed from Venn?

Thus, it could be said of Anderson that '[a]ll contemporary missiologists follow the nineteenth-century statesman in seeking a biblical basis and guidance for the missions of a new day' (Shenk 1979:97).

5.2 Henry Venn (1796-1873)

Henry Venn was born on the other side of the Atlantic in London in the same year as Anderson, 1798. Both his mother and father died by the time he was seventeen, so at an early age he was left as the head of the family. One of the duties that befell him was to complete the work his father had begun on a biography of his venerated grandfather. In this work, which consisted mainly of his grandfather's letters, young Venn, while writing the preface, tried to come to terms with Evangelicalism (Shenk 1977:16). 'With the publication of this *Life [and letters of Henry Venn]* of his grandfather, Venn established himself as an interpreter of the Evangelical tradition. For the rest of his life he influenced the Evangelical course through his writing' (:16).

Henry Venn became the General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in 1841 and served until 1872 (Saayman 1994:7). He focused on doing what he

could for the abolishment of slavery, education of converts on the foreign field, and he urged government to take a more aggressive role in the development of their colonial holdings overseas (Shenk 1977:17).

Seeking to find the principles of mission, he posed this question, 'What gave a church integrity?' Then he went on to add that it was necessary for a church to feel self-worth. Over a period of fifteen years he identified three aspects of that self-worth. These aspects would eventually be stated as self-supporting, self-government, and self-propagation (:18). He also felt that with the emergence of national churches, the policy of the mission should be one of 'working oneself out of a job.' He called it 'the euthanasia of a mission' (in Walls 1978:1015). As noted earlier, Venn's major emphasis in these principles was with financial self-support (Shenk 1990:29).

5.3 Anderson's and Venn's Mutual Contribution

Wilbert Shenk (1981) wrote an essay in which he notes the similarities of both Anderson and Venn. Both were born in the same year, howbeit, one on the west and the other on the east side of the Atlantic ocean. Each lost his mother at the age of seven and father at the age of seventeen. Each was the eldest son and they both graduated from college in 1818. Both served as senior secretaries in mission administrative leadership and both achieved eminence as a leading mission administrator in their respective countries. And last, but certainly not least, both are given credit for formulating the so-called indigenous church principles: self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating.

Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society each came independently to the three-self formula. Together they provided a guiding principle for the whole Protestant world mission. Too few held all three terms in proper unity and tension. Mission board executives usually stressed self-support; national church leaders emphasized self-government; and too few put self-propagation in the first place that Anderson awarded it. (Beaver 1979:96)

Saayman (1994:8) also notes that from all indications, both of these men came to the same conclusions about the same time without any collusion on their

part, on or around the year 1856 (Pomerville [1987] 1995:189). The apparent goal was to assist the church, wherever planted, toward total autonomy. While their emphasis would be different, their principles were the same. 'Historical evidence does not suggest that one depended on the other in arriving at his conclusions. This is simply one further remarkable coincidence in the lives of two remarkable missionary statesmen...They used the "three-selves" only as pointers toward the missionary goal of founding churches that would themselves become the means of missionary advance in the world' (Shenk 1981:171).

5.4 John Nevius (1829-1893)

John L Nevius was an American missionary to China. He received his education at Princeton Seminary and was sent to China in 1854 under the Presbyterian Mission Board. Most of his ministry was in the Shantung area (Pierard 1978:700).

Picking up on Anderson's and Venn's theme, John Nevius, began to espouse the same principles while visiting Korea in 1890 where the 'Three Selves' principle had been adopted¹⁷ (Saayman 1994:9). In developing his strategy of mission, he says: 'The plans and methods made use of in bringing the truth to bear upon the minds of the heathen are various, and may and should be changed and modified according to the different conditions and circumstances' (in Hunt 1991:122).

Nevius called for the discarding of the 'old plan' and for the adoption of his 'new plan' of mission strategy which he outlined in some detail. In summary, he stated that the old plan could '...be distinguished...' by the fact that it depended '...largely on paid native agency, while the [new plan] deprecates and seeks to minimize such agency.' The old system used '...foreign funds to foster and stimulate the growth of the native churches in the first stage of their development', and the new

¹⁷Floyd Hamilton (1930:3), conversely, states that the young missionaries in Korea wanted Nevius to come and explain this principle in order that they might understand it and adopt it as future strategy for their work.

system thinks ‘...that the desired object may be best attained by applying principles of independence and self-reliance from the beginning’ (Nevius [1885] 1958:8). Hunt (1991:123) states: ‘The most extensive work dealing with the Nevius Plan was *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*, written by a Presbyterian missionary to Korea, C A Clark...’¹⁸

While his own colleagues in China were not enthusiastic about the ‘new plan’, these methods ‘...became the working basis of Presbyterian missions in Korea’ (Hamilton 1930:3). Pierard (1991:700) stated: ‘The Korean missionaries adopted this approach, and a vigorous church rapidly developed there which maintained an independent spirit virtually unmatched in the non-Western world.’

5.5 Roland Allen (1868-1947)

‘Roland Allen is currently the most influential deceased mission writer whose career began in the last century. He had a deep love for the Bible and believed profoundly in the leadership of the Holy Spirit. In one sense he could be called a “task” theologian in the tradition of the Apostle Paul’ (Branner 1977:176). He called the missionary enterprise back to its biblical roots with respect to both theology and methodology...’ (DuBose 1979:268). Deciding that the Three-selves principles were worthwhile but did not go far enough, Allen, an Anglican missionary, ‘...brought a new dimension into focus: the maturity dimension’ (Pomerville 1987:192). ‘The gift of the Holy Spirit to believers was something which was to govern Allen’s entire concept of mission, particularly that of the *indigenous church* [italics mine]’ (Branner 1977:181). Allen’s books¹⁹ would become the required textbooks for many new candidate missionaries, including this present writer. In viewing the missionary work of his era and church, he lamented that while they had accomplished many good and wonderful things,

[N]evertheless, there are everywhere three very disquieting symptoms:
(1) *Everywhere Christianity is still an exotic. We have not yet*

¹⁸See the appendices section for details.

¹⁹See the bibliography for the listing.

succeeded in so planting it in any heathen land that it has become indigenous....(2) *Everywhere our missions are dependent*. They look to us for leaders, for instructors, for rulers. They have as yet shown little sign of being able to supply their own needs....(3) *Everywhere we see the same types*....There has been no new revelation. There has been no new discovery of new aspects of the Gospel, no new unfolding of new forms of Christian life.²⁰

(Allen [1912] 1962:141-142)

'Allen called for a return to New Testament principles and a radical dependence on the Holy Spirit' (Shenk 1990:30). He pondered the question of utilizing the Apostle Paul's methods in his day without totally destroying the very foundations of all they had accomplished or established. These methods are outlined in detail in his first book, *Missionary Methods*. These principles are quoted verbatim for effect and thoroughness.

(1) All teaching to be permanent must be intelligible and so capable of being grasped and understood that those who have once received it can retain it; use it, and hand it on. The test of all teaching is practice. Nothing should be taught which cannot be so grasped and used.

(2) All organization in like manner must be of such a character that it can be understood and maintained. It must be an organization of which the people see the necessity: It must be an organization which they can and will support. It must not be so elaborate or so costly that small and infant communities cannot supply the funds necessary for its maintenance. The test of all organizations is naturalness and permanence. Nothing should be established as part of the ordinary church life of the people which they cannot understand and carry on.

(3) All financial arrangements make for the ordinary life and existence of the church should be such that the people themselves can and will control and manage their own business independently of any foreign subsidies. The management of all local funds should be entirely in the hands of the local church which should raise and use their own funds for their own purposes that they may be neither pauperized nor dependent on the dictation of any foreign society.

(4) A sense of mutual responsibility of all the Christians one for another should be carefully inculcated and practised. The whole community is responsible for the proper administration of baptism, ordination and discipline.

²⁰Did he realize that he was calling for a contextualized gospel which would not be popular until several decades later?

(5) Authority to exercise spiritual gifts should be given freely and at once. Nothing should be withheld which may strengthen the life of the church, still less should anything be withheld which is necessary for its spiritual substance. The liberty to enjoy such gifts is not a privilege which may be withheld but a right which must be acknowledged. The test of preparedness to receive the authority is the capacity to receive the grace. (Allen ([1912] 1962:151-152)

Years later, he ([1927] 1960b) would write his other famous book, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*. His main concern was still with indigenuity. His opening statements ring: 'If the church is to be indigenious it must spring up in the soil from the very first seeds planted. One or two little groups of Christians organized as churches, with their bishops and priests, could spread all over the empire. They would be obviously and without question native churches. But if we establish missions rather than churches, two evil consequences, which we now see in greater or less degree everywhere, sterility and antagonism, inevitably arise' ([1927] 1960b:2).

Later on, Allen was quick to criticise Nevius' methods as focussing on only one point of the three-selfs. He (1930:11) points out that 'self-support is...the foundation stone in the Nevius System' and was the main point emphasised. Furthermore, Allen (:12) felt that by over-emphasizing the material (self-support), the spiritual dimension was lost.

'His prophetic message was largely ignored in his own day, but subsequent generations have rediscovered the legacy of his writings....His mission theology and ideas were far ahead of their time. He himself understood this and once predicted that his work would not be taken seriously until about 1960' (Long & Rowthorn 1989:65-66). David Paton, an authority and scholar on Roland Allen, stated: 'From the first, Pentecostal Christians, some of whom were associated with the Survey Application Trust, claimed him as their own; though he was in fact neither a Pentecostalist nor a radical Protestant' (in Long & Rowthorn 1989:68).

'Pentecostals were among Allen's best students. Neither Anglican nor Pentecostals could have envisioned a more unlikely scenario--an Anglo-Catholic

impacting the Pentecostal mission enterprise, helping it become one of the twentieth century's most vibrant missionary movements' (McGee 1998:21).

5.6 A B Simpson and the CMA

One of the early leaders in the pre-Pentecostal movements, A B Simpson, endorsed the precepts of the 'indigenous church approach for the Christian and Missionary Alliance' (McGee 1991:212). Obviously, when many of his people left the C&MA and defected to the Assemblies of God, their exposure to Nevius' writings would carry over and would be influential in their new-found Pentecostal mission theology and praxis.

5.7 The Three-selfs Formula Critiqued

Peter Beyerhaus (1979:20), one-time missionary to South Africa and professor of missions at the University of Tübingen, wrote an essay in which he showed that there is a very wide variation '...in the way in which the goal of self-support, self-government and self-propagation is to be achieved. It can be understood:'

1. As a description of what a church must be, always and anywhere, right from the beginning;
2. As a strategical goal to be accomplished together with the gradual devolution of the mission;
3. As an educational ideal of the mission, which may or may not be attained;
4. As something to be included in the permanent aims of any church, because it can be lost again.

Secondly, the geographical or organizational unit to which the formula is applied will differ according to different denominational backgrounds. It may be:

1. The local congregation or any number of individual congregations;
2. A regional organization, such as a diocese or regional church;
3. A church body organized along national or tribal lines;
4. An ecclesiastical organization, not accounted for by a principle of church order or by geographical or ethnical considerations, but which is simply the result of a historical enterprise by a missionary society which was reached the limits of its capacity.

Finally, each of the three aspects of the formula can be interpreted in rather different ways. Self-supporting may mean:

1. That the church pays the salaries of all full-time workers;
2. That it also maintains financially all institutions and evangelistic enterprises;
3. That, by using voluntary service and abstaining from costly enterprises, the church so limits its financial responsibilities that no outside help is needed.

Self-government may mean:

1. Complete freedom to make disciples and administer church affairs according to the church's own wishes;
2. Freedom to exercise certain responsibilities within a wider ecclesiastical framework, with fixed doctrinal standards, liturgical patterns and universal church authority;
3. That all office-bearers in the church must be indigenous;
4. The right to call persons into or exclude them from the ministry, without regard to nationality, according to the wishes of the church.

Self-propagation may mean:

1. Self-extension in the church's own surroundings;
2. Sponsoring both home and foreign missions;
3. Being in sole charge of the evangelization of the country to which the church belongs. (Beyerhaus 1979:20-21)

Thus, one can see that there seemed to be no set definition or standard for judging the indigenous church. Coming from this diversity would arise the antecedents to the Pentecostal understanding of the indigenous church principles in the form of two early missionaries, Alice Luce and Henry Ball.

5.8 Alice E Luce (1873-1955)

While early Pentecostals were not noted for their academic scholarship and literary skills (their concern was with the 'doing' instead of 'writing'), a budding missions theology began to crystalize which included the subject at hand. Alice E Luce had come into the Assemblies of God because of a personal experience of glossolalia while serving as an Anglican missionary in India (McGee 1998:21). 'During her service in India, Pentecostal teaching and experience penetrated the

missionary population as well as indigenous Christian missions' (Blumhofer 1989b:134). Later, she would find herself ministering to Hispanics in Texas after having left India due to health reasons.

While McGee (1985:5) notes that she made three major contributions to the history of the Assemblies of God and Hispanic evangelism, the third contribution relating to indigenous church principles is the one of interest for this study. In 1921 she published²¹ in the *Pentecostal Evangel* a three part series on 'Paul's Missionary Methods.' 'This represented the first exposition of indigenous church principles to appear in that publication although brief references to them had appeared before' (McGee 1985:12).

Admitting to have read Roland Allen's book but could not remember his name, she (1921a:6) noted: 'we missionaries all read it, and thought the writer somewhat visionary and unpractical: but that book first opened my eyes to the diametrical distinction between our methods of working and those of the New Testament.' She became the first fledgling missiologist of stature of the Assemblies of God (McGee 1998:21) in the USA and, arguably, for all the classical Pentecostal groups that were in their formative stages during that era. 'Citing her dependence on [Roland] Allen, Luce strongly advocated the development of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating churches on the foreign fields' (McGee 1986:97).

Being a Pentecostal, Miss Luce took Allen's indigenous concepts a step further than he had intended. She '...believed that apostolic methods would be followed by the power and demonstration of the Holy Spirit' (McGee 1985:12). Therefore, she (1921a:6) was quick to ask 'When we go forth to preach the Full Gospel, are we going to expect an experience like that of the denominational missionaries, or shall we look for the signs to follow?'

5.9 Henry C Ball (1896-1989)

Close on Luce's heels came Henry C Ball, a missionary to Hispanics in the state of Texas, USA. He, too, was a Pentecostal and a subscriber to the *Nevius*

²¹See the bibliography for details.

method. Ball had contact with Miss Luce during his ministry in Texas and they became very close friends in spite of their age difference. He was ordained with the Assemblies of God in 1915 and was selected to serve as the first superintendent of the Latin American district in 1918-19339.

Like Luce, Ball was deeply committed to establishing an indigenous work. Undoubtedly, she influenced his thinking on this perspective. It should be remembered, however, that many early Pentecostals had observed the self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating pattern of the churches in the Book of Acts. Nevertheless, Ball's perspectives were in harmony with those which Luce articulated in *The Pentecostal Evangel*. (McGee 1985:13)

As the years passed, Ball '...proved to be one of the most far-sighted and creative missionary strategists that the Pentecostal Movement and the Assemblies of God in particular has produced' (McGee :14). One of his early (1926) contributions was to establish The Latin American Bible Institute in San Antonio, Texas for the training of Hispanics for the ministry.

After serving as a missionary in Chile for two years, '...in 1943 the Department of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God appointed him as the first overseas field secretary for Latin America and the West Indies' (McGee 1988b:40). He held this position until 1953.

5.10 Melvin Hodges (1909-1988)

To the Pentecostal missionary, 'Mr Indigenous Church' is none other than Melvin Hodges. His name is synonymous with the modern indigenous church concept and many Pentecostals believe that he is the sole author of it. His writings on the subject are often required reading and study for missionaries regardless of denominational affiliation (McGavran [1970] 1980:373,378).

Melvin Hodges grew up in a Pentecostal home. His father, former Methodist minister turned Pentecostal, taught the young Melvin New Testament Greek at home. While he attended High School, he never graduated. He also attended a Business school and worked for a brief period as an apprentice in a Denver, CO law office. In

spite of his father's formal theological education and training at Boston University School of Theology, the only theological training Melvin experienced was what he learned at his father's knee and from home tutelage. McGee (1998:20) thinks that perhaps the major reason for Hodges' lack of formal training was the strong fervent expectancy of the eschaton. Their premillennial eschatology did not leave room for wasting their time in the classroom. They were living in the 'last days' and God's work could not wait.

Hodges was ordained in the Rocky Mountain District of the Assemblies of God in 1929 and served as pastor until his appointment to missionary service in 1935 as a missionary to Central America. In preparing for their appointment, Hodges and his wife, Lois, went to San Antonio, Texas to study Spanish under Henry C Ball. It is obvious that Ball's indigenous principles rubbed off on Hodges. This influence would last a life time. McGee (:21) notes that Noel Perkin, who was the missionary secretary for the Assemblies of God at that time, encouraged Hodges to read Roland Allen's books. Coupling this with the fact that upon arrival to Central America, Hodges became an understudy of a missionary, Ralph Williams, who had learned the indigenous principles from Alice Luce (Petersen 1996:70), set the context for Hodges to formulate his own version of the Three-selves principles.

5.10.1 Indigenous Church Principles From a Pentecostal Perspective

Melvin Hodges was a quick understudy. According to Gary McGee (1999), Ralph Williams was the practical person who had actually had the indigenous church principles working for him in El Salvador. Hodges, being a prolific writer, was able to translate what he had learned from Williams and put it to paper (Petersen 1996:73). He picked up on the Three-selves concept and practically applied them to his work in Central America. Armed with Roland Allen's books, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* and *Missionary Methods*, he began to apply indigenous church principles (as he understood them) with showcase results. He first worked in El Salvador which

became a model²² (Wilson, E A 1990:134) for the Assemblies of God Foreign Missions Department and Pentecostals in general. Moving onward to Nicaragua, Hodges would spend much time labouring in this country. It proved to be difficult in the beginning, but Hodges was determined to persevere with indigenous church principles. One principle was to establish a Bible Institute that required the students to use their academic training in practical use of evangelism and church planting (McGee 1998:21). The Nicaraguan church proved to be more resistant to indigenous church principles than what he had experienced and learned in El Salvador.

Hammered out on the anvil of many years of practical experience and observation, in 1953 Hodges wrote his now famous book, *The Indigenous Church*.²³ This was published by the Assemblies of God in-house publishing arm, the Gospel Publishing House. However, after making some revisions that would not offend non-Pentecostals, Moody Press (1953) published their own edition of Hodges' book and titled it *On The Mission Field: The Indigenous Church*. This edition would thrust Hodges into the world of evangelical missiology. Notable mission personages such as R Calvin Guy, one-time missions professor at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Donald McGavran, the famous church growth missiologist of the School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary, and Eugene Nida of the American Bible Society, all would publish²⁴ with Hodges, befriend him and recognize this Pentecostal as a missiologist in his own right.

In formulating Pentecostal indigenous church principles, Hodges (1965:111) wrote: 'Indigenous churches and their basic units, so often talked about in missions today, are not primarily the result of organizational manipulation. Nor will organization

²²Credit for this should go to Ralph Williams instead of Hodges (McGee 1999).

²³Douglas Petersen (1996:73) states that Hodges' book was 'an analysis of its [El Salvador] development and operation.' He implies that Hodges only reported and analyzed what he had observed rather than actually developing the theory of Pentecostal indigenous church principles. Professor Saayman (1999b) states it much better when he said: '...he was, like all of us, "standing on the shoulders of giants".'

²⁴McGavran, Donald (ed). *Church Growth and Christian Missions*. New York, Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965.

develop basic units of indigenous churches. They are the result of life, of growth, of seed and harvest.' According to him (1953, 1957), the Three-selves are understood in the following manner:

5.10.1.1 A. Self-government:

'Self-government makes for a sense of spiritual responsibility which will be reflected in self-support and self-propagation. To fail to place the responsibility of self-government on the converts is to choke their initiative and dwarf their spiritual growth....Nationalism...demands that the native church be freed from the domination of foreign missionaries' (Hodges 1953:19).

Hodges feels that self-government in the national organization probably will take longer to achieve than self-government in a local congregation. He (:18-19) argues that in the New Testament, there were hundreds of organized local churches in the early church before the Jerusalem council of Acts 15. Organizing a national organization before local congregations are organized seems to be going about it in the wrong way, he (:19) states: '[i]f the missionary is able to organize his converts into local churches, then he has a powerful medium for evangelism and the essential basis for self-government.' Further on he (:19) penned: 'The first step in self-government then, is the founding of properly organized local churches throughout the district.' Hodges also makes a case for starting from the very beginning with the indigenous church principles in force. He had experienced this first hand in Nicaragua where the national church leaders and pastors were very resistant to change to indigenous church principles (McGee 1998:21). He also pointed to the country of El Salvador where Ralph Williams had set in motion the makings of a very fine indigenous church which would become a 'showcase' (Wilson, E A 1990:134).

Dr Hodges (1953:21-34) developed his thoughts by elaborating on the following themes in relation to self-government:

- The agreement of fundamentals (doctrine).
- Charter members.
- Baptizing converts.

- Choosing officials.
- Providing leadership for new groups.
- Withdrawal of missionary for local church.
- Business sessions.
- Responsibility of discipline.

In his (1957:30-43) book, *Build My Church*, which was in actual fact a manual²⁵ for missionaries and national leaders, Hodges makes it very clear that the first priority in organization is the local congregation instead of the national organization. Several sub-headings are mentioned which he feels are important for self-government at the local level.

- The Basis for cooperation in a local church.
- The membership.
- Exercising self-government.
- Prerogatives of church officials.
- Discipline of members.
- The final authority.

In the final analysis, the national organization must be self-governing as well as the local congregation (Hodges 1957:45-58).

5.10.1.2 B. Self-support:

'Self-support is not necessarily the most important aspect of the indigenous church, but it is undoubtedly the most discussed. In fact, some speak as though a self-supporting church were [sic] identical with an indigenous church' (Hodges 1953:64). In making further statements regarding this principle, Hodges notes that the foreign missionaries have created many of their own problems. Such problems can exist by the missionary withholding or providing funds for reasons not consistent with kingdom principles, e.g., providing funds to a certain pastor or worker in favour of another, or providing funds for a pet project and withholding funds for other projects

²⁵This present writer is indebted to Prof Gary McGee (1999) for pointing this out.

which may, in fact, be more valid and useful to the church. Used in the wrong manner, mission funds can become a very manipulative tool.

Hodges (:66) states: 'There is no doubt that the use of money by the missionary has been the cause of much resentment on the part of nationals. The nationals do not understand the missionary's point of view; they think that he is not as generous as he should be, or that he is partial in his treatment of the workers....It is hard to get around the idea that the man who holds the purse strings is the boss.' All this results in the nationals looking for the mission for a source of income.

Reasons for self-support (Hodges 1957:66-74):

- It is the Bible plan.
- It [tithing] is a logical plan.
- The spiritual welfare of the congregation demands that it be self-supporting.
- The pastor needs to feel that his responsibility is to his congregation rather than to the mission.
- The spirit of faith and sacrifice required on the part of the worker helps develop a vigorous spiritual ministry.
- Self-support places the national worker in an advantageous position with his countrymen.
- Self-support opens the door to unlimited expansion.

5.10.1.3 C. Self-propagation:

'Self-propagation is the vital element of the missionary program. It is the true objective of missionary endeavor. A church which does not propagate itself will soon die out....Indigenous church principles recognize the local church unit as the best medium for evangelism' (Hodges 1953:36). Several methods are suggested that should result in proper propagation of the gospel. He (:36-47) states:

- Every convert should be a witness. It is vital for each convert to be a soul-winner.
- New converts should be immediately put to work and not discourage their zeal and enthusiasm.
- Lay workers should be placed in outstations or preaching points and utilized as Christian workers with a pastor supervising their ministry and work.

- This can result in these outstations or preaching points become mature, full-blown congregations in themselves.
- As the missionary tours the district, the lay workers should be taken along in a mentor-student type relationship, producing 'Timothys' from amongst the workers.
- Nationals should be used as evangelist instead of the missionary.
- Testimonies from converts can convince the heathen.
- The result should be a new church formed.

5.11 The Dynamic Of The Holy Spirit In The Indigenous Church

Hodges has been careful to point out that the Three-selves are not enough in themselves. There must be a spiritual dynamic which makes it all function and work. That dynamic is the 'moving of the Holy Spirit' (Hodges 1957:28). To the Pentecostal, this is the crux of the matter. Of course, Roland Allen ([1912] 1962:15-64, 1960a:87-114), called for this same dynamic in his writings, but from a non-Pentecostal perspective. Assemblies of God missiologist, Morris Williams ([1979] 1986:40-63), notes there is a distinct correlation between the Holy Spirit, the Word of God and prayer that makes this dynamic function properly. Paul Pomerville (1985:79), one-time professor of missions at the Assemblies of God Theological Seminary, states: 'The notion that Pentecostalism provides direction for contemporary missions is based on its emphasis on the experiential dimension of the Christian faith, the dynamic experience of the Spirit.' He ([1987] 1995:192-193) further notes that this spiritual dimension is considered 'the maturity dimension' which actually develops the indigenous church to maturity.

Speaking of strategy [in indigenous church principles?], Hodges (1968:305) wrote: 'The Holy Spirit is the Chief Strategist of the Church in evangelism and mission. Human planning is valid only as it reflects the Divine Mind. The Holy Spirit has a strategy for each age and place. It is the Church's responsibility to discern this and to put the strategy into effect....This prominence given to the role of the Holy Spirit should not lead us to believe that the human role is one of complete passivity....Once the will of God is determined, we should set forth as did the apostles in an active effort to fulfill the divine commission.'

While Hodges felt that indigenous church principles were the correct and New Testament methodology, he (1965:127) was quick to add that 'we must tailor our... program to fit the need.' Flexibility was important as long as certain principles and goals were kept in mind. He (in McGee 1989:106) stated: 'None of us is wise enough to chart the future course of missions. We don't have to be! The Holy Spirit will lead us on a better course than we could possibly plan. He is already doing so!'

5.12 Indigenous Church Principles Expanded and Modified

While Hodges was considered 'the department expert on the building of the indigenous church overseas' (McGee :50) in the Assemblies of God, others (Morris Williams and Paul Pomerville²⁶) would come after him who would not only implement the indigenous church programme but would modify it as well.

