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The *Journal of the Pentecostal Theological Association (JEPTA)* is a peer-reviewed international journal which has a pedigree stretching back to 1981 when it began as the EPTA Bulletin. Despite its European origins JEPTA has interests in Pentecostalism world-wide. It aims to promote and report research and scholarship in Pentecostal and Charismatic studies especially in relation to five fields of study:

- Theology
- Pentecostal / charismatic education
- Pentecostal history
- Charismatic history
- Missiology

The journal welcomes interdisciplinary debate and dialogue.

Editorial Addresses

Editorial Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor above. Books for review should also be sent to Dr Kay.

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Editorial

William K Kay

We have a good mixture for you in the current issue. There is theology from the Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen (Finland and USA) and history from Michael Bergunder (Germany), Roscoe Barnes (USA) Ewan Robertson (Wales). Jim Harris (USA) provides an empirically informed account of Assemblies of God ministers in the United States that makes sober reading. We have made all these articles as user-friendly as possible by including an abstract at the head of each piece.

The focus of the JEPTA is wider than its parent body. We want to provide articles that range beyond Europe and the current issue is an example of how this can be done. At the same time EPTA is ready to be revitalised in the light of the expansion of the European Union. All the eastern European colleges and churches that used to be outside the reach of the western churches are now much more easily accessible and, if all goes well, there will be a gradual improvement in the economic conditions of eastern Europe which will allow its members to play a much fuller role in conferences, scholarship, international training initiatives, evangelism and theology.

This journal is concerned with the result of scholarship. But, when we talk about 'scholarship' do not be misled into thinking that this is an impractical, ivory tower, abstruse and irrelevant activity. The best scholarship always addresses issues that have implications for current concerns and does not simply confine itself to the solution of minor technical or historical problems. In any event, the training of Pentecostal ministers across Europe is improving not only because education in Europe is much more widely available to greater sections of the population than was the case 30 or 40 years ago but also because there is a more positive appreciation among Pentecostals of the benefits of education than used to be the case. No doubt these changes are partly brought about by the internet and the availability of knowledge-transfer systems between different sections of society. They are also brought about by the need of ministers to be expert in a variety of areas: child protection law, non-Christian religions, fundraising, counselling, management of welfare budgets, spiritual leadership, and so on.

Because the training of Pentecostal ministers is improving, and because the Bologna Accord (1999) seeks to harmonise education across Europe by means of an equivalence between degrees offered by universities in different European countries, one year full-time or two or three year part-time MA or MTh are degrees becoming more common. They can serve as refresher courses for ministers in service or as an additional specialism for young ministers starting out. We want JEPTA to be of particular benefit to this cohort of people. Some of us have friends who, at more than 60 years old, have embarked on M level degrees in theology because they know that when they teach in other parts of the world their academic qualifications will be of benefit to the colleges where they serve. Others of us know young men and women whose theological training was narrow, practical and anti-intellectual and who now want to get to grips with biblical languages or the arguments for and against contentious doctrines. They also embark with enthusiasm upon M level degrees.

This is why we are concerned in this journal to ensure that we address issues of this kind. Pentecostal history is not merely an arcane pastime but can help us to appreciate how we should plan for the future. Pentecostal history enables us to distinguish more clearly between the essential and the peripheral. Biblical studies, particularly those that address Pentecostal concerns with healing, spiritual gifts, eschatology, ecclesiology and worship allow us to measure current beliefs and practice against the perpetually relevant and evergreen resources of Scripture.

Equally, there are lots of different ways that Pentecostal education can be enhanced by a study of education itself. It is notable that there are more diverse methods of teaching and assessment in some colleges than others. The old-style chalk-and-talk is giving way to sophisticated presentations, round table discussions and practical activities. Assessment, though it still depends upon the writing of continuous prose, may also involve tape or video recording of selected activities. Students begin to thrive on a mixed diet of content and teaching methods and, more to the point, the mixing of methods begins to capture the imagination of students who performed poorly at school. By improving educational methods we can educate a greater range of people than before. In this way we can educationally empower a far greater number of people than once was the case.

As part of our intention to encourage students, we want to publish good dissertation abstracts and hear the voice of the young in the articles that they submit. Many dissertations were provided at for the University of Wales Masters of Theology and we will name just three of the excellent ones produced by 2006 graduates.

Bobbie Welch (Japan) - 'The Acts of the Holy Spirit in Codex: an examination of variants in D⁰⁵ with application to Pneumatology.'

Abstract: This paper is a theological study of variants in Codex Bezae from acts that have an influence upon current pneumatological research. Several texts from Acts are examined with the intent to bring clarification to (1) the 'reception of the Holy Spirit' and its connection to conversion-initiation. (2) Luke's theological intention, and (3) the significance of an inspired vocalization e.g. *glossolalia*, as evidence of reception of the Holy Spirit.

Jenny Kay (Kenya) - 'Maximizing the effectiveness of pastoral training in Africa: with particular reference to Nairobi Pentecostal Bible College and FECABU churches in Burundi.' 2 vols.

Abstract: This study looks at the issue of the form and content of the training of pastors in Pentecostal churches in Africa. Firstly some of the pitfalls are examined. The western origin of the curriculum and the pervasiveness of the western worldview may be a stumbling block to Christianity finding authenticity in the African context. This may lead to alienation of the graduates from their congregations. The over-emphasis on academic study and achievement may promote and raise expectations of some and discourage others who could be equally effective pastors because the method of teaching does not suit their learning style. Secondly this research examines the role of the pastor in Africa and models for his/her training. It looks at how the teacher can provide education which transforms, promotes critical thinking and enables the graduates to become successful in their own context. It suggests that the starting point for the setting of the curriculum should be the hearing of the priorities of the end-users, the churches. Lastly this research proposed developments both in providing a relevant curriculum and in using teaching methods which include student participation in dialogue and application and an integration of academic learning with practical training and spiritual formation. Following these proposals should result in a maximizing of the effectiveness of pastoral training in Africa in general and in the two programmes studied in particular.

Stuart Mayho (UK) - 'Do not be hasty in the laying on of hands' (1 Tim 5:22) The Role Recognition and release of leadership in the new Testament and their relationship to recruitment in the church today.'

Abstract: Leadership is arguably the most important issue facing the church today, with recruitment to leadership, though often overlooked, being the defining factor in helping to ensure successful leadership in the contemporary church. Firstly roles for which leaders should be appointed are discussed and a biblical basis for ministry and recruitment is assessed.

Whilst studies of the church have value even if purely theoretical or theological in nature, the present study goes further, observing contemporary patterns of leadership recruitment as practiced across a broad range of denominations in the United Kingdom as well as supplementing this with the inclusion of the recruitment practices of several missions organisations. In order to ascertain current practices in recruitment, people responsible for training and recruitment within each denomination were contacted. Their responses to a series of questions inform the discussion and challenging analysis which constitute a significant aspect of this study.

The importance of training and continual assessment both before and after appointment to positions in leadership is also considered, and the study concludes with a range of practical recommendations for best practice across denominations.

*William K Kay
Christmas 2006*

'Encountering Christ in the Full Gospel Way': An Incarnational Pentecostal Spirituality

Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen¹

*Abstract*²

The centre of Pentecostal theology is the idea of the 'Full Gospel' which speaks of Christ in his various roles as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, Baptizer with the Spirit, and the Soon-coming-King. Therefore, Pentecostalism represents – differently from the assumptions of many outside observers – a unique Christocentric Spirit movement. The heart of Pentecostal spirituality is thus the encounter with Christ through the Holy Spirit in worship, in healing, in charisms, and so forth. This paper, originally prepared for a theological dialogue between Lutherans and Pentecostals, seeks to discern the meaning of this 'encounter' for Pentecostals.

Introduction

In the first round of talks of the Roman Catholic-Pentecostal Dialogue, Rev. Michael Harper of the Anglican Church (now a priest in the Orthodox Church) claimed that the history of God's people in relationship to the Holy Spirit can be viewed in terms of the extent to which the Holy Spirit has been 'free to operate *incarnationally* amongst them on the one hand, and the extent to which man has attempted to *incarcerate* the Holy Spirit in some of the outward aspects of the given-ness of the Church – e.g., the scriptures, sacraments, ministry, etc.'³ He outlines three approaches in this respect. The

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² This essay is a slightly revised paper read at the second annual meeting between representatives from the Lutheran World Federation and Pentecostal Churches in preparation for the International Dialogue between Lutherans and Pentecostals held in Strasbourg, France, December 2005. The overall theme was 'Encounter with Christ.'

³ This remarkable dialogue, which started in 1972 and is still continuing, has been the first exposure of Pentecostals to formal ecumenical dialogue. The Roman Catholic

Catholic emphasis on sacraments, apostolic succession, and priesthood can degenerate into imprisoning the free Spirit of God and denying the Spirit's freedom to move beyond church structures. The Protestant Reformation can be viewed as a reaction to this: the Spirit can easily be imprisoned in the doctrinal formulae. Pentecostalism, so Harper contends, was in part a reactionary movement against both of these, in its desire to break free from the past and to start again without institutions. This move, however, is not without its traps: 'In striving to release the Spirit from institutionalism and excessive theological formulae and fundamentalistic pedagogy, Pentecostals tend to trap the Spirit in experiential criteria.'⁴

I find Harper's observation both helpful and somewhat misguided. In an enlightening way, it reveals that at least part of the energy that birthed the contemporary Pentecostal – and later Charismatic Movements among established churches – came from the passion to let the Spirit breathe where the Spirit wills. A quick glance at early literature of the Pentecostal movement confirms this judgment.⁵ However, Harper's comment needs to be qualified with regard to two key orientations in Pentecostalism, related to each other. First of all, Pentecostalism – against the judgment of many of its observers – is not primarily a 'spirit-movement,' focusing in the first place on the charismatic ministry of the Holy Spirit. Christ is at the centre of Pentecostal 'Full Gospel.' Second, therefore, while Pentecostals otherwise can legitimately be accused at times of 'tend[ing] to trap the Spirit in experiential criteria,' what saves them from that tendency in general is their focus on Christology rather than on pneumatology. What this means will be explicated in what follows.

First, however, let me elaborate on a couple of developments within Pentecostalism that conform to the observation of Harper regarding the danger of trapping the Spirit, namely in terms of its ecclesio-

Church is represented by an official delegation appointed by the Vatican while Pentecostals function in the dialogue either as individuals or (in few cases) with a mandate from their respective constituencies. For theological analysis of first three quinquennia, see V.-M. Kärkkäinen, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat: Pneumatology in Roman Catholic-Pentecostal Dialogue (1972-1989)*, Schriften der Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft 42 (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola Society, 1998). For wider ecumenical implications and challenges of Pentecostalism, see further *Pfingstkirchen und Ökumene in Bewegung*, hrsg. von Christoph Dahling-Sander, Kai M. Funkschmidt und Vera Mielke, Beiheft zur Ökumenische Rundschau 71 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Otto Lembeck, 2001).

⁴ Michael Harper, 'The Holy Spirit Acts in the Church, its Structures, its Sacramentality, its Worship and Sacraments,' *One in Christ* 12 (1976): 319-20 (emphases in the original).

⁵ A telling example comes from the early periodical *Apostolic Faith* (Sept. 2, 1906) in which the writer calls the new renewal movement 'to replace dead forms and creeds and wild fanaticisms [of existing churches] with living practical Christianity.'

structural/institutional and doctrinal developments. Those dangers, however, are not uniquely characteristic of Pentecostalism along but in some way or another can be discerned in other Christian movements too. Pentecostalism as a movement is no less than any other church movement subject to the developments of institutionalization, namely, the emergence of structures that can be seen as obstacles to the free flow of the Spirit.⁶ No longer can any movement resist the doctrinal development and ‘formulae’ that Harper also notes regarding the established churches. For many – but not all – Pentecostals that kind of doctrinal stricture is the insistence on speaking in tongues as ‘physical initial evidence.’⁷

Going back to my claim above that Christology rather than pneumatology is at the centre of Pentecostalism, let me set forth my main thesis here and then attempt to elucidate it in the rest of the essay. When looking for Pentecostal identity and core spirituality, I will argue that while Pentecostalism since its inception has been perceived of as primarily a ‘spirit movement,’ a pneumatocentric enthusiastic sect, as a renewal movement it is, rather, embedded and anchored in an encounter with Christ as Christ is being depicted in his manifold role of Justifier, Sanctifier, Baptizer with the Spirit, Healer of the Body, and the Soon Coming King. It is this ‘Full Gospel’ that has set the tone for Pentecostal spirituality and it is here that Harper’s above quoted ‘incarnational’ principle of the Spirit comes to the fore: Christ is being encountered in the power of the Holy Spirit. ‘Meeting with the Lord’ is the desire of Pentecostals when they attend worship services or prayer meetings. They look to Christ as Healer, Helper, and Lord. Like the Christians of the primitive church, Pentecostal evangelists and missionaries who went out to cities and villages in their own countries and abroad to preach the Full Gospel did not go out to preach the Good News of the Spirit⁸ but rather of Christ as the Answer to all the questions of life.

In this essay, I will argue that Pentecostal spirituality is based on a passionate desire to ‘meet’ with Jesus Christ as he is being perceived of as the Bearer of the Full Gospel.⁹ Spirituality, rather than theology/creeds or

⁶ See e.g., Margaret M. Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads: Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

⁷ For this historically novel idea – and nowadays contested even among Pentecostals – see Gary McGee, ed., *Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Perspectives on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991).

⁸ I am indebted to the insightful comment by Kilian McDonnell, O.S.B., ‘Theological Presuppositions in Our Preaching about the Spirit,’ *Theological Studies* 59 (1998): 221-23.

⁹ For a fine account of key themes and orientations in Pentecostal spirituality, see Russell P. Spittler, ‘Spirituality, Pentecostal and Charismatic,’ in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, revised and expanded edition, ed.

sociology of religion¹⁰ is the key to understanding Pentecostalism, as well as to helping Pentecostals engage in ecumenical dialogue.¹¹ I will first reflect on the ways to identify Pentecostal identity as an authentic reflection of its spirituality, to be followed, second, by reflection on the crucial themes of the Full Gospel in which this spirituality and identity come to the fore. Third, I will delineate how all this translates into the major goal of Pentecostal spirituality, namely, the encounter with Christ in the Spirit as hoped for and expressed in the Full Gospel. My final task, as a way to further contributing to the purpose of the present dialogue, is to open up a window into the mutual conversations between Lutherans and Pentecostals by reflecting on a common theme of meeting with Jesus in the power of the Spirit; this grows out of the New Paradigm of Luther Studies and its insistence on 'Christ Present in Faith' through the Spirit as the key to the Reformer's theology. I will take note of the appropriation of the New Paradigm by some Lutheran Charismatic theologians. I will end by suggesting a few themes for mutual dialogue between Lutherans and Pentecostals.

Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Maas (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 1096-1102.

¹⁰ In the past, a typical way of dismissing Pentecostals in terms of deprivation theory was the norm among the sociologists of religion, often with little or no first-hand knowledge of the movement itself. For a balanced critical discussion, see Albert Miller, 'Pentecostalism as a Social Movement,' *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 9 (1996): 97-144.

¹¹ Here I cannot engage the complicated question of the theological and spiritual origins of Pentecostalism, as debated issues among specialists. Four main proposals have been set forth. (1) There are those who desire to connect the origins of the modern Pentecostal movement with the work of Charles F. Parham and his students at Topeka, Kansas. (2) Non-White historians and theologians of the movement often emphasize the primary role of the Black Holiness preacher William Joseph Seymour and the Apostolic Faith Mission that arose in Los Angeles, California, in April 1906. (3) There are those who see themselves as constituting the earliest Pentecostal denominations, thereby claiming to be the original Pentecostals by noting that some of their leaders or members spoke in tongues prior to either Parham or Seymour. (4) Finally, there are those who view the origins of Pentecostalism as a sovereign work of God which can be traced to no single leader or group, but rather to a spontaneous and simultaneous outpouring of the Holy Spirit around the world. For starters, see Cecil M. Robeck, 'Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective,' *All Together in One Place: Theological Papers from the Brighton Conference on World Evangelization*, ed. H. D. Hunter and P. D. Hocken (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 166-80; Augusto Cerillo, 'Interpretive Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins,' *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 19, no. 1 (1997): 29-52. Despite some differing terminology, they agree on the basic outline of the history.

In Search of Pentecostal Identity

The question of any Christian movement's spirituality is of course closely tied to the question of its identity, i.e., who the people think they are.¹² Walter J. Hollenweger for decades has insisted that it was the early years of the emerging Pentecostal movement that gave the movement its *prodigium*. The first decade of the movement, says Hollenweger, forms the heart, not the infancy, of Pentecostal spirituality.¹³ Features such as orality of liturgy, narrativity of theology and witness, maximum participation at the level of reflection, prayer, and decision-making in a community characterized by inclusion and reconciliation, inclusion of dreams and visions into personal and public forms of worship, and a holistic understanding of the body-mind relationship reflected in the ministry of healing by prayer, were formative in the formation of the movement.¹⁴ For Hollenweger, thus, Pentecostalism represents a religious movement *sui generis*, 'eine neue Konfession,' which cannot be reduced to either Fundamentalism, Evangelicalism, or even to Protestantism as such.¹⁵ It was brought into existence, not by rational

¹² So for example Daniel Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit: A Ritual Approach to Pentecostal/Charismatic Spirituality* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 28, who speaks of an 'underlying or core spirituality' among various types of Pentecostals. Harvey Cox, the informed observer of Pentecostalism from Harvard University, is onto something significant in claiming that Pentecostals have a distinctive way of constructing reality and that it has influenced their understanding of mission and social concern. Cox posits that at the heart of the Pentecostal movement is a restoration of what might be termed 'primal spirituality.' With this term he refers to that largely unprocessed central fabric of humanity where an unending struggle for a sense of destiny and significance rages. For Cox, Pentecostalism represents a spiritual restoration of significance and purpose to lift the people from despair and hopelessness. Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1995), 81ff. Cox also speaks about 'primal piety' (pp. 99ff.) and 'primal hope' (pp. 111-22) in relation to distinctive Pentecostal spirituality. See further V.-M. Kärkkäinen, 'Free Churches, Ecumenism and Pentecostalism' in *Toward a Pneumatological Theology: Pentecostal and Ecumenical Perspectives on Ecclesiology, Soteriology, and Theology of Mission*, ed. Amos Yong (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2002), ch. 4; 'On Free Churches' Identity in Ecumenical Context: Pentecostalism as a Case Study,' *MID-STREAM: The Ecumenical Movement Today* (forthcoming)

¹³ Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988), 551. So also Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 14, 47.

¹⁴ W. J. Hollenweger, 'After Twenty Years' Research on Pentecostalism,' *International Review of Missions* 75 (January 1986): 6. More recently, Hollenweger ('From Azusa Street to Toronto Phenomenon: Historical Roots of Pentecostalism,' *Concilium* 3 [1996]: 3-14) has summarized the 'roots' of Pentecostalism in these terms: (1) the Black oral root; (2) the Catholic root, (3) the evangelical root, (4) the critical root, (5) the ecumenical root.