5.12.1 Morris O Williams (1920-1991)

Morris Williams was born in 1920 and raised in the state of North Dakota. His education was taken at North Central Bible College²⁷ where he met and married Macy Lundquist. From 1946 until 1970 he served as a missionary in Malawi and South Africa. After leaving South Africa he was appointed as the Field Director for Africa and served in this capacity until his retirement in 1985. Upon retirement, he was appointed to the faculty of the Assemblies of God Theological Seminary with the rank of associate professor of missions and served as the department chairman. While ministering in a Family Camp in 1991, he was taken to be with his Lord.

Becoming the new director for Africa, Morris Williams began to formulate a new philosophy that would take the Pentecostal church to the next logical step

²⁶Pomerville's contribution would only be through his writings. See the bibliography for details.

²⁷This institution would eventually honour Williams by conferring an honorary doctorate on him for his achievements in missions.

beyond the indigenous church principles. In writing about the indigenous church, he asks: 'So, what do we mean by "indigenous?"' (Williams, M 1988:10).²⁸

Williams (:10-11) penned: 'Jesus did not say that the Church He would build would be indigenous. He did say that it would be built upon the rock of Peter's confession, that the gates of hell would not prevail against it, and that it would be custodian of the keys to the kingdom of heaven (Matthew 16:13-19). So we ask: Is the indigenous church our goal'?...To be self-propagating, self-administrating, and self-supporting is not an end in itself. It must be a means to an end. That is why we say the indigenous national church is not our goal. A Church that is holy, a Church with Christ as its head, a Church committed to evangelization, a church whose members are born of the Spirit and conformed to Christ--That is the goal of missionary endeavor.'

As Field Director for Africa, he toured the whole continent where Assemblies of God missionaries were working and presented his new plan, 'Partnership in Mission.' Eventually, the Division of Foreign Missions would publish his new theology of mission as '*Partnership in Mission" A Study of Theology and Method in Mission'* (Williams, M [1979] 1986).

Winds of change began to blow, particularly in Africa and in specifically in Malawi²⁹, where Williams had been ministering. Hodges (1978:18) had taught, in

²⁸ *The Collins English Dictionary* ([1979] 1986:777) states that the term 'indigenous' refers to 'originating or occurring naturally (in a country, region, etc); native.' A second definition states that it is something 'innate (to); [or] inherent (in).'

²⁹After leaving Malawi in about 1962, Williams transferred to South Africa to serve as the chairman of the Assemblies of God (USA) (Watt 1991:43). Although in South Africa, he certainly knew of church-missionary tensions in the Presbyterian missions in Malawi. There were three Presbyterian or Reformed groups, the Livingstonia Mission, the Blantyre Synod of the Church of Scotland, and the Nkhoma Synod, Dutch Reformed Church Mission from South Africa. These groups merged in 1964 (Pauw 1993:143) to form 'The Church of Central Africa Presbyterian' most commonly known as the CCAP. With the merger, the newly formed church would take over all the properties of the missions. The missionaries would be under the authority of the church. Housing, ministry, etc would be allocated by the church. The mission entities lost their identity and function. This certainly was not a desirable
(continued...)

agreement with Henry Venn (in Walls 1978:1015), that there should be a 'euthanasia of missions'; 'working oneself out of a job.' The missionary enterprise was to be a terminal job. Upon establishing the indigenous church in a given country, the missionary should move on elsewhere. However, Hodges (1978:19-21) did leave room for the missionary being re-directed in ministry so that termination could be avoided.

Morris Williams began to think that the mission had a permanent role to play in any given field. Already in place in most countries of sub-Saharan Africa, were national church organizations considered to be 'indigenous.' He ([1978] 1986:151, 1988:10) absolutely stated that the indigenous church principles became the best *tool* [italics mine] to accomplish the goal of mission and were not an end to itself.

5.12.2 Partnership Defined

In 1971 George Peters presented a paper titled '*Pattern of Mutuality and Equality*' at the Green Lake '71 Congress, Green Lake, WI. His (in Fuller 1980:39) concepts were '...designed to avoid two potential tension points in working together: interference in church matters by missionaries, and loss of morale among missionaries in cross-cultural problems.' These became a '...balance between the two extremes of fusion (complete merger of the church and mission) and dichotomy (complete separation of the two). Church and mission work together through a "negotiating body" on which they have equal representation' (:39).

In this same year of 1971 Morris Williams was serving as the Field Director for Africa. It is not known if he was aware of or had read Peters' essay, but the chances are he had. Within a short time, he would espouse his 'new gospel' of partnership. Eventually, he hoped that the Division of Foreign Missions would adopt it as its official

²⁹(...continued)

situation for the Assemblies of God USA) in Africa to find themselves. They wanted to retain their autonomy and identity.

policy.³⁰ Each Field Director was given the latitude, under guidelines, to develop strategies that would work for their respective areas. Williams choose partnership. During this same time period, Melvin Hodges was still the Field Director for Latin American and the Caribbean and retained his indigenous church principles as his strategy.³¹

In 1976 Harold Fuller (1980:266,267), a missionary executive with the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), sent a memo to his colleagues redefining the term 'indigenous.' In this memo³² he outlined areas of responsibility where the missionaries would take a leading role and in other areas of responsibility the national church organization would take the leading role. He called this 'an international partnership', stating that '...it should strengthen the indigenous church' (:266).

Peters' and Fuller's ideas would become the antecedents and basis³³ for Morris Williams' partnership regardless of any exchange of philosophy or concepts.³⁴

One of the main concerns of Williams was over the Great Commission. With the establishing of an indigenous church, he (Williams, M [1979]1986:160) asked: '...has the Great commission ceased for them [the missionaries]?...Have they nothing

³⁰That never happened. Upon his retirement from the Division of Foreign Missions, the book and his philosophy appears to be gradually dying a natural death from lack of interest or use. However, some of his ideas have remained and are still used.

³¹Following the very long tenure of J Philip Hogan as Executive Director of the Division of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God, the two succeeding directors both rose from the ranks as Field Director for Latin America and the Caribbean. Dr. Loren Triplett replaced Hogan and upon Triplett's retirement, Rev. John Bueno was elected to this office. In his monthly letter to all A/G missionaries, *Missive* March 1998, Bueno reiterates the goal of Hodges when he stated: 'While each region of the world presents its unique challenges and circumstances, establishing indigenous churches must continue to be the goal of our endeavors.'

³²See Appendices for the complete text

³³This is another example of not knowing who 'was standing on the shoulders of whom.'

³⁴This present writer heard Williams expound these concepts many, many times without any reference to either Peters or Fuller.

more to do in the country to which the Holy Spirit has lead them?...Does their nationality and their race bar them from an ongoing witness?

5.12.3 Morris Williams' Partnership

The heart of Williams' theology of mission is the section on 'International Partnership', which consist of chapter nine in the original edition of his book. He deals with four types of mission-church relationships that have existed in the past and concludes with the fourth one, partnership, which he advocates as the correct one of the four.

The following section and pages are a synopsis and excerpts taken from Morris Williams' earlier writing (1979:ch 9 passim):

5.12.3.1 Paternalism:

Paternalism is not a nasty word. Without parents, there would be no children; and children is what it is all about! At great sacrifice and risk to health and family, the early missionaries when to the foreign field. They loved not their lives unto death!

The missionaries became the great benefactor. They were the parents! They bound the wounds of their 'children', pulled their teeth, educated them, sheltered them on mission compounds, fed them, and loved them! The people were the 'children' of the missionaries and the missionaries were looked upon as parents. Often they were referred to as 'Pa' or 'Ma.'

However, the missionaries expected to be paid in return. Loyalty and appreciation were required. The 'children' were put in the debt of the 'parents' and were never allowed to forget it. It became important for the missionaries to be needed. Being needed supplied something for the missionaries ego that they had not received to the same degree in their own country and, without realizing it, this became one of the reasons why they could hardly wait to get back after a visit to the country that sent them. Where else could you find a people who paid their debts of gratitude so lavishly?

Little by little, the missionaries fell into a life-style that became a paternalistic pattern...an 'over-under' situation with the missionaries always in the superior role and the national under them. Because of the need to be the 'needed parents', the

missionaries resisted any attempt to take away this 'parenthood' status. They told themselves that the children were not mature enough, not educated enough, not spiritual enough and opposed any turnover of responsibility or authority to the indigenous people (their children).

5.12.3.1 Fusion:

There is an idealistic concept in missions that is a reaction to paternalism. It is a 'one church' philosophy aimed at procuring unity in the body of Christ. Since we are all brothers and sisters in the body of Christ and since Christ prayed that we might be one, we should, therefore, be one organization and do away with separate national churches.

The answer of unity is not to deny identity to distinctive groupings of people. The Scriptures do not suggest that we all be one nationality, race, or culture. The beauty of the unity of the body of Christ is not that we are all one race or organization. The beauty of our unity is in the fact that there can be diversity in the midst of our unity. Christ makes it possible for Jews and Greeks to live and work together as members of His Church...a Church made up of every tribe and nation.

We do not believe that a 'fusion' of the sending church with the national [receiving] church is the answer. We believe that unity and coordination of effort is possible while retaining organizational identity.

The 'fusion' strategy is an 'over-under' situation in reverse to paternalism. Fusion puts the national church in the dominant role due to numerical strength and political advantage. It says, 'The missionary has been parent all these years and the nationals have been the children. Now it is the nationals turn to be the parent and the missionaries must be the children.' You see, the goal is not to create an indigenous church organization as an end in itself. The TASK is to build the Church which is supra-racial, supra-national, and supra-denominational...a church of all believers of all nations and races. One must ask this question: By becoming a full member in the national church and giving up membership in the sending church, can the missionary better fulfill the Great Commission?

If the answer is 'yes', then let us cheerfully submit to those who will rule over us. If the answer is 'no', then we must have a good reason for saying so. The only justifiable reason for retaining a separate identity is to enable the missionary to do the TASK better. The 'fusionists' are right when they say believers ought to be able to work as one. However, organizational unity is not an end to itself. The objective is to fulfill the TASK, and the TASK is the establishment of the Church.

Fusion is the cry of the ecumenical movement. It is the teaching that says that there can be no real spiritual unity unless there is organizational unity. It is a system that would bring all churches under one earthly head and force all members to conform, or be crushed

5.12.3.3 Parallelism:

Parallelism is a 'service agency' approach that provides for a separate programme alongside that of the national church, but not connected to it administratively.

The sending church, in a parallel approach, provides programmes of evangelism, literature, youth work, and Bible correspondence schools that become the sending church's answer to the Great Commission in that country, and at the same time compliments the efforts of the national church which can make use of these services or reject them as it wishes.

Rightly administered, a parallel programme can offer services the national church has not provided for itself. It is particularly effective in areas where the national church was not brought into being by missionary efforts of a sending church. The success of such an effort depends heavily upon the sending church's ability to produce a desirable product.

If a sending church's product or services are unacceptable to the national church, it can still run a separate programme. Not having to ask permission, the sending church can get on with the job of instituting programmes in keeping with its own wishes and plans.

Parallelism does not presume to interfere with national church administration or try to tell its leaders what to do. However, the strength of parallelism is also its own

weakness. While not being amenable to the national church, the sending church is not included in the programmes of the national church. Being a service agency, it has no direct hand in establishing local assemblies and must leave church planting to the national organization.

5.12.3.4 Partnership:

In a partnership arrangement, there is a coordination of national church/sending church ministries...a united effort based upon written or vocal agreements. Instead of the national church and the missionary body operating separately, the partnership meeting programme is designed to allow the sending church, the mission, take the lead in some areas of ministry and the national church to take areas of leadership and control in matters that directly concern them. It is obvious that a plan must be found whereby the national church and the sending church can have both a voice and control in programmes requiring personnel and finance from the sending church. It is not right that the national church should be without a voice in programmes that so vitally affect its growth. Neither is it right that the sending church should be without a voice in programmes in which it invests personnel and money.

Despite the fact that many national churches are indigenous in the sense of self-administration and have a self-supporting ministry, they still lean heavily upon the sending partner for help in Bible schools, radio, evangelistic campaigns, literature, and church building programmes. Huge sums of money are still going into lands where the INDIGENOUS CHURCH is 'established.'

To turn huge sums of money over to national church administration can be an invitation to misuse of funds. To control it from the sending church is to take from the national church a responsibility that should be theirs. In many countries, the missionary meeting still controls the finance in Bible school work, radio work, and in literature. The national church doesn't like it, but can do little about it because, while they need the programmes, they can't afford them. They have been left in the dark

when it comes to the money that has gone into them. The time is past for patience on their part, and a plan for participation in financial administration by the national church is in order.

The PARTNERSHIP MEETING is a plan whereby the national church officers and sending church missionary officers meet on a regular basis to discuss the work they are doing in partnership. This is a one-church to one-church meeting in which each church has one 'vote.'

Matters that could be discussed in their meetings are:

- The assignments of the sending church missionaries.
- Specialized ministries undertaken by the sending church.
- United programmes involving both partners.
- International programmes conducted by the sending church that serve the national church.
- Agreements concerning properties held by the sending church.
- International conferences involving both partners.

The partnership meeting does not replace the national church councils. Neither does it replace the missionary meeting. Rather, it becomes a forum for discussion, and makes possible the following:

- Love, trust and fellowship between the leaders of the partner churches.
- Good communication enabling the partners to plan united programmes and to work together harmoniously to accomplish the TASK of building the Church.
- Definition of the role of the national partner and the sending partner so that the abilities of their people and the resources of their churches can be best utilized.

The partnership meeting can either be 'non-legislative' where only an exchange of ideas and views are coordinated. Or it can be 'legislative' in those programmes in which the sending church is investing much personnel and finance. Just as it is unreasonable to ask the national church to be interested and participate in programmes in which it has no voice or control, so it is unreasonable to ask the sending church to send personnel and to underwrite financially programmes without having voice or control. The PARTNERSHIP MEETING answers this to a large degree.

In a 'non-legislative' partnership meeting, the actual control of these programmes would remain under either the national church or the missionary meeting. What would be gained is communication on a one-to-one basis, and this gain is not small thing.

In a 'legislative' partnership meeting, the national church and the sending church missionaries both relinquish administration of certain programmes to a Board made up of the officers of the partner churches. In that case, the PARTNERSHIP MEETING becomes the Board for programmes in which the sending church invests much personnel and finance. It gives each partner equal voice. It leaves all other matters to the national church councils, and takes over only those programmes given it by mutual consent of the partner churches. Its power comes from the partner churches. It is not a law to itself. The guidelines for the programmes under its jurisdiction would be ratified by the partner churches.

Quite obviously, Williams' concern is with the national organization in his Partnership plan. While he is an advocate of indigenous church principles on the local level, as an administrator, he dealt with leadership in the various countries of Africa and his concern focused in that arena. Referring back to indigenous church principles he noted that there are certain dangers one must be careful of when advocating an indigenous church. He states:

The very word 'self' indicates that selfish interests can destroy relationships and hinder the establishment of a New Testament church. When promoting an indigenous church we must make sure that we are promoting the evangelization of sinners and the edification of believers. A national church can be a TOOL with which we reach these goals. A church denomination can be a TOOL with which we reach these goals. But a national church, or a church denomination are not goals in themselves. They are means to an end. When we talk about the indigenous church we are not promoting nationalism. We are not promoting racism. We are not promoting tribalism. We are not promoting denominationalism. We are promoting the evangelization of sinners and the edification of believers, and if an indigenous church does not accomplish this, then it has failed in its purpose.

(Williams, M [1979] 1986:151)

5.12.4 The Praxis of Pentecostal Indigenous Church Principles

Up to this point, this present writer has given a detailed account of the antecedents and matrix of these principles and their modifications. The following will reflect some general observations concerning the actual practice of these principles in mission work.

It first should be noted that the Assemblies of God and other Pentecostal churches, at least in theory, give some allegiance to the principles outlined above. Not all of these churches will interpret the principles in the same way or follow them as outlined by Hodges or others.

5.12.4.1 International Pentecostal Holiness Church

In 1988 B E Underwood (1988), director of World Missions for the IPHC, published a book titled *Sixteen New Testament Principles for World Evangelism*. At the close of each of the sixteen chapters, he gives a reading list for prescribed books for further study. While he does not mention Melvin Hodges or others by name, he (:122,139) does state that both Hodges' *Indigenous Church* and Roland Allen's *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* should be consulted and read for further study.

However, Underwood (:127) takes some pains in his presentation to indicate that for him, the goal for those who engage in world evangelization should be church planting and that in planting the church, New Testament principles should be followed. He states: 'All church planting missionaries should begin and continue their ministry with the purpose of working themselves out of a job in that church. Preparation of national leadership should begin promptly and continue persistently. The understanding that they are going to leave the church in the hands of national leaders should be built into the planning of all their ministry. This is basic to doing a powerful and effective job. From the beginning of his mission, the church planter should be seeking to identify and equip leaders to take over the leadership of the church' (:133-134).

Interestingly enough, Underwood never mentions the term 'indigenous church' in his book, yet in several places the principles of the indigenous church are advocated. In a personal e-mail to an IPHC missionary in Malawi and long time friend of this present writer, David Fannin (1999) states: 'Our mission definitely is sold on it and it is practised. The only thing I could find was in our Missions Manual [n d], but not much was written about it...In Section IX...National Ministers: "The goal of church planting on the mission field is to see an indigenous church develop. An indigenous church is self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating. Missionaries are working with nationals to make this a reality. God has given excellent national leaders to our churches overseas, serving as evangelists, pastors, Bible school teachers, conference superintendents, etc"....We try to implement Melvin Hodges' book on the Indigenous church.'

Underwood (1988:135) likens the situation to a family with children. As the children grow up and develop, the parents must allow them to make their own decisions, even their own mistakes. 'When they do, parents are quick to offer help. But the children must learn to make it on their own.'

5.12.4.2 The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada

Indigenous church principles were first adopted by the PAOC in 1933 in what was called a 'landmark decision which still characterizes PAOC missions policy' (Miller 1994:224)....It involved the adoption of the 'indigenous church idea' which was to be recommended '...to all our missionaries on the field. The goal overseas was to develop a self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting native church. The source of this philosophic concept of missions in PAOC ranks is difficult to locate, but it is evident that the Fellowship was decades ahead of many other evangelical denominations in its approach to world evangelization' (:224).

The Preamble of the PAOC Missions Policy of 1943, Section I, Point IIA & IIB states: 'The primary objective of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Overseas Missions Department policy shall be to preach Christ and lead people to receive Him in saving faith, and to gather these believers into local congregations that will become self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating.'

It shall be our purpose to unite these congregations in a fellowship or a conference under national leadership in each country.'

C W Lynn (1989), one-time director of overseas missions of the PAOC, stated: 'From my own observations I would say that "the indigenous Principle" was an objective clearly in view from the 1950s. In that decade there was a "national" who was the superintendent of the church in a couple of our fields, the West Indies and East Africa.'

He went on to indicate how that from that time the PAOC Overseas Missions Department had modified their understanding of the original goal and described it as a '...modified dichotomy....It provided for two legal entities in the land, each able to take title to property and each having jurisdiction over certain specific spheres of activity' (1989). Of course, this describes the Partnership Meeting agreement advocated by Morris Williams of the Assemblies of God (USA). Lynn (1989) further stated that '[I]n more recent times there has evolved a more integrated cooperative structure in most field.' He did not elaborate further.

Serving as an example of the PAOC's dedication to the indigenous church principles, the Overseas Missions Department (1962) stated about Argentina: 'No INDIGENOUS WORK can be propagated without NATIONAL MEN. One of the most important aspects of missionary work on the field is the training of nationals to work among their own people. This is being done in the BIBLE SCHOOL located in Buenos Aires. Spirit-filled young men and women are preparing themselves for the great task of establishing the INDIGENOUS CHURCH. Graduates of the school are acting as pastors and evangelists throughout Argentina.'

5.12.4.3 The Church of God (Cleveland, TN)

The lack³⁵ of a clear cut statement in the *Objectives and Philosophy of Church of God World Missions* (1999) concerning the indigenous church is a bit puzzling.

³⁵Grant McClung (1999) stated in a personal E-mail to this present writer that there is no mention of indigenous church principles in the Church of God World Mission Policy Manual.

The only statement that can be linked to it is this: 'The heart of World Missions ministry is the implementation of a global strategy of evangelism, church planting and training...Church of God World Missions declares its commitment to the position that the local church is the indispensable key to missions success and effectiveness...Local churches produce missionaries [self-propagation].'

This present writer has perused two books written by Church of God historian, Charles Conn, and has not come up with any real philosophy or objectives of their mission work. His (1959) book, *Where the Saints Have Trod*, is a history of Church of God missions but it does not mention philosophy, mission theology or mission objectives. The same holds true for Conn's (1977) book, *Like a Mighty Army*, which is a history of the Church of God. Looking at the indices of both books, names and subjects such as Hodges, Nevius, Roland Allen, 'indigenous church' and others associated with our subject at hand do not appear at all. Saayman (1999a) states: 'Sometimes the fact that a topic is not addressed speaks as eloquently as the fact that it is explicitly addressed.' It would appear to be so in this case.

Church of God missiologist, L Grant McClung (1986:77-78) states: 'Pentecostal missions have sought from the outset to develop indigenous churches. One of the leaders in this effort has been the Assemblies of God.' He then notes that Melvin Hodges' book, *The Indigenous Church*, is the standard work on the subject (:78).

In this edited book, McClung includes essays from David Du Plessis, world famous South African Pentecostal, Melvin Hodges, Assemblies of God missiologist, and Donald Gee, noted British AOG theologian. While the subject of indigeneity is not the topic of their essays, each (:42,:85,:63) in turn makes a strong statement about indigenous church principles.

One-time World Missions director for the Church of God, Reverend Vessie Hargrave, wrote a Church Training Course on world missions for their Sunday School Department. In this writing, he (1970:117-122) makes a strong case in favour of indigenous church principles. He advocates instituting national leadership as soon as possible, developing a self-supporting base, and initiating a plan of self-propagation.

Admittedly, he (:118) states instituting an indigenous church plan is not without 'growing pains.' Just as an adolescence experiences such 'pains', the church will also feel them. It is a natural process of growing up. He (:118) says: '...the implication is not separation of the infant church, but "bone and muscle" development in the growth process of "crawling" ability first; then afterward "walking" perhaps with a "stroller," and finally walking alone with very little maternal aid. The final goal should be maturity and companionship.'

5.13 The Pentecostal Contribution To The Debate: 'A Step Further'

Attempting to identify one or more specific Pentecostal contributions to the indigenous church debate is not quite as easy as one would expect. As already indicated, Hodges, standing on the shoulders of giants before him, was able to articulate a very definite and definitive indigenous church principles. He declares that an emphasis on the Pentecostal outpouring will produce '...converts with flaming zeal and sacrificial spirit' (1953:132).³⁶ Further statements reflecting the necessity of each individual believer receiving a personal infilling of the Holy Spirit in Pentecostal fashion (glossolalia) indicate that he had listened to Alice Luce (1921a:6) when she asked her probing question after reading Roland Allen, 'When we go forth to preach the Full Gospel, are we going to expect an experience like that of the denominational missionaries, or shall we look for the signs to follow?'

He felt the faith Pentecostal people have in the ability of the Holy Spirit to bestow the charismata upon the common, even 'ignorant and unlearned' person would raise up an army of lay preachers leaders with an '...unusual spiritual ability--not unlike the rugged fishermen who first followed the Lord' (1953:133). It would be by the power and demonstration of the Holy Spirit (miracles and healings) that not only would people be evangelized and set free from the power of witchcraft and of the devil, but would also result in strong, local indigenous churches all over the globe.

³⁶ These paragraphs were omitted from the Moody Press edition of his book which would thrust him into interdenominational missiological circles and fame. See Appendices for the omitted sections of his original book.



Using El Salvador as an example of the spiritual dynamic in indigenous churches, Hodges (1966b:80ff) indicates one of the main factors that led to the tremendous growth in that country was a moving of the Holy Spirit, ‘...demonstrated in New Testament faith.’ He makes a strong case for using correct methods and principles coupled with spiritual dynamics which lead to extraordinary results.

One-time A/G missiologist Paul Pomerville ([1987]1995:193) calls this the ‘maturity dimension.’ He stressed beyond the Three-selves is another spiritual dynamic that will take the indigenous church into the ‘maturity dimension.’ The Holy spirit would act as the Enabler of the new church in question. Attaining this dynamic is an on-going, growth process. Physically, one does not mature overnight nor does the church. There is a period of time when the Holy Spirit is at work in the lives of the believers, bringing them to a place of spiritual maturity. Pomerville would call this a ‘*step further*.’

A ‘*step further*’ for Morris Williams resulted in his understanding of Partnership between the mission as sending agency and the national church organization as receiving agency. His concept was the indigenous church became the best vehicle and tool to accomplish the task, which for him is the Great Commission of Matthew 28:19-20. Of course, under his plan, the indigenous church organization in question has to have the same goals in mind as does the sending agency. Does this concept result in a definite Pentecostal contribution to the indigenous church debate? Yes, in that he attempted to make it very clear that establishing the indigenous church was not a terminal task. For him, and most mission executives today, the sending agency still has its own obligation to fulfill the Great commission through its own missionaries, regardless of the indigeneity status of any given national church organization. There is still work to be done by the sending agency. Control is not the issue. Obedience to the Word is the issue. The final word must come from God’s Word and not from the strategy of human minds.

5.14 The Pain of the Policy in Praxis

As shown in previous sections, the various Pentecostal mission bodies, either implicitly or explicitly, have adopted some sort of indigenous church principles into

their philosophy or objectives. However, the implementation of the principles can be varied, ignored, stretched, narrowly defined, and greatly abused.

While the Assemblies of God (USA) have written into their mission policy³⁷ that the indigenous church is one of four major objectives, the implementation can mean almost anything in any given field. There is a great gulf between the policy and the implementation of that policy. Policies can become rather rigid and fixed, and mostly, non-flexible. On the other hand, the praxis of actually implementating those policies on a given field can result in various ramifications.

For instance, this present writer had personally observed times when the indigenous church policy was very strictly enforced, to the point that the missionary was not allowed to even render compassionate assistance to pastors who had no food in the house and their children were hungry lest it be considered 'un-indigenous.' On another occasion, it is known by this present writer that a missionary was severely censored both by his peers and supervising authority for purchasing and giving a bag of maize (corn) to a pastor who had no food in his house.

In the areas of church buildings and funds, indigenous church policies have been lenient, strict, not enforced and ignored. There have been times when the mission declared that the local congregation must construct its house of prayer with the same building materials that the people used for their homes, e.g, thatch roofs with mud walls. The people objected, stating that they wanted something nicer for their church buildings that what they themselves lived in. As well, mud and thatch construction requires constant repair and maintenance, while burned bricks with roofs of corrugated iron sheeting will last for a much longer period of time and create a more 'churchy' look to the structure.³⁸

Other times, with a revision of indigenous church policies, the nationals were told that if they constructed the walls with burnt bricks, the mission would provide the roofing materials. Sometimes (according to the current indigenous church policy at

³⁷See Appendices for the Four fold strategy

³⁸This has often resulted in what Donald McGavran ([1970] 1980:295ff) called 'Redemption and lift.'

hand) that meant supplying both the timbers for the trusses and the iron sheeting and other times (according to a revised indigenous church policy), it meant only the iron sheeting. The nationals never knew what to expect under the so-called indigenous church policy being used at the moment. The policy was too fluid and had a tremendous propensity for change in its interpretation and implementation. Too often, changes in mission administrators and executives resulted in major shifts in the implementation of a given indigenous church policy.

In many countries, the mission would provide buildings in towns or cities where the nationals could not afford to build or purchase property. In some areas, the church congregation would receive a manse as well as the church. In other areas, it was against the policy to provide a manse. The nationals could do that, they were often told. Sometimes, it was felt providing too much could mean the nationals had no incentive to provide for themselves.

In Malawi, for instance, the National Church had run the complete gambit of the policy of indigenous principles, from one extreme to the other. However, in the early 1980s funds were provided by a single church in Oklahoma City, OK for the complete construction of new churches and manses where tent crusades had been held under the auspices of the Oklahoma City church. Buildings were built, church furniture provided, even some landscaping. No expense was spared to make a very nice facility. Nowhere else in Africa under the Assemblies of God was that sort of thing happening or allowed to happen. Strangely enough, at this same time, the national church of the Assemblies of God in Malawi began to grow in unprecedented numbers.

Having been started in 1946 by Morris Williams, after about thirty seven years, there were only about one hundred fifty churches and outstations. Contrary to all indigenous church principles, when the growth started, it started in the very same churches that had been totally constructed with foreign funds. Pastors began to start their 'branch' churches and before the decade was out, life had begun to appear on the horizon. Within the decade of the 1990s that national church has grown in size so that the current estimates indicate that there are almost 2000 congregations and outstations. Indigenous? Yes! By the book? No, not at all! How can one control the

move of the Holy Spirit? How can one determine when the winds of revival and renewal will blow over any given church or country? In spite of all human plans, methods, and strategy, God is still sovereign and is still in control.

Perhaps more than in any other area, the various Pentecostal churches have disagreed over whether pastors should be paid and still be considered self-supporting. In most countries of Africa where there is more than one classical Pentecostal body working, there is no consensus. Some groups will provide salaries for their workers while others will not, quoting Hodges or Allen or even their own mission policy manual. The result is that many workers, without any loyalty to their own denomination, jump from one group to the other at any whim or notion when the money bag is jingled.

The Pentecostal mission groups without a rigid indigenous church policy do not have as much trouble as the ones with a strict policy. It is the considered opinion of this present writer that mission bodies such as the Assemblies of God continue to have a greater struggle with implementing a given indigenous church policy. It is often very rigid, 'set in stone' and there is little latitude for individual interpretation. Conversely, other Pentecostal mission groups such as the Church of God of Cleveland, TN who, while giving lip service to indigenous church policies, are not uptight if and when the result is less than totally 'indigenous.'

6. Social Responsibility

Taking his cue from the Evangelical sociologist, David Moberg (Dempster 1991b:33), Assemblies of God missionary and scholar, Douglas Petersen, makes a distinction between *social ethics*, *social welfare*, and *social action*. He states:

The term 'theological ethics of social concern' provides the conceptual foundations for a holistic approach to social change and includes all programmes and activities that are instituted in order to minister to the needs of people. The term 'social welfare' will specifically refer to ministries or actions taken that help to alleviate the needs of people. The term 'social action' will specifically refer to ministries or actions taken that are designed to change or reform the basic conditions, structures, or circumstances that are causing the needs.

(Petersen 1996:112)

For purposes of this study, the *definition* of the term 'social welfare' as shown above is used the majority of the time when reference is made of social action or social concern.

6.1 The Ecumenical Position

The Ecumenicals view social responsibility in a very different light than do the Pentecostals and Evangelicals. There is no prioritizing of deeds or words. Acts of compassion are considered just as important as evangelism. Assisting in bringing forth justice to a disenfranchised community or self-determination to an oppressed nation is equally important. All of this stems from the theological position that Christ is the Lord of the cosmos and therefore, everything in the cosmos is important to God, and not just the salvation of 'lost souls' (Saayman 1990:103). 'The gospel is not intended for man's soul only but for man as a whole, not for the individual only but for society' (Bosch 1980:212). Saayman's (1983) 'sunlight through the prism' illustration indicates this type of thinking. As mentioned elsewhere, Saayman's starting point is the *missio Dei* which passes through the 'prism' of *theological-analysis-in-context* with the result being *evangelism, social concern, healing, justice, community service, etc.* Each of these are considered a vital part of the *missio Dei* and cannot be separated

nor prioritized. Deleting one, deletes all. Negating one, negates all. Hence evangelism and social action are equal concerns, neither one has a priority over the other.

The many and various WCC congresses and reports are replete with either implicit or explicit statements to the above concept. The following examples should suffice to illustrate the point:

6.1.1 Willingen - 1952:

'At Willingen, [1952] the understanding of mission as *missio Dei* has been embraced by virtually all Christian persuasions...' (Bosch 1991:390). According to Rosin (1972:23), the term '*missio Dei*' was introduced by Dr Karl Hartenstein and was intended to '...place the mission within the widest possible framework of the "Heilsgeschichte" and God's plan of salvation (the "oikonomia tou theou," Col 1:25).' The Conference noted: 'The mission is not only obedience to a word of the Lord, it is not only the commitment to the gathering of the congregation; it is participation in the sending of the Son, in the *missio Dei*, with the inclusive aim of establishing the lordship of Christ over the whole redeemed creation' (in Vicedom 1965:5). Thus, Bosch (1991:391) could positively state: 'the primary purpose of the *missiones ecclesiae* can therefore not simply be the planting of churches or the saving of souls; rather, it has to be service to the *missio Dei*, representing God in and over against the world, pointing to God, holding up the God-child before the eyes of the world in a ceaseless celebration of the Feast of the Epiphany.'

6.1.2 Canberra - 1991:

The Seventh Assembly of the WCC at Canberra in 1991 serves as the second example. Four major sub-themes were presented (Kinnamon 1991) and all participants at the assembly chose to work with one of the four. The four sub-themes were: a) Giver of Life -- Sustain Your Creation, b) Spirit of Truth -- Set Us Free, c) Spirit of Unity -- Reconcile Your People, and d) Holy spirit -- Transform and Sanctify Us!.

As easily discerned, the first sub-theme dealt with ecology and ethics of economics and a Theology of Creation. The second, a good value system, political liberation, justice for women, and racial justice. The concern of the third sub-theme was with unity, reconciliation and sharing, interreligious dialogue, and the WCC relationship to Pentecostals and Charismatics. The final sub-theme emphasized the role of the Holy Spirit in the world, in the Church, and in individuals.

Obviously, the majority of issues discussed had nothing to do with evangelism. Almost all issues evolved around a social motif of some type, thus prompting the General Secretary, Emilio Castro (:155), to state: '...social activists are afraid that the language of the Spirit [referring to the theme of the assembly] will distance us from our social responsibility. They ask: are we not opening the door to abstruse discussions far removed from the existential reality of struggle and suffering?...Behind these questions lies a serious concern: will the World Council of Churches not become so "spiritual" that it loses its identity, its reason d'etre?'

6.2 The Evangelical Position

As noted earlier, the Evangelicals in general and Pentecostals in particular have not sided with the WCC in these issues. 'Thirty years ago or so, one often heard the claim that evangelical Christians had abandoned the arena of social action to theological liberals....Whether the assertion was ever really true, it is certainly not true today. Evangelicals have become increasingly involved in social action....They understand their duty to be concerned about the plight of the poor, about social injustice, about urban blight, and about other issues of social significance' (Nash 1983:1).

6.2.1 Berlin Congress 1966:

While in these past thirty years or so, having made their conversion and affirmation to social involvement, Evangelicals stand firm in the issue of the primacy of evangelism. At the Berlin congress of 1966, Billy Graham stated:

I am convinced that if the Church went back to its main task of proclaiming the Gospel and getting people converted to Christ, it would

have a far greater impact on the social, moral, and psychological needs of men than any other thing it could possibly do. Some of the greatest social movements of history have come about as a result of men being converted to Christ. (in Bassham 1979:226)

Attempting to solve the enigma of the relationship between social responsibility and evangelism, the concept of two mandates emerged in Evangelical circles (Bosch 1991:403). These mandates, one spiritual and the other social became popular in the 1966 congresses at Wheaton and Berlin (Bassham 1979:343). 'The cultural mandate calls Christians to responsible participation in human society, including working for social justice and the healing and compassion ministries undertaken to foster human welfare. The evangelistic mandate refers to the commission to announce the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ that through the Holy Spirit people may come to repentance and faith. Both mandates are binding' (:343). Needless to say, while both mandates are now considered binding, the priority continues to lie with the evangelistic mandate.

Once the Evangelicals and Pentecostals decided to join the bandwagon of social responsibility, there still did not exist any solidarity among the 'converted.' For example, Carl Henry, chairman of the Berlin congress, tried to posit a balance between the two mandates that was not in accord to Billy Graham's address as mentioned above. He (in Henry & Moonyham 1967:16) stated: 'The God of the Bible is the God of justice and of justification. The Christian evangelist has a message doubly relevant to the modern scene: he knows that *justice* is due to all because a just God created mankind in his holy image, and he knows that all men need *justification* because the Holy Creator sees us as rebellious sinners.' Not all of the participants sided with Henry.

On the heels of the 1966 congresses, came other Evangelical congresses that would also raise up the banner of social responsibility and wave it high. History shows that the most zealous for an issue are recent converts to an ideology or religion and the Evangelicals and Pentecostals were no exception.

6.2.2 The Lausanne Congress '74

The Lausanne '74 congress took a stand for social responsibility. Billy Graham (in Douglas 1975:29), while continuing to advocate the primacy of evangelism, set the tone in his keynote address: '...we expect to reaffirm our witness must be by both word and deed. You cannot separate the two. Our lives, both individually and collectively, must reflect clearly the truths we proclaim. Faith without works is dead.' He stated four dangers or errors in dealing with social action. They are:

- The *first* is to deny that we have any social responsibility as Christians....
- The *second* error is to let social concern become our all consuming mission....
- A *third* error is to identify the Gospel with any one particular political program or culture....
- Perhaps there is a *fourth* danger for us and that is the danger of trying to make all Christians act alike, regardless of where God may have placed them. (in Douglas 1975:29-30)

One of the key strategy papers of the congress was 'The Social Responsibilities of Evangelization' presented by George Hoffman (:698). The response was very positive as the secretary, J Raymond Knighton (:710), penned: '[w]e affirm, therefore, that our social action and compassionate service are not to be considered as a form of bribe to make the evangel more palatable. Not only is it unnecessary, it is unbiblical as our compassionate service and social action are essential constituents of our total Christian mission. We do not believe, therefore, in evangelization through social service but recognize that social service must be part of our evangelization, being in itself an essential expression of the love of God for this world.'

Finally, the Lausanne Covenant³⁹ contained a separate section called '*Christian Social Responsibility*' which ended with this statement: '[t]he salvation we

³⁹Again, the reader is referred to the Appendices for the necessary text from the Lausanne Covenant.

claim should be transforming us in the totality of our personal and social responsibilities. Faith without works is dead' (:4).

6.2.3 Lausanne II in Manila '89

The chairman of the congress, Leighton Ford (in Douglas 1990:50), reflecting on the past and future, made these statements in his keynote address: '...social responsibility was clearly recognized as an integral part of the church's mission, remembering that evangelism is primary. Now, in thousands of exciting instances, evangelistic and social ministries have become creative partners -- albeit the injustices of our world still stir our consciences.'

Resulting from this congress came *The Manila Manifesto*. A document similar to the Lausanne '74 covenant. One major section deals with '*The Gospel and Social Responsibility*.' Among other things, this section stated:

Evangelism is primary because our chief concern is with the gospel, that all people may have the opportunity to accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior. Yet, Jesus not only proclaimed the kingdom of God, he also demonstrated its arrival by works of mercy and power. We are called today to a similar integration of words and deeds. In a spirit of humility we are to preach and teach, minister to the sick, feed the hungry, care for prisoners, help the disadvantaged and handicapped, and deliver the oppressed. While we acknowledge the diversity of spiritual gifts, callings, and contexts, we also affirm that Good News and good works are inseparable. (in Douglas 1990:30)

The workshop Track 250 dealt with Social Concern and Evangelism (:410-412). It stated, inter alia, '[s]ince Lausanne I, the social needs of humanity have escalated and the resources to meet them have declined. As we see people through the eyes of Jesus, the proclamation and demonstration of the whole gospel requires that evangelical Christians make a united and concerted effort...' to meet their social needs.

6.3 The Pentecostal Position

The Pentecostals have had a rather complex history in regards to participation in social responsibility of any kind. What was true in bygone days is not necessarily



true today. There has certainly been no solidarity among them in their thinking or philosophy in relation to social involvement. Furthermore, most of their social involvement hinges around the alleviating of hunger, suffering, natural disasters, and medical care: *social welfare*. Pentecostals are also noted for being apolitical and not becoming involved in the active correction of social injustices, particularly in foreign countries. Assemblies of God missiologist, Melvin Hodges, stated:

- The missionary must remember that he is a *Christian*. Whatever the policy adopted by the mission in regard to using foreign funds in establishing the church, the missionary as an individual Christian must manifest the love of God and help, as he is able, those around him. God expects us to give a practical manifestation of the love of God.⁴⁰
- Second, the missionary should be wise in his works of charity to avoid making people simply 'rice Christians'....
- Third, the local church should be encouraged to engage in a program of relief and help to the needy....
- Fourth, any program of social action must point men to -- not away from -- the central message of redemption through the blood of Jesus Christ.
- Fifth, we should be careful not to arouse unscriptural and idealistic expectations....
- Sixth, we should examine our benevolences to be sure they are meeting a real need....
- Seventh, we should, as much as possible, help people to help themselves....
- Eighth, we must remember that everything we do for the physical and social order is of a transitory nature; only those things done for the redemption of man and the church of Jesus Christ will stand for eternity. (Hodges 1977:103-104)

The present day Pentecostal academy does not draw the line between the two mandates as the 'old guard' did. Whether they have better hermeneutics, exegesis, spiritual understanding or perhaps a bit of them all, the two mandates lose their distinctiveness in present day Pentecostal scholarship. For instance, Gordon Fee, a renown Pentecostal scholar, is more in line with the Ecumenicals than his own Pentecostals when he (1991:17) states: 'Mission simply cannot be divided between

⁴⁰This type of thinking allows the individual missionary to obey his/her conscience, even if it means going against 'policy.' As the director for Latin America and the Caribbean, did he actually allow this type of action from his missionaries?

"spiritual" and "physical." To do one is to do the other, and both constitute the global mission of the church.'

'The observation by some non-Pentecostals leaders that Pentecostals are on a "social strike" has been proven by further research to be misguided' (Wagner 1991:269). The question is not only whether a Pentecostal group is involved in social concern or action but how and for what purpose? Emphasis has been made that through proclamation and conversion, the process of social welfare, social action or social concern will automatically happen.⁴¹ This concept is McGavran's ([1970] 1980:297) 'Redemption and Lift' theory. Missiologist, Melvin Hodges, wrote:

Actually, the preaching of the gospel which has resulted in conversion to Christianity and the establishing of Christian churches has raised the level of the people brought under the influence of the gospel in innumerable ways. God inspires desires for nobler living in the hearts of people who have come in contact with His love. This results in better use of family finances, more faithfulness at work, a gradual bettering of the economic situation in deprived families, including the education of their children, so in a generation there are palpable differences noted in the economic and social life of the people concerned. (Hodges 1977:102)

Evidence shows that Pentecostals in Latin America are not on a 'social strike,' as some might think. They know that the gospel is relevant to the whole person, and to that person in a given society. 'Their approach to solving social problems might differ considerably from some Christians in the more traditional denominations, but it is no less a concern for humanity. Since they have not allowed their concern for humanity to degenerate into humanism, however, they have conserved social strength. Therein, they have become an instrument in the hands of the Holy Spirit to bring the message of liberation to...people in a highly relevant and effective way' (Wagner 1973:148).

⁴¹A case can be made that both evangelism and divine healing are, in fact, social concerns in action. Palau (1990:8) states: '[e]vangelism is the most effective social action because it deals with the root of the problem, not with the symptoms alone. The root is human alienation, sinfulness, and evil. Mankind's foremost need is the gospel: first to dispel spiritual darkness, but second to eradicate their utter selfishness.' This needs a more definitive study.

Assemblies of God professor of social ethics, Murray Dempster (1987:145) states: 'Pentecostal ministries...have been at the vanguard of instituting programs to promote the social welfare of the Poor.' Their charitable ministries (orphanages, schools, feeding programs, and medical programs) provide testimony to their compassion (McGee 1992:40). However, the Ecumenical movement would pointedly ask, 'What are you Pentecostals specifically doing in the area of social responsibility?' This leads the study to consider the major Pentecostal groups⁴² separately and then in some instances, to deal with their philosophies, both past and present.

6.3.1 The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada

The first missionaries to travel overseas for the PAOC went to South Africa and later to British East Africa in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Charles Chawner left for Capetown in February of 1908. His ministry was mainly confined to Zululand where eventually he would be called 'the Apostle to the Zulus' by his own people (Miller 1994:222). Later, in the early 1920s, Otto Keller would go to East Africa (Kenya) where he would institute a 'two-fold approach of evangelism and education.' 'By 1923, the Kellers had established 25 district schools in a region inhabited by 60,000 nationals' (:227). This 'Two-Fold' approach would serve the PAOC well in the coming years. Creating primary schools to educate the local populace both ingrained them with the colonial governments of the day and assisted the nationals in their literacy programme, which even to this date, remains a strong emphasis in the PAOC missionary effort (Peters [s a]:75). In Liberia, a leprosarium was established to treat sufferers of this disease (Miller 1994:231). In 1943, the PAOC Missions Policy stated as one of several objectives that:

We recognize that emergency relief and development aid is also an integral part in fulfilling the great commission.

In order to accomplish this, the social and physical needs of people overseas, whom The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada is

⁴²Any omission of a major Pentecostal group from the following pages is due to the lack of information on the part of this present writer.

endeavoring to evangelize, will be considered in brotherly love. Efforts will be made to assist with relief in times of disaster and with training to improve people's skills, as well as their social and physical development. (PAOC 1943)

In an editorial by Bob Skinner, editor of the PAOC's *Pentecostal Testimony*, he summarizes their stance on social concern. He (1986) writes: '...around the world we are involved in scores of projects to help people in their needs as well as sharing the good news of God's love.' He indicates that in Argentina, they have an orphanage which has assisted thousands of children in the past 25 years. In Brazil, they have an orphanage, a vocational training school for boys, and an adult literacy programme. In Haiti, they are involved in agricultural projects such as water well boring (drilling). In India, the PAOC has teamed up with the A/G in a major hospital and medical work which includes a feeding scheme. He continues to note that they are involved in food relief in Mozambique, medical clinics and agricultural schemes in Asia. Concluding, he writes:

Space does not permit to give all the details of our endeavors in Malawi, Uganda, Mexico, Lebanon, Hong Kong, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Ethiopia where we are putting a lot of effort and money in famine relief, agricultural programs, reforestation, adult literacy, fish farming, provision of clothing, clinics, et cetera. (Skinner 1986:4)

Miller (1994:379) notes that '[e]arly in the '80s, the Overseas Missions Department created a new ministry, known as Emergency Relief and Development Overseas (ORDO), to respond to the physical and social needs of the people it was attempting to reach with the gospel. 'The department's budget for 1994 was 4.7 million dollars [Canadian?]. Its undertakings have included working with refugees from Liberia, Mozambique and Uganda, four medical clinics in Kenya, vocational training in Irian Jaya, and providing clothing and medical supplies to Eastern Europe' (Dyck 1996:14).

Due to the lack of separation of church and state, the PAOC is able to work with the Canadian government in certain situations where financial assistance is provided to the Church to distribute aid or assist in certain programmes (:15). This allows them the ability to be more involved socially than with their Pentecostal

neighbours to the south. This present writer knows for fact that in Malawi, for instance, the PAOC was able to construct a very nice church facility in the capital of Lilongwe with financial aid from the Canadian government provided they had an adult literacy programme. Skinner also notes that the PAOC is involved with the Canadian International Development Agency, Compassion Canada, the governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia (1986:5).

The PAOC, through the ERDO wing, joined with six other church organizations to form the Canadian Foodgrains Bank for the purpose of moving Canadian produce to hungry areas of the world. Several federal and provincial government agencies channelled aid to those need countries through the Foodgrains Bank by matching the donations, sometimes four to one, given by members of the founding church organizations....The practical result of the ERDO program in relation to the gospel was that through the demonstration of concern for the people the missionaries earned 'the right to be heard'....

While the ERDO projects reflected very favorably the awareness of educational, physical, and social needs in the Third World, the primary purpose of the PAOC to present the gospel remained its top priority. (Miller 1994:379)

6.3.2 The Church of God (Cleveland, TN)

As with many missionaries of various agencies and boards, there seems to be several instances when COG missionaries were involved in social action. This involvement usually resulted from individual conscience rather than stated mission philosophy by any given mission agency. Such seems to be the case in several reports of COG early social concern. Conn (1959), in writing his own history of Church of God missions, covers their mission work country by country but never deals with philosophy or mission objectives per se. Thus one must glean and discover 'tidbits' of social action throughout his book. For instance, he (:15) notes that one of the early abortive attempts of social work was that of one Miss Lillian Thrasher. She went to Egypt in 1910 associated with the COG. There, she established a world-famed orphanage (in Pentecostal circles) earning her the title of 'Nile mother.' Apparently her constant appeals for financial assistance fell on deaf ears so that Conn (:16) wrote: 'Miss Thrasher's reports to the Church of God stopped in 1919 or

1920, at which time her association with the Church seems to have ceased. What was apparently one of the Church's greatest missionary opportunities was lost when it could not or did not do more toward the support of this magnanimous woman and her orphanage.⁴³

However, Conn wrote that the COG began to have a burden for children within the United States during the same time period when Miss Thrasher 'went' to the A/G and at '...the Assembly of 1919 (Fourteenth) determined action was taken toward beginning an orphanage and children's home. This burden had lain on the heart of the Church of God for many years,⁴⁴ and there had been previous efforts to begin this work....Again it was a small beginning, but the care of orphans would become a permanent and prominent facet of the Church of God⁴⁵ and its *mission upon the earth* [italics mine]' (1977:152-153).

According to Murray Dempster (1991a), the COG's social ministry in Haiti has shown outstanding results. They have built an impressive educational system of 135 government-approved elementary (primary) schools and four high schools. Other projects include vocational programmes. A new printing plant trains nationals for skills in graphic arts and printing trades. A school of nursing and a laboratory technicians training programme prepares students in the medical field. A mobile dental clinic is in operation with free dental care for the children.

Through their *Volunteers in Medical Missions* (VIMM), a network of physicians, dentists, health care professionals all work to provide assistance in countries where

⁴³She 'defected' to the Assemblies of God (USA) where she remained associated until her death (McGee 1986:149; Wilson, E 1955:18). An interesting side note, neither Conn (COG) nor some A/G authors make mention of the fact that at one time, Miss Thrasher was associated with the other denomination. Everett Wilson (1997:1464) does, however.

⁴⁴This being the case, one wonders why the orphanage in Egypt was not financially supported?

⁴⁵Assemblies of God educator, Murray Dempster (1991a) has documented a vast array of domestic social concerns recently developed within the COG including the formation of a Commission on Family Life and Social Concerns.

their skills are needed. Relief projects are part of the COG's social ministries. Through the *Men of Action*, a laymen's group, relief in form of food, clothing and supplies was shipped to Jamaica in 1988.

In 1944 one Vessie D Hargrave was appointed to Mexico as a 'social and moral director' and one year later as superintendent of the Latin American Department of the Church of God. In 1951 he wrote a master's dissertation, *Evangelical Social Work in Latin America*. While Conn (:287) states that Hargrave made a tremendous contribution to their Latin American work, nothing is said of any social action. Hargrave (1970) would later author a popular book on missions for the COG but would make no mention of social action or concern as part of the official COG philosophy.

The most notable and published missiologist for the Church of God, Dr L Grant McClung, wrote (1988b) an essay describing '*Theology and Strategy of Pentecostal Missions*.' No mention is made of any social concern or action being an objective or a philosophy of Pentecostal missions.

A most applaudable effort by an COG scholar comes from an educator, Matthias Wenk, serving in their overseas school, European Bible Seminary - Germany. He (1991) wrote a very good essay, *Christian Social Responsibility*, in which he provides the theological foundations for social concern, and then treats the subject very astutely. He concludes that social ministry belongs to the local church and not a para-church organization or even the State (:11).

In spite of a very obvious lacuna, the stated objectives of the Church of God World Missions incorporates the necessity of social concern. The third objective (COGWM [s a]) is: 'To minister to the totality of human need (Matt. 25:31-46, Luke 16:9, Luke 16:19-31, Luke 10:2).

6.3.3 The Assemblies of God (USA)

'The historic aim of Pentecostal missions has been the evangelization of the lost before the return of Christ; at the same time, sizeable funds and energies have been directed to those with physical needs' (McGee 1989:249). This has resulted in

what McGee (1994c:12) terms a 'startling paradox' between the intent of a Pentecostal missiology and the actual praxis of one. Many missionaries who were engaged in actual evangelism; including preaching, witnessing, tract distribution, training nationals, etc, found themselves running day schools, orphanages, and medical clinics. Reminiscent of Ro 7:15 (NIV) 'For what I want to do, I do not do, but what I hate, I do', these missionaries often found themselves involved in social ministries they originally had no intention of doing. Other times they discovered that the social ministries of compassion they were doing were not on their theological agenda nor stated in their mission board's objectives.