¹⁵ Hollenweger, 1993, 265.

theological analysis, but a sudden outpouring of the Spirit. Experience was first, then came doctrine.

In the beginning of the Roman Catholic-Pentecostal dialogue, a statement called 'Essence of Pentecostalism' was issued that sought to define the basic identity of Pentecostalism:

It is the personal and direct awareness and experiencing of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit by which the risen and glorified Christ is revealed and the believer is empowered to witness and worship with the abundance of life as described in Acts and the Epistles. The Pentecostal experience is not a goal to be reached, not a place to stand, but a door through which to go into a greater fullness of life in the Spirit. It is an event which becomes a way of life in which often charismatic manifestations have a place. Characteristic of this way of life is a love of the Word of God, fervency in prayer and witness in the world and to the world, and a concern to live by the power of the Holy Spirit.¹⁶

Full Gospel

Donald Dayton, in his seminal work *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*,¹⁷ has urged Pentecostals to understand themselves through a paradigm involving several theological factors. The four he identifies were present in a slightly different form in the American Wesleyan/Holiness Movement of the nineteenth century, but they were reconfigured in Pentecostal thinking and used in a powerful way in the form that Aimee Semple McPherson, the founder of the Foursquare Gospel, one of the oldest and biggest Pentecostal bodies, popularized them: Jesus was understood to be Saviour, Baptizer in the Holy Spirit, Divine Healer, and Coming King. To these were added still one aspect, rooted in the Holiness Movements from which Pentecostalism came, and consequently Pentecostals were known as 'Full Gospel' Christians. This full gospel consisted of five theological motifs:

1. Justification by faith in Christ;
2. Sanctification by faith as a second definite work of grace;
3. Healing of the body as provided for all in the atonement;
4. The pre-millennial return of Christ;
5. The baptism in the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in tongues.

¹⁶ Cited in Kärkkäinen, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*, 50-51.

¹⁷ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987).

This last motif came to be the most distinctive feature of classical Pentecostalism.¹⁸ Perhaps the ‘prophethood’ of all believers could be added to the priesthood of all believers as a sixth motif.¹⁹

I am of course aware that at times the term ‘Full Gospel’ is being used by Pentecostals in a way that borders on ideology, the implication being that other churches’ gospel is not as ‘full’ or as complete. While that kind of implicit critique no doubt was in mind by those who coined the term, in its best theological sense it is rather an attempt to identify the basic elements of a biblical gospel. As such it needs to be heard both as a legitimate self-identification and a call to other churches to pay attention to what Pentecostals perceive to be forgotten or lost parts of the gospel.

A look at any Pentecostal doctrinal manual shows that these four or five motifs are at the core of theological developments (that in turn is supposed to reflect authentically the underlying spirituality). Yet, as any movement, Pentecostalism employs the categories of the Five-fold Gospel in a creative and not always in a constant way. Typically, the distinctive features, especially Spirit-baptism and charisms, healing, and eschatology, receive separate treatments.²⁰ Justification by faith is either assumed or mentioned in passing except for those Pentecostal movements – such as the one in my homeland Finland, a predominantly Lutheran land – where it belongs to one of the key doctrines embraced.²¹ Holiness is another topic, widely debated among early Pentecostals (depending on their relation to preceding Wesleyan Holiness Movements²²) which either is taken for granted (closely related to the typical Protestant two-stage soteriology, as a next step from justification²³) or allocated a separate treatment. Take for example the book recently produced by British Pentecostals entitled *Pentecostal Perspectives*.²⁴ There are chapters on Spirit baptism, eschatology, as well as healing and exorcism. The topics of justification and sanctification do not receive separate treatments even though they are assumed. Interestingly enough, a chapter on revelation and the Bible has its own locus reflecting the strong emphasis on biblical authority among Pentecostals, linked with the close

¹⁸ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, 18.

¹⁹ Land.

²⁰ A good example is the widely used Pentecostal manual in the United States written by two leading Foursquare theologians: Guy P. Duffield and N. M. Van Cleave, *Foundations of Pentecostal Theology* (Los Angeles: L.I.F.E. Bible College, 1983).

²¹ Juhani Kuosmanen, *Raamatun opetuksia* (Vantaa: RV-Kirjat, 1993), 88-96; Mauri Viksten, *Terveen opin pääpiirteitä* (Vantaa: RV-Kirjat, 1980), 70-74.

²² For starters, see Dayton, *Theological Roots*, chs. 2, 3.

²³ For basic orientation into Pentecostal soteriology, see W. J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), ch. 19.

²⁴ Keith Warrington, ed. *Pentecostal Perspectives* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998).

relationship in the early decades with the Fundamentalist movement (that, ironically, otherwise resists the core Charismatic spirituality of Pentecostalism²⁵).

So far my analysis of the core themes of Pentecostal spirituality has strongly reflected Euro-American roots. There is no denying that the Azusa Street²⁶ and thus American influence has been determinative in the birthing of Pentecostalism even when its Black (African-American) contributions are properly acknowledged. Yet it is also a fact that various Pentecostalsisms of the world – definitely there is a need to speak in the plural because of the sheer diversity of Pentecostalism²⁷ – represent significantly different, yet not totally unrelated, spiritual movements from their Western counterparts. While indigenous and local Pentecostalsisms are flourishing all over the world, a lot of work is yet to be done in terms of recording their relation, on the one hand, to the roots of the movement and, on the other hand, the ways they are critiquing and expanding Pentecostalism.²⁸

²⁵ For an enlightening analysis of the uneasy relationship between Pentecostalism and Fundamentalism, see Gerald T. Sheppard, 'Pentecostalism and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship,' *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 6, no. 2 (1984): 5-34.

²⁶ For an authoritative account see Cecil M. Robeck, *Azusa Street: Mission and Revival* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2006 forthcoming). This book is the first fruit of a massive, meticulous study project on the origins of Pentecostalism in Southern California and beyond.

²⁷ For a recent discussion of emerging global Pentecostalsisms, see Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*; A. A. Anderson and W. J. Hollenweger, eds., *Pentecostals after a Century: Global Perspectives on a Movement in Transition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999). 'Pentecostals are multi-cultural . . . if for no other reason than that they are found around the world,' argues Cecil M. Robeck, and therefore he suggests, among others, that we need to speak of Pentecostalsisms rather than Pentecostalism (as a single phenomenon). C. M. Robeck, 'Taking Stock of Pentecostalism,' *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 15, no. 1 (1993): 45.

²⁸ For a helpful beginning, see Allan H. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). The main challenge faced by theological analysts of Pentecostalism is that despite the rapid growth of academic theology and theologians in the past two or three decades, still so much of Pentecostal spirituality exists in oral or other nondiscursive forms, especially from the early formative years and in traditions outside the West. The comment by J. Hollenweger, however, is a healthy reminder to us: Taken seriously this offers a real possibility of discovering a methodology of theology in an *oral* culture where the medium of communication is – just as in biblical times – not the definition, but the description; not the statement, but the story; not the doctrine but the testimony. . . . Whoever denies that one can do proper theology in these categories will have to prove that the Bible is not a theological book. Our way of doing theology is a culturally biased form (yet necessarily so, in our culture!). There are other equally relevant forms of doing theology. Pentecostalism offers raw materials and elements for such an alternative methodology.' W. J. Hollenweger, 'Charisma and *Oikumene*: The Pentecostal Contribution to the Church Universal,' *One in Christ* 7 (1971): 332-33.

'Meeting with the Lord'

As the preceding analysis indicates, Pentecostalism is about 'meeting with the Lord.' This can happen in more than one way; *spiritus ubi vult spirat* (Jn 3:8). Worship services for Pentecostals are looked upon as a crucial event of encounter. In the words of Daniel Albrecht, the researcher of Pentecostal spirituality and ritual:²⁹

In a very real sense the Sunday services of . . . [Pentecostal] churches are designed to provide a context for a mystical *encounter*, an experience with the divine. This encounter is mediated by the sense of the immediate divine presence. The primary rites of worship and altar/response are particularly structured to sensitize the congregants to the presence of the divine and to stimulate conscious experience of God. . . . The gestures, ritual actions, and symbols all function within this context to speak of the manifest presence.

The centrality of the worship service as the place of meeting with the Lord for Pentecostals is not diminished by the obvious fact that in the originally – and still among many non-Western cultures – 'free expressive worship' style, 'stylizations and patterns of worship have emerged.'³⁰ In the beginning of the movement – and again, in indigenous and local Pentecostalism around the world – the kinesthetic dimension plays a significant place in worship, another expression of incarnational spirituality.. Daniel E. Albrecht rightly calls bodily movements 'another important iconic role in Pentecostal ritual' even though this feature has also invited a lot of critique from the established churches; 'holy rollers' was the derogatory nomenclature for these enthusiasts.

For Pentecostals 'worship' is another way of saying 'presence of God.'³¹ The Holy Spirit is not the centre of the worship. Jesus Christ and God are, in the power of the Spirit. Related to the centrality of the longing for meeting with the Lord is the centrality of experience.³² While *experience* is a loaded

²⁹ Daniel E. Albrecht, 'Pentecostal Spirituality: Looking through the Lens of Ritual,' *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 14, no. 2 (1996): 21.

³⁰ Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit*, 97.

³¹ Albrecht, 'Pentecostal Spirituality,' 9.

³² For the centrality of experience in the spiritual life see the important works by the Jesuit Donald L. Gelpi, no stranger to Charismatic Spirituality (while not part of the movement itself), *Experiencing God: A Theology of Human Emergence* (New York: University Press of America, 1987) and *The Turn to Experience in Contemporary Theology* (New York: Paulist Press, 1994). From a Lutheran perspective with a view to Lutheran Charismatics, see Markku Antola, *The Experience of Christ's Real Presence in Faith: An*

term in contemporary theology, it is absolutely impossible to understand Pentecostal spirituality and the Full Gospel apart from this category. Elsewhere³³ I have recently argued that the worship service with its expectation of this encounter is the structuring principle of Pentecostal spirituality.

The stress on experience can of course at times lead to overemphasis on emotionalism. However, it still is the case that even to begin to understand this spiritual tradition, speaking of experience is essential. . . . Spontaneity and openness to the leading of the Spirit characterize church life. Even where worship services are being planned, the focus is on being open to the leading of the Spirit. Therefore, those who come to the worship prepare themselves by praying to God for his manifestation. . . . Encounter with God is the central feature of the Pentecostal-Charismatic spirituality. The goal of the sermon is not only to share spiritual teaching; the ultimate goal of a Pentecostal sermon, similarly to prayer and praise, is an authentic and fresh meeting with the Lord. This is of course not unrelated to the emphasis on experience. A typical Pentecostal worship meeting culminates in the altar call where people are being invited by the preacher to come forward to be prayed for in order to meet with the Lord, be it about becoming a believer, healing a sickness, or getting help with finances.

Expectation of and prayer for divine healing is yet another way of encountering the Lord, the Healer in the power of the Spirit.³⁴ As the Pentecostal New Testament scholar from Great Britain Keith Warrington notes,

The prime motivational force has . . . been the fact that Jesus healed, and the record of the Gospels that he healed all who came to him. Jesus is seen to be the paradigm for the contemporary Christian.³⁵ This is what Pentecostals have offered as an 'anthropological protest against modernity . . . [by] providing a medium for encountering supernatural . . . [and] fus[ing] the natural and supernatural, the emotional and rational, the charismatic and institutional in a decidedly postmodern way.

Analysis on the Christ-Presence-Motif in the Lutheran Charismatic Renewal (Helsinki: Schriften der Luther-Agricola Gesellschaft 43, 1998), ch. 2.

³³ V.-M. Kärkkäinen, 'Vapaakristillisuus, helluntailaisuus ja baptismi,' *Teoksessa Kirkkotiedon kirja: Ekumeneinen johdatus kirkkojen oppiin ja elämään*, toim. Pekka Metso ja Esko Ryökäs (Helsinki: Kirjapaja, 2005), 312 (my translation).

³⁴ For a fascinating, delightfully critical theological look at the topic of healing, including abuses of healing practices among some Pentecostal healing preachers, see Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, ch. 18.

³⁵ Keith Warrington, 'Healing and Exorcism: The Path to Wholeness,' in *Pentecostal Perspectives*, ed. K. Warrington, 147. For the influence of the divine healing movements of the nineteenth century on Pentecostalism, see Dayton, *Theological Roots*, ch. 5.

This holistic Pentecostal worldview by 'its belief in and experience of the paranormal' can legitimately be called an 'alternate *Weltanschauung* for our instrumental rational modern society.'³⁶ While Pentecostals do not usually resort to the language of sacramentality, the sacramental principle of embodiment – Word becoming flesh in the incarnation – is clearly at operation here.³⁷ The healing and restoring power of the Spirit as experienced in the encounter with Christ the Healer is the hallmark of this wholistic spirituality. With all its anti-sacramental mindset, there are times when especially at the Eucharistic table there is an expectation of being touched by the healing power of Christ.³⁸

Other ways of meeting with the Lord are being appreciated and sought for among Pentecostals such as empowerment with spiritual gifts in order to be equipped for service and witnessing as well as in one's prayer life. For the purposes of this essay, however, enough has been said of the underlying core motif in Pentecostal spirituality that reflects the Full Gospel. Meeting with the Lord is the 'thing' in Pentecostalism. While it can easily degenerate into an exercise in individual piety, from the beginnings Pentecostalism has been a thoroughly communal spirituality. The paradigm of the early church as recorded especially in the Book of Acts – the favourite book of the Pentecostals – is communal in orientation.³⁹ What the Reformed theologian Michael Welker of Heidelberg says about the importance of communion in a biblical theology of the Spirit can easily be applied to the Pentecostal emphasis on community:

³⁶ I found this citation in Timothy B. Cargal, 'Beyond the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy: Pentecostals and Hermeneutics in a Postmodern Age,' *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 15, no. 2 (1993): 163.

³⁷ There have been attempts by some Pentecostal theologians to find commonalities between Pentecostal spirituality, especially its emphasis on *glossolalia*, speaking in tongues, as a way of 'securing' the divine presence and sacraments as 'signs' of the divine presence. While there are some connecting points, I also think the differences are so dramatic that at the most one can only point to some common underlying motifs behind *glossolalia* and, say, the Eucharist. See further, Frank Macchia, 'Tongues as a Sign: Towards a Sacramental Understanding of Pentecostal Experience,' *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 15, no. 1 (1993): 61-76.

³⁸ This motif was discussed in the Catholic-Pentecostal dialogue. See Kärkkäinen, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*, 397-406.

³⁹ This was widely discussed in the Catholic-Pentecostal dialogue. The third round of talks concentrated on the topic of *koinonia*. It was also part of the fourth quinquennium when missionary implications of *koinonia* were discussed. See V.-M. Kärkkäinen, *Ad ultimum terrae: Evangelization, Proselytism and Common Witness in the Roman Catholic-Pentecostal Dialogue 1990-1997*, Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity 117 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999), 109-13 especially.

The Spirit produces a new unanimity in the people of God, frees the people from the consequences of the powerlessness brought about by their own 'sin,' and raises up the life that has been beaten down by oppression. . . . In all the early attestations to the experience of God's Spirit, what is initially and immediately at issue is the restoration of an internal order, at least of new commitment, solidarity, and loyalty. The direct result of the descent of God's Spirit is the gathering, the joining together of people who find themselves in distress. The support of their fellow persons is acquired; a new community, a new commitment is produced after the descent of the Spirit.⁴⁰

*'Charismatic Experience as the Presence of Christ in the Spirit'*⁴¹

The purposes of ecumenical dialogues are many and variegated. To begin with, it is always helpful on the one hand to learn from the other tradition and present one's own tradition in a non-confrontational way. A further goal is to begin to look for bridges and common points between the two spiritual movements, not in terms of either trying to deny differences, nor being enthused by superficial or surface 'commonalities.' Rather, the goal is to work hard to find out if what seem to be common denominators are such and in what way.

In this questioning spirit, let me suggest to the dialogue process that one potential way of pursuing common talks between Lutherans and Pentecostals is to look at the key motif present in both spiritualities even when differently expressed. Recent inquiry into Martin Luther's view of justification has discovered that the idea of 'Christ present in faith' (*in ipsa fide Christus adest*) in the Holy Spirit is the key idea in the Reformer's doctrine. This is a leading idea in the New Paradigm of Luther studies as advocated by my *Doktorvater* Tuomo Mannermaa and his school at the University of Helsinki.⁴² This Christocentric pneumatological idea may not be too distant from Pentecostalism's charismatic spirituality centered on the encounter with Christ. An incentive to inquiring into the potential of this approach comes from the fact that recently a monograph has been published by the Finnish Lutheran theologian Markku Antola in which the Charismatic

⁴⁰ Michael Welker, *God the Spirit* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 52, 57.

⁴¹ Subheading taken from Antola, *Experience of Christ's Real Presence*, 56.

⁴² Tuomo Mannermaa, *Der im Glauben gegenwärtige Christus: Rechtfertigung und Vergottung zum ökumenischen Dialog, Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums*, Band 8 (Hannover: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1989). Significant parts of that work can be found in the recent English translation: Mannermaa, *Christ Present in Faith: Luther's View of Justification* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 2005).

Lutheran theology has been connected with mainstream Lutheranism via the key idea of the 'Charismatic Experience as the Presence of Christ in Faith.'⁴³ Based on the theological proceedings of a work of an international team of more than twenty Lutheran theologians titled *Welcome, Holy Spirit*,⁴⁴ Antola discusses the New Perspective in relation to key emphases of the Charismatic Lutheran theology and renewal.

Since I have recently published a monograph on the ecumenical significance of the New Perspective on Luther studies,⁴⁵ there is no need to engage in an extensive discussion here. Briefly put, the New Paradigm insists that for Luther the main idea of justification is Christ present in faith (*in ipsa fide Christus adest*). Justification for Luther means a 'real-ontic' participation in God through the indwelling of Christ in the heart of the believer through the Spirit. Thus, in contrast to the theology of the Lutheran Confessions, Luther does not make a distinction between forensic and effective justification a theological theme, but rather, he argues that justification includes both. As a result of the presence of Christ in the heart of the believer through the Spirit, the believer now united with Christ becomes 'Christ to the neighbour,'⁴⁶ doing the works of Christ. While as *simul iustus et peccator* constantly in need of repentance and mortification of the sinful nature, the believer in union with Christ with the help of the indwelling Spirit is being conformed to the image of Christ.