Early Assemblies of God mission philosophy had no room for a social agenda⁴⁶. The founding fathers' earliest statements were adopted into a resolution in 1914: '...we commit ourselves and the Movement to Him for the greatest evangelism that the world has ever seen. We pledge our hearty cooperation, prayers, and help to this end' (DFM 1997:1-2). McGee (1994c:11) states: 'The clock of prophetic fulfilment was ticking loudly.' There was no time for anything other than evangelism. The eschaton was upon them. It could happen at any moment. One of the founding fathers, J Roswell Flower wrote:

Over and over messages were given in the Spirit that the time would not be long and what was done must be done quickly. We were impressed that the time was so short that the heathen in the neglected parts of the earth would scarcely have time to hear before Jesus should come. (in McGee 1994c:11)

In paradox to the above, J Philip Hogan (1989:10), executive director of the Division of Foreign Missions for 30 years, wrote at the eve of his retirement: '...from its inception, DFM has ministered to the physical needs of suffering humanity without neglecting mankind's more vital spiritual needs.'

⁴⁶This was officially changed in 1981 when the by-laws of the DFM were revised at the bi-annual General Council. Point four states: *The showing of compassion for suffering people in a manner representing the love of Jesus Christ.* This placed social concern and action in the agenda of A/G foreign missions policy and objectives.

McGee (1989:249) notes that at the close of World War I, the A/G responded to appeals to assist war victims through European relief agencies. Clothing, bedding, bandages, and other essentials were distributed. Following World War II, the Assemblies of God made a humanitarian effort to assist European refugees and the Foreign Missions Department organized a relief and rehabilitation program in the 1950s for this purpose. Often relief contributions have been channelled through the World Relief Commission, an affiliate of the National Association of Evangelicals (:249). Other efforts included assisting during the Biafran civil war in Nigeria, aid to refugees in Thailand, Vietnam, Bangladesh disaster victims and the famines in Africa (:250).

6.3.3.1 Personal Visions

As with other Pentecostal missionaries, the early social work or concern of A/G missionaries was the result of a particular burden or ministry an individual had and not the result of any stated philosophy, objectives or corporate vision from the missions department. 'Faced with the overwhelming material needs in their fields, some missionaries early on undertook social action by founding leprosaniums, orphanages, and schools. Such activities, unwittingly illustrate the Pentecostal's concern for the manifestation of the kingdom of God in this age' (Wilson, E A 1997:139). Later, the missions department found it must absorb the social work into its programme to keep supporters happy and nationals from being upset at losing their social work. The surprising thing is not they are involved in social concern but that they have accomplished as much as they have.

6.3.3.2 Lillian Trasher Orphanage - Assiout, Egypt

The story of Lillian Trasher has already been mentioned in section 6.3.2. Coming from the Church of God around 1919-20, her orphanage had already been in existence some ten years. Her popularity grew amongst the grass-roots laity until her work could not be denied. 'Hundreds of Egyptian youngsters found food, shelter, and instruction over the years. International acclaim eventually surrounded the institution' (McGee 1986:99). For twenty-five years she remained in Egypt without ever

returning to the United States for a furlough. The government of Egypt officially honoured her and the work she accomplished posthumously. The orphanage remains very active today, a vital but unsolicited ministry of social welfare of the DFM of the Assemblies of God.

6.3.3.3 Mission of Mercy - Calcutta, India

Another private vision was the social work of Mark Buntain in India, the Calcutta Mission of Mercy. Buntain went to India in 1953. Distributing gospel tracts in a crowded railway station, three young men said to him, 'Sir, give us something for our hungry stomachs; then you can give us something for our hungry souls' (McGee 1989:251). Along with the Bengali famine of 1964, the statement of those three men made a tremendous impact on Buntain's life.

Taking his burden to the executives of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Division of Foreign Missions, he pleaded his case, which for the most part fell on deaf ears. Everett Wilson (1997:153) describes the dialogue that took place between Buntain and Dr J Philip Hogan, executive director of the DFM. Hogan is quoted as finally relenting after a major objection from one of the committee members that there were other priorities more important than Buntain's social concern vision. 'The tide turned and the board granted Buntain permission. They allocated no funds for Mark's [Buntain] school. He was indeed on his own. However, he could tell churches about the need -- and if they wanted to help, that was their business' (in Wilson, E A :1997:153). The rest is history!

In 1988 the mission was feeding about 22,000 people each day. Over 1,000 nationals work at the combined facility which includes a hospital,⁴⁷ a school of nursing, six village clinics, a hostel for destitute youth, a drug prevention programme and twelve schools that provide instruction for 6,000 children. Since that humble beginning, more than 250,000 children have been saved from hunger, more than

⁴⁷The hospital is called the Assemblies of God Hospital and Research Centre, a 6-story, 120 bed hospital. Opened in 1977 at a cost of \$1 million, it is the only full-scale hospital ever sponsored by the denomination' (McGee 1989:251).



100,000 children have had the opportunity for an education, and tens of thousands have been treated at the hospital (Shemeth 1988:102).

As a footnote to this great ministry of compassion, in 1984 Buntain received an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree from the University of Missouri-Columbia for his outstanding humanitarian achievements. The 'World Relief [organization] presented its prestigious Helping Hands Award to him during the 47th annual convention of the National Association of Evangelicals March 8, 1989 in Columbus, Ohio' (DFM: June 1989). Posthumously, in 1995 he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Serampore College in Calcutta, India, founded in 1818 by William Carey. Likewise, Mrs Buntain was awarded the Doctor of Humane Letters degree from North Central Bible College in 1990 for her work with her late husband.

6.3.3.4 Latin America ChildCare (LACC)

In 1963 John Bueno, current executive director of the Division of Foreign Missions, as a new missionary serving in the country of El Salvador, Central America walked the streets of San Salvador and wondered how he make a difference in the lives of those involved in poverty and hopelessness. 'Shocked by the conditions before me, I asked God to show me a way I, through His power, could somehow make life better for the little ones who suffered' (Bueno 1989b:7). His efforts to provide the material, spiritual, and educational needs of the countless thousands of children he encountered would be almost impossible as a solitary missionary, yet he was determined to do something for them. '...I wanted to give the children of San Salvador all of these things and more. Most of all, I wanted to give them something eternal -- something they would not outgrow or forget. I knew that no matter what, I wanted to give them the love of Jesus Christ. Because of that deep love for these little ones, Latin America ChildCare (LACC) was born' (:7).

The first school, *Liceo Cristiano*, was started in 1963 with 152 children meeting in three of the church's Sunday School classrooms. From these humble and early beginnings, a programme of educating, providing a hot meal, medical assistance and love to needy children has evolved into what eventually became to be

known as the Latin America ChildCare (LACC),⁴⁸ a sanctioned compassionate ministry of the Assemblies of God Division of Foreign Missions. Currently there are 300 registered LACC schools operating in Latin America and the Caribbean with a combined enrollment of about 80,000 children in twenty-one countries (Stidham 1999).

Doug Petersen (1992:9), director of LACC, stated: 'many LACC graduates are Christian physicians, architects, teachers, and pastors. They are contributing to revival in their counties, turning back the tide of poverty, despair, and sin, and bearing witness to Christ's love.' He further states:

[t]housands of El Salvador's young people have become agents of social change by practising active solidarity and participation in concrete terms....The LACC programme leads children into a new life by means of altering their perspectives and attitudes. Many LACC children for the first time see the world from a different perspective....Obviously, the trophies LACC seeks are the changes in the lives of otherwise severely restricted children, both as an end in itself and as the basis for making modifications in the society and the culture of the Latin American poor accessible to LACC. Specifically, LACC has emerged as part of an effort to break the cycle of poverty that traps poor families. By providing an alternative education, the programme at once offers relief for children by providing them schooling, structure in their often chaotic lives, improved nutrition and most importantly, concern for their complete social, physical, intellectual, and moral development. (Petersen 1996:177ff)

6.3.3.5 HealthCare Ministries (HCM)

In 1982 an Assemblies of God pediatrician, Dr Paul R Williams, inaugurated a health care/medical ministry that has developed into one of the flagships of DFM's humanitarian involvement. Being one of the earlier social concerns endorsed by the DFM, the decision of the governing board '...marked a level of endorsement and

⁴⁸LACC is not to be confused with an earlier DFM compassionate ministry called Child Care International. This now-dismantled programme was a world wide compassionate ministry to assist needy children all over the world. During the heyday of the now-defrocked Jimmy Swaggart, his ministry channeled millions of dollars through the A/G to care for under-privileged children (McGee 1989:252).

encouragement not known before' (Wilson E A 1997:146). In defining the work of HCM, Dempster (1991a:24) states: 'Health Care Ministries (HCM) does more than channel medicines, equipment and personnel when a disaster strikes, HCM, in keeping with its stated objective to demonstrate "Christ's Love in Action," organizes ministry teams of doctors, dentists, nurses and other health care professionals to travel to different countries around the world for one or two weeks and provide free health care to diseased and malnourished people in the most impoverished areas of the globe.'

Johnson stated that the underlying reason for the medical assistance is not only to provide needed care to the needy but 'as we serve people in love...we can move from their physical needs to their deeper need to know Jesus Christ. Christian health services must deal with the sin in man and must present the healing power of forgiveness in order to bring man into true wholeness....Our prayer at HealthCare Ministries is that God will help us as we bring this redemptive message of the Great Healer to the suffering and lost of the world (Johnson 1989:6).

6.3.3.6 Overseas Relief Programme

One of the most recent humanitarian projects has been the development of a programme to provide immediate relief to the victims of natural disasters. To more than sixty nations, hundreds of millions of dollars have gone for food, seed for crops, water wells, medical supplies, machinery, housing, and distribution personnel. Often this relief is channelled through the World Relief Commission (Dempster 1991a:24) but in recent times, the funds have gone directly through local A/G missionaries who are on site at the disaster areas. The recent 1999 disasters from Hurricanes George and Mitch in the Caribbean have resulted in numerous teams of volunteer construction workers scattering over the area with funds for rebuilding churches, homes, providing skilled labour, and doing all kind of social work to restore life to some semblance of order.

6.3.3.7 'Startling Paradox': The pilgrimage

That evangelism is the primary goal of Assemblies of God mission theology has now (hopefully) been established. Humanitarian efforts of social concern or action were normally secondary objectives. In 1964 Philip Hogan, then-executive director of Foreign Missions, stated the social policies of the DFM.

The Assemblies of God has not engaged in extensive institutional programs, in keeping with our concept that our contribution to world evangelism is primarily spiritual and that, according to Acts 15, we are called to 'take out a people for His name.' God has given us an energizing spiritual message and we must use our talents and resources to propagate that message. Therefore, we exercise a certain priority in our work. We are not critical of missions that emphasize medical and educational programs, nor are we unmindful of the physical and material needs of people in countries where we serve. We never have appointed a medical doctor and it is unlikely that we will do so in the foreseeable future. Our medical work overseas is on a clinic and dispensary basis only, conducted by missionary nurses. Our clinics, dispensaries and orphanages require only an insignificant percentage of our missionary dollar. (in Wilson, E A 1997:143-143)

Melvin Hodges (1972:147) stated the current thinking about social concern when he said: '[t]here is nothing as important as getting men's hearts right with God. The center must be put right before the periphery can be corrected. To try to remedy peripheral conditions leaving the heart unchanged is useless and deceiving.' He (:148) further stated: '[i]t should be observed that Pentecostals do not expect all the world to become Christian through the efforts of evangelism. Rather, they see that the remedy of many of earth's ills must await the Second Advent of the King of kings, for which they earnestly pray and wait. *His coming will solve the problems of the social order* (italics mine).'

Then in 1979 Morris Williams, then-field director for Africa, defined social action for Africa as:

Here, then, is a summation of possible (and, we believe, Scriptural) answers to social needs:

- Each believer is responsible to personally minister to 'his own neighbor' who lacks the 'necessities of life.'
- Each believer is responsible for 'his own'...i.e., his family and relatives.
- Each local church is responsible for 'its own'...i.e., those who have no

family to care for them, and, for needs that require united action.
-each national church is responsible for 'its own'...in programs too
heavy for the local church. (Williams, M 1979:101)

Thus for Williams, there is no room for a individual outside the boundaries stated above to be involved in social welfare or action.⁴⁹ The pendulum continued to swing back and forth, from one emphasis to the other. The left-to-right movement generated the following typical statements from time to time:

- Yes, the Assemblies of God Division of Foreign Missions is and has always been involved in social action.
- No, they are not emphasizing social action as a priority.
- Yes, they care that the poor are suffering but their spiritual welfare is more important than their social needs.
- No social action should be considered if the end result is not evangelism.

From Hogan, to Hodges, to Williams, then back to Hogan, swung the pendulum.

In an editorial entitled 'Sidetracked' of the DFM's official organ, *Mountain Movers*, the position of the primacy of evangelism was sounded:

...[T]he Bible clearly warns that believers will not make this world better. This world will only grow steadily worse until Jesus returns to take His followers out of it. The Church can...busy itself by attempting to correct social inequities, such as poverty and injustice. After all, Jesus said we should do good to all men. And throughout the last millennium, the Christian community has led the way in protecting the weak, educating the unlearned, clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, caring for the sick, and providing shelter for the homeless. And that's good! But, again, the church is destined to lose the war against human suffering in this age....Jesus did not commission His church to make this pitiful place a paradise....Christ did not ask His followers to renovate this place. This place is condemned. Jesus raised up His disciples to pluck men and women out of this world and set them on the path that leads to a heavenly home....There's really only one task the Master has given His Church....The Church can preach the gospel under the power and the anointing of the Holy Spirit

⁴⁹This present writer knows for a fact that Williams, while serving in Malawi, served as the local dentist in the area where he lived. He left his dentist tools behind for this present writer to use in future years. He did not discriminate between the 'saved' and 'unsaved', he just pulled their teeth.

so that people hear and believe the message....and become saved....And the Church has no other assignment....*Any church activity that does not lead to this should be hastily abandoned* (italics mine).
(in Dempster 1991a:32-33)

Whether or not there was fallout from the above editorial is unknown, but in a subsequent issue of the same magazine, J Philip Hogan, executive director of the DFM, set the record straight in a scathing rebuttal to the constituency of the Assemblies of God. It both refuted and rebuked his own editor in no uncertain terms. The pendulum had swung back to the other side!

In the Division of Foreign Missions (DFM), we constantly remind ourselves that the true gospel message is both spiritual *and* physical. For Jesus, conceived by the *Spirit*, came in *physical* form to apply the *spiritual* laws of His kingdom to *earthly* humanity.

There is a social dimension to the gospel. Jesus taught us so. There are occasions when the world cries out for 'a cup of cold water.' And no follower of Christ can remain indifferent to the longing cries of those created in the image of God. Not if the love of God beats in his breast!...

Many people feel that the Church should engage in social assistance only for the purpose of prying open doors for the gospel in restricted access countries. But if that is our motive for providing assistance to hurting people, then we are the ones who need the help. Our hearts are tainted. As the director of this Fellowship's overseas efforts, I want the world to know that the reason we do these things is because Jesus Christ did them. The reason we love people is because Jesus Christ loved them. We have no other motive than that.

If our providing social assistance opens doors that would otherwise be closed to our missionary endeavors...good! But if not, we will still continue to provide relief. Because opening doors is not our reason for sharing in other people's sufferings. Demonstrating the truth of Christ's words and sharing the love of God are our intent.

(Hogan 1989:10-11)

Following Hogan's retirement in 1989, Loren Triplett, regional director for Latin American and the Caribbean, succeeded him. Teethed and reared in the tradition of Melvin Hodges, Triplett (1993:30) stated: 'We are called of God to be a global, spiritual force. We must always recognize the Kingdom obligation of sharing with the needy, but we do it on our way to a higher calling -- the preaching of the kingdom of heaven. The lame man at the gate was poor--so poor he was forced to bear the

shame of public begging. Yet, Peter had far more than alms on his mind when he stopped and offered a hungry man divine healing.' The pendulum swung back again, yet not as far as before.

Succeeding Triplett at the helm of DFM came John Bueno, regional director for Latin American and the Caribbean. While, he too, served under Hodges and Triplett in Latin America, as executive director he allowed the pendulum to swing back to where it was comfortable for him. In his monthly letters to the missionary family, *Missive*, he articulated the four objectives of the Division of Foreign Missions.

Concerning social action he stated:

Part of our holistic approach to the needs of this world must include touching: we are touching poor and suffering people with the compassion of Jesus Christ and inviting them to become His followers. There is no way to separate the touching part of Jesus' ministry from all the other aspects of His proclamation here on earth. Wherever Jesus went He not only touched with His word and power, but He touched with His divine hands the needs of suffering people. He was not limited to the spiritual needs of the multitudes, but often focused on the paralytic, the deaf, blind, and the needy. On two occasions He multiplied bread and the fish; at another time, He brought peace to a stormy sea. When He ministered to physical needs, He always brought the blessing of His presence and His power.

I believe that the touching part of our missionary endeavor must always be accompanied by the presence of Jesus Christ. We cannot isolate compassionate ministries from the wonderful touch of Jesus' presence. The ministry of touching people's physical needs ultimately touches their souls as well.

It would be tragic to know that we have fed hungry children or healed sick bodies, and then left those touched in their spiritual darkness. Touching people on both the physical and spiritual levels is part of what Jesus did and what He wants His disciples to do today.

(Bueno 1998b)

From the above instances, one can easily detect the differences in philosophies and objectives as personnel changed. Yet, the overall programme of the DFM has not really changed. There has been a renewed emphasis in social action as our global society changes, yet the primary emphasis is still upon evangelism with social concern and action either becoming a tool for evangelism or a simple act of compassion with no ulterior motive.

6.3.4 Towards A Holistic Mission Theology: Kingdom Of God Motif

Within the Pentecostal academy, there is emerging a small but increasingly influential group which is advocating a new understanding of the kingdom of God motif in order to develop a holistic mission theology which encompasses an active social concern and action theology. Leading the pack is Pentecostal New Testament scholar, Gordon D Fee. While not trained in missiology, his understanding and exegesis of Scripture is (arguably) second to none. Much of his earlier pleas have fallen on deaf ears since many of his colleagues of the academy feel he is not a 'traditional' Pentecostal. Yet, Fee ([1981] 1993, 1991a) is the one who has preached a kingdom of God message with the 'already' and 'not yet' concept at the forefront for many years before other voices were heard.

Another strong advocate is one-time professor of missions at the Assemblies of God Theological Seminary, Paul Pomerville. His (1985) book on Pentecostal mission theology has impacted the Pentecostal community far beyond what one would expect of a de-frocked minister of religion and seminary professor. His concern is the kingdom of God motif and calls for a Pentecostal understanding of it to formulate a proper mission theology. Had he remained within the church and Pentecostal community, he would have made a tremendous contribution to present-day Pentecostal missiology.

Professor Murray Dempster (1991a, 1991b), a Pentecostal social ethicist, has also sounded the trumpet for the kingdom of God in mission theology.

Yugoslavian Pentecostal educator, Peter Kuzmič, should also be included in this brief lineup. A protégé of Gordon Fee, Kuzmič (1985, 1988) has long been a staunch advocate of the kingdom of God motif as an understanding of mission.

The problem with starting to list names is that one runs the risk of leaving out some deserving person. Douglas Petersen (1996), missionary, educator, and LACC director for the Assemblies of God deserves to be added to this list. In his book on Pentecostal Social concern, he deals with the kingdom of God motif and its relation to social issues.

6.3.4.1 The Eschatological Framework

Following the lead of Oscar Cullmann, Joachim Jeremias, George Ladd, et al, Pentecostal scholars have picked up on the theme of the kingdom of God and its relationship to the 'already' and 'not yet.' '[S]ome A/G writers [those mentioned above] began to explore the meaning of the kingdom of God (the rule of God in the hearts and behaviors of believers) as a present reality for the mission of the church, but without discounting the future millennial reign of Christ.'

The Pentecostal's premillennial eschatology has almost totally focused on: a) the future, the 'not yet,' and b) the advent of the eschaton which will usher in the millennial reign of Christ where he will set all wrongs right. Concentrating on the Pentecostals in particular, Kuzmič (1985), et al, has noted that their eschatology is almost totally defined in terms of the 'not yet.' This has led to a warped or distorted focus and understanding of the kingdom of God as Christ advocated it. The call has been issued for a return to a more centred and balanced emphasis where the Pentecostal continues to look forward to the 'not yet,' but at the same time, lives in the 'already' until the 'not yet' appears. Peter Kuzmič (:137) laments this fact: '[o]ne of the curious and saddest features of so much of the evangelical literary output on eschatological themes is its failure to spell out the meaning and implications of the Christian hope in the present, here and now.'

Dempster (1991a:30) has successfully argued for a Pentecost/kingdom association inherent in Luke's theology of Luke/Acts which establishes the principle that the '...mission of the Spirit-empowered church is to continue the mission of Jesus.' The mission of Jesus, which becomes the mission of the church, is to be understood in the '...essential eschatological and ethical character of the kingdom of God.' He (1991b:24) outlines the eschatological nature and ethical character of that kingdom. 'From an eschatological perspective, the mission of the church is to witness to the truth that the kingdom of God which still belongs to the future has broken into the present age in Jesus Christ and continues in the world in the power of the Holy Spirit. From an ethical perspective, the mission of the church is to witness to the reality of what life looks like when humans respond to God's eschatological reign.'

That reign causes a new redemptive society to form. All believers are incorporated into a 'new affirmative community.' In this community, love is enjoined, peace is made, justice prevails, the poor are enfranchised, and the dignity of humankind is restored to all peoples. As Christ himself articulated in Luke 4:18-21, his mission is made complete through the mission of the church. This includes both the spiritual and social dimensions of the church's mission. 'Given this conception of church mission, programs of Christian social concern are needed in order for the church to witness authentically to the good news of the gospel. Through its social ministry the church testifies to God's eschatological intent to right the wrongs and to establish shalom in the human family and the whole creation' (Dempster 1991a:31).

Kuzmič (1985:136) asks, in a very astute essay: '[h]ow does one's eschatological view affect one's conception and practice of social responsibility and evangelism? Does one's view of eschatology determine one's behaviour? What significance does eschatology have for social ethics? How do Evangelical eschatological views relate to Evangelical involvement in society?' One's eschatology has everything to do with all of the above. It has already been argued that person's eschatology determines one's evangelism theology and it certainly will determine one's social concern and involvement. A Christian without an eschatology has no motive for action and therefore will accomplish little or nothing. A Christian with even a warped eschatology will exhibit zeal and enthusiasm.

Thus McGee (1994c:19) is correct when he stated: '[c]ontinued biblical exposition of the kingdom of God offers Pentecostals the best prospect of developing a holistic theology of mission capable of integrating historic concerns for taking the gospel message to unreached peoples and expressing Christian compassion by ministering to physical and social needs.'

Orlando Costas correctly stated that 'the true test of mission is not whether we proclaim, make disciples or engage in social, economic and political liberation, but whether we are capable of integrating all three in a comprehensive, dynamic and consistent witness' (in Dempster 1991b:38).

7. Pneumatology: A Pentecostal Perspective

The following is not to be understood either as an apologetic defence or as a full-blown theological treatment of Pentecostal pneumatology. A plethora of excellent publications, both popular and scholarly, already exists which accomplish these quite well. Rather, the purpose of this chapter is to present Pentecostal pneumatology as it is characterised by Pentecostal mission theology. However, it is necessary to do a bit of ground work before a pneumatology emerges with a Pentecostal bias and perspective.

7.1 Historical Background

As shown in a previous writing (Newberry 1999), there are many recorded instances of glossolalia throughout church history including several notable ones in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Places and personages like the Cane Ridge revival of 1800 (Synan 1971), Edward Irving and his Catholic Apostolic Church in Great Britain in the 1830s (Strachan [1973] 1988), The Christian Union in the late 1880s, and the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church under Benjamin Irwin (Newberry 1999) were precursors to the modern Pentecostal movement and phenomenon of glossolalia.⁵⁰ Foremost to the development of a Pentecostal theology was Charles Parham's belief that speaking in tongues was the initial physical evidence of receiving the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, a subsequent experience to salvation. A secondary theological nuance developed through Parham's influence. It was called 'missionary tongues,' or more technically, *xenolalia*.⁵¹

⁵⁰'*Glossolalia*' as a technical term used to delineate speaking in tongues does not appear as one word in NT Greek. 'As an expression descriptive of the phenomenon of speaking languages that one does not know by the enablement of the Spirit of God, it has been coined from γλῶσσαι (tongues) and λαλεῖν (to speak)' (MacDonald 1964:1). However, since MacDonald wrote his booklet in 1964, the concept of glossolalia has been refined. It is now more correctly defined as 'unidentifiable [glossolalia] rather than identifiable [xenolalia/xenoglossa] languages' (McGee 1994a:19).

⁵¹Xenolalia (Xenoglossa) is considered to be an identifiable foreign language
(continued...)

7.1.1 Xenolalia: Missionary Tongues

The purpose of missionary tongues was to hasten the evangelization of the world during the end-times which the early Pentecostals believed had already begun. It was a tool, a utility; pneumatically imparted. By not having to spend time in language study, a missionary, new to the field, could start right in communicating with the nationals, having received the language pneumatically.

'The early twentieth-century pentecostals...were more interested in the future,....Their theology was radically eschatological. The Last Days were nigh....They interpreted the unfamiliar sounds and syllables coming from their ecstatic brothers and sisters...as equipment for *mission and evangelism* [italics mine]. The Lord, after all, might return tomorrow, or even tonight. There was no time for the arduous toil required to master a foreign language. If they did not hasten to the fields, untold millions of Chinese and Africans would perish in their sins with no chance for repentance.' (Cox 1995:94-95)

Durasoff (1972:37ff) has noted that several of the early Church fathers equated the gift of tongues with xenolalia or so-called 'missionary tongues.' Origen is mentioned as defining speaking in tongues as not only the utterance of a strange language, but also the speaker's knowledge of that language for the purpose of preaching and spreading the Gospel. 'This understanding of the function of the supernatural gift of tongues was also reflected by the Church fathers Jerome and Augustine' (:37).

It is this writer's opinion if an exhaustive study was undertaken on the gift of tongues during the Church age and up to the beginning of the twentieth century, the consensus would be that most of the time, the gift of tongues would have been equated with xenolalia.

Several examples stand out in support of this position. First, Matthew Henry ([1710] 1979,III:119), in his commentaries written in the first decade of the eighteenth century, noted that the gift of tongues as recorded in First Corinthians 12:10 was for

⁵¹(...continued)
pneumatically imparted, without prior study of any kind.

the '...ability to speak languages by inspiration...' and the gift of interpretation is the '...ability to render foreign languages readily and properly into their own.'

Second, Adam Clarke's (1851, VI:259,262) commentaries indicate that the gift of tongues was '...different languages which they had never learned, and which God gave them for the immediate instruction of people of different countries who attended their ministry....[It is] the power to speak, on all necessary occasions, languages which they had not learned.'

Third, in 1865 Rev David Green (1865:113ff), former secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), wrote a rather lengthy, scholarly essay about the gift of tongues. In it he deals with the concept of xenolalia which this writer interprets as meaning it was a controversial subject needing to be dealt with during this pre-Pentecostal era. Of course, nineteenth century American missions was in its prime and moving into its greatest apex, and there could have been a real feeling amongst the grassroots that the gift of tongues was a valid way to obtain a foreign language in order to spread the Gospel in a foreign country without formal language training. While he does not defend or side with that opinion, his polemic indicates it was a pertinent issue of the day. In a rhetorical question, he (:113) poses: 'It may be asked if it is not probable that...others who travelled as evangelists into nations speaking other languages, were favored with the gift of tongues in a more perfect and more available form?'

Last, Frank Bartleman ([1925] 1980:65) quoted A B Simpson as advocating missionary tongues when he wrote: '[w]e are to witness before the Lord's return real missionary tongues like those of Pentecost, through which the heathen world shall hear in their own language the wonderful works of God, and this perhaps on a scale of whose vastness we have scarcely dreamed, thousands of missionaries going forth in one last mighty crusade...'

Roland Wessels (1993) has done the academic community a real favour when he researched and wrote an essay on Parham's exegetical journey to the biblical evidence of Spirit baptism. In this writing he traces the footsteps of Parham through several locales and events that shaped Parham's theology of Spirit baptism and of xenolalia. As Charles Parham worked through his pneumatic theology, he '...began

to see a connection between the Spirit baptism and speaking in “tongues.” As the Spirit baptism empowers witnessing, even to the ends of the earth, it must also include the gift to speak the language of the people to whom one is witnessing, speaking in their tongue’ (Wessels 1993:8). He further reasoned that if the disciples spoke in unlearned tongues on the Day of Pentecost as recorded in Acts 2:4, why should not one even now be so enabled? Instead of missionaries wasting time and money in language training, how much better it would be if they would wait for their Spirit baptism which included speaking in tongues. Parham (in Wessels 1993:9) noted that this would nullify the ‘vain attempt to become conversant in almost impossible tongues which the Holy Ghost could so freely speak.’

He (:11) ‘...began to collect instances of what he believed to be the manifestation of the divine gift of languages.’ On one occasion, he noted a story of some early Catholic missionaries to Japan, who had been granted the gift to speak Japanese.⁵² He also discovered the story of the Irvingites and the Catholic Apostolic Church with their *gift of tongues*. However, he was intrigued with a story which he eventually reported in his paper, *The Apostolic Faith*, concerning one Jennie Glassey

⁵²Wessels believes that Parham is referring to ‘the stories surrounding the missionary exploits of Francis Xavier, 1506-1552’ (1993:21 note 45). There exists a book published in 1872 written by Henry James Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*. Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd, London, which could have been read by Parham (the present writer is indebted to Dr Wessels for this thought). Its four editions ran up to 1921. In this publication, Coleridge (1921:173) describes the gift of tongues that had apparently been acquired by Xavier while in Japan by pneumatic impartation. Coleridge describes how the Japanese listened to Xavier preach in their own tongue without himself never having learnt the language. His ‘...possession of this gift was notorious, and that it was considered by the natives themselves as a mark of his mission from God...’(173).

Stephen Neil in his *Christian Missions* ([1964] 1990:128) says that Xavier denied possessing missionary tongues. However, in private correspondence with Dr Wessels (1998), he states that this denial has yet to be proved.

who had received a divine call to Africa as a missionary. Upon receiving her Spirit baptism, she received the gift to speak and write Chinese⁵³ and several African dialects. He wrote:

...we read how Jennie Glassy [sic] now in Jerusalem, received the African dialect in one night....She received the gift while in the Spirit in 1895, but could read and write, translate and sign the language while out of the trance or in a normal condition, and can until now. Hundreds of people can testify to the fact, both saint and sinner, who heard her use the language. She was also tested in Liverpool and Jerusalem. Her Christian experience is that of a holy, consecrated woman, filled with the Holy Ghost. Glory to our God for the return of the apostolic faith.
(The Apostolic Faith 3 May 1899)

Before that time, Miss Glassey was a student at the 'Holy Ghost and Us' Bible school that Frank Sandford had in Maine. In early 1900, two students of Sandford's visited Parham's Topeka faith home and confirmed not only the Glassey story but also told of how the students there in Shiloh were 'living by faith' as they prepared to go out as missionaries around the world. Recalling the incident, Mrs Parham (in Wessels 1993:11) later wrote: 'Our hearts were stirred to deepen our consecration, and to search the Word.' Almost a whole year lapsed and then in a note about various people, Parham (1900:7) mentions in the April issue of his journal: 'Bro and Sister Hamaker are now in Beth-el to labour for Jesus until He gives them an heathen tongue, and then they will proceed to the missionary field.' Why a whole year without mention of missionary tongues in his journal? What prompted the Hamakers to come to Beth-el to await missionary tongues? We are not sure except Wessels (1993:10-11) notes that Parham had withdrawn from active ministry in September of 1889 and suggests that he took that time to reflect on his pneumatic theology and its relationship to xenolalia. Was he advocating that missionary tongues could be had at

⁵³If she was called to Africa as a missionary, why would her Spirit language be Chinese? To the untrained ear, someone hearing 'Pentecostal tongues' with its often mono-syllabic utterances might think that they were hearing an oriental language. This present writer believes this to be the case in this instance and perhaps in many other instances where Chinese or oriental languages were believed to be given as a Spirit language. Stebbins (1996:109) confirms this by stating: 'Vietnamese [for example] is monosyllabic, meaning the words are just one syllable in length.'

Beth-el? These questions may have to await some yet unknown primary source in order to be answered correctly, but Goff (1988c:72) suggests that by April of 1900 Parham had wholeheartedly accepted the premise of missionary tongues.

It should be pointed out that Parham as a divinity student at Southwest Kansas College could have been exposed to Coleridge's book about Francis Xavier and to the reference commentaries of Matthew Henry and Adam Clarke. If he had desired to study the gifts of the Spirit, he could have come across the quotations mentioned earlier concerning xenolalia. As well, *The Apostolic Faith* often carried articles from other people of some academic standing and merit which could indicate that he was reading or had read some scholarly material.

Also, in the summer of 1900 while visiting Frank Sandford's Shiloh, Parham adopted Sandford's teaching that 'a special Holy Ghost baptism was available for deeply consecrated believers and that the gift was given specifically for world evangelism in the last days before the Second Coming' (Goff 1988c:60). Returning from Shiloh⁵⁴ in September, he (in Parham, S [1930] 1985:48) stated: 'I returned home fully convinced that while many had obtained real experiences in sanctification and the anointing that abideth (John 10:21), there still remained a great outpouring of power for the Christians who were to close this age.'

Now convinced that missionary tongues would be the *sine qua non* for the baptism in the Holy Spirit, Parham taught this conviction at his Houston Bible school and William Seymour became his protégée; not so much by design but by the leading of the Lord. Rev W F Carothers, Parham's new found associate and field representative for the Apostolic Faith Movement, wrote circa 1906:

Just what part the gift of tongues is to fill in the evangelization of heathen countries is matter [sic] for faith as yet. It scarcely seems from the evidence at hand to have had much to do with foreign mission work in New Testament times, and yet, in view of the apparent utility of

⁵⁴After the Shiloh visit, linking xenolalia to Spirit baptism was but a short theological step for him. The next step to initial evidence, which has become the distinctive for classical Pentecostals, would become both historical and monumental.

the gift in that sphere and of the wonderful missionary spirit that comes with Pentecost, we are expecting the gift to be copiously used in the foreign field. We shall soon know. (in McGee 1988a:58)

Seymour, upon reaching Los Angeles began preaching about the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues [missionary]. While in Houston, he had heard the recounting of the 1901 Topeka revival and how Agnes Ozman spoke in a foreign language and a visitor (a Bohemian) heard and understood her (Ozman 1909:1). Miss Ozman (Parham, S [1930] 1985:67) claimed that this happened twice to her. As well, he had heard Parham tell how government interpreters and language professors came and tested their speech and ‘...all agree[d] that the students of the college were speaking in the languages of the world, and that with proper accent and intonation’ (Parham S [1930] 1985:54). There was no doubt in Seymour’s mind about missionary tongues. For him, it was real.

Seymour's paper, *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles) was first published in September of 1906, four to five months after the revival started at Azusa Street. In his recounting of how the revival began, he (1906,1:1- in Corum 1981) wrote: ‘We cannot tell how many people have been saved, and sanctified, and baptized with the Holy Ghost, and healed of all manner of sicknesses. *Many are speaking in new tongues, and some are on their way to the foreign fields, with the gift of the language* [italics mine].’ In the next column, he (in Corum 1981) wrote: ‘The Lord has given us the gift of writing in unknown languages.’ Then again on the same page (in Corum 1981): ‘A minister says that God showed him twenty years ago that the divine plan for missionaries was that they might receive the gift of tongues either before going to the foreign field or on the way. It should be a sign to the heathen that the message is of God. The gift of tongues can only be used as the Spirit gives utterance. It cannot be learned like the native tongue, but the Lord takes control of the organs of speech at will. It is emphatically, God's message.’ He (in Corum 1981) also wrote: ‘The gift of languages is given with the commission, “Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.” The Lord has given languages to the unlearned. Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Zulu and languages of Africa, Hindu and Bengali and dialects of India, Chippewa and other languages of the

Indians, Esquimaux [sic], the deaf mute language and, in fact, the Holy Ghost speaks all the languages of the world *through his children* [italics mine].’ Both time and space will not allow this writer to include all the testimonies that Seymour has included in his paper. However, if the reader will indulge the writer a bit more, Seymour mentions several people who after receiving their Spirit baptism, felt called or just went to the mission field.

He (1906,1:3-in Corum 1981) penned: ‘God called Bro. Mead and wife from the Central part of Africa to Los Angeles to get their Pentecost. They recognize some of the languages spoken as being dialects of Africa. When God has fully equipped them they will return to their labour of love.’ However, the statement concerning missions is best summarized in this testimony (1906,1:4-in Corum 1981): ‘Brother and Sister A G Garr, former leaders of the Burning Bush work in Los Angeles, were powerfully baptized with the Holy Ghost and received the gift of tongues, especially the language of India and dialects. Bro. Garr was able to pray a native of India “through” in his own language, the Bengali. Sister Garr also spoke Chinese....The brother [Garr] writes that when they spoke in their Pentecostal baptism that those who were sick were immediately healed.’ Seymour (1906,1:3-in Corum 1981) stated: ‘...God was solving the missionary problem, sending our new-tongued missionaries on the Apostolic Faith line...’

In a careful perusal of an index (A/G Archives 1985) of Seymour’s paper, *The Apostolic Faith*, there are fourteen items indexed under the title ‘GIFT OF LANGUAGE.’ Under the title of ‘GLOSSOLALIA’, which in this case mostly means xenolalia, there are seventy entries and ‘MISSIONARIES’ are listed seventeen times. Thus, it is very evident for Seymour and the folks at the Azusa Street mission, speaking in other tongues was equated with xenolalia. While tongues may have been the evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, the purpose was utilitarian; equipping saints to go to the foreign field without the burden of language learning. In fact, Seymour’s newspaper listed fifty-five instances in which either folks received their Spirit baptism and then volunteered for mission work or they were already missionaries who received their Spirit baptism and felt they had been given a foreign language by the Holy Spirit. Apparently, however, this feeling began to wane.

McGee (1988:58) stated: 'Before 1908, however, it had become apparent to most that speaking in tongues did not equip people to preach in other languages.' Some missionaries went out full of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in other tongues but soon found out that if they wanted to communicate with the local populace, they would have to, in fact, study the language the old fashioned way. The A G Gars were such missionaries (:59).

E N Bell (1912:3), an early Pentecostal leader and the soon-to-be general superintendent of the would-be Assemblies of God (1914), writing in his own newspaper, *The Word and Witness*, stated: 'We want men to settle down to *learn the language* [italics mine], to establish assemblies of saved people, to stay with these, teaching them and using them to reach their own people. God has such missionaries and we are going to find them and to stay by and behind them.'

Thus with the exception of a few, namely, Charles Parham, who continued to believe in xenolalia until his death, the idea of xenolalia soon diminished and extinguished itself on the altar of practical experience in the field.

7.2 The Baptism In The Holy Spirit: The Classical Position

Prudencio Damboiena (in Lederle 1993:31) states: 'The Baptism in the Spirit has also become perhaps the cornerstone of the beliefs of Pentecostal denominations. In some of them that experience is required as *conditio sine qua non* for membership; for others it is at least a prerequisite for holding any responsible position in the church.'

F D Bruner (1977:48) postulates : '...that apart from its doctrine of the baptism in the Holy Spirit Pentecostalism's understanding of the person and work of the Holy Spirit is not particularly unique, nor is Pentecostalism's theology generally or its soteriology specifically, different from majority American conservative evangelicalism to justify its being made a special object of study.' While perhaps there could be some theologians, both Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal alike, who would disagree with Bruner, the Pentecostal doctrine of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit has distanced the Pentecostals theologically and empirically from their Evangelical neighbours.

One of the main questions that continues to crop up is how one may know when one has been baptized in the Holy Spirit. Does one point to the many evidences in one's life to indicate Holy Spirit baptism? Is there some standard of measure or indicator that God has provided so one may conclusively determine if one has been baptised in the Holy Spirit? Menzies, W (1993:135) stated: 'If one concludes that the Book of Acts is not only a descriptive history, but also has a theological purpose, and that the experience of the Apostolic church, which it records, is indeed normative for the Church of all ages, then one can answer the question with a resounding yes.'

As far back as the Irvingites, which preceded the outbreak of modern Pentecostalism by some seventy years, there has been an emphasis that the Baptism in the Holy Spirit is subsequent to and different from conversion and the evidence of this experience is speaking in other tongues (Hollenweger 1997:223n24).

As previously noted, Charles Parham articulated the concept that the *sine qua non* of the baptism in the Holy Spirit was the evidence of speaking in tongues and that in this theological articulation this present writer has defined him as the 'theological father' of the Pentecostal movement; the one who gave the concept its theological birth in modern history but lacked the charisma and influence to provide the impetus for its continuation and maturation.

Armed with the empirical experience of the Topeka revival of 1901 where Parham's Bible school students spoke in tongues and with the Acts of the Apostles narrative as proof-text, early Pentecostals soon 'hitched their wagon to Parham's star' and the initial evidence theory was accepted as the *sine qua non* for receiving the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. Early Pentecostal denominations such as the International Pentecostal Holiness Church,⁵⁵ the Assemblies of God,⁵⁶ and the Church of God

⁵⁵In 1908 they '...became the first organized denomination to accept the experience as a doctrine and officially write it into its statement of faith...' (Synan 1998:110).

⁵⁶A resolution was adopted in 1918 affirming this position (Blumhofer 1989a:242). The PAOC would wait until 1927 to adopt an official doctrinal statement (continued...)



(Cleveland, TN)⁵⁷ soon articulated their own doctrine of the Holy Spirit which included a statement that speaking in other tongues was/is the initial physical evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit as seen in the Book of Acts and that the empirical experience is subsequent to and different from conversion.

Defined in its simplicity, *The Statement of Fundamental Faith* from the General Council of the Assemblies of God, USA stands as an example of the doctrinal position of most classical Pentecostals.

Article 7. The Baptism in the Holy Ghost

All believers are entitled to and should ardently expect and earnestly seek the promise of the Father, the baptism in the Holy ghost and fire, according to the command of our Lord Jesus Christ. This was the normal experience of all in the early Christian church. With it comes the enduement of power for life and service, the bestowment of the gifts and their uses in the work of the ministry (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4,8; 1 Corinthians 12:1-31). This experience is distinct from and subsequent to the experience of the new birth (Acts 8:12-17); 10:44-46; 11:14-16; 15:7-9). With the baptism in the Holy Ghost come such experiences as an overflowing fullness of the Spirit (John 7:37-39; Acts 4:8), a deepened reverence for God (Acts 2:43; Hebrews 12:28), an intensified consecration to God and dedication to His work (Acts 2:42), and a more active love for Christ, for His Word, and for the lost (Mark 16:20).

Article 8. The Initial Physical Evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Ghost

The baptism of believers in the Holy ghost is witnessed by the initial physical sign of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit of God gives them utterance (Acts 2:4). The speaking in tongues in this instance is the same in essence as the gift of tongues (I Corinthians 12:4-10,28), but different in purpose and use.

(General Council of the Assemblies of God 1997:107-108)

⁵⁶(...continued)
(Miller 1994:120).

⁵⁷A list of teachings was published in 1910 including their position on tongues as the '...evidence of the baptism with the Holy Ghost...' (Conn 1977:118).

7.2.1 Subsequent To and Different From...

One of the main issues separating the Pentecostal from his/her Evangelical neighbour is the issue of subsequence. The Pentecostal has insisted that there is a subsequent crisis experience that takes place after conversion called the '*Baptism in the Holy Spirit*.' Depending on the classical Pentecostal's stance on sanctification, this experience is viewed as either a second or third '*work of grace*' in the heart of the believer. Those who teach that sanctification is a 'second' work of grace relegate the Baptism in the Holy Spirit to a third experience in a Christian's spiritual maturity and growth.

Early Pentecostal theologians such as Ernest Williams of the Assemblies of God argues that '[t]here is plentiful evidence that the disciples who received the Spirit at Pentecost were already in a saved state' (1953:43). His polemic is based on the fact that Pentecost came and fell upon people who had already experienced a 'state of grace.' Assemblies of God theologian Myer Pearlman (1937:309) parrots E S Williams by stating: 'The words [of Acts 1:8] were addressed to men already in intimate relationship with Christ. They had been sent out to preach, armed with spiritual power for that purpose (Matt. 10:1); to them it was said, "Your names are written in heaven" (Luke 10:20).' Thus, Acts 2:1-4 had to be a subsequent crisis experience and is/was deemed a pattern for all to expect as normal and repeatable. This line of reasoning is accepted by most or all classical Pentecostals as a valid position. Pearlman (:309) further states that this indicates how a person may be a disciple of Christ and '...yet lack the special enduement of power mentioned in Acts 1:8.'

Guy Duffield and Nathaniel Van Cleave, Church of the Foursquare theologians, make a more current statement about the subsequence issue, however, with very little amplification. They (1983:307) state: 'The Baptism with the Holy Ghost is a definite experience, subsequent to salvation, whereby the Third Person of the Godhead comes upon the believer to anoint and energize him for special service.'

An Assemblies of God theologian, John Wyckoff, participated in a volume sponsored by his denomination to publish a more comprehensive and up-to-date textbook on systematic theology from a Pentecostal perspective. He (1994:427ff),

too, postulates and defends the premise that the Baptism in the Holy Spirit is a subsequent experience. Coupled to this stance, Stanley Horton's⁵⁸ (1976:159ff) view coincides with the others; that is, it is a subsequent crisis experience.

7.2.2 The Initial Physical Evidence

The chief distinctive and *sine qua non* of the Pentecostal movement is its doctrine that "an enduement with power" called "the baptism in the Holy Spirit" is described in Scripture and is available to all believer who seek it' (Menzies G 1998:175). With this experience comes a visible sign that one has been baptised in the Holy Spirit, speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance. The Pentecostals have felt it necessary not only to require evidence, but the evidence must be 'physical', that is, verifiable and distinct.

As demonstrated in chapter two, section 2.4.2, this thesis has indicated how Charles Parham worked his way through a theological maze to eventually determine that speaking in other tongues was the *sine qua non* of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. While it is given that he may not have been the very first person to make that theological connection, he certainly was able to formulate and articulate it to the extent that he is/was given credit for its formulation. It was further shown in the same chapter that Parham's protégé, William Seymour, also believed this and made it an issue when he started his ministry in Los Angeles and subsequently at the Azusa Street Mission.

Consequently, by the time that the early Pentecostal fellowships began to organize and articulate their doctrinal positions, the issue of the initial physical evidence was settled in their minds and hearts. That which remained was to systematically define it in their constitutions and by-laws.

As with the issue of subsequence, the issue of initial physical evidence is proof-texted by the Pentecostals from the Book of Acts. Wyckoff (1994:438-439) states that there are three major positions or views regarding this issue. They are:

⁵⁸Horton is revered by all Pentecostals as both a very capable academic theologian and for his conservative Pentecostal stance.

- **The traditional Evangelical position:** Tongues are not the evidence of being baptized in the Holy Spirit.
- **The Charismatic position:** Tongues are sometimes an evidence of being baptized in the Holy Spirit.
- **The traditional Pentecostal position:** Tongues are always the evidence of being baptized in the Holy Spirit.

Since Pentecostals believe that their conclusion about glossolalia is scriptural and soundly based in the Book of Acts, they see the examples given by Luke as normative and repeatable for all times. The normal proof-texts offered in Acts are: a) On the day of Pentecost, the 120 spoke in other tongues-- glossolalia (Acts 2:4); b) The case of Cornelius as he spoke in other tongues upon receiving the Holy Spirit (Acts 10:44-46); c) The incident involving the people who were baptized into John's baptism. They spoke in other tongues (Acts 19:1-6). All three of these incidents clearly state that they spoke in other tongues upon receiving the Baptism in the Holy Spirit.

While not specifically stated, Pentecostals also believe that the Samaritan believers (Acts 8:4-24) spoke in tongues upon their Spirit baptism. F F Bruce, an Evangelical and non-Pentecostal, concurs with this statement. He (1966:181) wrote: 'The context leaves us in no doubt that their reception of the Spirit was attended by external manifestations such as had marked His descent on the earliest disciples at Pentecost.'

Professor Gary McGee (1991:xviff) has indicated that not all present-day classical Pentecostals are content to accept the exegesis and arguments of their forefathers. He notes:

- Historians have gained new insights into past charismatic movements. The role of glossolalia, while remaining a point of contention, demands a fresh and present-day approach.
- A new generation of Pentecostal biblical scholars approach their task with considerable more expertise and scholarship than their forebears.
- The actual practice of speaking in tongues by the rank and file laity has declined drastically over the years.

- There is an increasingly large number of young Pentecostal ministers who openly question glossolalia as the *sine qua non* for Spirit baptism. This apparently was a larger problem that realized as the major Pentecostal denominations such as the A/G, Open Bible Standard, and COG have had to ...urge their ministers to remain faithful in preaching and teaching the indispensability of the Pentecostal baptism with speaking in tongues for each believer' McGee 1991:xvii).

7.2.3 Experience-Certified Theology

Pentecostals have often been criticised and chided for representing a confession that stands outside Scripture in explaining their experiences. Notables such as F D Bruner (1977), James Dunn (1979), and John MacArthur (1992) stand as examples of voices of dissent and outcry against what they perceive to be wrong doctrine and faulty hermeneutics. MacArthur (1992:23) wrote: 'There is little doubt that most charismatics,⁵⁹ if they are honest with themselves, would have to acknowledge that personal experience—and not Scripture—is the foundation of their belief system.'

'Pentecostalism is a largely anti-intellectual tradition where personal experience counts often for more than reasoned exegesis'⁶⁰ stated Russell Spittler (1990:126) of Fuller Seminary. Pentecostal scholars Gordon Fee (1976:122) and Gordon Anderson (1990:55) respectively stated: '...in general the Pentecostals' experience has preceded their hermeneutics. In a sense, the Pentecostal tends to exegete his experience' and '[e]xperiences with God provide a basis for their [the

⁵⁹ While classical Pentecostals would often distance themselves from their charismatic cousins, they are often perceived to be 'tarded with the same brush,' especially from those looking in from the outside. 'Outsiders see them as similar, but classical Pentecostals by no means embrace uncritically everything that goes by the name *charismatic*' (Spittler 1990:124).

⁶⁰One is immediately reminded of Hollenweger's (1997) dedicatory statement: 'To my friends and teachers in the Pentecostal Movement who taught me to love the Bible...and to my teachers and friends in the Presbyterian Church who taught me to understand it...'

Pentecostals] faith.’ All three of these Pentecostals from the academy are basically saying the same thing; that is, experience is very important to Pentecostals.

Hollenweger (1997:309) notes: ‘It is not only the Pentecostal who “tends to exegete his experience,” historical-critical exegetes also do this....What remains to be done in this situation is to recognize this, and to be aware of one’s own bias and limitation.’

In chapter ten of *Transforming Mission*, David Bosch (1991:349ff) outlined his thoughts on the emergence of a postmodern paradigm. Included in this rather heady survey is the subject of the expansion of rationality during the Enlightenment era. One of several responses from the church and theology to the Enlightenment’s insistence that reason must replace religion came from Schleiermacher, Pietism, and the evangelical awakenings. They felt the solution was to divorce religion from reason and locate it in human feeling and *experience* [italics mine] (:269). Thus Bosch (:352) stated: ‘...Christianity was propagated as a unique religious *experience* [italics mine]...’ He further elucidates by stating:

The best theologian...is not the one who can give a complete logical account of his subject, but the one who ‘assembles more of Truth’s image and shadow’ and thus moves beyond the confines of ‘pure’ rationality. True rationality thus also includes *experience*. This is where the significance of Schleiermacher’s theological approach lies, as well as the validity of the Pentecostal movement, the Charismatic Renewal, and many other manifestations of ‘experiential’ religion.
(Bosch 1991:353)

MacArthur states that one reason experience is the touchstone of charismatics [and Pentecostals] ‘...is their undue emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit as a post-salvation experience’ (1992:26). Being an avid anti-Pentecostal, one would expect him to make such a statement. His own presuppositions and biases will not allow him to do otherwise. Presbyterian Pentecostal, J Rodman Williams (1993:16ff), takes MacArthur to task in a critical review of MacArthur’s book, *Charismatic Chaos*. Responding to MacArthur’s statement that ‘the gift of tongues has ceased,’ Williams states:

Charismatics [and Pentecostals] generally have no problem [with tongues] here; they read about tongues in the Bible, hear the words,

'They will speak in new tongues,' note in Acts that many people spoke in tongues, and hear Paul's words 'to another tongues' and 'I want you all to speak in tongues.' Thus when people speak in tongues, is this a matter of putting experience first or *acting on biblical truth*?