The Charismatic theology of Lutheranism describes charismatic experience as the presence of the Triune God through his Spirit.⁴⁷ The actual purpose of the Holy Spirit's work is to create faith in Christ and lead the believer into a 'living union' with Christ. 'But the Holy Spirit alone creates true faith, whereby one is actually united with the living Christ as the present and redeeming Lord.'⁴⁸ *Welcome Holy Spirit* put it this way:⁴⁹

'If any one is in Christ, he is a new creation' (2 Cor. 5:17). The newness is not simply the fact that human nature has been forgiven and cleansed. That is, in a sense, preparation. The newness goes deeper: a person now lives in union with the risen Christ. That which has been created, the 'new creation,'

⁴³ Subheading in Antola, *Experience of Christ's Real Presence*, 56.

⁴⁴ Larry Christenson, ed. *Welcome, Holy Spirit: A Study of Charismatic Renewal in the Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1987).

⁴⁵ V.-M. Kärkkäinen, *One With God: Salvation as Deification and Justification* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004).

⁴⁶ See further V.-M. Kärkkäinen, 'Christian as Christ to the Neighbor,' *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 6, no. 2 (April 2004): 101-17.

⁴⁷ Antola, *Experience of Christ's Real Presence*, 53-56 especially.

⁴⁸ Christenson, *Welcome Holy Spirit*, 141.

⁴⁹ Christenson, 57.

is precisely the reality of the indwelling Spirit establishing and maintaining the risen Christ and the believer in a living union. Every believer must experience the reality of the indwelling Christ.

Employing Luther's language, the Charismatic theology maintains that 'in the faith itself Christ is present.'⁵⁰ In addition, 'Faith describes the whole action by which the Holy Spirit brings the living, redeeming presence of Christ into a living union with a human being. The initiative and the power to accomplish this, lies with the Spirit.'⁵¹ Similarly to Pentecostalism, the Charismatic Lutheran theologians insisted that 'at the centre of the charismatic renewal is not an idea but Jesus himself, the Living one, present and active among his people by the working of the Holy Spirit.'⁵²

In Lieu of Conclusions: Steps forward in the Lutheran-Pentecostal Dialogue

Enough has been said to the effect that there are some common motifs running through these two spiritualities – the Lutheran tradition based on Luther's own writings and the Pentecostal movement – focusing on the encounter with Christ in the power of the Spirit. It is left to the dialogue process to elucidate potential further commonalities such as a desire for a holistic spirituality, including healing and restoration, an integral connection between justification and sanctification (often separated in later Lutheranism in a way not consistent with the Reformer's own thought, yet connected in the Charismatic theology of Lutheranism⁵³), the role of good works and ethical incentive, emphasis on mission and social justice, and so on. At the moment, all that can be said is that here is a place to start off and from which to continue conversation.

Besides commonalities, a genuine dialogue also brings to light differences. To begin with, Lutheran theology is sacramental, Pentecostal is not. Most likely, their theological anthropologies are quite different as is, I guess, the view of the role that human will plays in salvation.⁵⁴ Luther's theology of the cross, on the other hand, could be a healthy reminder for Pentecostals of a sometimes somewhat one-sided emphasis on a victorious Christian living at the expense of suffering and failures.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Christenson 142-43.

⁵¹ Christenson 69.

⁵² Christenson 57 n. 31.

⁵³ See further, Christenson, 61-67.

⁵⁴ For an interesting discussion among Charismatic Lutheran theologians about the concept of cooperation, see Christenson, *Welcome Holy Spirit*, 67-71.

⁵⁵ Again, from a Charismatic Lutheran perspective, see an interesting discussion of the theology of cross in Christenson, *Welcome Holy Spirit*, 72-75. See also V.-M. Kärkkäinen,

Other questions between Lutherans and Pentecostals include the issue of baptism with the Holy Spirit, a key theme for Pentecostals, and its relation to Lutheran sacramental theology⁵⁶ and the relationship between the Word and the Spirit, to mention two the most obvious ones.

⁵⁶ 'On a Theology and the Spirituality of the Cross,' in *Toward a Pneumatological Theology*, ed. A. Yong, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2002) ch. 12; 'Theology of the Cross: A Stumbling Block to Pentecostal-Charismatic Spirituality,' in *The Spirit and Spirituality: Essays in Honour of Russell P. Spittler*, ed. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (London/New York: T & T Clark International/Continuum, 2004), 150-63.
See further, *Welcome Holy Spirit*, ch. 3.

F.F. Bosworth and the Role of Women in His life and Ministry

Roscoe Barnes III¹

Abstract

F.F. Bosworth was one of the few Pentecostal pioneers who played a key role in two major revival movements in the United States. As a young man during the early 1900s, he participated in the revival that spread from Azusa Street; and in his later years, he participated in the post-World War II revival that swept over the United States. Though he died in 1958, the impact of his ministry remains strong to this day, especially among Word of Faith churches. His book, *Christ the Healer*, is still in print and is required reading at Rhema Bible Training Centre. Although much is known about Bosworth's teaching on divine healing, especially his emphasis on 'word confession' and the belief that healing is in the atonement, there is little known about his personal life. This article sheds light on the people who may have had the greatest impact on his development as a famous healing evangelist.

Introduction:

Fred Francis Bosworth (1877-1958), author of *Christ the Healer* (2002), was considered one of the most successful healing evangelists of the 20th century (Chappel 2003:368; Osborn 1950:83; Sumrall 1995:3; Lindsay, *Voice of Healing* April 1948:4). Today, when his name is mentioned, it is often associated with the men who were part of the Healing and Pentecostal movements of the early and mid-1900s. Surprisingly, however, there is little said about the women he knew (Burgess, McGee & Alexander 1988; Jacobsen 2003; Weaver 2000; Simmons 1997).

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While the focus on the men in his life may be justified, the evidence suggests that much of his success as a healing evangelist may be attributed to the work of women, some of whom were full-time preachers. At a time when women were viewed as being subservient to men, and women preachers were generally frowned upon (Stewart 1999:16, 17), Bosworth resisted the status quo and eagerly engaged their assistance in many areas of his ministry. From his conversion as a teenager, to the end of his ministry at 81, he relied on women in all aspects of his work (Perkins 1921 & 1927; Gardiner 1990; Woodworth-Etter 1916).

At the dawn of the Pentecostal movement in the United States, women held leadership roles and key positions throughout the church (Riss 1988: 83). This was especially true in the case of Bosworth.

The purpose of this article is to identify the women in Bosworth's life and explain how they contributed to his development as a famous healing evangelist. This will help today's Pentecostals to remember the past and get thereby orientation for the potential and presence of women in the ministry. The basic argument for this study was derived from a historical case study of Bosworth that sought to identify the people who were most influential in his life and ministry.

His conversion and reported healing

Bosworth was born on Jan. 17, 1877, on a farm near Utica, Nebraska. He was the son of Burton and Amelia Bosworth (Perkins 1921; Sumrall 1995:38). In 1894, when he was 16 years of age, Bosworth worked as a travelling salesman. One day while travelling throughout Nebraska, he visited a friend by the name of Maude Green. She was several years his senior and she lived in Omaha. During the visit, Green invited young Bosworth to attend a revival meeting at the First Methodist Church. He agreed to go and once he was there, she urged him to go up to the altar and find salvation. Bosworth did as she requested and became a born again Christian (Perkins 1921:24, 25; Jacobsen 2003:291).

This experience, initiated by an older woman, would prove to be a turning point in Bosworth's life as it changed his outlook and set the path for his future as a minister of the gospel.

During the winter of 1896, Bosworth became ill after assisting a doctor who was treating a man with a gunshot wound. Bosworth's illness grew worse and resulted in tuberculosis. Believing he would soon die from the disease, Bosworth wanted to say goodbye to his family that had moved to

Fitzgerald, Georgia. So he took train to the south, coughing severely along the way (Perkins 1921:28; Jacobsen 2003:291, 292).

While in Fitzgerald, Bosworth attended a Methodist church where a woman by the name of Mattie Perry was holding revival meetings. When he went up to meet Perry, she told him he was too young to die and that God had a work for him. She said:

Fred Bosworth, you are young. You are a Christian, and if you died today, you would go straight to Heaven. But I am here to tell you that if you die today, it will be the most selfish act you have ever committed. God's plan is that we should live to be at least three score and ten (Ps 90:10). What about all the people that God has ordained for you to reach? (Bosworth 2002:243, 244).

Bosworth then asked her to pray for him, which she did, and he was instantly healed. This moment of crisis in Bosworth's life may be viewed as another critical step in his development as a healing evangelist. Once again, a woman was used of God to assist him in a significant way. Years later, Perry would assist him in one of his large evangelistic healing campaigns (Perry 1939:230)

His first marriage

While living in Fitzgerald, Bosworth held numerous jobs, which included such work as a city clerk, barber and postmaster. It was during this time that he also fell in love. He was 23 when he married 18-year-old Estella Hyde, who was the daughter of a Chicago, Ill., pioneer family (Perkins 1921:32). Their wedding took place on 8 November 1900, followed by a honeymoon in Savannah, Georgia (*The Fitzgerald Enterprise* 1900: 4).

Although little is known about the couple's relationship, Estella would apparently play a major role in future revival meetings. For the most part, knowledge about her work is reported after her untimely death in 1919 (Perkins 1921:99-108). It was at this time that Bosworth wrote about her contributions. In a letter to his daughter (20 November 1919) and in an article published in *The Pentecostal Evangel* (29 November 1919: 10), he suggested that Estella's work for the Lord was unmistakable and that she was used mightily as his partner to lead many people to Christ.

His Pentecostal experience

In the early 1900s, Bosworth and his family moved from Fitzgerald, Georgia, to Zion City, Illinois, where he sat under the ministry of John Alexander Dowie (Perkins 1921; Jacobsen 2003). A famous faith healer from Australia, Dowie had founded Zion as a Christian Utopia with strict holiness practices (Cook 1996). When Bosworth arrived, Dowie hired him as a band leader and he soon gained fame as a talented musician (Perkins 1921:36).

In 1904, a woman referred to as 'Mrs. Waldron' visited the Christian community and introduced the Pentecostal message of the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues (Riss 1988:893). Within two years the message had taken root. However, it was on 20 September 1906, that Pentecostal pioneer Charles Parham visited the community and took the Pentecostal message to a new level. He came to the city at the request of several prominent citizens who had heard about his Pentecostal message. Essentially, he preached that the restoration of the spiritual gifts mentioned in 1 Cor 12 was a sign of the last days (Gardiner 1990:x).

By 15 October the number of Parham's followers had grown to two hundred. Feeling overwhelmed by the growth, he contacted his staff in Kansas and requested the assistance of his co-workers, Mabel Smith and Jessie Brown, of Joplin, Missouri (Gardiner 1990:5). Smith was a young widow who frequently spoke in tongues with interpretation. Her work was complemented by Brown who worked closely with those seeking the Pentecostal experience (Gardiner 1990:334).

Like others in Zion, Bosworth was initially intrigued by the teachings of Parham and his co-workers, and he began using his home as a meeting place for those who wanted this spiritual experience. After several weeks of meetings, Bosworth had not spoken in tongues, but he was earnestly seeking the manifestation of the Spirit (Gardiner 1990).

One of those seeking the experience was Marie Burgess, who had told her mother that the baptism in the Holy Spirit was the only gift she desired on her birthday, which was 18 October 1906. On the night of 18 October, she attended a meeting at which Jesse Brown was teaching and she received exactly what she had been praying for, and more. In addition to speaking in tongues, she also received a vision that reportedly lasted for several hours (Gardiner 1990:6). Bosworth, who was present during this meeting, watched in awe as Marie Burgess received the Pentecostal baptism. This experience by this godly woman inspired him to press harder in his faith and commitment. Later that night, as Brown talked about praising God in faith for what 'we believed we were to receive,' the Spirit fell on Bosworth. He

jumped out of his seat and burst out in tongues and sat down (Gardiner 1990:334).

Another person who spoke in tongues that day was Jean Campbell, who would later work with Bosworth during his early revival meetings in Indiana. She would gain notoriety for speaking in tongues that were understood as recognized languages by people in her audience (Gardiner 1990:5; *The Latter Rain Evangel* December 1908; *The Tribune* 1907? [sic]; *The Waukegan Gazette* 2 January 1907).

These events on 18 October 1906, show that once again women had been used of God to play a pivotal role in Bosworth's life. Soon after this experience, Bosworth reported he received more than tongues when he was baptized in the Spirit: He also was healed of a lung condition from playing the cornet, and he received the calling to preach. (Bosworth n.d.:78)

His early revival meetings

In April 1907, Bosworth began working with Cyrus B. Fockler, a recent recipient of the Pentecostal experience who had served as an Elder under Dowie's ministry. Fockler became affiliated with Dowie's work in 1899 (Gardiner 1990:12). Incidentally his life also had been transformed by the ministry of a woman. He found Christ as Saviour following the miraculous healing of his mother through the ministry of Evangelist Maria Woodworth-Etter (Warner 1986:211). Since he was an admirer of this woman preacher, it is likely that he was the person who introduced her writings to young Bosworth, who would say later that he read her books continually for five years (Woodworth-Etter 1916:172).

It was while working with Fockler that Bosworth witnessed a dramatic healing that became well publicized. The two men had been invited by John G. Lake to hold revival meetings Milwaukee, Wis. Lake, who would later gain fame as a healing evangelist and missionary to South Africa, had served as a deacon under Dowie (Burpeau 2004; Goodner 2000:17). It was only a few days after the meetings began that Fockler and Bosworth learned of a girl by the name of Alice Baumbach, who was dying of tuberculosis. The following is a report of the event:

She and her mother believed the teaching regarding 'God's loving will for us,' and surrendered themselves entirely to the Lord. On a third visit to the home, Brother Fockler and Brother Bosworth laid hands upon her and prayed. The doctors had said that if she stood on her feet it would mean instant death, but when prayer was offered, she felt the power of God flow

through her body, asked for her clothes rose, dressed, and walked immediately -- perfectly healed! (Gardiner 1990:12, 13)

This reported healing of Alice Baumbach was instrumental in attracting people for the founding of the Milwaukee Gospel Tabernacle (Gardiner 1990:13; Fockler n.d. 9). Presumably, it also was the springboard for Bosworth's future ministry as a healing evangelist.

In 1908 he spent a large percentage of his time preaching throughout Indiana. He and Fockler held tent meetings where they worked side-by-side with a number of Pentecostal women, including Jean Campbell, Edith Baugh and Bernice Lee. Like Campbell, Lee became widely known for speaking in tongues that were understood by people in the audience. According to Bosworth, this happened a number of times with these women. On one occasion, while Lee was speaking at a United Brethren Church in LaPaz, Indiana, 'the precious Holy Spirit spoke through her in German, every word of which was understood by a German lady in the audience (*The Latter Rain Evangel* December 1908:7, 8).

If the reports are true, the revival meetings held in Indiana were anything but ordinary. In fact, they reportedly had a number of signs that were similar to those described in the book of Acts. People were saved and instantly healed. Demons were cast out and people spoke in tongues. On at least two occasions, people attending the meetings reported seeing a large 'ball of fire' and a 'half-bushel of 'tongues of fire'' during the move of the Holy Spirit (*The Latter Rain Evangel* December 1908:7, 8).

In one service, according to Bosworth, the Spirit came upon a woman from LaPaz in such a way that she delivered a messaged in tongues that was interpreted by 'a sister on the platform.' In *The Latter Rain Evangel* (December 1908: 7, 8) he wrote: 'The glory of God that accompanied her mighty baptism in the Spirit so blinded her that she could see nothing until she was through speaking.'

The influence of Charles Parham, and his co-workers, Jessie Brown and Mabel Smith, was clearly seen on Bosworth's ministry during these revival meetings. For he emphasized prayer and the teaching of tongues as the initial evidence of the Spirit baptism. His belief in this doctrine was undoubtedly reinforced by the experiences of the women who ministered with him.

Toward the end of 1908, Bosworth wrote a letter about the Indiana meetings and submitted it to *The Latter Rain Evangel*. It was published as an article entitled, 'Confirming the Word by Signs Following.' This is believed to be the first published report on Bosworth's ministry and it was published by women editors (*Bread of Life* n.d.).

His revival meetings in Texas

After two years of working with Cyrus B. Fockler and the women who ministered with him in Indiana, Bosworth moved to Dallas, Texas. The move occurred in 1909 (Loftis 1992:7). And despite his assurance of being led of God, and his good intentions of starting a church, his work in Texas would be anything but easy. In fact, his work began with a number of sacrifices, one of which was a lack of money for food. Consequently, he found himself praying constantly to have his daily needs met. To his delight, the Lord never failed him. One example of an answer to prayer concerned the provision of food. Bosworth described the experience as follows:

I had a fellow worker with me at the time, and on one occasion when we went to pray he prayed for our needs. He only said a few words, 'Lord, Thou knowest our need. Please send us some food,' or something like that, and then we went on to pray for the revival. While we were praying there was a knock at the door and I went to open it. A lady was there, and she handed me some parcels, saying that she had been told to leave them at our house. The parcels contained meat, vegetables and groceries.

Later on she came to the meetings and got blessed and then she told us how she had come to give us those things that morning. She said she was passing the house, and the Lord told her to leave food there. She hesitated because she did not even know who lived there, and she walked on thinking it must have been her own imagination. But the Lord told her again, and felt she must obey' (Bosworth, n.d.:9, 10).

According to Loftis (1992: 7), Bosworth was the person who introduced the Pentecostal message to Dallas, Texas. He and his assistant minister, the Rev. Elias G. Birdsall, began holding revival meetings in their homes, something Bosworth had done in Zion City, Illinois. At times, he and Birdsall held meetings outdoors with seats made of logs. Since Bosworth was a noted musician, his music often attracted large crowds to the meetings.

In 1910, Bosworth began holding meetings in an old tent that was given to him. He continued to preach, pray and play his trombone. However, in 1911, he started holding open-air meetings combined with his tent services. It was at one of these services that a woman by the name of Miss Harriet Watson 'received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, becoming the first known person in Dallas, Texas, to "speak with other tongues"' (Loftis 1992: 7).

Bosworth soon began holding revival meetings in Dallas that would become well attended and highly publicized. It all started with an invitation to a woman evangelist. Inspired by the writings of Maria Woodworth-Etter, Bosworth felt prompted to write her a letter and invite her to his church. In April 1912, he made a personal visit to one of her meetings in Indianapolis, Ind. He wrote:

During the three days' visit I witnessed some wonderful healing by the power of God, and met personally many who were wonderfully healed by the laying on of hands. Brother and Sister Etter also felt that God as leading them to Dallas, so they came and began labor with us July 25th, 1912' (Woodworth-Etter 1916:172, 173).

From July to December, the 68-year-old woman evangelist ministered to thousands of people, many of whom were saved and instantly healed of all sorts of sickness and disease, according to Bosworth (Letter to his brother, 19 September 1912). Many frequently fell prostrate on the floor (or on the ground) under the power of the Spirit. Warner (1986:164) wrote that the meetings proved to be a key Pentecostal rendezvous. As word spread about the meetings, people from all over the U.S. began to flock to the church. Jacobsen wrote:

Many believed that Bosworth's church in Dallas might become the new centre of the Spirit's work as the power faded from Los Angeles and the Azusa Street Mission. The Dallas revival was not, however, a mere reduplication or continuation of the Azusa revival. Evangelism and healing played a much larger role at Dallas than had been the case in Los Angeles, where most participants in the meetings had been previously converted Christians who were seeking the additional blessing of the baptism of the Holy Spirit (Jacobsen 2003: 292, 293).

Of all the women Bosworth had worked with, Woodworth-Etter was the most famous. She also was probably the one who had the greatest impact on his ministry. For several years he had read her writings religiously and he publicly endorsed her biography (Woodworth-Etter 1916:172, 160). Now, in person, he had the privilege of being an eye-witness to what God was doing through her. He eagerly watched as God used her to spur church growth by leading thousands of people to Christ. Through this relationship, he met some of the most prestigious names in the Pentecostal movement. According to Warner (Warner 1986:165): 'The list of influential Pentecostals who

flocked to the Dallas reads like a 'Who's Who' of early Pentecostalism.' Leaders included Carrie Judd Montgomery, a healing evangelist and editor of *The Triumphs of Faith*, and Stanley Frodsham. Frodsham would later become editor of *The Pentecostal Evangel* and biographer of Smith Wigglesworth (Warner 1986:165; Riss 1988:893).

Another area in which Bosworth may have been influenced by Woodworth-Etter was her preaching style. She exhibited a style that was simple and yet fervent. In an article for *Triumphs of Faith*, Carie Judd Montgomery wrote (in Woodworth-Etter 1916): 'Mrs. Etter preaches the gospel in great simplicity and power, backing up all her remarks by quotations from the Word of God.' A similar style would become the trademark of Bosworth's own healing campaign (Nelson 1921; Perkins 1921). Her emphasis on salvation -- and not healing -- would also be duplicated by Bosworth throughout his ministry (Perkins 1927).

Although she was known for having visions and falling into trances for extended periods of time (Warner 1988:900, 901; Stewart 1999:19), Woodworth-Etter frequently discouraged fanaticism and sensationalism in an attempt to maintain dignity and order in her meetings. Bosworth, in later years, would take similar steps to maintain order (Perkins 1921; Nelson 1921).

It seems apparent that Woodworth-Etter treated young Bosworth as her spiritual son. At the conclusion of her five-month campaign, Stanley H. Frodsham (in Woodworth-Etter 1916:167, 168) made this observation: 'Especially pathetic was her farewell to Bros. Bosworth and Birdsall [Bosworth's assistant minister], 'these two dear boys,' as this mother in Israel called them. She appealed to all to stand by them.'

In 1914, Bosworth served as a delegate for the First General Council of the Assemblies of God at Hot Springs, Ark. He later became one of 16 members of its executive presbytery. However, his position with the Assemblies of God would not last long because he disagreed with the church insistence that 'tongues' was the initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit (Riss 1988:94). Bosworth believed that 'tongues' was only one of the evidences of the Spirit baptism, and that speaking in tongues was not necessarily a sign of a true baptism (Perkins 1921; Sumrall 1995). On July 24, 1918, he turned in his ordination papers (Bosworth, Letter of Resignation).

By 1915, the revival meetings in Dallas were still growing in attendance and in the number of people being saved, healed and filled with the Spirit. It was during this time that Bosworth invited a 72-year-old woman preacher to fill his pulpit. Her name was Elizabeth Sisson. Dubbed the 'Shaking Matron' by the press because of her peculiar shaking motion when preaching

(Warner 1986:228), she was a former missionary to India and a friend of Marie Woodworth-Etter, whom she met in 1889. She also had once served as the associate editor of *Triumphs of Faith* (Robeck 1988: 788, 789). Interestingly enough Sisson also had a controversial past. Back in the 1800s she promoted a mistaken prediction that Oakland and San Francisco, Calif., would be destroyed. Despite her past error in judgment, for four months, Sisson ministered with Bosworth in his Dallas church.

His loss of a loved-one

It should be noted that throughout the revival in Dallas, Bosworth also worked closely with his wife, Estella. Not infrequently, she worked to exhaustion, even to the point of illness, in her efforts to support her husband's ministry. Each time, however, she found healing and strength following prayer and rest. But in 1919, she contracted influenza and TB, illnesses that would lead to her death on 16 November of that year.

The death affected Bosworth in a number of ways, despite his efforts to remain strong in the presence of the church (Perkins 1921). After all, this was the second loss in his family; his son, Vernon, had died a few years earlier (Perkins 1921:100). Aside from the grief that was brought on by the deaths, the loss probably had an impact on Bosworth's view of healing. For over 10 years he reportedly had witnessed miraculous healings in answer to prayer. At the same time, he witnessed many people who were not healed. Consequently he believed it was not always God's will to heal the sick. Of course, his view would later change (Perkins 1921:114). But at this time, his view was possibly reinforced by the loss of his wife. While his theology was possibly changed by the loss, his faith in God and in Heaven remained strong.

Through this brief marriage, Bosworth discovered the importance of having a godly wife and the critical role that she could play in his life and ministry. Not long after this tragic loss, he threw himself into his work as an evangelist. He soon found success in the ministry of divine healing, through which thousands of people – and eventually one million – discovered faith in Christ (Gardiner 1990:7). Despite losing his wife, he became convinced by Scripture that healing was in the atonement of Christ and that it was absolutely God's will for all believers to be healed (Perkins 1921).

His authorized biography

The decade of the 1920s would prove to be a time of extraordinary growth for Bosworth. As usual, he worked side-by-side with women leaders in many areas of his ministry. On the heels of his successful evangelistic healing campaigns in 1920 and 1921, he began the new decade with an authorized biography that was written by Eunice M. Perkins. The author, who lived in Detroit, Michigan., the place of an early Bosworth campaign, was both humbled and grateful to write the biography. She entitled the book, *Joybringer Bosworth: His Life Story* (1921). In the preface of the book, she wrote:

It is a satisfaction to have part in announcing that hundreds who lived in gross darkness have verily seen the Light of the world. It is a privilege to aid in making known that thousands of thirsty wayfarers are drinking copiously of the Fountain which is eternal. It is a delight to help tell abroad that heart-hungry multitudes have been finding the Bread that forever satisfies (Perkins 1921:11, 12).

In recent years, it has been suggested that Bosworth was not pleased with Perkins' work. According to Wayne Warner, former director of the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Centre, Bosworth's son, Robert V. Bosworth, once said his dad 'was not happy with the book' (Warner, email to author, 26 September 1905). Whether this is true or not may be debated. But one thing is certain: Bosworth frequently promoted the book with full-page advertisements in his ministry magazine, *Exploits of Faith* (April 1930; March 1942).

Like other evangelists of his day, Bosworth used his biography as a vehicle to further his ministry. Thanks to Eunice M. Perkins, readers throughout the United States came to know the man behind the message of *Christ the Healer*.

His second marriage

It was about three years after his wife's death that Bosworth met a young lady by the name of Florence Valentine, a post-graduate student at Nyack Bible School in New York. The timing was perfect for the 45-year-old evangelist who was now lonely and feeling the need for both a companion and co-worker in the ministry. He initially felt he would spend the rest of his life as a single preacher, but he and Florence shared a mutual attraction for one another, something that could not be ignored.

According to his biographer (Perkins 1927:189, 190), Florence filled a need in his life in several ways. Besides protecting him from the throngs of adoring women, she was a gifted preacher who could help Bosworth nightly with his evangelistic healing campaigns. The couple married in October 1922 and would spend the rest of their lives together in the ministry.

His writings and radio broadcasts

Throughout Bosworth's early years of ministry, women held prominent places in his work and often shared his pulpit. Now they would hold prominent places on the pages of his publications. For instance, in 1924, three years after the publication of his biography, Bosworth published a collection of his sermons and called it, *Christ the Healer*, the book for which he would become most famous. In addition to its five sermons, the first edition of the book included eight healing testimonies, seven of which highlighted the experiences of women (Bosworth 1924:145-172).

In 1927, Bosworth began publishing *Exploits of Faith*, a monthly ministry magazine that featured sermons, meeting reports, testimonies and the itinerary of the Bosworth Campaigns. Each issue featured the works of women in the ministry, including articles by Bosworth's wife, Florence, and foreign mission reports about her sister, Erma Valentine. It was also during this decade that Bosworth launched a radio program from Chicago, Ill., called, the National Radio Revival broadcast. His wife, who shared regularly on the program, was especially popular among women (*Exploits of Faith* July 1931:12-15). When testimonies of healing were reported by the listeners, they were published in the magazine. Once again, there were many testimonies by women.

In the 1940s, Bosworth came out of semi-retirement to work with William Branham, Gordon Lindsay and T.L. Osborn. He served as an advisor and teacher, and he became a mentor to them, as well as to many other tent revivalists of the 1950s (Harrell 1975; Weaver 2000; Burgess, McGee & Alexander 1988). Through these relationships – and his book, *Christ the Healer* – Bosworth passed on his doctrine of healing in the atonement. His conviction that healing belongs to Christians because it is 'in,' and not merely 'through' the atonement, is a view he held until his death in 1958. During the final years of his life, his wife worked closely by his side. She assisted him with teaching, preaching, and prayer meetings (Voice of Healing May 1948: 1, 2). In 1954, while speaking in Chicago, Ill., Bosworth talked about her revival meetings and her many talents (Bosworth 1954).

Conclusion and implications:

These events and experiences in Bosworth's life show that he was consistent in how he viewed women. He respected them, supported them and relied on them for spiritual nourishment; and though it was unpopular in his day, he also viewed them as partners or 'co-equals' in the ministry.

This article has outlined the role of women in his life and ministry. It has shown how they contributed to many aspects of his work as a healing evangelist. From his conversion as a teenager and his healing as a young man, to his Pentecostal experience and his healing revival meetings, women had been a constant and critical factor.

This research uncovered two common features. Firstly, most of the women who were most influential shared either a Methodist or holiness background. This may be due to the fact that his parents were devout Methodists. Secondly, the women who were most influential were older than Bosworth. Although the woman who led him to Christ was only a few years his senior, the woman who prayed for his healing, including the ones who led revival meetings in his Dallas church, were much older.

In terms of implications, the above evidence suggests three things: 1) it confirms the commonly held view that the involvement of women was essential to the spread of Pentecostalism in the United States (Riss 1988:893); 2) when it comes to ministry, women have a role that far exceeds that of wife and motherhood; and 3) women may indeed be gifted for evangelism and discipleship, and have ministries that are comparable to men.

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A comparison of Eysenck's guilt construct in male and female Anglican clergy in the United Kingdom and male and female Assemblies of God Ministers in the United States

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Abstract

The Eysenck Personality Profiler (EPP) was part of a questionnaire completed by 551 male and 685 female Assemblies of God (A/G) ministers in the United States (US). These data were compared to data from the Jones (2002) study of male and female Anglican clergy from the United Kingdom (UK). The 20-item guilt scale is part of the 440-item EPP. The US A/G ministers scored significantly higher on the guilt scale than the UK Anglican clergy and the male US A/G ministers scored significantly higher on the guilt scale than the female US A/G ministers. Theological reflection focuses on the US A/G sub-cultural context.

Introduction

The problem addressed in this paper is to measure the guilt experienced by male and female A/G ministers in the US. The measure of guilt suggested by Hans Eysenck is being used to operationalize the problem. Data

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concerning guilt experienced by A/G ministers (Harris, 2005) is compared with the guilt experienced by Anglican clergy in the UK (Jones, 2002).

A discussion is comprised of theological reflections that speculate on how the A/G minister's high and low scores on the guilt scale impact 5 fundamental relationships: his or her relationship with the self, God, their ministerial colleagues, their congregations, and the non Christian world in the local community and throughout the world.

The original work (Harris, 2005) was significant as it represents the first time the EPP has been used to compare US and UK clergy samples. It is significant as well because it opens new research possibilities among US A/G ministers and other faith groups using the EPP in the US.

Defining and measuring guilt

Guilt, as used by Eysenck, focuses on self-blame, self-abasement, and possession of a troubled conscience. High scorers on the guilt scale seem to feel guilty about simply existing. Persons at the other end of the scale, lower scorers, do not tend to 'punish' themselves because of their guilt. An extreme preoccupation with one's guilt can be regarded as pathological as the complete absence of it can. A balance between sorrow-producing guilt and a neurotic preoccupation with guilt needs to exist to maintain social order (Francis, Robbins, Jackson, & Jones, 2000).

Theological understanding of guilt

In Scripture, guilt is defined as a violation of written law or statute and the feelings associated with the transgression of a particular law, statute, or value system. This could be a personal value system, God's value system, or that of the church and the world. The second definition is the aspect of guilt that is the focus of Eysenck's definition. These are the feelings associated with guilt which may or may not have an antecedent.

Genesis 3:8-10 (New English Translation) reports that Adam and Eve experienced a guilty conscience. The serpent tempted Eve, and she and Adam ate the fruit that they were forbidden to eat. When they ate, their eyes were opened and they realized they were naked. When it was time for their customary evening walk with God, they hid because they were afraid of God. Adam and Eve had done what God had forbidden them to do. They felt guilty because they were guilty of breaking God's directive. They experienced self-blame, self-abasement, and they were troubled by their

conscience which corresponds with Eysenck's descriptions of both objective and subjective guilt.

The example of Abimelech provides an example of guilt that is brief, transitory, and associated with both objective and subjective elements of guilt:

Then Abimelech exclaimed, 'What in the world have you done to us? One of the men might easily have had sexual relations with your wife, and you would have brought guilt on us (Genesis 26:10, *New English Translation*)!'

Abimelech was in distress (subjective guilt) over what could have happened had someone slept with Isaac's wife. An act of this kind was forbidden by statute (objective guilt). Abimelech's guilt was congruent with the circumstances and he did not place blame on himself or belittle himself. Objective guilt would have been on Isaac and perhaps Abimelech's entire domain. Therefore, Abimelech experienced subjective guilt that was anticipatory in nature.

The Bible states that guilt clings to men's souls, discolours them, and makes them unclean before God. Forgiveness provides a cleansing or washing of the soul that makes the human soul clean and white:

Though your sins are like scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they are red like crimson, they shall become like wool (Isaiah. 1:18, *New English Translation*).

Psalms. 51:4-9 (*New English Translation*) addresses the guilt as expressed in Eysenck:

Against you, especially you, I have sinned; I have done what is sinful in your sight. So you are just when you confront me; you are right when you condemn me. Hide your face from my sins! Wipe away all my wrong acts!

In John 1:19 (*New English Translation*) John described one of Jesus' primary tasks:

The next day he saw Jesus coming to him, and said, 'Behold, the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world!'

John's use of the word *hamartia*, translated sin in most English translations, means guilt (objective guilt).

Guilt freedom is addressed in the Greek word *dikaioo*. The word is specifically defined as 'to justify, vindicate, declare righteous, or to put one in a proper relationship with another.' An example of '*dikaioo*' is found in Romans 2:13 (*New English Translation*):

For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law will be justified.

Paul was referring to justification, the state of the individual's life after the trespass or guilt has been paid for. Justification happens after one becomes aware of one's sin, experiences guilt for it, and repents. The idea of repenting of sin contains some sense of what is called remorse or guilt as Eysenck defines it. Both the Old and the New Testaments address the problem of guilt and the feelings associated with it.

Understanding guilt among the clergy

Coate (1989) attempts to account for a reason why men and women are attracted to the helping professions. She examines repression, reaction formation, projection, and denial in an attempt to link infantile feelings of guilt in relation to attraction to the caring professions. Infantile guilt (guilt felt when reprimanded by parents which produces fear of rejection; Freud, 1996) is too painful to remember and is therefore kept unconscious by repression or denial. Persons who repress infantile guilt often give to others rather than deprive them, would rather be nice than upset, and are always placating so guilt will not become conscious.

Researchers of clergy have been interested in the psychological dynamics of clergy and ministry stresses. Irvine (1997) identifies two key elements of the ministry: (a) the absence of clear ministry parameters, resulting in setting unattainable goals. When the goals are not attained, as they predictably are not, a sense of failure, frustration, and guilt result. To this is added the nature of ministry occurring mostly in seclusion. This results in the ministers' motivation by invisible demands that produce feelings of guilt; and (b) the presence of 'a far deeper concept of guilt' which is rooted in self-identity and self-perception. Guilt, frustration, and a sense of failure may occur if the minister experiences authentic emotions that run at crossed purposes with the historical doctrine or stand of the particular church or denomination that he or she serves.

Guilt and religion

Aside from the literature regarding guilt and the clergy, little other empirical evidence of a relationship between guilt and religiosity exists. The following literature is presented to compensate for the lack of information on clergy and guilt.

London, Schulman, and Black (1964) suggested no relationship between guilt and religious affiliation from their study of 63 undergraduate psychology students and a comparison of their scores with the guilt scores of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. Argyle and Delin (1965) presented opposite findings. A relationship between guilt and religious affiliation was shown among their female respondents, but not their male respondents. These data came from a study of 700 children in which guilt scores were compared with frequent church attendance.

In 1967, Allport and Ross proposed the notions of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity. Watson, Morris, and Hood (1988) used this model in their research. They report that intrinsic religiosity correlates positively with guilt measures, a relationship not demonstrated between extrinsic religiosity and guilt.

In a study among 268 students, data indicated significantly higher guilt scores among the intrinsically religious (Richards, 1991). Meek, Albright, and McMinn (1995) found similar data among 83 intrinsically religious participants. A sample of undergraduate Catholic students was given the Test of Self-Conscious Affect by Tangney, Wagner, and Gramzow (1989). They tended to display more constructive forms of guilt (Luyten, Corveleyn, & Fontaine, 1998).

Dodson (1957) matched 50 Protestant theology students with 50 graduate students in other fields based on their age, intelligence, father's occupational level, sex, marital status, and religious background. In data gathered from a word association test and a sentence completion test, the theology students demonstrated more guilt over hostile feelings and sexual behaviour when compared with the control group.

Christian teachers, public school teachers, and the Protestant clergy were compared in a study conducted by Rickner and Tan (1994). The Christian teachers and the Protestant clergy recorded higher guilt mean scores than the public school teachers who had served as the control group. The guilt mean scores between the Christian teachers and the Protestant clergy were not statistically significant.

Walinga, Corveleyn, and von Saane (2005) examined orthodox Protestants (Reformed), orthodox Catholics, and a non-orthodox Christian control group

(all adolescents, mostly students) using the Leuven Guilt and Shame Scale, the Leuven Emotion Scale, and the Post Critical Belief Scale, differences between the groups were found. Both orthodox Protestant and orthodox Catholic churches define a universal guilt in the dogma of the Original Sin and acknowledge that being guilty and sinful has become part of the human condition.