Charismatics [and Pentecostals] do not spend their time evacuating the plain teaching of Scripture by intellectualizing tongues, or claiming such as only an apostolic prerogative, or seeking to discover a scriptural cut-off time. Charismatics [and Pentecostals] are grateful that this biblical truth has come alive in their experience. Whose experience is authentic?...Charismatics [and Pentecostals] do not therefore begin with experience; rather their experience is the outworking of scriptural truth. Experience is not (here I agree with MacArthur) a valid test of truth; but it surely does serve to *confirm* the teachings of the Bible. (Williams J R 1993:26)

John Harris (1975:12), writing in the *Elim Evangel*, stated: 'Surely, it must be an accepted principle that a Spirit-energized experience can and should be expressed in the context of the Spirit-inspired Word....Therefore, we feel wisdom demands that 'Pentecostal' must include both experience and doctrine.'

William MacDonald (1976:64), an Assemblies of God theologian, has coined the term '*experience-certified theology*' to best represent the articulation of the Pentecostals' usage of 'experience' in their theology. Asking if the Pentecostal's religious experiences result in a *experience-centered theology*, he emphatically responds in the negative. Thus he (:64) states: 'We begin and end with Jesus our Lord as certified to us in the divinely breathed *graphé*. The written Word has both shown us the way and also stood as the absolute criterion for testing all our professed experiences of God.'

Pentecostals are adamant that their theology is soundly based in Scripture. Whatever the outsider can say about their observations of Pentecostalism, the insider strongly insists that the experience must be grounded and based in the Word. While it will be left to others to decide if Pentecostals use a faulty and aberrant hermeneutic, Pentecostals continue to insist that their experience must fall in line with Scripture.

Dr Clark H Pinnock (in Stronstad 1984:viii) wrote: '...we cannot consider Pentecostalism to be a kind of aberration born of experiential excesses but a 20th century revival of New Testament theology and religion. It has not only restored joy

and power to the church but a clearer reading of the Bible as well.' Thus Stronstad (1992:15) responds: '...Pinnock is saying that the charismatic experience of the Pentecostal—ministering in the power of the Holy Spirit, speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance, being led by the Spirit—enables him to understand Luke's record of the activity of the Holy Spirit in Acts better than the non-Pentecostal.' Put another way, the Pentecostal's experience better equips him/her to understand the pneumatic activity recorded in Holy Writ, for they have experienced what they read about. This is '*Experience-Certified Theology*' in action!

7.2.4 Biblical Precedent and Narrative Theology: A hermeneutical issue

Both historically and traditionally, classical Pentecostals have viewed the Book of Acts, not only as narrative but that the events recorded are normative for all Christians today. Pentecostals have taken much of their pneumatology from the Book of Acts. Appeal is made that the experiences of the primitive church should be considered normative and repeatable patterns of behaviour and ministry for Christians of all ages. This has often resulted in a call for the modern-day church to mimic the New Testament church, both in deeds and ministry. The outcome is a hermeneutic which accepts New Testament narrative genre as being not only historical but also theological in nature.

There has erupted in Pentecostal theology an on-going debate between various scholars as to the proper method of handling and dealing with this issue. New Testament scholar and Pentecostal, Gordon D Fee, brought the issue to dialogue and debate when he (1976) published his essay, *Hermeneutics and Historical Precedent—A Major Problem in Pentecostal Hermeneutics*.⁶¹ His objection⁶² is that Pentecostals have based their '(1) doctrine of subsequence, i e,

⁶¹This essay was updated in Fee's (1991b) publication (see the bibliography) in which he has attempted to respond to his critics over the original essay.

⁶²This present writer recognizes that by trying to synthesize and condense Fee's arguments to a few short paragraphs, the risk is great that over-simplification and mis-representation may result. Any such interpretation would be regrettable and
(continued...)

that there is for Christians a baptism in the Spirit distinct from and subsequent to the experience of salvation...and (2) the[ir] doctrine of tongues as the initial physical evidence of baptism in the Spirit' (1976:120) on the sole biblical support from the Book of Acts. Thus, he says: '...for Pentecostals the baptism in the Holy Spirit subsequent to conversion and evidenced by tongues is "the clear teaching of Scripture," based on biblical historical precedence. The Acts of the Apostles is the normative record of the normative primitive church. Therefore, the apostolic experience is the normative model for all Christians' (1991b:85).

Fee's contention, states Menzies, W (1985:9) is '...that proper biblical interpretation requires an appreciation for the genre of literature to which the passage being examined belongs. The argument insists that a narrative passage can be employed to teach theology only if it can be demonstrated that there is a clear intentionality on the part of the author to do so. This intentionality must be related to the central purpose for which the book was written.'

The following principles are offered by Fee with regard to the hermeneutics of historical narrative:

- a. The Word of God in Acts which may be regarded as normative for Christians is related primarily to what any given narrative was *intended* to teach.
- b. What is *incidental* to the primary intent of the narrative may indeed reflect an author's theology, or how he understood things, but it cannot have the same didactic value as what the narrative was *intended* to teach has.
- c. Historical precedent, to have normative value, must be related to *intent*. That is, if it can be shown that the purpose of a given narrative is to *establish* precedent, then such precedent should be regarded as normative. (Fee 1976:126)

Thus for Fee, his fellow Pentecostals have produced a distorted hermeneutic by insisting on discovering theology in the narratives of Luke when the author had no intention of his writings containing didactic purpose. He does not believe the theology

⁶²(...continued)
not intentional.

of subsequent experience can be argued from narrative genre on this basis. In Fee's understanding, there is very little Lucan intent to establish precedent for the Pentecostal doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with the initial evidence of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance. However, care must be taken not to throw out the baby with the bath water. Fee (1991b:99) still argues that speaking in tongues is a valid pneumatic phenomenon and that it is legitimate for this time in salvation history and has spiritual value.

On the other side of the coin, the majority of current Pentecostal scholars have insisted that not only was Luke a historian but he also was a theologian as well. Several Pentecostals took the challenge thrown down by Fee and attempted to take him to task. He has been accused of siding with the Evangelical camp in general and with James Dunn (1970) in particular as opposed to his fellow Pentecostals. Three of Fee's most vocal opponents have been William W Menzies, Roger Stronstad, and Robert Menzies.

William Menzies's view is called a 'holistic theology.' In this view, he (1979:16ff) advocates a Holistic hermeneutic for the biblical basis of Pentecostal theology. This hermeneutic proposes three levels or three concentric circles: 1) the inner circle is called the inductive level, 2) the middle circle is the deductive level, and 3) the outer circle is the verificational level. In the inductive level, he proposes three kinds of inductive listening: a) the declarative; that is, those texts which '...are unambiguous, transparent assertions, the meaning of which is virtually unmistakable,' b) the implicational; i e, those texts where certain truths are implied rather than categorically stated, c) the descriptive; that is, 'much of the Bible is written in narrative style,' and he states that this is the real battleground, especially as it relates to the Book of Acts.' He asks: 'is it historical? Is it theological?...What did the Holy Spirit through Luke intend to convey?' Menzies then states that he believes Luke intended to teach theology by what he described. Following that, he makes a very significant statement. He says: 'Acts is both history and theology. Without that possibility, there is no basis for a Pentecostal theology at all!'

And this is exactly what Fee has been contending for, don't force the text to comply with ones' theology but rather, let the text generate that theology. Does the

Book of Acts have to be theological in order for there to be a Pentecostal theology and subsequently a Pentecostal hermeneutic? Fee would argue in the negative. It is almost as if Menzies panics, realizing that *if* Acts is only historical genre with no theological intent, then all is lost for Pentecostalism for all time.

Roger Stronstad's model of Pentecostal hermeneutics '...will have a variety of cognitive and experiential elements. On the one hand, it will be experiential, both on the presuppositional and verification levels. On the other hand, it will also be rational, respecting the literary genre of the relevant biblical data and incorporating historico-grammatico principles of exegesis. Not only will a Pentecostal hermeneutic be both experiential and rational, but it will also be pneumatic, recognizing the Spirit as the illuminator as well as the inspirer of Scripture.'

While to the non-Pentecostal, as Stronstad has noted, his essay must smack of smug elitism of the highest accord, to this present writer, he has much to say that should be heard. His point on the "validity of experiential presuppositions" is very relevant towards eventually defining a definitive Pentecostal hermeneutic.

7.3 A Missiological Pneumatology

'The giving of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost was decisive. Mission flowed from it as water from an artesian well. The Book of Acts is a documentation of the activity of the Holy Spirit in the church and in the world' (Capp 1987:115). One cannot separate Pentecost and missions. They are inseparably linked together. To speak of Pentecost is to speak of missions. To speak of missions is to speak of Pentecost. 'Pentecost, happening in the zealous heart of a Christian, makes him or her truly a missionary' (Martin, M 1977:224).

'When missionary effort has become devoid of the Holy Spirit, it is rendered a human affair and as such is a hopeless situation. But if it remains in the control of the Holy Spirit, he will be the author and finisher of missions. The task will be accomplished' (Teng 1974:224). Saring (1994:16) stated it this way: 'Without the Holy Spirit, the Great Commission would be rendered ineffective.'

7.3.1 The Great Commission of Matthew 28:16-20

Historically, the church's missionary mandate has been rooted in the Great Commission (Hesselgrave 1979:197). It summarizes the entire message of the first gospel itself (Osborne 1976:73). Barth (1961:67) says: '...the Great commission is truly the most genuine utterance of the risen Jesus.' However, David Bosch (1983b:219) has argued, quite successfully, that it has been taken out of context and the meaning misunderstood. His premise is that it is not a command to be obeyed nor a '...commission in the ordinary sense, but a creative statement, in the manner of Genesis 1:3 and elsewhere, "Let there be..."' (:243).

Regardless of whether or not this mandate was derived at by correct hermeneutics, it still stands that it has served both the Evangelical and Pentecostal church as a source for missionary motivation. In fact, it has been equated as the *Magna Carta* of mission (Bosch 1983b:219; Barth 1961:67).

It is quite obvious that this so-called Great Commission of Matthew 28:19-20 was not a compelling force in primitive Christian missiology. The apostle Paul does not mention it nor implies that it is known to him. Harry Boer (1961:44) states: '...there is no ground to believe that awareness of the Great Commission played a role in launching the Church on her missionary labors.' Yet, this commission has been a driving force for mission since William Carey's famous tract entitled "*An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen*" was written in 1792 (Thomas 1995:56).

According to George (1991:352), Carey's most famous incident '...occurred when he proposed to a group of pastors that they consider the duty of Christians to attempt to carry the gospel to those who had never heard it.' Dr John Ryland Sr, the presiding minister, was apparently shocked and rebuked young Carey by stating: 'Young man, sit down, sit down; You're an enthusiast. When God pleases to convert the heathen, He'll do it without consulting you or me' (Oussoren 1945:29).

Responding to the commonly held belief by the Reformers including Calvin and Luther and the majority of seventeen century theologians that the Great Commission was binding *only* on the first century apostles; and greatly influenced by

his life-long friend, Andrew Fuller; Carey was determined to prove them wrong. Fuller had written in his book, *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptance*, which appeared in 1784 that it is the duty of all men everywhere to believe the gospel (Boer 1961:24).

Fuller argued that sinners were indeed duty bound to repent and believe the gospel since the failure to believe stemmed not from any physical or 'natural inability,' but rather from a 'moral' inability' which was the result of a perverted human will. This distinction, which Fuller borrowed from Jonathan Edwards, helped him to unlock, if not completely resolve, the mystery of divine sovereignty and human responsibility in the promiscuous proclamation of the gospel.

(George 1991:352)

Taking his theology from Fuller, Carey felt that the command of Christ was binding upon all Christians and that the statute of limitations had not expired upon the Great Commission. 'Go ye' means you--and now!, he would exclaim.

The rest of the story is history. His missionary achievements were astounding. William Carey became known as the father of modern missions. His '*Enquiry*' catapulted the Great Commission into modern mission thinking. It became obligatory. It was a command of Christ. It must be obeyed!

'Since Carey, the appeal to Matthew 28:18-20 has always been prominent in Protestant (more especially evangelical Anglo-Saxon) missions' (Bosch 1991:340). In the United States, '...after 1810, obedience to the Great Commission of Jesus [was] a major motive for engaging in missions. Hardly a sermon can be found that does not stress this command' (Chaney 1976:259). Chaney (:260) continued to note that the Great Commission made it impossible for the church to excuse itself. The biblical text made it plain that evangelizing the whole world was the obligation of all Christians of all generations. 'Once the eyes of the Church were opened to her missionary duty the command of Christ around which Carey had so effectively centered his appeal became the basis on which the missionary witness of the Church was consciously built. There is little doubt that the historical and theological background out of which Carey's emphasis on the Great Commission arose was soon lost to sight. The emphasis alone remained, working powerfully in its own right' (Boer 1961:24-25).

'Even if Matthew does not mention the Holy Spirit in 28:20, Jesus' presence with his disciples is to be understood pneumatologically (Bosch 1983b:244).

7.3.1.1 The Obligation: A Theology of Obedience

Many great missionary statesmen explicitly stated they had gone to the mission field primarily because of obedience to the Great Commission (Bosch 1991:340). Men such as Robert Morrison (1792-1834), Adoniram Judson (1788-1850), William Ellis, and W G Lawes all shared the same obedience to the command of Christ (Boer 1961:26).

The Mt. Hermon student conference of 1886, which was a precursor to the Student Volunteer Movement, concluded with a visiting missionary, William Ashmore (in Wallstrom 1980:44; Boer 19961:26), challenging the students to: 'Show, if you can, why you should not obey the last command of Jesus Christ.'

John R Mott of the Student Volunteer Movement regarded the Great Commission as our missionary obligation. He (in Wallstrom 1980:16) stated: 'It would seem to me that every Christian of reality ought to be a missionary Christian; for as Archbishop Whately has said---mark his language, note it well: "If my faith be false, I ought to change it; whereas if it be true, I am bound to propagate it." There is no middle ground; either abandon my religion or be a missionary in spirit....The Great Commission of Christ...clearly expresses our obligation to make Christ known to all men...it was intended...for all time and for each Christian in his own time.'

In Europe, the sentiment was the same. For example, Gustav Warneck (in Boer 1961:26) stated: 'Why do we do mission work? The shortest and most popular answer is: Because Jesus Christ has commanded it.' According to Verkuyl (1978:164), Hendrik Kraemer believed that missiology should become a *theologia oboedientiae*, a theology of obedience. In a pamphlet called *Why Mission Just Now?*, he claimed that if one gives up mission work, he/she is being disobedient to the Lord. Bosch (1991:341) states: 'By the end of the nineteenth century Matthew 28:18-20 had completely superseded other verses from Scripture as principal "mission text." Now the emphasis was unequivocally on *obedience*.'

Twentieth century missiologists and scholars have echoed the same opinion. David Hesselgrave (1979:203), one-time professor of World Mission at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, stated: 'As evangelicals, we agree that the Great Commission applies to us today. We also agree that the Great Commission constitutes an authoritative command and is not to be interpreted according to the vagaries of the contemporary agendas of either the world or the churches.' 'Meanwhile, our present task, the task of all who would be obedient, takes its pattern now as ever from the Great Commission himself....[M]issionary is to be understood as applying to anyone, anywhere, who is committed to obedience to the great commission' (Warren:1976:171-173). With firm conviction, Verkuyl (1978:164) penned: 'Fulfilling the missionary task is nothing more than obedience to the command of the Lord.' According to Barth (1961:66), the Church will obey the command! The Pentecostals' constant reference to "fulfilling the Great Commission" implies the acceptance that the Great commission is a command of Christ that needs 'fulfilling.' Georg Vicedom states:

There would be a mission even if we did not have a missionary command. For God always grants to His disciples through the working of the Holy Ghost a faith that is not passive, dumb, simply contemplative, or selfish, but a faith which produces in the Christian a restless concern for the salvation of others, a 'living and active thing,' a faith which lifts the believer out of his own self-edification and makes him a building stone and a builder. (Vicedom 1965:83)

It is argued that obedience to this commission falls into the category of legalism if taken in its strictest sense as it would be a binding command upon the reader (Bosch 1991:341). Failure to obey the commission would appear to be disobeying a direct command of Christ. 'Disobedience to it could only be called sin' (Chaney 1976:260).

7.3.2 Pentecost As Impetus And Impulse For Mission

'The Holy Ghost is the impulse to missions' stated Vicedom (1965:55). The pneumatological event that transpired on the Day of Pentecost as recorded in Acts 2 changed the thinking of the church about the command of Christ. '...An examination

of the Acts reveals a complete absence of the Great Commission as the motivating impetus for mission. Instead, the Holy Spirit predominates the scene of mission' (Pomerville 1985:72). Here-to-fore, it has been shown that obedience to the Great Commission was required by the risen Lord. Now, '[t]he charge to the disciples is validated by the pouring out of the Holy Spirit' (Barth 1961:58). Now, a new dimension is added.

Unfortunately, as church history has recorded, by the time of the Reformation, the command of Christ was believed to be binding only to the original apostles and the gospel was *in principle* declared to the whole world by them (Boer 1961:19). Referring back to the encounter of William Carey with Dr John Ryland in the late 1700s, Ryland is reported to have said to Carey: 'You are a miserable enthusiast for asking such a question [about the Great Commission]. *Certainly nothing can be done before another Pentecost, when an effusion of miraculous gifts, including the gift of tongues* [italics mine],⁶³ will give effect to the Commission of Christ as at first. What Sir, can you preach in Arabic, in Persic, in Hindustani, in Bengali, that you think it your duty to send the Gospel to the heathen?' (in Walker 1926:63n1). Was Ryland's mention of 'another Pentecost' to become prophetic in light of the pending Pentecostal outpouring that would eventually follow? Yes! This present writer, as do others, believes that is was.

The Pentecostal's mission theology 'liberated' Protestant missions from the legalistic demands of the command of Christ. 'The missionary endeavor of preaching the gospel to the whole world could not be carried out simply as loyal obedience to the commands of Jesus. The apostles and early Christians needed an inward impulse-- they must become co-laborers with God and find an inward compulsion for the fulfilling of this command. This dynamic came on the Day of Pentecost' (Hodges 1977:34). The Holy Spirit imparts the enabling necessary to make ministry effective (Hodges 1973:27). Concerning the last words of Christ recorded in Acts 1:8, Morris Williams states:

⁶³An alternate rendering is mentioned by Oussoren (1945:29): 'There must first be another pentecostal gift of tongues.'

Last words are usually the most significant words. Jesus saved the most important instructions to the last. He was leaving them. He had finished the TASK he had come to do. Yet the TASK was not complete. His kingdom was yet to be established, and He was leaving the completion of the TASK in the hands of the disciples. He would equip them for the work. He would give them power--the same power He had exercised on earth--and greater! He had already commanded them to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. Now He commanded them to wait until they would be baptized with the Holy Spirit and receive power to be witnesses--to the ends of the earth.
(Williams, M 1979:45)

William MacDonald (1976:74) leaves us these words: 'The Pentecostal "movement" creates impetus in two directions. It moves the church centripetally closer to Jesus at its center, and coordinately it moves the church out centrifugally into the world in evangelism. The motive for these movements is the love of Jesus, and their *modus operandi* is the power of His Holy Spirit.'

7.3.2.1 A Pneumatological Hiatus

Pre-Reformation theology is replete with a dearth of emphasis on the Holy Spirit. William Menzies has shown that until the Reformation the doctrine of the Holy Spirit had '...developed only in terms of the essential being of the third person of the Trinity' (in Pomerville 1985:64). Perusing the historic creeds and volumes on systematic theology from the West indicate this paucity. This is a far cry from the dynamic emphasis on the third person of the Trinity in primitive Christianity and in Pentecostalism today.

Menzies, W (in Pomerville 1985:64) suggests two possible reasons for the lack of pneumatological development in Christian doctrine. First, '... a practical or ontological subordinationism of the third person of the Trinity,' and second '...the contextualization of the theology in the period; the fact that theology focuses on the issues and questions of the historical moment, and therefore theological development reflects this narrow focus.' Enlarging on these two reasons, Pomerville (:64) suggests that a third reason might be the fact there is a narrowing selectivity in

theology which causes '...a reaction against certain questions and issues....A subjective dimension of the Spirit in Christian experience was one issue that was avoided.'

During the Reformation itself, emphasis was placed on theological issues other than the mission of the Holy Spirit. For example, through the eyes of the Westminster Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, Scripture and predestination seemed to be the foci of Calvin's thought (Oberman 1992:260). Speaking about Luther, Oberman (:283) states: 'There can be no doubt that one of the most essential aspects, even the very foundation of Luther's theology is the *sola scriptura* principle.'

Harry Boer (1961:130), in a very thought provoking question asks: '...why the church has been so little aware of the Spirit as the source and bearer of her witness to men?...There is an extensive Theology and Christology, but there is no unified and clearly circumscribed Pneumatology.' In relationship to the first and second persons of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit remained a powerful reality but appeared to be overshadowed by them in theological reflection (:134).

The witness of the Spirit in the proclamation of the gospel sets Christ as central. In Him the Father is revealed and through Him the Spirit is given. The Spirit witnesses to Christ and Christ leads to the Father. Perhaps it is because of the hidden role which the Spirit plays in redemption that He has been given a name which, as contrasted with that of the Father and the Son, allows of no concrete representation or association in our minds. (Boer 1961:134)

In response to Boer, Pomerville (1985:65) reflects: 'Perhaps the very systematic and controversial theological context in which pneumatology has developed has contributed to the "silence on the Holy Spirit." In that context the Holy Spirit has been chiefly viewed in terms of his subordination and representation with respect to the other persons of the Trinity.'

William Menzies notes that the very roots of Pentecostalism, Wesleyan holiness, Keswickian theology and other antecedent traditions began to take notice and correct this neglect of the work and mission of the third person in the Trinity, the Holy Spirit (in Pomerville 1985:65). This concept is identified in chapter two of this thesis.

7.3.2.2 The Missionary Nature Of The Church

In introducing Blauw's famous book, *The Missionary Nature of the Church*, Arthur Glasser (1971:xi) penned: 'Since the central purpose of the Church is to glorify God through obedience to the Great Commission, how does she bring about this obedience? What is her collective responsibility touching the sending forth of laborers? What is the individual Christian's responsibility? How shall Church and Christian "bring about the obedience of faith from the sake of Jesus' Name among all the nations" (Romans 1:5)?'

Karl Barth (1961:875) sees the whole Christian community, the church, as a missionary community. This community is the acting subject in foreign missions or it is not 'the Christian community.' The missionary society within the church does not act alone for '[t]he rest of the community is not to be released even in appearance from the missionary obligation laid upon it in its totality.'

The Decree *Ad Gentes* of Vatican II explicitly states that '...[t]he pilgrim church is missionary by her very nature, since it is from the mission of the Son and the mission of the Holy Spirit that she draws her origin, in accordance with the decree of God the Father.' (1964:1,35) and '...all the faithful are duty-bound to cooperate in the expansion and spreading out of His Body, to bring it to fullness as soon as may be (Eph.4:13)' (:36).

In this context, '...the church is not the sender, but the one being sent. Its mission (its "being sent") is not secondary to its being; the church exists in being sent and in building up itself for the sake of its mission' (Barth in Bosch 1991:372). According to Glasser (1971:xiii), the very reason the church exists is for missionary work. 'Because church and mission belong together from the beginning, "a church without mission or a mission without the church are both contradictions. Such things do exist, but only as pseudostructures"' (Bosch 1991:372).

Unfortunately, the church is not always found to be overtly involved in missions. Often the church is looking inward to itself and not outward to the nations. It is content to function centripetally (Peters 1972:21), drawing the nations to themselves. Many of the recently reported renewal movements taking place in the

Holiness and Pentecostal traditions⁶⁴ are, sad to say, totally consumed with themselves. While it is true that renewal (revival) is happening on a grandiose scale, there appears to be little or no emphasis in reaching out to others, especially to the nations. The sure sign of genuine renewal or revival is the emphasis of taking that renewal to those who have not yet believed or have never heard. This should be the final product of revival.

In a very astute but practical essay, Peter Wagner (1976:57ff) discusses Third World missions. He points out that, very foolishly, missions is viewed as a straight line rather than as a circle. In a straight line scenario, missions would have a starting and ending point and the job can be completed in a given time. However, if missionary work is viewed as a circle of 360 degrees, there is no end, it keeps turning around and around in a continuous cycle. This, he believes, is the way God intends mission work to be. He postulates the following:

Here are the quadrants in the full circle of missionary activity:

90°-the mission sends out missionaries to a certain people to preach the gospel, win men and women to Christ, and to plant Christian churches.

180°-the seed of the Word bears fruit, people are saved, and a new church is planted. The new church is still under mission supervision and care.

270°-the church gains its autonomy, it begins to take care of its own affairs, and the mission either stays under a 'partnership' agreement or moves elsewhere. Most of our mission programs today have been 270-degree programs. Some missions have even pulled out of the field when they turned the church over to the nationals, arguing that they had 'worked themselves out of a job.'

360°-missions go full circle when the new church that is planted by the first mission gives birth to a mission of its own. The old concept of a self-propagating church too often referred to the 270-degree position--the church would be capable of keeping itself alive. But the 360-degree position insists that this church not only keep itself going, but also generate other churches in other cultures. In other words, a 360-degree church is a missionary minded church. (Wagner 1976:59)

⁶⁴For instance, the Brownsville revival of Pensacola, Florida.