As opposed to the Catholic church which deals with guilt in the various external modes (the sacraments of confession and of anointing the sick, liturgical rituals, the Mass, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist), the Protestant church focuses mainly on a theological discussion about the nature of guilt and guilt following from the Original Sin (Heggen, 1988). In psychological terms: the Protestant church offers less institutional coping strategies for guilt than the Catholic church. The Walinga, Corveleyn, and von Saane study (2005) confirmed the hypothesis that Catholics appear to deal with guilt in a more constructive way than the orthodox Protestants and the control group. It was also found that people who are closely affiliated with an orthodox Protestant or an orthodox Catholic church reported significantly more guilt feelings on the Leuven Emotion Scale. The researchers surmised that cause for this might be the result of a more frequent confrontation with doctrines, rituals, and thoughts about guilt, or of other causes such as stricter social norms.

The study of guilt continues to evolve, for example, through the following instruments: (a) the Test of Self-Conscious Affect, developed by Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, and Gramzow (1989) and Tangney, Wagner, and Gramzow, (1992) which identifies a distinction between proneness to guilt and proneness to shame; (b) the Dimensions of Conscience developed by Johnson, Danko, Huang, Park, Johnson, and Nagoshi (1987) and Johnson, Kim, and Danko (1989) which measured feelings of guilt in response to researcher-developed scenarios; (c) a five-point Likert scale by Klass (1987) which measured emotional reactions in relation to regret, self-disappointment, guilt, and shame; and (d) a measure of guilt developed by Caprara, Marizi, and Perugini (1992) which examines the need for reparation and fear of punishment. Examples of the need for reparation scale and the fear of punishment scale include items like 'Thinking back on promises I've broken makes me really uncomfortable'; 'When faced with my mistakes, I want to make up for them as soon as possible'; 'I've reacted in ways that are hard to forgive'; and 'I'm sometimes weighed down by feelings of guilt.'

Hypotheses

It was hypothesized that male and female A/G ministers in the US would score higher on the guilt scale than the male and female Anglican clergy in the UK (Harris, 2005) because of the tension that exists in beliefs about the good self and the bad self among A/G ministers and devotees. No clear distinction in denominational philosophy has been made between the redeemed self and the carnal self-serving self; therefore A/G ministers and their congregants live in ambiguity, which often deteriorates into feelings of guilt (subjective guilt). If one lacks a firm sense of identity, then it is possible to not feel fully secure in one's position with God. In this case one vacillates between feeling good and competent and in good stead with God, and feeling guilty and not being quite sure how one fits with God.

From the original data (Harris, 2005) it is hypothesized for this article that there would not be a difference between the means on the guilt scale male and female US A/G ministers.

Method

A survey instrument containing the Eysenck Personality Profiler was mailed to 5,000 of the 32,374 A/G, male and female A/G ministers in the US. The ministers were a diverse representation of 56 district councils, ranging in age from 18 to age 86. Of the respondents, 3.5% were age 18-25, 11.4% were age 26-35, 19.9% were age 36-45, 23.1% were age 46-55, 16.7% were age 56-65, 16.2% were age 66-75, 7.2% were age 76-85, and 1.7% were age 86 or over.

There were 1,629 survey questionnaire booklets returned, yielding a response rate of 28%. Of these, 247 surveys were not usable, and therefore were eliminated from the final sample, leaving 1,382. The total was further reduced by 146 subjects who were over 75 which left 1,236. The 146 subjects were eliminated from the final count because of the early practice of credentialing A/G pastors' wives. Men in this age bracket were eliminated as well to insure equal representation of men and women in the study. These data were analyzed from a sample made up of 551 male and 685 female ministers using a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS, 1988). From the 5,000 surveys mailed out, 1,236 were usable.

Results

The 20-item guilt scale from the Eysenck Personality Profiler achieved an alpha coefficient of .90 for the males and .89 for the females, which is

sufficient for the .70 threshold recommended by Kline (1993). The UK Anglican sample (Jones, 2002) achieved alpha coefficients of .76 for the males and .74 for the females.

The US male and female A/G ministers produced higher mean scores than did the male and female Anglican clergy. This difference was statistically significant. Table 1 compares the means and standard deviations for the male and female Anglican clergy and the US A/G male and female ministers.

The mean scores for the male US A/G ministers were significantly higher than the means scores for the female US A/G ministers (see Table 2). These data contradict the Harvey, Gore, Frank, and Batres (1997); Lutwak and Ferrari (1996); Lutwak, Ferrari, and Cheek (1998); and Argyle (1958) studies that argue that women experience more guilt feelings than men. This view is echoed in Argyle (1958) and this presence of guilt tends to make them more religious.

Table 1: Guilt Scale Means, Standard Deviations, and t Scores

Sex	Jones (2002)			Harris (2005)			<i>t</i>	P<
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD		
Male	1,148	10.49	6.32	551	16.66	11.47	13.45	.001
Female	523	9.21	5.75	685	13.57	10.04	10.50	.001

Table 2: Guilt Scale Means, Standard Deviations, and t Score for male and female A/G ministers from the US.

	N	Mean	SD	<i>t</i>	P<
Male	551	16.66	11.47		
Female	685	13.57	10.04	4.97	0.0

Table 3 examines how the two samples responded to the guilt scale survey items. Eighteen percent of the male Anglican clergy (MAC) and 13% of the female Anglican clergy (FAC) reported that they were harbouring a secret that they feared would come out some day. This is compared with 37% of the male A/G ministers (MAM) and 21% of the female A/G ministers (FAM) from the US. To the question 'Do you often feel a strong need to confess something that you have done?' 25% of the MAC and 29% of the FAC answered yes as compared with 40% of the MAM and FAM

respondents answering yes to the same question. Ten percent or less of the MAC and FAC stated that they felt they had let their parents down by the life they have led, while 34% of the MAM and one-quarter of the FAM answered yes. Thirty-one percent of the MAC and 22% of the FAC compared with 41% of the MAM and 28% of the FAM said they felt their bad habits were inexcusable. Less than ten percent of the MAC and FAC regret their wilder teenage years but 42% of the MAM and 38% of the FAM said yes to this item.

Similar percentages are reported by both groups in response to a question about a misspent youth. A very small percentage of the MAC and FAC reported that they felt they had committed unpardonable sins, while 36% of the MAM and one-fifth of the FAM answered yes to the same question. About 10% of the MAC and FAC carry guilty feelings even though their feelings cannot be justified. By contrast, 34% of the MAM and 24% of the FAM said they had such feelings. Twenty-three percent of the MAC and 17% of the FAC as compared with 40% of the MAM and 30% of the FAM admitted that they have treated people badly in the past. To the questionnaire item, 'Do you think you must have disappointed your teachers at school by not working hard enough?' 27% of the MAC and 21% of the FAC answered yes. This is compared with 38% of the MAM and 30% of the FAM.

About 15% of the MAC and FAC feel people disapprove of them while 37% of the MAM and 27% of the FAM said the same thing. Less than 5% of the MAC and FAC feel that they will eventually have to pay later for pleasure they enjoy today, while 37% of the MAM and 22% of the FAM answered yes to this question. Around 48% of each set of respondents catch themselves apologizing often. About 20% of the Anglican respondents and an average of 31% of the US A/G respondents feel frequently troubled by feelings of guilt. Fifteen percent of the MAC and 13% of the FAC say they expect to be punished for their sins, while around 40% of the US A/G clergy answered yes to this item. Thirty-seven percent of the MAC and 19% of the FAC as compared with about 36% of the MAM and FAM are disgusted by their fantasies and desires.

Close to 18% of the Anglican respondents and about 35% of the US A/G ministers ruminate about the lack of responsibility they have displayed in the past. An average of 78% of the Anglican respondents and a slightly smaller average, 61%, of US A/G ministers say they pray for forgiveness often. Two percent of the MAC and 3% of the FAC and 5% of the MAM feel that accidents are the result of things that they have done wrong, with 22% of the FAM answering yes to this item.

Table 3: The Guilt Scale Item Endorsement Percentage for the male and female subjects from Jones (2002) and Harris (2005).

Questionnaire Items	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Jones (2002)	Jones (2002)	Harris (2005)	Harris (2005)
Are you harbouring a guilty secret that you are afraid must come out one day?	18	13	37	21
Do you often feel a strong need to confess something that you have done?	25	29	40	40
Do you sometimes think you have let down your parents by the life you have led?	10	7	34	25
Do you have some bad habits that are really inexcusable?	31	22	41	28
Do you regret your wilder experiences when you were a teenager?	9	7	42	38
Do you regard your youth as mis-spent?	7	4	35	26
Do you believe that you have committed unpardonable sins?	3	1	36	20
Do you often feel as though you have done something wrong and wicked even though this feeling is not really justified?	10	8	34	24
Do you often think back on how badly you have treated people in the past?	23	17	40	30
Do you think you must have disappointed your teachers at school by not working hard enough?	27	21	38	30
Do you often feel that people disapprove of you?	15	16	37	27
Are you often bothered by your conscience?	34	33	37	25
Do you believe that the pleasure you have now will have to be paid for eventually?	5	1	37	22
Do you often catch yourself apologizing [sic] when you are not	45	54	42	44

Eysenck's guilt construct and Anglican clergy in the UK

really at fault?				
Are you often troubled by feelings of guilt?	19	22	36	26
Do you expect to be punished for your sins?	15	13	42	38
Do your own desires and fantasies sometimes disgust you?	37	19	41	31
Do you spend a great deal of time going over things that have happened in the past and wishing that you had behaved more responsibly?	20	16	37	33
Do you often pray for forgiveness?	80	76	56	66
If you have an accident do you assume that you must have deserved it because of something you had done?	2	3	35	22

The hypothesis that male and female A/G ministers in the US would score higher on the guilt scale than the male and female Anglican clergy in the UK was supported by these data. However, the hypothesis that there would be no significant difference between mean scores of the male and female A/G ministers in the US was not supported by these data.

Discussion

The male and female A/G ministers in the US scored high on the guilt scale when compared with the UK Anglican clergy (Harris, 2005). These results are troublesome given the strict adherence to Scripture as the rule of faith and practice held by the A/G. It runs contrary to texts which characterize the fundamental concepts of the gospel. For example: John 8:36; 'So if the Son sets you free, you will be really free,' and Romans 8:1 'There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus' (New English Translation). If approached with questions regarding these texts, A/G ministers would likely say that they are true and liberating. The data from this study may indicate that this liberty may not be enjoyed by all who claim it.

This is possibly due to a patent misunderstanding of the believer's position in Christ relative to the self. If A/G ministers truly believe that the self they possess is redeemed, forgiven, and transformed, why do the data indicate that they are guilt ridden? Perhaps a balance can be found between sorrow-producing guilt which leads the A/G ministers to a heart that is

tender toward God and to be able to ask for forgiveness for transgressions and the irrational guilt that human beings may by nature be predisposed to as a result of the fall.

This theological reflection speculates on the personality characteristics of the individual pastor which is embedded in these sample data.

Francis, Robbins, Jackson, and Jones' (2000) use of the word guilt deals primarily with the emotional fallout from an offensive deed or, in some cases, a free-floating guilt that does not have an antecedent deed (subjective guilt). It does not seem to be addressing legal guilt (objective guilt) as in the case of one's being guilty of a crime. It resembles regret or remorse and is accompanied by anxiety.

Pentecostal groups like the US A/G exist because of an emphasis on the person and work of the Holy Spirit. However, the core belief system of any Christian denomination hinges upon redemption through the sacrifice of Jesus. Redemption is needed because of human departure from God's revealed truth. God provided redemption and therefore human beings have the prospect of life filled with personal peace as they appropriate God's provision. The two aspects of guilt discussed earlier, violation of a human law, or objective guilt, and remorseful feelings of guilt, or subjective guilt, are both addressed in redemption. If one commits a violation of the laws of God, upon request grace is freely dispensed for acquittal. If one commits a violation of the laws of human society, that person usually must pay the required penalty. In redemption, sins atoned for by the blood of Christ are not remembered. It is as if they did not occur. Feelings of guilt are troubling indeed, yet an antidote is provided. It seems that often persons who wrestle with feelings of guilt struggle against their own heart.

The minister who experiences guilt wrestles with it in five key areas: with his or her own self, God, other ministers, the local congregation, and the non-Christian community.

The guilty minister may not experience a satisfying life of faith or a productive ministry because the minister sees himself or herself as always being unworthy. On the other hand, the non-guilty minister is not preoccupied with self-punishment. The guilty will make mistakes in judgment while in ministry and may not be able to stop blaming or punishing themselves over those mistakes while the non-guilty seem to have survived their mistakes. Guilty ministers may see the self as their main problem and be on a continual crusade to keep the unruly self in check. If they fail to keep the self under control, more mistakes will occur and more guilt will naturally follow. Ministers not plagued with guilt are able to access their god-given personhood in cooperation with the Holy Spirit to

productive Kingdom ends. This refusal to punish oneself continually for past errors (that have been atoned for) is seen by some as arrogance and pride.

Some A/G ministers are the product of the A/G sub-culture in the decades where guilt-producing teaching and preaching was prevalent. These ministers intuitively know that a steady stream of guilt-producing teaching and preaching is not a healthy and balanced approach to Christianity. They may, however, be helpless to change what has become a sub-cultural norm. Some A/G ministers have thrown off the overwhelming guilt message and opted for self love and increased self balance within their theological paradigm. This redeemed self that keeps guilt in perspective is not an anomaly; it is simply not the norm.

High scorers may have difficulty approaching God. They may be so preoccupied with their faults and the guilt that accompanies them that they lack joy and are generally unproductive in ministry. Low scorers may be enjoying a fulfilling relationship with God and a productive ministry as well. They have unencumbered interactions with God because they feel relational freedom with God, not because they are overly self-focused or bold. They can enjoy God because no guilt interferes. The high scorers may feel estranged from God, the one who is committed to liberating them. As the pain of this estrangement becomes knowledge, they are bombarded with more guilt and so the downward cycle continues. Because they experience estrangement from God they have a lacklustre ministry and in some cases leave the ministry altogether in complete discouragement.

When guilt is present, the relationship that the minister enjoys with God makes repentance, forgiveness, and restitution all possible and available. In the A/G sub-culture, guilt is a long-term feeling of emotional distress. Conviction, on the other hand, is that experience of God's impressing on the believer's heart that he or she has committed a sin. The low scorers on the guilt scale will simply ask for forgiveness and God will respond in forgiveness and guilt is remedied.

One of two relationships may develop between the A/G ministers who score high on the guilt scale and their ministerial colleagues. Either they will be viewed as pathetic and treated accordingly, or because of their peer's own guilt, that peer may not notice and they will seem to have a good relationship. The question will no doubt arise about why this individual is still bound by guilt.

Low scorers (less guilty) may be seen as proud and sin-hardened to their ministerial colleagues. It is possible for them be admired by other ministerial colleagues for their piety. They may be seen as very godly for they have

somehow appropriated God's grace and it has had an effect on their human propensity for guilt. Their colleagues may question why they don't seem to experience guilt and seem to never apologize for anything. Their critics may see this minister as one lacking a conscience.

These ministers may repel otherwise faithful church members who do not identify with the minister's condemning approach to the Christian life. Guilt feelings cannot help but permeate the minister's preaching, teaching, and leadership style. It may not be surprising to find that these ministers use guilt as one of their primary motivational tools in attempting to lead the congregation. This will not bode well for any desires that these ministers may have for their church's growth and development, whether numerically or in depth of spirituality. If it stymies the ministers' development, it will limit their churches as well.

The absence of guilt does not ensure that these ministers will have a deep and satisfying relationship with Christ, and likewise it does not ensure that they will have a healthy relationship with the church. Hopefully the low scorer on the guilt scale will replace the guilt tool with methods and strategies that build people up instead of condemn them. As these ministers live in freedom, then they will be apt to move to lead their church people in that direction as well.

High scorers will possibly be seen by the general public and the unconverted as someone to avoid. Perhaps this is because they may see guilt as a doorway to many other personal and corporate ills. Many outside of the church see the problems in the church and comment that they have enough problems and quirks of their own without becoming a part of a faith community that has more problems than they do.

Low scorers have an advantage in that they do not have to devote so much energy fighting their own heart just to live. This has taken place in the heart but it will be seen in the ministers' eyes, manner, and attitudes. Any interaction these ministers have with people outside their church will demonstrate that there is hope in a remedy for sin and guilt.

Summary

This article addressed the problem of the measure of guilt experienced by male and female A/G ministers in the US. The data showed them to experience guilt when compared to than Anglican clergy in the UK (Jones, 2002).

The discussion speculated on how the A/G minister's high and low scores on the guilt scale could impact his or her relationship with the self,

God, ministerial colleagues, their congregations, and the unsaved world in the local community and throughout the world.

The US A/G partially developed out of the holiness movement. Historically, therefore, it has focused on keeping a clean heart before God as is evidenced by many sermons delivered on spiritual purity. The benefits of redemption from sin are certainly something that believers and non-believers need to hear. Unfortunately, at times sermons have been heavy with guilt-producing content (subjective guilt), while others have emphasized the joys of right standing with God (after having dealt with objective guilt). Preaching against sin is appropriate as long as it is done in balance in accordance with Scripture; however, the problem of sin (guilt) and the redemption provided to remedy it have not always been linked. This could be because individual ministers may have not been able to appropriate the freedom that redemption brings, or it is not possible to live up to the high goals of sub-culturally defined holiness. In churches like the A/G, lead by these ministers, where the focus is on being right with God; some have become critically preoccupied with the piety of others in the church, possibly in an attempt to project guilt away from themselves.

A/G men and women and their ministers are taught the biblical perspective on sin, guilt, repentance, and redemption. Some ministers have presented the reality of sin, and its antidote in a productive way, while other ministers have not focused as much on sin's remedy. These realities cause the minister to revisit how he or she is using their beliefs about sin and guilt and how those beliefs are projected on their congregations. Ministers must examine their own beliefs and strive for biblical balance relative to guilt and redemption.

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Constructing Pentecostalism: On Issues Of Methodology And Representation

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Abstract

Pentecostalism may be broadly or narrowly defined though, for practical purposes, a broad understanding is preferable. Questions about the origins of Pentecostalism have long been debated: did it spread out to the rest of the world from the USA or were its origins more diffuse? Historiographical problems occur in any account and a solution to these is to see Pentecostalism as a missionary movement, or at least deriving one of its roots from pre-existing missionary organisations and activities. After its establishment and the failure of early hopes, Pentecostalism re-thought itself and subsequent historical analysis needs to take account of the various categories of networks by which it is expressed; indeed it is the proposal of this paper that Pentecostalism may be defined by reference to the historical and contemporary networks to which its adherents belong. Indigenous Pentecostal churches (those not directly connected with western Pentecostal denominations) are not always free of western influence, and this makes the theological analysis complex.