7.3.2.2.a The Pentecostal Emphasis

'...[T]he spiritual life of the believer and the activities of the church are to be realized on a supernatural plane. The church is to be directed by the Spirit: believers are to be led by the Spirit. The supernatural Presence should be manifested in healings, miracles, and answers to prayer....The Holy Spirit is the Chief Strategist of the church in evangelism and mission' (Hodges 1972:143).

In the understanding of Pentecostals, the church is no more than a mission movement. 'The church has only one reason to exist, and that is to fulfill its missionary obligation' (Saayman 1994:12). The church is understood missiologically. As an example, when the Assemblies of God was organized in 1914, the leaders met at Stone Church in Chicago. They drew up a declaration which was to become historic in Pentecostal traditions. Among other things, it (DFM 1997:1-2) stated: '...we commit ourselves and the Movement to Him for the greatest evangelism that the world has ever seen.' This pledge committed the fledgling church to become missionary in nature.

The Pentecostal's theology of mission makes this statement come true with emphasis on being baptised in the Spirit for the purpose of mission and evangelism. This makes mission the *sine qua non* for the very existence of the church from the day of Pentecost until now.⁶⁵ Saayman (1999d) stated: 'My personal opinion is that without the contribution of Pentecostal theology of mission, it would be very hard to maintain the statement that the church is missionary by her very nature.' Meiring (1994:44) concurs by stating: 'The church must consciously view itself as God's instrument par excellence for doing his work in the world....[E]verything that the church does—even those aspects which really pertain to man's inner life...has a missionary *dimension*. Outsiders notice it and are attracted, impressed, or repelled by it....[M]ore directly, the church's *intention* must be missionary.'

John Seamands (1988:32) writes: 'If God is a missionary God, this His institution, the church, will be a missionary institution. If Christ, the great divine missionary to the world, is the head of the church, then the church as His body will be

⁶⁵This present writer is indebted to Prof Saayman for this emphasis.

a missionary body....The church does not simply *have* mission, but it *is* mission. It does not just have a missionary *department*, but a missionary *disposition*.'

This is exemplified by Pentecostal missionary outreach functioning from churches established by a missionary oriented churches, i e, sending-church to a receiving-church which becomes a sending-church. In Malawi, the Assemblies of God was established by the efforts of the American church. Now, the Malawian Assemblies of God have sent their first full-time, bonafide missionary to the Sudan. As well, Rev Lazarus Chakwera, general superintendent of the Assemblies of God in Malawi, has instituted a missionary training programme amongst the East and Southern African sister churches. He calls it the *Eleventh Hour Institute*. Recently, 160 national church leaders, pastors, and laity gathered for a month of training in cross-cultural mission work. 'Delegates pondered God's role for Africa in the world harvest, cast vision for the future and considered strategies for implementing the vision. New endeavors were contemplated for penetrating further into various countries in Africa' (Corbin 1999:25). Likewise, in Pretoria, South Africa, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada have established a mission training institute called *Missions Exposure and Training* which is dedicated to third world missions.

Secondly, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the West Indies, formerly of the PAOC, are very serious about missionary work. Having had a mission programme designated in their constitution and by-laws for some years, they are now sending forth missionaries from the Lower Antilles. They had one symposium two years ago and recently conducted a training and strategy session for their pastors in October of this year (1999). These models serve as an example⁶⁶ of Peter Wagner's 360-degree full-circle missionary concept. Truly, a Pentecostal missionary nature of the church.

⁶⁶Pentecostal churches around the globe are deeply involved in missionary outreach, as are many in the Evangelical and Ecumenical churches. Many other and numerous examples could be cited.

7.3.3 The Holy Spirit and Missions

7.3.3.1 The Holy Spirit As Author And Finisher Of Missions

It is often noted that missions began with the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost. However, Jesus had told his disciples that they would have *power* to fulfill the commission of taking the gospel to the nations when they were endued with power from on high. 'I am going to send you what my Father has promised; but stay in the city until you have been *clothed* with power from on high' Luke 24:49 (NIV). 'But you will receive *power* when the Holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth' Acts 1:8 (NIV). 'Clearly the main criterion for Pentecostal ancestry should be *the manifest presence of the Holy Spirit in renewing power*, and not the single gift of tongues' (Lovelace 1988:101).

'The Lord thought so much of this "power from on high" that he even forbade his disciples to begin their mission before they were equipped with this Divine supply...' (Teng 1974:212). It was the prerequisite for the genesis of the Gentile mission as they would come to know it. They were to wait for it. They were to continue in prayer, anticipating what Jesus had told them to look for. Pentecostal power was necessary and it was only the Holy Spirit that would supply that power. Reception of the Spirit of God into one's life meant that special spiritual power would be supplied to the recipient for the purpose of being a witness. Upon receiving his personal Pentecost, Peter was clothed with a boldness and pneumatic power that once and for all set in motion the beginning of mission to the nations.

It is significant that the Holy Spirit was the causation of missions, and it is also significant that he serves as the finisher of missions as well. It was prophetic that 'people from every nation' were within hearing range of his voice as Peter declared that what they had witnessed was a fulfilment of the words from the prophet Joel 2:28,29 'I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophesy, your old men will dream dreams, your young men will see visions. Even on my servants, both men and women, I will pour out my Spirit in those days.' This truly was a 'firstfruits' situation of the nations eventually hearing the gospel. Thus we can say

that the '...Holy Spirit is the guarantor of the success of world missions' (Teng 1974:213). While the gospel has been preached in many tongues and nations, there remains 2.2 billion who yet have an adequate witness of the gospel (Keyes 1983). The gospel is 'already' being preached but it is 'not yet' complete. But the Holy Spirit guarantees that the gospel will be preached to all nations and then the end will come (Matt 24:14).

7.3.3.2 The Holy Spirit As Promoter Of Missions

The Book of Acts is replete with instances of missions being promoted by the Holy Spirit. Some have suggested that a better name for the book would have been, *The Acts of the Holy Spirit*. 'The Holy Spirit took a leading part in every move of the early church. We see him explicitly at work in all the works of the early church...' (Teng 1974:213). Note the following examples of pneumatic activity:

- Peter preached on the Day of Pentecost; three thousand were added to the church on a single day (Acts 2:14-41).
- Peter and John witnessed before the Sanhedrin and the subsequent persecution of the church (Acts 4:1-22).
- Peter and John preached in Samaria, in many villages (Acts 8:14-25).
- Peter at the house of Cornelius in Caesarea. The first Gentile family to be incorporated into the body of Christ thrust the concept of missions into a new philosophy of missions; God reaching out to the Gentiles (Acts 10:1-11:18).
- The launching of missionary work from the Antioch church. Paul and Barnabas begin their first missionary journey into Asia Minor (Acts 13:1-3).
- The Holy Spirit's direction into Macedonia which resulted in a change of strategy for Paul and proved to have far-reaching significance for missions (Acts 16:6-10).

These examples, while not exhaustive, indicate without doubt that the Holy Spirit was promoting missions and was the real sustaining power behind their efforts.

7.3.3.3 The Holy Spirit Equips Believers

Pentecostal missiologist, Melvin Hodges (1977:48), stated: 'God intended that the work of the Church should be accomplished not through mere human effort, even when carried out by good and wise men, but through men endowed with special spiritual qualifications whom the Spirit could direct and through whom He could work.' In order to further the task of world missions, the Holy Spirit equips believers through his various gifts (Barclift 1987:12-13). Only through the working of the various gifts (manifestations) can the body of Christ be built up as Christ intended.

While it would be ludicrous to suggest that missionaries are endowed with *all* of the gifts of the Spirit, nevertheless, the Holy Spirit bestows upon the believers [including missionaries] the required gifts to accomplish his task (I Corinthians 12 and Ephesians 4). These are gifts/manifestations related to ministry. Pentecostal scholar Gordon Fee (1987:589) states: '...each "gift" is a "manifestation", a disclosure of the *Spirit's* activity...' Hodges (1977:49) further elaborates by saying: 'The gifts are...essential operations without which the Church cannot function properly. They are operations vital to its life and development and closely connected to the ministry of each member of the body of Christ.'

Secondly, these gifts are 'tool's for the building of the church. Morris Williams writes that gifts are all tools for building his (God's) church. He (1979:89) states: 'Gifts are not given to be enjoyed as an end in themselves. They are given for the growth and maturation of the Church....They are not given as a reward for good works or as a measure of spirituality. They are given for the good of the Church...for its growth and maturation.'

Harold Lindsell summed it up when he concluded a paper read at the American Festival of Evangelism. He (1981:4) stated: 'It is futile to talk about the Holy Spirit as the equipper for evangelistic outreach if we fail to see that in and of ourselves we can do nothing. For us to be able to do what we ought to do in service to God we need the gift and power of the Spirit. It is not how much of the Holy Spirit we have. It is how much of us the Holy Spirit has.' *'Having us'* will allow the Holy Spirit to equip us for his service in missions.

7.3.3.4 The Holy Spirit: Strategist Of Missions

'It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and us...' (Acts 15:28). 'Luke portrays the Holy Spirit as the director and enabler of the activities of the church' (Shelton 1991:125). The Holy Spirit came to a conclusion concerning the entrance of Gentiles into the church. The Jewish brethren also came to the same conclusion. 'They both thought, and deliberated, and concluded together—both the Holy Spirit and the brethren. The Holy Spirit is numbered among those who deliberated, who considered, and who concluded' (Criswell 1966:50). The input of the Holy Spirit in the strategy of the church in missions appears to be the correct biblical methodology. This type of strategy served the primitive church very well and continues to serve the cause of missions.

'In Acts the Holy Spirit instructs the followers of Jesus to move from one place to another, to refrain from moving, to endure hardship, to foresee future events, and to give inspired witness' (:125). Referring to the context of the Acts 15 general assembly, A J Gordon (1968:10) writes: 'Peter and Paul and James and Barnabas had been present in the assembly, but another and more august Person was there also—the Holy Spirit; "the Executive of the Godhead," as He has been called; the Convener and Administrator of the Christian Church, He may also be fittingly named. He it was who dictated and revealed this program of missions and His office was to henceforth carry out its specifications unto the end of the ages.' He is the strategist and director of missions.

Melvin Hodges (1977:173) writes: 'No man or any one group of men is wise enough to lay out the strategy that is required to reach the...unevangelized. Jesus Christ is the Head of the Church and the Lord of the harvest. The Holy Spirit is able to impart to each one the personal direction that will enable him to cooperate with the divine strategy.'

David Howard (1979:52ff) list seven strategies that the early church developed under the leadership of the Holy Spirit.

- Witness of all Believers: Every believer was declared to be a bonafide witness.
- Recognition of Gifts of the Spirit.

- Constant Preaching of the Word.
- Service to Those in Need.
- Use of Strategic Centers.
- Training of Disciples.
- Follow-up of New Believers.

As well, Philip Teng (1974:218ff) has listed his own principles of missionary work which have to do with the leading of the Holy Spirit. They are:

- The occupation of key cities.
- The capture of key persons and classes for Christ.
- The movement into new areas after establishing a local church.
- The establishing and sustaining of indigenous churches.
- Love services in missions.
- Mass evangelism in missions.
- Unity as power for missions.

Kenneth Strachan (in Howard 1979:53) states: 'The apostolic [and Holy Spirit] strategy was to involve every Christian in constant responsible service and witness in every situation of secular and religious life.' Our work is to follow the divine initiative (Hodges 1973:26). 'The Spirit leads to new initiatives, new beginnings; human planning and programs are thwarted. Paul had to change his plans; the Spirit led him to Europe' (Kuitse (1993:115). Missionaries must be filled with the Holy Spirit and controlled by the Holy Spirit. Divine guidance and strategy must be heeded if the Holy Spirit is allowed to be the divine strategist.

'Luke tells us that the Church grew when "it went forward in reverence for the Lord and in the strengthening presence of the Holy Spirit" (Acts 9:31, Philips). We need to walk with the Lord day by day. This includes seeking to avoid what we know displeases Him. It means looking to the Lord for daily guidance. He has a plan for us and the Holy Spirit can enable us to discern it' (Chilvers 1971:7). 'Like John and Jesus before them, the charismatic community of disciples is Spirit-empowered and Spirit-directed for its missionary task' (Stronstad 1993b:101).

8. Final Thoughts

Modern-day Pentecostalism was born amongst the poor, the disinfranchised. The eschatology that developed reflected a 'theology of the poor.' There had to be a better day coming. The 'hand that the world had dealt' the poor was very bad. They had to look to the 'not yet' for their hope, for in this life their situations left them very little hope. Singing such songs as '*I'll Fly Away*', they prepared for a day when life would be better than it was. Most Pentecostals were from 'across the tracks'; from the wrong side of town. The affluent lived on the other side. The two social classes did not mix, even for church.

There was a non-paid, non-professional clergy. Men and women who worked six days a week at a secular job and preached on Sundays and Wednesday evenings. Some had little or no education. Some were semi-illiterate. Almost all had no theological training nor desired any. Some would start preaching within a few months of conversion. Most had little to say of any theological significance, but all had a burning desire to win the lost and to evangelize their world. One person said of the Pentecostal laity, 'My God, they are all preachers!' Clad in bib overalls, brogan shoes⁶⁷, with dirty fingernails and calloused hands, they tenderly took God's Word in hand and did their best to minister the gospel to whoever would listen. Theologically correct? Seldom! Zealous to do God's will? Overly.

In the introduction of this thesis, it was stated that the Holy Spirit blows where (s)he wills. The Spirit moves freely, looking, not so much for correct doctrine, as for the contrite and hungry heart. Across the land, the Spirit moves, filling those 'who hunger and thirst after righteousness' regardless of church affiliation, doctrine or any other factor. 'Despite opposition from other churches, despite sometimes 'wrong' policies and structures within the Pentecostal churches themselves, the story of Pentecostal mission and missiology is one of God's grace and sustaining power.

⁶⁷The typical dress of the mid-west farmer or poor person of that era.

Where genuine encounter on a human level took place between Pentecostal missionaries truly inspired by the Spirit's charisms, Jesus's compassion always won through' (Saayman 1999c).

'The solidarity of Pentecostalism with the poor is often noted.

Pentecostalism's phenomenal growth is often attributed to its ties with the poor and the working class' (Pomerville 1985:151). '...Because they were poor, disenfranchised and often despised themselves, Pentecostal missionaries often were in a better position to truly empathise with the poor's desperate longing to merge the 'already' and the 'not yet' (Saayman 1999c).

Pentecostals at the close of this millennium are a different breed and cut from those of the 'early days.' Redemption and lift has not only affected the converts to Christianity and subsequently to Pentecostalism, but the social status of the missionaries themselves is far from what it was several decades ago. No one wants to return to the 'good ole days.' In fact, probably they were not so good. The challenges of today are different than several decades ago, however, the Pentecostal missionary faces his/hers own challenges with the same empowerment the early ones had. The role of the Holy Spirit is still the same. Luke's gospel makes it clear '...that both the Savior himself and his followers are empowered for the life and ministry of the kingdom by the Holy Spirit....As with them [first century Christians], so with ourselves. The kingdom has come; it is still to come. With Jesus the time of the future, the day of salvation, has been inaugurated. But the empowering was the work of the Holy Spirit. What Jesus began "both to do and say" is now the ministry he has left his church until he comes again. The mission is that of Jesus himself -- God's kingdom as having come as good news for the poor. But the empowering for the kingdom, as then, is the continuing work of the Spirit' (Fee 1991a:18).

Perhaps enough has been said to demonstrate the position, that a single-minded emphasis upon the Holy Spirit as Baptizer, Energizer, and Empowerer has produced an outreach into areas largely neglected by the more conventional and 'respectable' branches of the Christian movement which is amazing in its scope. Pentecostalism has always regarded itself as an instrument of church renewal. Its very life has consisted in a thrust toward *persons*, whether near at hand or afar off. Actually, early pentecostalism, taking Acts 1:8 with deadly seriousness,

tended to find much of its 'Jerusalem and all Judaea' in the region of Samaria. Possibility its ultimate success in 'the uttermost parts of the earth' was due to its faithfulness to the call to society's Samaritans -- *the alienated, the neglected, the persons being bypassed in the march of worldly progress* [italics mine].

It goes without saying that no religious movement which might emerge today would face exactly the same kind of world as the charismatic [and Pentecostal] movement encountered between 1900 and 1974. But if the details of the world of the *2.7 billion who have never heard the name of Jesus Christ* may differ, the demands upon the Church Militant remain very much the same. Could it be that the broad charismatic [and Pentecostal] movement has something exceeding important to say to any group which takes the Great Commission seriously? If so, that 'something' will no doubt focus upon the blessed Holy Spirit -- his special ministry within the hearts and the lives of Christian believers who are willing to grant him an utter centrality. (Kuhn 1975:1149)

'For the Church to be vibrant and alive in mission, she must repeatedly be renewed and transformed by the Spirit of God: with renewed vigor she prays: *Veni Creator Spiritus!* (Kroeger 1988:454).

Veni Creator Spiritus!

APPENDICES

Appendix One

List of Assemblies of God missionaries trained under the Christian and Missionary Alliance through the early 1920s

1. Grace Agar*	China
2. Myrtle Bailey*	China
3. Agnes N T Beckdahl*	India
4. Gottfried Bender*	Venezuela
5. Myrtle Kievell Blakeney*	India
6. Ada Buchwalter Bolton*	China
7. George Bowie	Africa
8. A Elizabeth Brown	Palestine
9. Bernice Andrews Burgess*	India
10. Barbara Cox*	India
11. Herbert H Cox	India
12. Sarah Coxe*	India
13. Clara M Cragin	Latin America
14. H W Cragin	Latin America
15. Margaret Felch*	India
16. Marguerite Flint	India
17. Edna Francisco*	China
18. Laura Gardner*	India
19. Anna Helmbrecht	India
20. Etta M Hinckley*	China
21. Frances Kauffman*	China
22. Ivan S Kauffman*	China
23. Mary E Lewer*	China
24. Lilian Merian	India

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 25. Jacob J Mueller* | India (Assistant Foreign Missions Secretary of the Assemblies of God: 1939-1959) |
| 26. Harold K Needham* | (Overseas representative for the General Council of the Assemblies of God: 1920-1921) |
| 27. Nettie D Nichols* | China |
| 28. Noel Perkin | Argentina (Foreign Missions Director of the Assemblies of God: 1927-1959) |
| 29. Victor Plymire* | Tibet, China |
| 30. Edith Priest* | Egypt |
| 31. Christian Schoonmaker* | India |
| 32. Clara W Siemens* | West Indies (Later joined the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada) |
| 33. William W Simpson* | Tibet, China |
| 34. Mary O Smith | Africa |
| 35. Wycliffe M Smith* | Africa |
| 36. Marie Stephany* | Mongolia |
| 37. Allan Swift* | China |
| 38. John Wilbur Taylor* | Africa |
| 39. Harry T Waggoner* | India |
| 40. John G Warton* | Persia |
| 41. Adah Winger Wegner | Latin America |
| 42. Alice C Wood* | Latin America |

* studied at the Missionary Training Institute at Nyack
(McGee 1986:62-63)

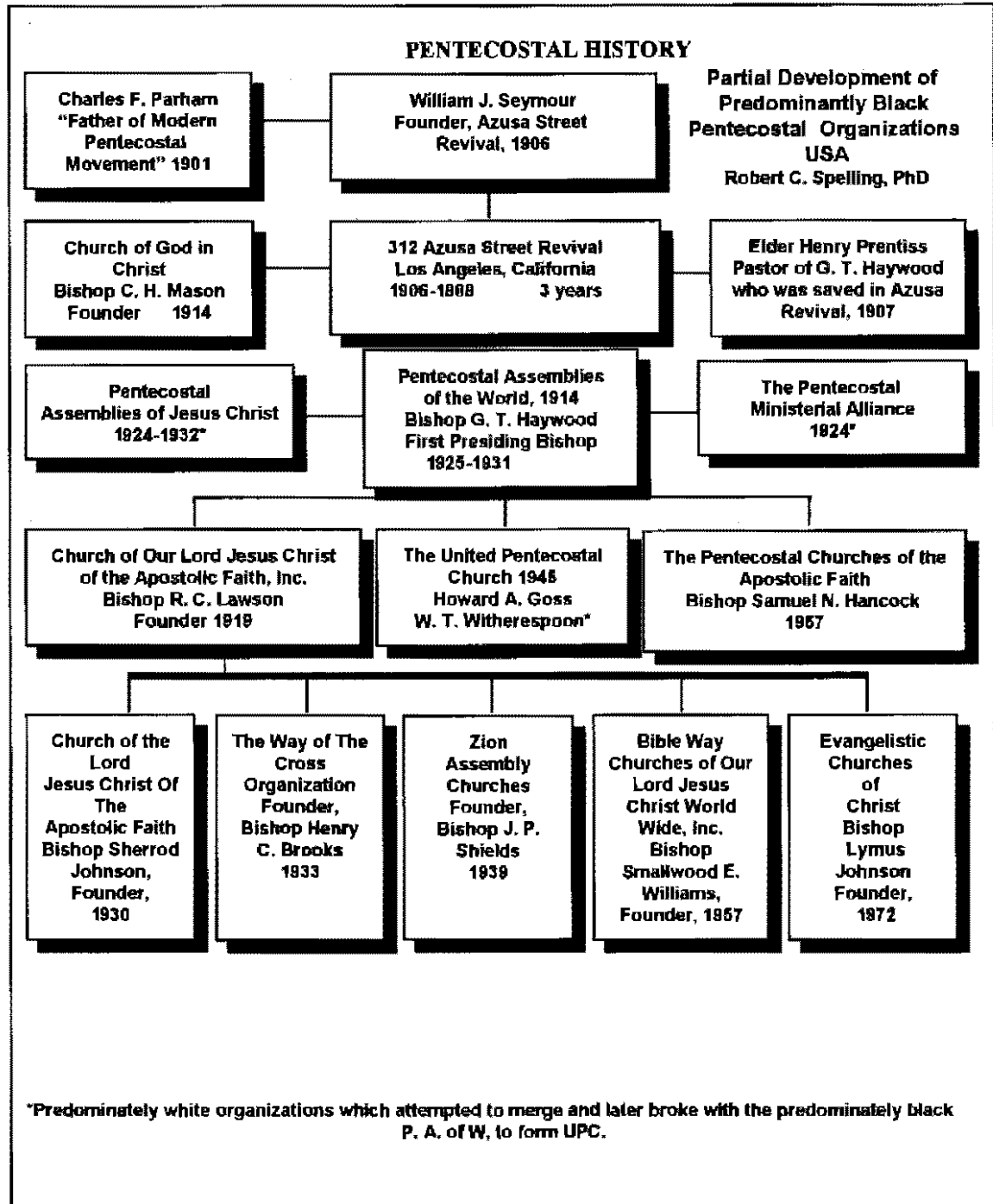
Appendix Two

A Summary of the Nevius Plan as outlined by C A Clark (in Hunt 1991:123)

- I. Missionary personal evangelism through wide itineration,**
- II. Self-Propagation: every believer a teacher of someone, and a learner from someone else better fitted; every individual and group seeking by the 'layering method' to extend the work,**
- III. Self-government: every group under its chosen unpaid leaders; circuits under their own paid helpers, will later yield to pastors; circuit meetings to train the people for later district, provincial and national leadership.**
- IV. Self- support: with all chapels provided by the believers; each group, as soon as founded, beginning to pay towards the circuit helper's salary; even schools to receive but partial subsidy, and that only when being founded; no pastors of single churches provided by foreign funds.**
- V. Systematic Bible study for every believer under his group leader and circuit helper; and for every leader and helper in the Bible Classes,**
- VI. Strict discipline enforced by Bible penalties,**
- VII. Co-operation and union with other bodies, or at least territorial division,**
- VIII. Non-interference in lawsuits or any such matters,**
- IX. General helpfulness where possible in the economic life problems of the people.**

Appendix Three

A chart of Black Pentecostal History (Spellman 1990:28)



Appendix Four

Christian History Time Line

***Christian History* Spring 1998, Vol.XVII, No. 2, Page 26**

By Vinson Synan

Holiness Roots

- 1867** National Holiness Association forms in Vineland, New Jersey
- 1879** Isaiah Reed forms the largest holiness association in America, the Iowa Holiness Association
- 1887** A B Simpson founds the Christian and Missionary Alliance to promote the Holiness "Fourfold Gospel"
- 1895** B H Irwin teaches a third blessing "baptism of Fire," splitting the Iowa Holiness Association and forming the Iowa Fire-Baptized Holiness Association
- 1896** Schearer Schoolhouse Fire-Baptized Holiness revival experiences tongues
- 1897** Charles H Mason and C T Jones form the Church of God in Christ in Lexington, Mississippi
- 1898** First congregation of the Pentecostal Holiness Church in Goldsboro, North Carolina

Pentecostal Birth

- 1901** Agnes Ozman speaks in tongues in Topeka. Charles Parham calls tongues the "Bible evidence" for baptism in the Spirit
- 1902** First congregation of the Church of God formed at Camp Creek, North Carolina
- 1905** William Seymour accepts Pentecostal doctrine from Parham in Houston, Texas
- 1906** First General Assembly of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tenn.)
- 1906-1909** Azusa Street Revival; Pentecostalism becomes global under Seymour's leadership
- 1907** T B Barrett opens Pentecostal meetings in Oslo. Begins Pentecostal movements in Scandinavia, England, and Germany
- 1907** G B Cashwell spreads Pentecostalism in the South

- 1908** John G Lake begins South African Apostolic Faith Mission
- 1908** Church of God (Cleveland, Tenn.) accepts Pentecostalism under A J Tomlinson
- 1909** Luigi Francescon and Giacomo Lombardi begin Italian Pentecostal movements in the U.S., Italy, Argentina, and Brazil
- 1909** German evangelicals condemn Pentecostals in the "Berlin Declaration"
- 1909** Florence Crawford founds the Apostolic Faith Church in Portland, Oregon

Maturing Movement

- 1910** W H Durham begins "Finished Work" movement in Chicago
- 1912** Maria Woodworth-Etter becomes a popular Pentecostal preacher in Dallas
- 1914** The Assemblies of God formed in Hot Springs, Arkansas
- 1916** The Oneness Movement splits the Assemblies of God
- 1919** Pentecostal Assemblies of the World incorporated
- 1923** A J Tomlinson forms the Church of God of Prophecy
- 1927** Aimee Semple McPherson forms International Church of the Foursquare Gospel in Los Angeles
- 1928** Mary Rumsey opens first Pentecostal missions to Korea and Japan
- 1943** American Pentecostal churches accepted as charter members of the National Association of Evangelicals
- 1945** Several mergers produce the United Pentecostal Church (Missouri)
- 1948** Healing crusades begin under William Branham and Oral Roberts

World Events

- 1867** Karl Marx predicts a proletariat takeover in Das Kapital
- 1877** Thomas Edison invents the phonograph, recording the words "Mary had a little lamb"
- 1883** Friedrich Nietzsche, in Thus Spake Zarathustra, writes, "I teach you the Superman. Man is something to be surpassed."