What is Pentecostalism?² The academic study of, and the discussion within the Pentecostal movement up to now, shows that this is a very complex question. A wide range of answers has been given, reaching from extremely narrow definitions to very broad ones. Certain circles of white Pentecostalism in the United States, for instance, sometimes try to narrow

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² Here, Pentecostalism is understood as a very general term that includes Charismatics, Neo-Pentecostals, Faith Movement, and so on.

down Pentecostalism to a sub-category of American evangelicalism.³ In sharp contrast to that stands the approach of David Barrett, who considers a very broad variety of churches, organisations and networks as representative of Pentecostalism.⁴ Current Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal academic study tends to use such a broad understanding of Pentecostalism; and when it comes to statistics even Pentecostals (who otherwise count themselves as evangelicals) refer to Barrett's findings that ca. 25% of World Christianity is Pentecostal.⁵

Admittedly, a narrow understanding has some real advantages. It would enable a comprehensive definition of Pentecostalism, because a clear-cut dogmatic basis could be formulated (e.g. evangelicalism plus tongues speaking as initial evidence of Spirit baptism) and an institutional framework assigned (e.g. Pentecostal member-churches of the National Association of Evangelicals). Nevertheless, its heuristic value would be very limited as it is absolutely counterintuitive and arbitrarily separates phenomena that belong together. As the acceptance of Barrett's figures already indicates, even the most evangelical oriented Pentecostals refer in certain contexts to more inclusive identities of Pentecostalism.

From an academic point of view there is no alternative to a broad understanding of Pentecostalism, but so far not much has been done to substantiate this approach in a methodologically satisfying manner. The most serious problem lies in the fact that a broad understanding of Pentecostalism neither refers to a common dogmatic basis nor to a common institutional framework (international umbrella organisations like the Pentecostal World Conference only cover very tiny fragments of the Pentecostal movement). Nevertheless, academic research of the last decades has proved the usefulness of a broad understanding of Pentecostalism as a

³ See e.g. C. M. Robeck, 'Art. National Association of Evangelicals', S. M. Burgess et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 4th ed. 1990), pp. 634-636. It is noteworthy that also in recent sociological literature Pentecostals will often be lumped together with evangelicals, see e.g. P. Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴ D. B. Barrett, Art. *Statistics, Global*, in S. M. Burgess et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 4th ed. 1990), pp. 810-830.

⁵ The recent statistics are found in D. Barrett et al. (eds.), *World Christian Encyclopedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 4 (table 1-1). For a broad understanding of Pentecostalism in modern Pentecostal scholarship see e.g. W. J. Hollenweger, *Charismatisch-pfingstliches Christentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997 [engl. as *Pentecostalism*, 1998]); A. H. Anderson & W. J. Hollenweger (eds.), *Pentecostals after a Century* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); A. H. Anderson, 'Stretching the Definitions?', *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 10.1 (2001), pp. 98-119, but see also the critique of G. B. McGee, 'Pentecostal Missiology', *Pneuma* 16 (1994), pp. 275-281 (277).

single global phenomenon. But its unity can't be described in the way traditional church history deals with Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Lutheranism, and so on. New ways should be found to trace an international discursive network called Pentecostalism.

Looking at the current discussion, three complexes of questions seem to be most hotly debated in the context of constructing Pentecostalism. First: did Pentecostalism originate in the United States and spread out to the rest of the world from there? Second: how is it possible to define Pentecostalism as a global religious movement in a meaningful manner without recurring to specific theological tenets as a definitive basis? Third: how is Pentecostalism to be described within regional contexts (the question of 'indigenous' Pentecostalism)? If it would be possible to make some progress in this complex of problems, a better theoretical understanding of Pentecostalism could be the result.

The first two sections of this article are written from a strictly historical point of view with no immediate theological agenda in mind, though I am fully aware that 'historiographical perspectives are not just history' but that they may 'express and articulate theological visions'.⁶ Therefore I will explicitly refer to theological implications where I am aware of my own theological concerns. Compared with the other two, the third section is explicitly theological though I am trying to avoid getting too much into normative issues.

Beginnings of Pentecostalism

In the last few decades, vigorous historical research into the beginnings of the Pentecostal movement has started. This has been done to a great extent by Pentecostal scholars themselves who tried to overcome an uncritical, more or less hagiographical tradition of telling about the beginnings as was common within their churches. This tradition, often called the 'providential approach'⁷, was based on the belief that Pentecostalism was 'a spontaneous,

⁶ D. W. Dayton, 'Yet Another Layer of the Onion', *The Ecumenical Review* 40 (1988), pp. 87-110 (102). See also Robeck who says: 'Whoever determines the identity for the Pentecostal movement is placed in a unique and privileged role. In this definitional act, there is power.' (C. M. Robeck, 'Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective', in H. D. Hunter & P. D. Hocken, *All Together in One Place* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993], pp. 166-180. [169]).

⁷ A. Cerillo, 'Interpretative Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins', *Pneuma* 19 (1997), pp. 29-52 (31-36); Grant Wacker, 'Art. Bibliography and Historiography of Pentecostalism (U. S.)', in S. M. Burgess et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 4th ed. 1990), pp. 65-76 (69-76)

providentially generated, [world wide] end-time religious revival, a movement fundamentally discontinuous with 1900 years of Christian history⁸; but such a notion is hardly compatible with academic history. Therefore the “new” Pentecostal historiography⁹ is trying to relate the emergence of Pentecostalism to 19th Century theological roots and to its contemporary social and cultural context. It was Donald Dayton’s *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (1987) that set the standard for that new endeavour.¹⁰ Dayton argued in a richly textured historical analysis that the theological patterns of Pentecostalism could be traced back to 19th Century Wesleyan, Reformed, and Higher Life holiness circles in the United States. At the turn of the 20th Century, this vast network of holiness institutions and movements constituted ‘a sort of pre-Pentecostal tinderbox awaiting the spark that would set it off’.¹¹ Numerous important studies have come out more recently that further prove the continuity between Pentecostalism and 19th Century popular American evangelicalism, though there are discussions about the details (e.g. Wesleyan versus Reformed roots).¹² Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal historians now consider Topeka and Azusa Street as the outcome of a specific American (and to some extent British) religious history.

As a side effect, this strict historical approach rejects the notion that Pentecostalism was a worldwide revival from its very beginnings. This thesis of multiple, worldwide origins of Pentecostalism was the popular self-understanding of early Pentecostals and became an integral part of the providential historical self-understanding in Pentecostal circles (e.g. it is part of the famous popular histories of Donald Gee and Stanley H. Frodsham).¹³

⁸ Cerillo, ‘Interpretative Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins’, p. 32.

⁹ A. Cerillo, ‘The Beginnings of American Pentecostalism’, in: E. L. Blumhofer et al. (eds.), *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 229-259 (229).

¹⁰ D. W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1987).

¹¹ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, p. 174.

¹² See e.g. I. MacRobert, *The Black Roots and White Racism of early Pentecostalism in the USA* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988); D. W. Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); G. Wacker, *Heaven Below* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

¹³ ‘One remarkable feature of the Latter-Rain outpouring in the early days was the way the Spirit of God fell upon one and another in different parts of the world who had never come in contact with anyone who had received the Pentecostal experience.’ (S. H. Frodsham, *With Signs Following* [Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1946], p. 53). ‘... yet there was also occurring a truly spontaneous and simultaneous Revival on Pentecostal lines in widely separated places. The only agency was a deep hunger for such a Revival produced

Nevertheless, from an academic point of view, this kind of Americanization of Pentecostal historiography seemed to be inevitable, as Robeck rightly states: '... without wishing to be triumphalistic, the evidence gathered in all serious quests for origins of the modern Pentecostal movement appears inevitably to point to North America'¹⁴. However, it is not without problems that historiography now runs counter to the early Pentecostal self-understanding as a global movement and that worldwide Pentecostalism becomes necessarily the result of Pentecostal missionary work from North America. Especially among scholars who focus their research on the non-Western Pentecostal movement, there is a certain uneasiness with such an American-centred history, as this doesn't seem to do justice to the multifaceted and global nature of the Pentecostal phenomenon.

In the following, I'd like to offer a way out of the dilemma, when I argue that there is an additional historical root of Pentecostalism that has been somewhat neglected as a distinctive category so far: the *missionary movement*. The 19th Century, up to the beginning of the First World War in 1914, was the heyday of colonialism. Under the brutal rule of colonial powers nearly the whole world was brought into the reach of the West. In that situation, parts of Western Christianity reacted with missionary initiatives to spread the Christian faith in Africa and Asia, and a huge number of missionary societies were founded for that purpose.¹⁵ The specific conditions on the 'mission fields' brought many Protestant missionary societies into close contact with each other, and in the course of time a global missionary network beyond denominational boundaries developed. This emerging global network led to the famous World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 that is arguably the beginning of the ecumenical movement.¹⁶

Religious revivals always played a crucial role in the missionary movement, as they influenced many of the missionary recruits. However, in the second half of the 19th Century a development took place that is of

in the hearts of Christians by the Holy Spirit Himself.' (D. Gee, *Wind and Flame* [Croyden: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1967], pp. 29-30).

¹⁴ Robeck, 'Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective', p. 170. See already Nichol who called the United States the 'Birthplace of Twentieth-Century Pentecostalism' (J. T. Nichol, *Pentecostalism* [New York: Harper and Row, 1966], p. 25.)

¹⁵ S. Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964); W. R. Hutchison, *Errand to the world* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1987). For the connection between western missionary activities and colonialism see H. Gründer, *Welteroberung und Christentum* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verl.-Haus Mohn, 1992).

¹⁶ R. Rouse & S. Neill, *A history of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1968* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1994).

special interest in regard to Pentecostalism. It was during that time that premillennialism permeated evangelical circles in Britain (first in the Brethren movement) and in the United States (in the prophecy conferences, starting in New York 1878). This was accompanied by a new missionary awareness: 'On the great missionary movement hangs the appointed hour of the millennial dawn, of the marriage of the Lamb, of the glory of the resurrection, of the time of the restitution of all things.'¹⁷ As a result several so-called 'faith missions' were founded.¹⁸ The idea of faith missions (strictly interdenominational, no fixed salary, missionaries are members not employees of the mission, and so on) was first formulated in Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission (London 1865), but became widely popular through the work of Fanny and Grattan Guinness, who founded the East London Training Institute in 1873. The Guinneses influenced A.B. Simpson and the Christian and Missionary Alliance (1887), and, during a journey through the United States in 1889, Fanny Guinness was instrumental in starting the Boston Missionary Training Institute (A.J. Gordon) and the Chicago Evangelization Society (later Moody Bible Institute). Another very enthusiastic promoter of faith missions was Arthur Tappan Pierson, a Christian journalist, who edited the 'Missionary Review of the World' from 1886 (in 1891 joined by A.J. Gordon as co-editor). The Student Volunteer Missionary Union (1886) was also part of this Premillennial-oriented evangelical missionary network, and was inspired by Dwight L. Moody and led by John R. Mott. The latter chose the motto 'the evangelization of the World in this generation' (originally coined by Pierson) for this organisation.¹⁹ Through this vast network, American holiness circles became part of the global missionary movement and this in turn affirmed a strong missionary awareness among them. It was this missionary awareness that became a decisive theological root for Pentecostalism, because it gives some clues why tongues speaking became that important for the movement.²⁰

¹⁷ Annual Report of the International Missionary Alliance 1892, p. 62, quoted in K. Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen* (Giessen, Basel: Brunnen, 1992 [engl. transl. Oxford: Regnum Books 1994]), p. 364 n. 77.

¹⁸ Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen*, pp. 65-102; 359-370.

¹⁹ G. Rosenkranz, *Die christliche Mission* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1977), pp. 218-219.

²⁰ Dayton did not identify a theological root for tongues speaking: 'Nearly every wing of late nineteenth-century revivalism was teaching in one form or another all the basic themes of Pentecostalism except for the experience of glossolalia, or 'speaking in tongues' (Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, p. 167). The following reflections are mainly based on the findings of J. R. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1988); Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, and G. B. McGee, 'Shortcut to Language Preparations?', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 25 (2001), pp. 118-123.

Charles Parham created the threefold theological formula that was used at Azusa Street: '1) Tongue speech as the initial evidence of Holy Spirit Baptism, 2) Spirit-filled believers as the "sealed" Bride of Christ, and 3) *Xenoglossic* tongue as the tool for dramatic end-time revival'²¹. It is arguably that the idea of *xenoglossic* tongues ('missionary tongues') was the most important aspect among these three points. In the early days, Pentecostals thought that their glossolalia was actually foreign tongues for missionary purposes. This was hitherto rather overlooked, as the Pentecostal movement quietly gave up the idea of *xenoglossa* later. Nevertheless, a number of sources point to the fact that Parham got his emphasis of tongues speaking from the missionary movement.

William Faupel shows convincingly the deep influence of the missionary movement on Parham.²² The premillennialist missionary strategy was not aiming at converting the whole world to Christianity, but to be a witness to all nations and to give the chance to as many people as possible to accept the Christian message before Christ's Second Coming. Within such a perspective, time was running out and it became an urgent question as to how possible successful missionary work could be with such a limited timeframe. For one thing, the extremely time-consuming learning of foreign languages was felt to be a major obstacle. In this connection, isolated reports about the occurrence of the gift of *xenoglossa* spread in missionary circles.²³ Very prominent was the tale of a young woman called Jennie Glassey who had received African languages through the Holy Spirit in 1895.²⁴ The Glassey case became known to Charles Parham and impressed him very much, as it seemed to prove that God could enable missionaries by giving them the necessary foreign languages.²⁵ Furthermore, in premillennial circles the idea was widespread that the Second Coming of Christ would be preceded by a worldwide revival that would greatly enlarge missionary work. Through the influence of Frank Sandford, Charles Parham accepted this notion and then brought it all together into the new Pentecostal 'Latter Rain' concept.²⁶

²¹ Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, p. 173.

²² Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, pp. 115-186.

²³ McGee, 'Shortcut to Language Preparations?'

²⁴ Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, p. 72-73; H. D. Hunter, *Beniah at the Apostolic Crossroads*, *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research* 1 (1997); McGee, 'Shortcut to Language Preparations?'

²⁵ Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, p. 174.

²⁶ Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, p. 167.

These two points which Parham developed under the influence of the missionary movement (missionary tongues and worldwide revival) became part of the core self-understanding of the Azusa Street Revival in 1906, as can be seen from its periodical, *The Apostolic Faith*.²⁷ For the participants of Azusa Street it was very clear that tongues speaking meant missionary tongues for a world wide end-time revival that now had started in Los Angeles. To prove this claim it was of utmost importance that the revival would develop into a global phenomenon within a very short time. This pressure gave Azusa Street an extremely global outlook from its very start.

As already mentioned, many evangelicals at home and in the 'mission fields' shared the idea of a worldwide end-time revival. Moreover, Azusa Street falls in a time when many thought that such a revival had already started. The revival chronicler Edwin Orr speaks of a global 'Fifth General Awakening' between 1900-1910 (including Keswick, the Torrey and Alexander evangelistic ministry, the Welsh revival, the Khasi Hills revival, the Mukti Mission, and the Korean Revival).²⁸ During that time, the global missionary movement that was connected through a very dense network of extensive correspondence and personal contacts was very much focussed on revival matters: 'What was remarkable was that missionaries and national believers in obscure places in India, the Far East, Africa and Latin America seemed to move at the same time to pray for phenomenal revival in their fields and world wide.'²⁹ Contemporary outsiders, like Frederick Henke, saw Azusa Street simply as small part of this revival: 'This speaking in tongues is but one of a series of such phenomena as "tongues of fire", "rushing of a mighty wind", "interpretation of tongues", jerking, writhing, and falling to the ground, which are occurring in connection with a world-

²⁷ 'This is a world-wide revival, the last Pentecostal revival to bring our Jesus.' (*Apostolic Faith*, Vol. 1., No. 1, Sept. 1906, p. 4.). 'God is solving the missionary problem, sending out new-tongued missionaries on the apostolic faith line, without purse or scrip, and the Lord is going before them preparing the way.' (*Apostolic Faith*, Vol. 1., No. 3, Nov. 1906, p. 2.)

²⁸ 'It was the most extensive Evangelical Awakening of all time, reviving Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Disciple, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian and Reformed churches and other evangelical bodies throughout Europe and North America, Australasia and South Africa, and their daughter churches and missionary causes throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America, winning more than five million folk to an evangelical faith in the two years of greatest impact in each country.' (J. E. Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Southern Asia* [Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 2nd ed. 1976], p. 99). See also J. E. Orr, *The Flaming Tongue* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1973); Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Southern Asia*, pp. 99-106.

²⁹ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Southern Asia*, p. 100.

wide religious revival.³⁰ Moreover, Orr is of the opinion that during this 'Fifth General Awakening', Pentecostalism was not a crucial factor, but only an indirect by-product.³¹

It is important to keep in mind the relatively small impact of the Azusa Street revival at that time, because it contradicts the self-understanding of the Pentecostal movement. Azusa Street claimed to be the definitive formula for and sure beginning of the end-time revival, fulfilling all revival hopes that were transmitted through the missionary movement. So, they claimed the whole ongoing revival movement for themselves: 'The present world-wide revival was rocked in the cradle of little Wales. It was 'brought up' in India, following; becoming full grown in Los Angeles later.'³² In this situation, it became crucial to get their views accepted within the international evangelical circles. Azusa Street went global from the very start and began to channel their message through the vast international evangelical and missionary network that was receptive to revivals. As the Azusa Street participants were themselves part of this network and as the Pentecostal formula contained mainly elements that were familiar to those circles (fivefold gospel and end-time revival), they found easy access.

It is amazing to see how quickly the Azusa Street revival received positive responses in different parts of the world. However, as Joe Creech has rightly emphasized,³³ to join the Azusa Street revival movement was not necessarily connected with formal changes in institutional structure and ethos or theological traditions; nor did this establish formal institutional ties with Azusa Street. It spread because individuals and organizations generally accepted that a second Pentecost with the experience of tongues speaking and other spiritual gifts like healing and prophecy had happened, and they declared themselves to be part of it. In that way, very different and divergent streams could join the Pentecostal movement, as nearly everybody who desired it could become part of it. Because of that, internal tensions and splits were a fundamental part of the movement right from its beginnings. The spread of the Azusa Street revival was essentially a kind of networking within evangelical and missionary circles. It took place at least in three different ways: correspondence and magazines; evangelistic journeys and

³⁰ F. G. Henke, 'The Gift of Tongues and Related Phenomena at the Present Day', *American Journal of Theology* 13 (1909), pp. 193-206 (193).

³¹ 'Indirectly it [the Fifth General Awakening] produced Pentecostalism.' (Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Southern Asia*, p. 99). See also Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, p. 190.

³² F. Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, (S. Plainfield: Bridge Publishing, 1980 [first published 1925]), p. 19.