- 1900** Sigmund Freud publishes *The Interpretation of Dreams*, one of the seminal works of psychoanalysis
- 1901** Guglielmo Marconi sends the first wireless message across the Atlantic Ocean
- 1903** Bicycle mechanics Orville and Wilbur Wright fly the first airplane
- 1905** Albert Einstein begins publishing his theory of relativity
- 1912** The Titanic sinks, killing 1,500 passengers and crew
- 1917** Bolshevik troops, led by Vladimir Lenin, take control in Russia
- 1925** Adolf Hitler pens *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle)
- 1926** Television invented in London by John Logie Baird
- 1927** Charles Lindbergh crosses the Atlantic Ocean alone in his Spirit of St. Louis
- 1941** Rudolf Bultmann questions biblical history in his *New Testament and Mythology*
- 1945** Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Vinson Synan is dean of Regent University's divinity school (in Virginia Beach, Va.) and author of *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Eerdmans, 1997).

Appendix Five

Selected Text from the Lausanne Covenant

A. the Lostness of Humankind

Section 3. THE UNIQUENESS AND UNIVERSALITY OF CHRIST

We affirm that there is only one Saviour and only one gospel, although there is a wide diversity of evangelistic approaches. We recognize that all men have some knowledge of God through his general revelation in nature. But we deny that this can save, for men suppress the truth by their unrighteousness. We also reject as derogatory to Christ and the gospel every kind of syncretism and dialogue which implies that Christ speaks equally through all religions and ideologies. Jesus Christ, being himself the only God-man, who gave himself as the only ransom for sinners, is the only mediator between God and man. There is no other name by which we must be saved. All men are perishing because of sin, but God loves all men, not wishing that any should perish but that all should repent. Yet, those who reject Christ repudiate the joy of salvation and condemn themselves to eternal separation from God. To proclaim Jesus as 'the Saviour of the world' is not to affirm that all men are either automatically or ultimately saved, still less to affirm that all religions offer salvation in Christ. Rather it is to proclaim God's love for a world of sinners and to invite all men to respond to him as Saviour and Lord in the wholehearted personal commitment of repentance and faith. Jesus Christ has been exalted above every other name; we long for the day when every knee shall bow to him and every tongue shall confess him Lord.

B. Social Concern/Action

Section 5. CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

We affirm that God is both the Creator and the Judge of all men. We therefore should share his concern for justice and reconciliation throughout human society and for the liberation of men from every kind of oppression. Because mankind is made in the image of God, every person, regardless of race, religion, colour, culture, class, sex or age, has an intrinsic dignity because of which he should be respected and served, not exploited. Here too we express penitence both for our neglect and for having sometimes regarded evangelism and social concern as mutually exclusive. Although reconciliation with man is not reconciliation with God, nor is social action evangelism, nor is political liberation salvation, nevertheless we affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty. For both are necessary expressions of our doctrines of God and man, our love for our neighbour and our obedience to Jesus Christ. The message of salvation implies also a message of judgement upon every form of alienation, oppression and discrimination, and we should not be afraid to denounce evil and injustice wherever they exist. When people receive Christ they are born again into his kingdom and must seek not only to exhibit but also to spread its righteousness in the midst of an unrighteous world. The salvation we claim should be transforming us in the totality of our personal and social responsibilities. Faith without works is dead.

Source: Douglas, J D 1975. *Let The Earth Hear His Voice: International Congress on World Evangelization, Lausanne, Switzerland*. Minneapolis, MN: World Wide Publications.



Appendix Six

REDEFINING THE TERM "INDIGENOUS" (Fuller 1980:266)

At the turn of this century evangelical missions were concerned about the dependency of young national churches on the missions from which they arose. The relation of colonies to the imperial powers was the backdrop for the relation of national churches to the denominations which founded them. To avoid this, evangelicals stressed the need for the national church to be indigenous -- self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating.

This emphasis has produced a number of indigenous churches. However, the resultant separation of church and mission has led to a different problem at the other extreme.

An *apartheid-like* relation of totally separate development has arisen in some cases. The church has its structure, its departments; the mission also has its own structure and departments. There has developed a feeling of 'our work' and 'their work.' This has sometimes produced an atmosphere of rivalry, divided loyalty, and suspicion. But more so, the church has not understood the implications of responsibility carried by the mission. Neither church nor mission has benefited as much as it could have, from the interchange of spiritual gifts and experience God has given each.

That's why we need to redefine the term indigenous. Is it possible for a national church to avoid dependence on a foreign mission and yet integrate the work of mission? We believe it is. In the relations now being developed by SIM in Africa, the mission and the national churches form an international partnership. In the sending countries, SIM takes the leadership in encouraging prayer, recruiting missionaries, and raising finance for projects which the churches cannot yet undertake. In Africa, the national churches take leadership in the work, depending on their level of development. Where the church can take the responsibility, missionaries work under national leadership.


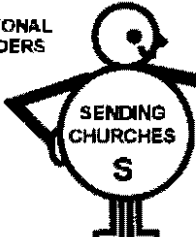



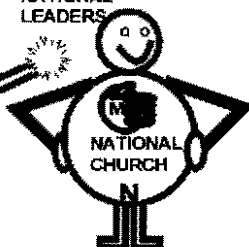
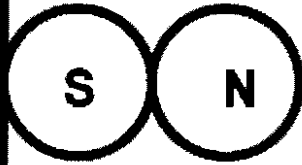
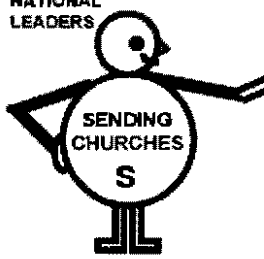


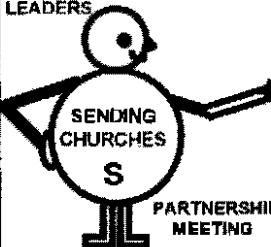
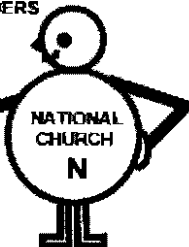
As this international partnership is worked out in practical detail, it should strengthen the indigenous church. The mission's contribution, instead of being an obviously foreign, separate ministry, should become more relevant to the spiritual and cultural needs of the national church. Redefined, the 'indigenous church' belongs to the country; its life is relevant to the nation; nationals lead its work -- including that done by foreign missionaries. Its indigenous nature does not exclude using the gifts of the Spirit brought by missionaries from other lands. Their work is integrated with the national church, in keeping with its indigenous character.

Thus the indigenous principle does not become an excuse for *apartheid*, or separateness, but the basis for international partnership of church and mission.

W. Harold Fuller
Memo to SIM Council Members,
Jos, Nigeria, 1976

Appendix Seven

Types of Relationships (Williams M [1979] 1986)

TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS		
TYPES	SENDING	NATIONAL
 PATERNALISM	<p>NATIONAL LEADERS</p> 	<p>MISSIONARY LEADERS</p> 
 FUSION	<p>NATIONAL LEADERS</p> 	<p>NATIONAL LEADERS</p> 
 PARALLELISM	<p>NATIONAL LEADERS</p> 	<p>NATIONAL LEADERS</p> 
 PARTNERSHIP	<p>NATIONAL LEADERS</p>  <p>PARTNERSHIP MEETING</p>	<p>NATIONAL LEADERS</p> 

Appendix Eight

The Four-fold Strategy of the Division of Foreign Missions, General Council of the Assemblies of God (USA).

B. OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGIES

The sole purpose of the Division of Foreign Missions is to inspire and enable the Assemblies of God Movement to fulfill the Great Commission.

1. Missions Strategy

According to Article XVII, Section 1.c of the 1995 General Council Bylaws, 'the missions strategy of the Division of Foreign Missions shall be:

- a. 'The widest possible evangelization of the spiritually lost through all available means.'
- b. 'The establishment of indigenous churches after the New Testament pattern.'
- c. 'The training of national believers to proclaim the gospel to their own people in an expanding mission to other people.'
- d. 'The showing of compassion for suffering people in a manner representing the love of Jesus Christ.'

The Division of Foreign Missions uses the term 'indigenous church' in a specialized sense. This principle refers to raising up self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating New Testament churches to attain a pervasive Christian witness in the world.

Division of Foreign Missions 1997. *The Missions Manual*. Springfield, MO. DFM.

Appendix Nine

Being paragraphs omitted from chapter 10, **Pentecost and Indigenous Methods** in Melvin Hodges's *On The Mission Field: The Indigenous Church*, published by Moody Press, Chicago, 1953.

The genius of the Pentecostal movement is uniquely suited to the indigenous church method. We have witnessed thousands of 'indigenous' churches spring into existence in the homeland as a result of Pentecostal outpourings since the turn of the century. Pentecostal outpourings, whether in the homeland or abroad, have always produced converts with flaming zeal and sacrificial spirit.

On the mission field, the emphasis which Pentecostal people place on the necessity of each individual believer receiving a personal infilling of the Holy Spirit has produced believers and workers of unusual zeal and power. Again, the emphasis on the present-day working of miracles and the healing of the sick has been the means in the hand of God of awakening whole communities and convincing unbelievers of the power of God. These have seen a Power at work superior to that of their own witchdoctors and priests. The faith which Pentecostal people have in the ability of the Holy Spirit to give spiritual gifts and supernatural abilities to the common people, even to those who might be termed 'ignorant and unlearned,' has raised up a host of lay preachers and leaders of unusual spiritual ability--not unlike the rugged fishermen who first followed the Lord.

...It was a vital turning point in one Central American field, when seventy-five believers were filled with the Spirit in one week. This number included several workers. In the following eighteen months, about three hundred received the fulness of the Spirit, and within two years from the first blessing, the number of workers had practically doubled. So had the number of churches and converts. Within a few months, the gospel was preached in sections of the country far interior, where under ordinary circumstances it would not have penetrated for many years.

Appendix Ten

Willem Saayman's Illustration on His understanding of the Mission of the Church

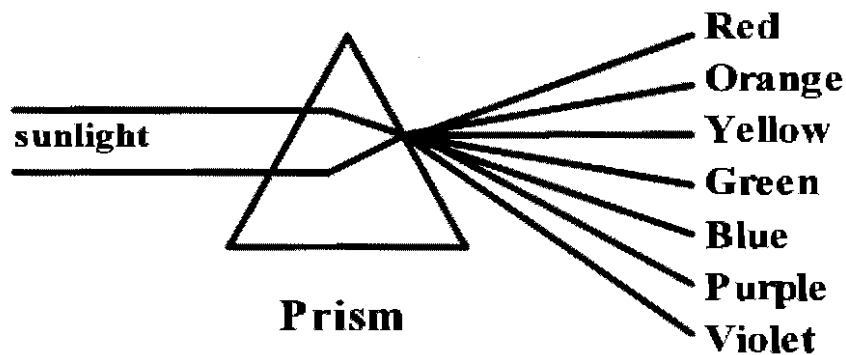
Saayman, W A 1983. Once Again: What is mission? In *Theologia Evangelica*, XVI:1, March 1983, 87-89.

Text of Professor Saayman's illustration, quoted verbatim (with certain omissions for brevity)

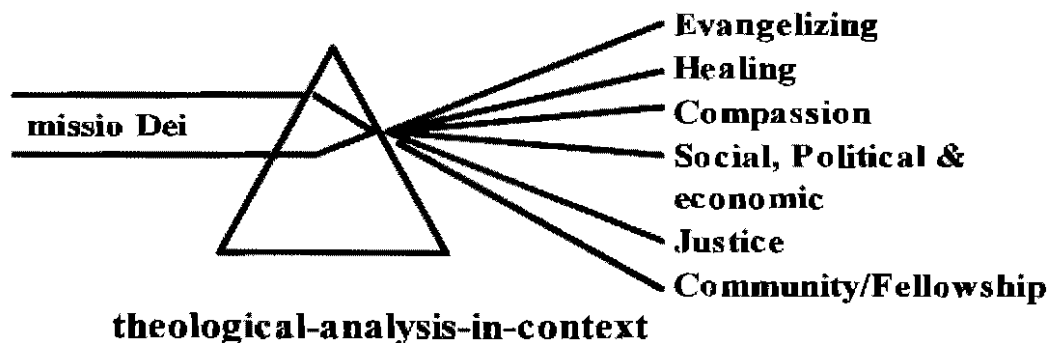
...in Luke 4 Jesus presented his mission as being essentially one ministry with separate dimensions....If we agree that *missio Dei* means, inter alia, that we (the church) have been sent as Jesus was sent, and that Jesus' views on his own mission are therefore of fundamental importance, it seems to me that it may be profitable to have a closer look at Luke 4:14-21....Jesus stated that he had been sent by the Father in the power of the Holy Spirit, to execute a ministry with specific, *distinguishable*, but *inseparable*, dimensions....The dimensions...are: an *evangelizing* dimension; a *healing* dimension; a *compassionate* dimension; a dimension of *social, political and economic justice*; it seems to me that another dimension is an underlying implication of all these dimensions: that of *creating a new community (fellowship)*. In my opinion there does not seem to be a specific order of priority to these dimensions; the way in which Jesus himself executed his own mission, certainly does not seem to indicate such an order of priority. However, some Christians/churches/missionary agencies may want to establish such an order or priority....As I see it, the polarisation [between Evangelicals and Ecumenicals] will not be overcome by the ecumenicals convincing the evangelicals of the correctness of *their* (ecumenicals') position, or vice versa. We should perhaps rather abandon any scheme which makes such polarisation possible (e.g. attributing an order of priority to various dimensions), and look afresh at the wholeness of Jesus' approach. In the light of Luke 4

as well as the whole record of Jesus' own mission as recorded in the gospels, it seems to me that whoever neglects, in whatever way, *any* of these dimensions, is guilty of neglecting the mission itself.

I would like to try and explain what I want to say by using as an example the way in which a ray of sunlight, when reflected through a glass prism, casts the spectrum of colours on a white surface:



There is no intrinsic 'priority' involved in the placing of any one colour in the spectrum. At the same time, the spectrum always consists of all seven colours --- none of them can be absent. This illustrates the way I understand the mission of the Church:

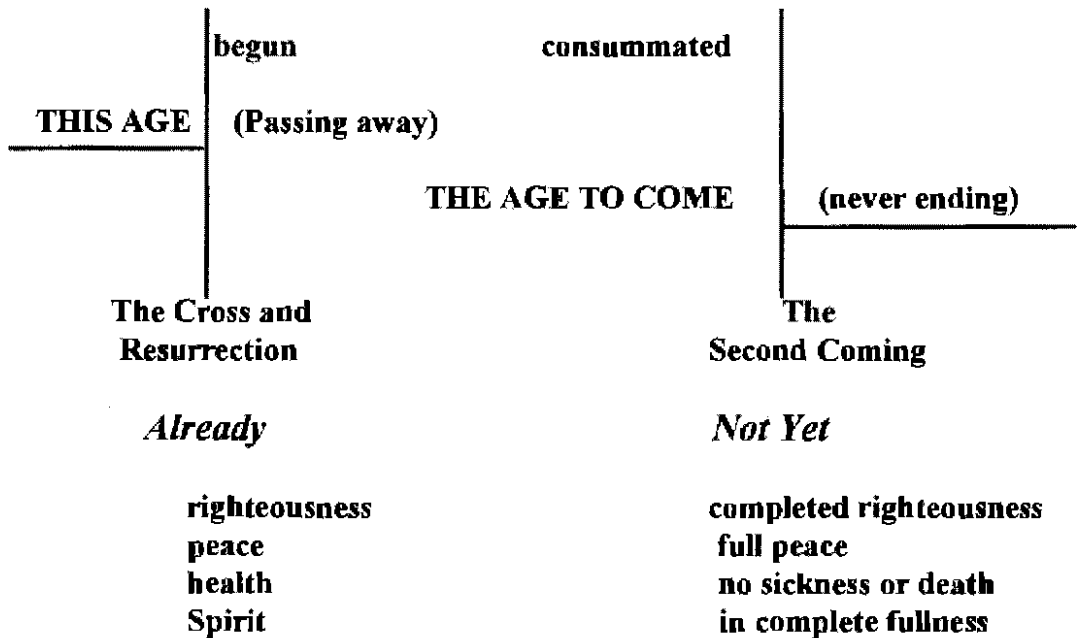


The mission of the Church, when passed through the 'prism' of our theological-analysis-in-context, reflects this 'spectrum' of dimensions, not in any essential or intrinsic priority. At the same time, *all* dimensions have to be present in this spectrum; if any one is omitted, we are no longer dealing with the totality of the *missio Dei*...

Appendix Eleven

Fee, Gordon D & Stuart, D [1981] 1993. *How To Read The Bible For All Its Worth*. second edition. Grand Rapids, Zondervan Publishing House, p.133.

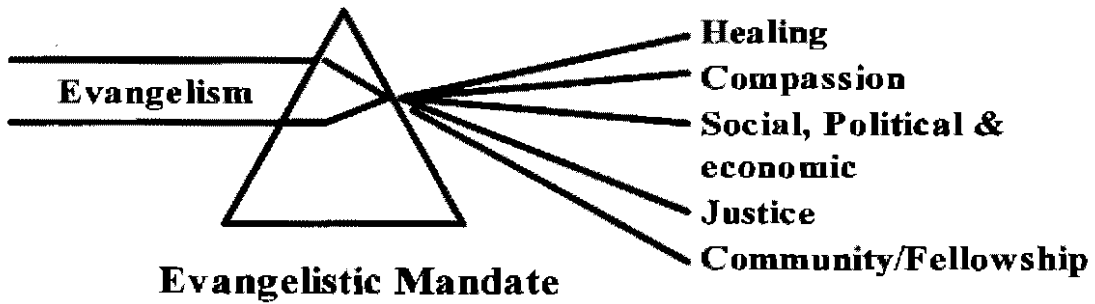
The New Testament Eschatological View The Eschaton



Appendix Twelve

W B Newberry's Pentecostal Prism

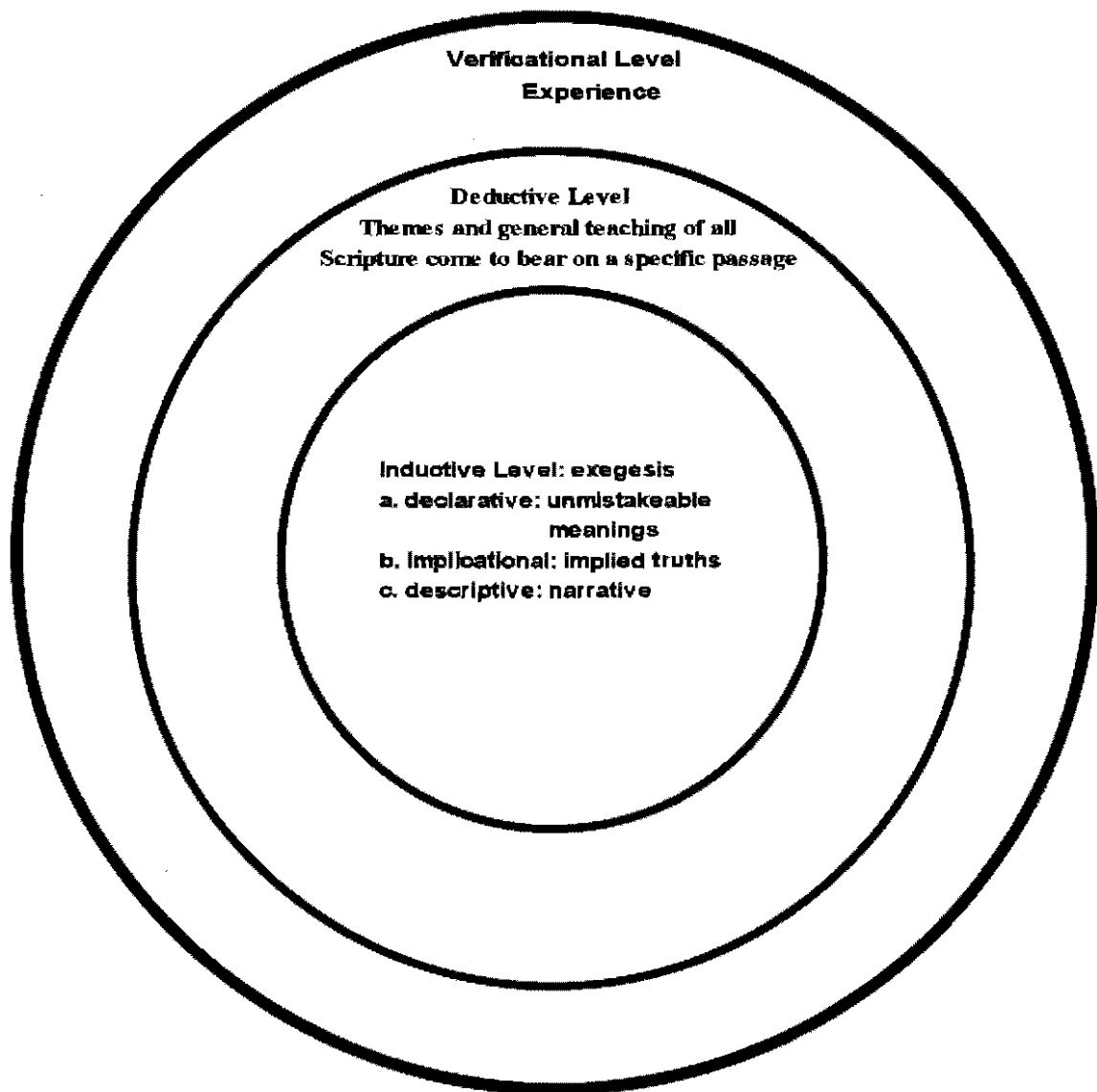
Evangelism as Primary Mandate



Appendix Thirteen

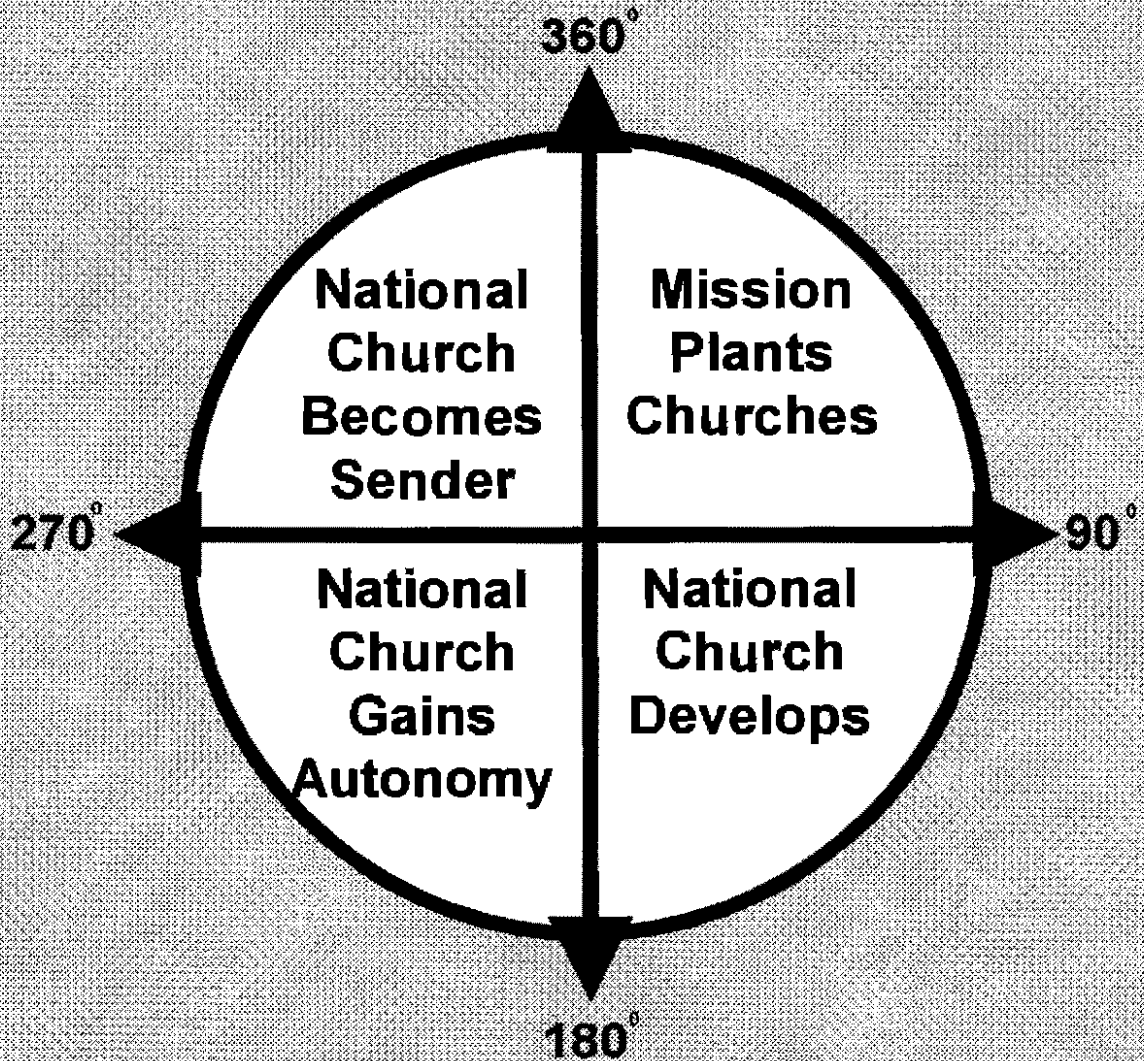
William W Menzies's Methodology of Hermeneutics

Synoptic Theology: An essay on Pentecostal Hermeneutics. Paraclete vol 13,
No 1, Winter 1979 pp 14-21



Appendix Fourteen

Full Circle: Third World Missions (Wagner 1976)



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Curriculum Vitae

Curriculum Vitae

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