³³ J. Creech, 'Visions of Glory', *Church History* 65 (1996), pp. 405-424.

other personal contacts; and missionary work. Some examples to emphasize this threefold global outreach might illustrate this.³⁴

In September 1906 Azusa Street started its first journal, *The Apostolic Faith*, with 5,000 copies; half a year later it was already printing 40,000. Numerous new Pentecostal periodicals started and existing ones became Pentecostal all over North America and far beyond. It is said that within the first year of the Azusa Street revival vernacular Pentecostal newspapers were printed in Norway, Germany, China, Japan, Palestine, and Brazil.³⁵ This publication network was accompanied by immense and intensive correspondence. In January 1907, it was reported that up to fifty letters reached Azusa Street alone every day.³⁶ Nearly all Pentecostal groups in the early years maintained extensive international mail networks. One gets the impression that each corresponded with every one. Through these written channels an imagined global Pentecostal community was created that assured the individual believer of the international success of the revival and made it attractive to join in.

But it was also through personal contacts that the message was spread. Right from the beginning the specific worship practice—heavily shaped by black spirituality—³⁷ of Azusa Street was passed on through common worship when people flocked from all over the country and even abroad to Los Angeles to ‘get their Pentecost’. Besides, quite a number of Pentecostal leaders undertook global evangelistic tours, so that ‘Pentecostals’ geographic restlessness seemed so pronounced that the movement ‘eventually became synonymous with itinerancy’.³⁸ For instance, Anselm Howard Post was an early member of Azusa Street who in 1907 started his travels abroad that took him as far as South Africa, England, Wales and Ceylon.³⁹ Thomas Ball Barratt had come from Norway to the USA and became Pentecostal after he met people with experience of Azusa Street in 1906. In 1908-1909 he

³⁴ For a good concise overview see Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, pp. 212-227.

³⁵ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, p. 263.

³⁶ See *Apostolic Faith*, Vol. 1, No. 5, Jan. 1907, p. 4.

³⁷ On the question of Black spirituality at Azusa Street and its difference from Parham’s teachings, see MacRobert, *The Black Roots*; Hollenweger, *Charismatisch-pfingstliches Christentum*, pp. 31-56; D. D. Daniels, ‘Everybody Bids You Welcome’, in M. W. Dempster et al. (eds.), *The Globalization of Pentecostalism* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1999), pp. 222-252. But see also A. Taves (*Fits, Trances, and Visions* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999], pp. 328-337) who opens up new perspectives to explain the different spiritualities between Parham and Azusa Street.

³⁸ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, p. 215.

³⁹ G. B. McGee, ‘Art. Post, Anselm Howard’, in S. M. Burgess et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 4th ed. 1990), p. 720.

travelled through much of Europe and undertook a journey to India.⁴⁰ Daniel Awrey circled the globe in 1909, in 1910/11 he was in India and China, and he died in Liberia in 1913.⁴¹ Frank Bartleman, after he had already travelled extensively in the USA, started in 1910 on a round-the-world trip via Europe, Palestine, Egypt, India, Ceylon, China, Japan, and Hawaii.⁴² These evangelists and several others travelled along established evangelical networks, and in the 'mission fields' they tried to impress their beliefs on missionaries open to the evangelical revival teachings.

However, the most spectacular global outreach of early Azusa Street was to be found in the missionaries who went out being confident that they were equipped with foreign tongues to preach the Pentecostal message in the vernaculars. Quite a few former faith missionaries participated in Azusa Street (e.g. Samuel J. Mead and George E. Berg) and even helped to identify specific African or Asian languages allegedly being spoken by some in worship services as is amply reported in *The Apostolic Faith*. Boosted by the impression that he had spoken Bengali at Azusa Street, A.G. Garr and his wife (who supposedly spoke Tibetan and Chinese) started for India where they arrived at the beginning of 1907.⁴³ S.J. Mead, former missionary with William Taylor in Africa for twenty years, organized a missionary party that allegedly had received African languages to go to Africa, and the group embarked in December 1906.⁴⁴ In September 1907, M.L. Ryan collected a dozen men and women to go to Japan, clearly confident that they would be equipped with the necessary languages through missionary tongues.⁴⁵ When these missionaries arrived at their 'mission fields', they naturally became disillusioned because missionary tongues were not available,⁴⁶ but it seems that only a very few abandoned their Pentecostal objectives. Some returned early, some concentrated on revival preaching among western

⁴⁰ T. B. Barratt, *When the Fire Fell and an Outline of My Life* (Oslo, 1927); N. Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1964), p. 68.

⁴¹ *Apostolic Faith*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Oct. 1906, p. 4; H. D. Hunter, *International Pentecostal Holiness Church* (<http://www.pctii.org/arc/iphc.html>, 13.03.2002); Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, p. 83.

⁴² Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, p. 146.

⁴³ *Apostolic Faith*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Sept. 1906, p. 4; *Apostolic Faith*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Oct. 1906, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, pp. 220-221.

⁴⁵ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, p. 86.

⁴⁶ As Pentecostal theologian Gary McGee clearly stated: 'Evidence of any early Pentecostal missionary ever receiving a new language in this manner does not exist.' (G. B. McGee, *This Gospel ... Shall Be Preached*, [Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1986], p. 45). See also Henke, 'The Gift of Tongues and Related Phenomena at the Present Day', pp. 205-206. A theological reflection on the failing of missionary tongues is now going on within Pentecostal theology, see J. E. Powers, *Missionary Tongues?*, *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 17 (2000), p. 39-55.

missionaries, like the Garrs, and others stayed and turned to traditional methods;⁴⁷ in that way they played an essential role in establishing an international Pentecostal network.

This threefold global outreach of early Pentecostalism was not without success. Many faith missionaries (especially from the Christian and Missionary Alliance) joined the new Pentecostal network, as did also quite a few indigenous workers of faith missions.⁴⁸ At the end of 1908, the Pentecostal movement had taken root in around fifty countries all over the world,⁴⁹ and it could be stated that it had virtually 'circled the globe'⁵⁰. So, a real worldwide network was established. Only then, Azusa Street had proved to be the start of a worldwide revival, because without an immediate global establishment, the revival would have fallen short of all expectations according to its self-image.

Putting the Pentecostal beginnings into such a global context means that only this worldwide network could be named Pentecostalism in the true sense. Azusa Street was the prelude, but the beginning of Pentecostalism was reached when a global Pentecostal network was established. Neither a creed, an institution nor a place is the beginning of Pentecostalism, but a vast and vague international network; and in that specific sense Pentecostalism was a global movement right from its beginnings.

⁴⁷ It seems to be not entirely clear, whether all early Pentecostal missionaries initially believed they were equipped with missionary tongues. Further research should bring clarification, because already at Azusa Street we find the clear notion that tongues were not necessarily for use in a foreign field 'but as a sign to you of Pentecost' as G. A. Cook wrote to T. B. Barratt in October 1906 (D. Bundy, 'Spiritual Advice to a Seeker', *Pneuma* 14 [1992], pp. 159-170 [164]). Robeck gives further examples from the early times where speaking in tongues was not connected to foreign languages (W. F. Carother, Nov. 1906; Report of Chicago Revival, summer 1907; C. H. Mason, Feb./March 1907), see C. M. Robeck, *Making Sense of Pentecostalism in a Global Context* (Papers from the 28th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Springfield, 1999), p. 8.

⁴⁸ From China we know that in addition to that indigenous workers from established missions joined the Pentecostal fold, see D. Bays, *The Protestant Missionary Establishment and the Pentecostal Movement*, in E. L. Blumhofer et al. (eds.), *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 50-67 [61]; for India see M. Bergunder, *Constructing Indian Pentecostalism*, in A. H. Anderson and E. Tang, *Asian and Pentecostal. The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia* (Oxford: Regent) 2005, S. 177-213.

⁴⁹ Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, p. 15 n. 6.

⁵⁰ *Apostolic Faith* (Ore.), July-August 1908, p. 1; *Latter Rain Evangel*, March 1909, p. 5; quoted in Wacker, *Heaven Below*, p. 263.

Outlining a definition of Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism could not keep its initial promises. As Faupel has emphasised, by the end of 1908 it had become clear that Pentecostal expectations were not realised.⁵¹ 'The delay of the *parousia* and inability to speak in known tongues forced most Pentecostals to reassess their mission.'⁵² Unlike many others the Pentecostal revival did not vanish after the initial promises had to be revised. The global network that was established within few years marked the beginning of a movement that would vigorously shape world Christianity in years to come. This divergent, multi-voiced and fragmented movement kept the idea of a common Pentecostal identity, but it appears that it is very difficult for scholars to define this phenomenon appropriately. As Everett Wilson has pointed out, there is no institutional setting of Pentecostalism: 'At no time, within the ranks, did adherents make up a discrete, readily identifiable group.'⁵³ Moreover, Wilson also disputes the existence of an essentialisable theological agenda: 'By almost any standard, Pentecostalism presently is not what Charles Fox Parham or any of his successors has pronounced it to be, but rather what contemporary Brazilians, Koreans and Africans demonstrate that it actually is.'⁵⁴ Nevertheless, there are certainly things that form a distinctive Pentecostal identity however vague it might be. One might guess that it has something to do with a certain spiritual praxis (intuitive, experiential Spirit-centred devotion; oral liturgy; firm biblical orientation; narrative theology and testimonies; strong lay participation; healing, and so on). But even then it is rather something that is subject to constant change and dependent on mutual affirmation because 'every generation is the first generation'⁵⁵ in Pentecostalism. The vigorous debates about Pentecostal identity that are going on within Pentecostal theology will therefore rather help to shape, create and reaffirm this identity than to discover essential categories that could be used as a starting point for a scholarly definition.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, p. 228.

⁵² Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, p. 308.

⁵³ E. A. Wilson, 'They Crossed the Red Sea, Didn't They?', in M. W. Dempster et al. (eds.), *The Globalization of Pentecostalism* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1999), pp. 85-115 (108).

⁵⁴ Wilson, 'They Crossed the Red Sea, Didn't They?', p. 109.

⁵⁵ Wilson, 'They Crossed the Red Sea, Didn't They?', p. 106.

⁵⁶ For that debate see e.g. C. B. Johns, 'The Adolescence of Pentecostalism', *Pneuma* 17 (1995), pp. 3-17; J. K. A. Smith, 'The Closing of the Book', *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 11 (1997), pp. 49-71; S. Chan, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); A. Yong, *Discerning the Spirit(s)* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); D. M. Coulter, 'What Meant This?', *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*

If there are no institutional or theological avenues for definition, then it might be a good idea to look for a non-essential way of mapping a Pentecostal network as global discursive formation. I would suggest applying two criteria for Pentecostalism: the existence of historical connections and synchronous interrelations. Both these criteria have to be applied within a global context, as Pentecostalism is a global movement right from its very beginning. The first criterion demands that all that we count as Pentecostal must be connected within a vast diachronous network that goes back to the beginning of Pentecostalism. That means that the question of direct historical influences becomes a crucial one and that all parallel phenomena that are without historical connections (e.g. Irvingites, cargo movements) must not be called Pentecostal. In addition to historical connections, the second criterion demands that only that which is linked up by some sort of synchronous network can be called Pentecostalism. This purely descriptive definition corresponds, as far as I see, to the way most Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal scholars who prefer a broad definition of Pentecostalism are using the term, though they seldom make their use explicit. Moreover, this definitive proposal doesn't seem to be counterintuitive to common Pentecostal self-understanding. Although the definition is very much based on common sense, it has some rather harsh consequences for actual research, because without establishing a diachronous and synchronous network one must no longer speak of Pentecostalism.

For the establishment of the diachronous network a critical, strictly historical perspective has to be applied. Tracing historical connections usually means to focus on churches that have split and on pastors that changed their affiliation from one Pentecostal denomination to another, often taking with them whole congregations or even a set up of churches. It is precisely these frictions that are most important for the historian who tries to sketch a diachronous network. The problem is that this approach is usually not in line with the common stereotyped pattern of testimonies and hagiographies that church leaders like to tell. Especially in many popular accounts of denominational histories, the illusion is fostered that the respective church started under direct godly providence and splits or contacts with other churches or leaders, and so on are not thoroughly analysed. But then such accounts don't contribute much to Pentecostal history because they are not about Pentecostalism as such. If we want to

10.1 (2001), pp. 38-64.; V.-M. Kärkkäinen, 'Toward a Pneumatological Theology of Religions', *International Review of Mission* 91 (2002), pp. 187-198.

write a history of Pentecostalism we have to trace historical connections, and this information is often hard to get. They are usually not found in oral testimonies or written documents and are in danger of getting lost when the respective generation has died. It will never be possible to reconstruct the full diachronous interconnections; but it is necessary to have the gaps carefully in mind because without a diachronous network there is no Pentecostalism. In this context, it is of utmost importance that the bias of Western archival sources and indigenous hagiographical traditions is not reproduced by the historian but is critically broken up and put under hermeneutical suspicion.

Similarly, establishing a synchronous network is very demanding. The description of a major denomination that calls itself Pentecostal doesn't contribute much to the research of Pentecostalism. Instead, it is necessary to map a communicative network between different churches, organisations, and individuals that share the same diachronous network at the specific time period the research is focussing on. Through this synchronous network, theological styles and oral tradition will be made or kept compatible to each other. *Theologoumena* can be subjected to comparative control and be mutually assimilated, so that some sort of common Pentecostal identity will be created. This synchronous network is very fluid and is in no way a closed structure. It always remains open to discussion because it is subject to rapid historical change; and its construction will usually depend on certain biases of the scholar who undertakes it. But that does not mean that the power of representation is equally distributed within the synchronous network. On the contrary, representational power depends very much on the control of material and intellectual resources, so that dominant discourses are shaping the synchronous network and need to be thoroughly analysed.

Moreover, within the one ideal global synchronous network there are many partial networks (e.g. regional networks, charismatic movements, white American evangelical Pentecostal churches) and, if some church or organization is part of the historical but not of the contemporarily existing synchronous network then this is purely a descriptive statement. It could be the case that it was part of the synchronous network in the past and/or became (again) part of the network afterwards. The synchronous network has always tested boundaries as the case of the African Instituted Churches⁵⁷ shows, which share in many aspects common historical roots with the Pentecostal movement and were at a time, at least to some extent, loose part

⁵⁷ D. Maxwell, 'Historicizing Christian Independency', *Journal of African History* 40 (1999), pp. 243-264.

of a synchronous network; and there are many signs that some of them will reclaim a Pentecostal identity and re-enter the synchronous network.⁵⁸

In short, Pentecostalism is a constructed category that can be meaningfully applied when it refers to both a diachronous and synchronous network of global dimensions.

'Indigenous' Pentecostalism?

Pentecostalism has been a global endeavour right from its beginning. No country or place can claim the origin of Pentecostalism. Nevertheless, many Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in Africa, Asia and Latin America (and also in Europe!) display quite a strong white North American evangelical flavour that has its source in the huge missionary activities undertaken by Pentecostals from the United States. Theological statements of faith are copied from American Pentecostal originals, vernacular theological literature is translated from American sources; and in many cases, even worship service and style are shaped by American cultural patterns. This easily gives the impression that being Pentecostal—wherever it might be—means practicing an American Pentecostal way of spiritual life; and this opinion would even be backed by the popular self-understanding in quite a lot of Pentecostal circles all over the globe. And it is this observation that called many critics to the scene who designated Pentecostalism as an American religion that was exported from the United States to the Third World as a means of ideological control.⁵⁹

It was first Walter Hollenweger who forcefully disputed this one-sided-point of view, and showed that there are many other variants of Pentecostalism with theological teachings not directly dependent on American models that can claim the same representational right for being Pentecostal.⁶⁰ Hollenweger's insights have shaped a whole generation of new and critical Pentecostal theologians who are now in the lead of Pentecostal scholarship;⁶¹ among them it goes without saying that Pentecostalism must not be defined by North American evangelical standards only.

Next came the anthropologists and sociologists who became interested in Non-Western Pentecostal communities and started to do field work among them. Especially in the last two decades, a vast scope of research has been

⁵⁸ A. H. Anderson, *African Reformation* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2001).

⁵⁹ S. Brouwer et al., *Exporting the American Gospel* (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁶⁰ W. J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press, 1972).

⁶¹ J. A. B. Jongeneel (ed.), *Pentecost, Mission and Ecumenism* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992).

done that has deepened the academic knowledge of the Pentecostal movement tremendously.⁶² As the most amazing finding, anthropological research showed the Pentecostal movement as a very contextual phenomenon and hardly as something destructive to existing society. Interestingly, this factual contextualization was found in both independent churches and churches with established organizational links to North American denominations. However, what anthropologists observed was not the result of a conscious contextual Pentecostal theological agenda which was, as a rule, absent or even categorically rejected by the respective leaders and theological spokespersons.

Slowly, Pentecostal theologians are starting to cope with that situation and—coming from the Hollenwegerian approach but also influenced by a recent study of Harvey Cox⁶³—they are trying to make theological sense out of the anthropological data. At present, Pentecostal theologians based in North America and Europe are in the forefront of this discussion,⁶⁴ and, as a result, the white North American evangelical type is regarded as just one variety of the Pentecostal movement, as can best be seen from the fact that there are now several acknowledged Pentecostal perspectives in the West, like Hispanic-American, and African American ('black') Pentecostalism.⁶⁵ Gradually, Pentecostal theologians from Asia, Africa and Latin America are joining into this venture,⁶⁶ and, certainly, it is vital that they will take the lead in future.

The theological challenge which contemporary Pentecostal theology faces is curiously very similar to that in the mainline churches, where over the last decades concepts of inculturation and contextualization were hotly

⁶² For an overview on anthropological literature on Latin America see M. Bergunder, 'The Pentecostal Movement and Basic Ecclesial Communities in Latin America', *International Review of Mission* 91 (2002), pp. 163-186; for Africa see A. H. Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2000); for India M. Bergunder, 'Miracle Healing and Exorcism', *International Review of Mission* 90 (2001), pp. 103-112.

⁶³ H. Cox, *Fire From Heaven* (London: Cassell, 1996).

⁶⁴ See e.g. D. Petersen, *Not By Might Nor By Power* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1996); Yong, *Discerning the Spirit(s)*; Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost*.

⁶⁵ See e.g. R. I. Gerloff, *A Plea for British Black Theologies* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992); S. Solivan, *The Spirit, Pathos and Liberation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); Daniels, "Everybody Bids You Welcome".

⁶⁶ But see D. Kim, 'The Healing of Han in Korean Pentecostalism', *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 15 (1999), pp. 123-139; J. Sepúlveda, 'Indigenous Pentecostalism and the Chilean Experience', in: A. H. Anderson & W. J. Hollenweger (ed.), *Pentecostals after a Century* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 111-134.

discussed.⁶⁷ So, it is not surprising that Pentecostal theologians sometimes use words like 'contextualization' or 'inculturation' when they go into the issue. But they rarely deal with the philosophical and theological concepts behind it.⁶⁸ At present one can observe a certain uncertainty among Pentecostals of how to deal hermeneutically with the question of contextualization. That has certainly something to do with widespread reservations against ecumenical theology in general but probably more with the intrinsic difficulties: how to relate contextualization to a meaningful Pentecostal theology of mission (which is still missing too); or how to relate actual contextual performance to often explicit anti-contextual attitudes among the persons involved, and so on. However, Pentecostal theology can't avoid these fundamental questions, but if it tackles these issues it will probably become a heated debate. Moreover, as the so-called ecumenical theology is still struggling for meaningful concepts of inculturation and contextualization a distinctive Pentecostal voice would be more than welcome to global academic theology in general.

Nevertheless, there is some tendency to avoid this delicate debate by using a much older concept that still has some credit within evangelical circles: indigenization.⁶⁹ The concept of indigenization stems from Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn in the 19th Century who propagated as the aim of mission the 'three selfs': self-government, self-support, and self-propagation.⁷⁰ This concept avoids a clear attitude towards inculturation or contextualization. It only emphasises organizational independence from 'Western' Pentecostalism but implies that this would also mean independence from Western dominance. Nevertheless, one should be careful not to fall prey to a wrong postcolonial reading of 'indigenous' as free from Western domination. The ongoing academic discussion on postcolonial theory has shown that the simple binary code Western/indigenous does not help to decipher dominant colonial and postcolonial discourses, because the colonial encounter was quite complex and produced divers, hybrid and fluid configurations.⁷¹

⁶⁷ See e.g. G. Collet (ed.), *Theologien der Dritten Welt* (Immensee, 1990); D. J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991), pp. 420-457; S. B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1992).

⁶⁸ But see Yong, *Discerning the Spirit(s)*, p. 206-219.

⁶⁹ For a critique see Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, pp. 448-450.

⁷⁰ Through Melvin Hodges (*The Indigenous Church* [Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1953]) this concept became quite known in Pentecostal circles too.

⁷¹ See e.g. B. J. Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial theory* (London: Verso, 1997); R. J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism* (London: Blackwell, 2001).

It is too simple to suggest that Western denominations like the Assemblies of God try to dominate their non-Western sister churches whereas Pentecostal churches in Africa, Asia and Latin America that are without established institutional ties to any Western organisation or church would be more free, even if both have indigenous leadership. Oppression must not be narrowed down to the western/non-western antithesis. This would be misleading and would underestimate the effect of dominant discursive practices that work beyond established institutional links. Many independent Pentecostal churches get quite a lot of money from Western partners; their leaders have studied at Western Bible schools and they regularly entertain Westerners as guests or missionaries at Gospel campaigns, and so on.

Moreover, beliefs and rituals in indigenous churches are not necessarily more contextualized than in the churches that have official ties to Western denominations. Even if one would add a fourth, 'theological' dimension to the above given three aspects of indigenization one would not get satisfying results, because according to this logic churches would be most indigenized when they hold the most non-Western set of doctrines and practices. But without discussing criteria for relating that to the universal claim of the Christian message and for determining an authentic Christian witness, this theological dimension remains meaningless.

Furthermore, the growth rate of independent churches is not inevitably better than that of Western denominations. In many regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the Assemblies of God are the fastest growing Pentecostal church. Indigenous Churches are also not a benefit in themselves because independence does not necessarily means good governance. If one analyses leadership, corruption, nepotism and similar phenomena, then the line is not at all between Western and 'indigenous' Pentecostalism, but in between.

So, for the hermeneutical task that lies ahead of Pentecostal theology the concept of indigenization won't be suitable, because it falls short of expectations.

Conclusion

Constructing Pentecostalism is a difficult task that encounters quite a few methodological problems. On the one hand, there is an historical problem that must be radically freed from theological premises. Moreover, historiography of Pentecostalism has to make sure that it really traces a

Constructing Pentecostalism

diachronous and synchronous network of a Pentecostal movement. Otherwise, it becomes doubtful whether it makes sense to apply the term Pentecostal at all. On the other hand, it is very difficult to make theological sense of the peculiarities of Pentecostalism within a regional context. Anthropologists' observation of factual contextualization could be taken as the starting point of reflective concepts of contextual Pentecostal theology. Constructing Pentecostalism is a task that refers to the very fundamental issues of the academic study of Pentecostalism. So the arguments presented here could be helpful in the ongoing discussion of how Pentecostalism in general can be studied best.

An Evaluative History of Covenant Ministries International and its offshoots from 1995 to the present day

Ewan Robertson¹

Abstract

This paper is an evaluative history of *Covenant Ministries International* (CMI) and its offshoots from about 1995 to the present day. To the author's knowledge, no-one has attempted such a history of this group, over this period of time.

Walker famously denoted CMI as Restoration 1 (R1), along with groups such as New Frontiers who followed more faithfully the line of teaching propounded by Arthur Wallis and Bryn Jones.² CMI - once called Harvestime - was headed up by Bryn Jones, who died in 2003. It may well be true, as Hewitt stated, that 'along with Arthur Wallis, he (Bryn Jones) has been the single most influential architect of Restorationism in Britain'.³ Leaving aside CMI which in its heyday in the late 1980s represented 65 to 70 churches,⁴ other groups were spawned from Harvestime/CMI, such as New Frontiers and the Cornerstone Network.

This paper is part of a longer, MTh thesis submitted to Regents College in June 2006, which also set out to evaluate the validity of apostolic ministry in today's church. Space will not allow that debate to be included in this paper, although how the leaders within CMI interpreted and applied what the Bible says about apostolic accountability and authority, affected why CMI fragmented, so this will be discussed. The paper will seek to show that CMI was a worthy experiment or attempt to return to a biblical model of church government, which initially appeared to succeed, but which latterly floundered due to human factors. It will also be argued that this significant

¹ Principal and Dean of Studies at the Bible College of Wales, Swansea, UK.

² A Walker *Restoring the Kingdom* (Guildford: Eagle, 1998), pp. 41-42

³ B. Hewitt *Doing a New Thing* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995), p. 34

⁴ A. Scotland, interview with the author, 19/3/06

Restorationist group did make a positive contribution to the UK church scene.

Introduction

It is no longer quite so true that 'there is relatively little written about the Restoration movement'.⁵ In addition to Walker's and Hewitt's books already referred to, William Kay is in the process of writing a major history of the apostolic networks and their leaders.⁶ Emmett's paper⁷ plus a PhD thesis by Aubrey⁸ have been recent, major contributions. Earlier, the influential *Restoration* magazine, which was published bi-monthly from 1975 to 1992 by Harvestime/CMI and which had a worldwide readership, helped promote Restorationist principles.⁹

This paper has also drawn on oral sources. The author has been able to interview a range of people within what was CMI, and to have email contact with others.¹⁰

Throughout this paper, to differentiate between the two leading apostles within CMI, Bryn Jones and his brother Keri, they shall be referred to by their first names.

1. History of CMI from 1995 to the Present Day

When the new churches started back in the 1970s, there was a hope that they would be the vehicles or wineskins which, through the fervent prayers of their members, would pave the way for a mighty revival. Wallis wrote about a three, critical phases in this process: renewal of individuals by the Holy Spirit; restoration of the church as 'a community of true believers, baptised in water and the Holy Spirit, totally committed to Christ and to each other' and revival, whereby God would break in and cause a massive turning of the unsaved to God.¹¹

⁵ D. Emmett 'An Examination of the Development of a Distinctive Restoration Doctrine during the years 1975-1985 and the extent of its application in the city of Manchester in recent years' (unpublished paper), *Regents College MTh dissertation*, May 2001, p.1

⁶ W. K. Kay, *Apostolic Networks in Britain*, (Carlisle, Paternoster, 2007).

⁷ 'An Examination'

⁸ R. Aubrey, 'Apostles Today An Ecclesiological Enquiry in the Light of the Emergence of New Apostolic Reformation Groups', *Cardiff University PhD thesis*, 2002

⁹ 'An Examination', p.1

¹⁰ Those contacted represent a significant cross-section of key figures who were in CMI, including Alan Scotland, David Matthew, Hugh Thompson and Ian Rossol.

¹¹ A. Wallis, 'The Best is yet to Come', *Restoration*, May-June, 1983, pp.17-20.

Jonathan Wallis gave a detailed account of how his father, Arthur, hosted a group of six men in 1972, including Bryn, David Mansell and Hugh Thompson, to look at biblical prophecy, and how this group expanded to include others, such as Terry Virgo and John Noble in subsequent years.¹² Wallis, from a Brethren background, had already undertaken a journey of discovery in the 1950s, concerning baptism with the Holy Spirit and on the need to seek revival. He was influential at the start of the charismatic renewal in the 1960s, alongside Michael Harper.¹³ While there was an excitement at the rediscovery of the Holy Spirit at this time,¹⁴ the focus of these meetings was the re-structuring of the church. As Hocken stated, for the Restorationists, 'the outpouring of the Holy Spirit required new wineskins, and the formation of new churches based on a new foundation, often seen as the five-fold ministry of Ephesians 4:11'.¹⁵

Bryn had moved to Bradford in the mid 1970s on what he felt was a leading from God.¹⁶ A house-group church plus two other groups – one Brethren (whose elders Bryn helped with a difficult divorce case) and one ex-Baptist who had become charismatic – were seeking oversight. They merged to become Church House, and the first church of the Harvestime/CMI group. Keri was recognized as an apostle in 1979, joining his brother Bryn in the apostolic oversight of what became CMI.

The first Dales Bible Week, held on the Great Yorkshire Showground in Harrogate was in the summer of 1976 and was 'hugely significant'.¹⁷ Then, and in subsequent years in the 1970s, it provided a platform for Bryn and his developing team, as well as visiting speakers from the American based 'Fort Lauderdale Five' – notably Ern Baxter – to enunciate clearly the principles of Restoration of the church and Kingdom of God.¹⁸ Meanwhile, Virgo, with support from Bryn, commenced the Downs Bible Week in 1979. For the next five years speakers were shared between the two Bible Weeks. In 1984 Virgo amicably agreed with Bryn to separate from CMI to form his own ministry.¹⁹

¹² J. Wallis, *Radical Christian*, (Eastbourne: Kingsway, 1991), pp. 181-234

¹³ A. Wallis, 'Springs of Restoration', *Restoration*, November/December 1988: reprinted from a 1980 edition as part of the tribute to Wallis after his recent death, p.18

¹⁴ David Mansell recounted that on his first visit to Terry Virgo's church in Seaford, in 1972, he prayed for a man in a wheel chair who was miraculously healed (D. Mansell interview with the author, Rugby: 24/4/06) also recounted by Virgo: T. Virgo, *No Well-Worn Paths* (Eastbourne: Kingsway, 2001), pp. 83-85.

¹⁵ P. Hocken *Streams of Renewal* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997), p.206

¹⁶ D. Matthew, telephone interview with the author: May 2003.

¹⁷ *No Well-Worn*, p.106

¹⁸ *Apostolic Networks*, unpagged

¹⁹ *No Well Worn*, p.140

As well as this public platform of the Bible Weeks, the Restoration message was also being widely disseminated via *Restoration Magazine*, which had a wide readership.²⁰

Kay is right to state that 'from 1976 to 1990 there was a steady upward trend of growth both in Bradford and within the Harvestime network'.²¹ The new 'upsurge of worship', with vibrant new songs celebrating 'taking the land for Jesus', the encouragement of active involvement by everyone in the churches, the doing away of 'restrictive traditions and arcane rituals' and church committees or administrative procedures, all attracted large numbers into the Restorationist churches.²²

In 1986, while on a leadership programme initiated by Bryn, called the International Christian Leadership Programme (ICLP), Emmett recorded Bryn's report concerning CMI's growth over 13 years:

- 52 churches (with 16 more emerging) with a total of 65 elders
- 14 full-time people in ministry in the Harvestime, Apostolic Team²³
- Television ministry with a budget of £80,000
- 100 people on GO (Gospel Outreach) teams
- ICLP running for six years which became Covenant College
- Harvestime Services (including printing of Christian literature) with a £600,000 turnover.²⁴

In addition, the CMI Apostolic Team was working in partnership with a number of churches in the USA,²⁵ and by 1996 with approximately 12 churches in South Africa; churches in southern African countries; in India and Sri Lanka; also with churches in Norway, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Romania.²⁶ CMI also had an international relief agency called Help International and a 'think-tank' called the Institute of World Concerns with commentators writing on world issues.²⁷

²⁰ By 1982 *Restoration* had a circulation of 12,000: *Restoration* July/August 182, quoted in *Apostolic Networks*, unpagged

²¹ *Apostolic Networks*, unpagged

²² *Apostolic Networks*, unpagged

²³ Membership of what became known as the Apostolic Team was fluid, always consisting of Bryn and Keri, and in the 1990s of men recognised as prophets, such as Tony Ling, Alan Scotland and David Mansell, but there were others too.

²⁴ 'An Examination'

²⁵ Bryn Jones spent five years as the pastor of New Covenant Church, St. Louis, Missouri from 1978 to 1983, before returning to the UK: 'A Tribute to Bryn Jones', author unknown, (Ansty: Sidewalk Design Services, June 2003), p.16

²⁶ *Apostolic Teams*, pp.1-2

²⁷ *Apostolic Teams*, p.2

Both Mansell and Scotland also independently testified to the strength and vibrancy of the different personalities and gifting among the Apostolic Team at this time.²⁸ Generally those in the CMI churches were also enjoying the way the churches functioned, with only a minority leaving due to disagreements over different issues.²⁹

Given all of the above, what made the group fragment, and why did it happen? The following reasons (which were intertwined) are offered as an analysis. The issues of accountability and authority will be seen as paramount.

Covenant and Authority

Emmett is probably right to state that 'covenant and authority are unequivocally linked' within what was CMI, so that there was an expectation that those under the spiritual authority of the apostle were in covenant relationship to him.³⁰ Scotland challenged Bryn in the 1990s about CMI's perception of covenant, feeling that this concept had become legalistic.³¹ Emmett is probably right to state of CMI, around 2001, 'perhaps some of the simplicity of friendship has been lost in the covenant language'.³²

The Development of a Hierarchical Structure

It was always claimed by both Bryn and Keri that CMI was not hierarchical.³³ It is quite clear that as the 1990s progressed, the perception of firstly a number of elders in the churches affiliated to CMI, and then more seriously, of some within the Apostolic Team itself, was that a hierarchical, centralised, bureaucratic structure had developed. The reasons for this could be as follows:

²⁸ A. Scotland, interview with the author, Rugby: 23/4/06 and Mansell, interview, 24/4/06

²⁹ Kay rightly states that in certain television documentaries on CMI in the 1980s, it would have been fairer to have interviewed some of the contented, 600 strong congregation of Church House in Bradford, rather than the small number who left: *Apostolic Networks*, unpagged.

³⁰ 'An Examination', pp.41-44

³¹ Scotland, interview: 18/1/06

³² 'An Examination', p.46

³³ For example, K. Jones, 'Pyramidal Authority?', in *Apostles Today*, Appendix 1: Keri stated that there existed accountability among the CMI apostles and prophets, with no 'papal throne' among them.

Personality of the Apostles

Kay is right to assert that 'Apostolic networks are, by definition, centred around the guiding ministry of an apostle....Naturally, the totality of the ministry of the apostle, including the expression of charismatic gifts, will be mediated by the apostle's personality'.³⁴ Both Bryn and Keri were men of strong conviction and personality. Hopkins recounts that on one occasion in Bradford, Bryn actually said to him that certain men have been gifted by God with strong personality, in order to enable them to achieve God's purpose, an idea apparently espoused by Watchman Nee; Hopkins has no doubt that Bryn saw himself as such a man, adding that 'a man's strength can also be his weakness'.³⁵ This agrees with Matthew's analysis: he saw Bryn as someone who by virtue of his strength of personality was able to pioneer a way in the initial phases of development for the new churches. However, in the 1990s it appears that the CMI apostles were still exercising executive control over local churches within the group,³⁶ causing some elders to leave.³⁷ Scotland recounts how on one occasion in the early to mid 1990s, Bryn addressed the Apostolic Team, and stated that everyone should lay down their vision to serve his own, which some among the Team found somewhat stifling.³⁸ This *modus operandi* was perhaps a reversal of Ephesians 4:12: apostles are supposed to serve the saints in preparing them for ministry; not the saints serving the apostles in their ministry.

Scotland also feels that other factors which may have clouded Bryn's judgement from the mid 1990s were ill-health and tiredness. He had heart problems, broke his ankle in the late 1990s and suffered a minor stroke.³⁹

Move to the Midlands

Wallis stated in 1985 that a strength of CMI was that it had 'no denominational headquarters', and that the basis of unity among the churches was 'the work of the Holy Spirit'.⁴⁰ 10 years later, Bryn Jones stated that all links among the churches within CMI were relational and that

³⁴ *Apostolic Networks*, unpagged

³⁵ Hopkins' interview: 27/3/06

³⁶ Matthew, interview: May 2003

³⁷ The author knows of at least five such elders from different churches, all of whom joined churches affiliated to New Frontiers.

³⁸ A. Scotland interview with the author, Swansea: 18/1/06

³⁹ Scotland, interview: 19/3/06

⁴⁰ A. Wallis, 'Men on the Spot: Men on the Move' *Restoration* September/October 1985, pp. 3-4

there was 'no central headquarters'.⁴¹ However, in 1989 there was a move on the part of the Apostolic Team from Church House in Bradford to a new, purpose built complex at Nettle Hill, Ansty, near Coventry. As well as an administrative centre for the main Apostolic Team members, Covenant College, an Institute of World Concerns and Dales Television were all based here. In speaking of the move to Nettle Hill, Aubrey wrote: 'one of the problems CMI has faced in recent times is the that relationship was replaced unwittingly ...by organisation', the Team being removed from the church communities and being based in a headquarters.⁴² Matthew felt that the move to Nettle Hill made a number of elders from CMI churches feel even more isolated from the Apostolic Team than some had felt before.⁴³

The Apostolic Team

Related to this move, the Apostolic Team seemed to some to becoming more and more like a 'pinnacle' of authority, separated from local church elders.⁴⁴ Aubrey stated the CMI view of the Apostolic Team: 'It is within the 'team' of CMI that all the major decisions concerning the related churches are made – faith and order, policy, doctrine – these decisions are binding on related churches....(they) are not infallible, yet they are expected to be treated as the judgements of God for his people'.⁴⁵

Wallis had conceived the idea of an apostolic team as providing 'a new evangelistic thrust as well as openings for younger men with apostolic and prophetic ministry',⁴⁶ but this contrasts with his later view, that apostolic teams could become 'inflexible', and 'so easilysomething rigid and exclusive'... 'a "political" thing, with any expression of misgiving being interpreted as disloyalty'.⁴⁷ Walker had earlier stated similar sentiments: 'Unwittingly, I think the establishment of apostolic teamshas added another tier to Restorationist organization', whose members 'act as messengers between the eldership and the apostle'.⁴⁸

⁴¹ *Doing a New Thing*, p.24

⁴² 'Apostles Today', p.328

⁴³ 'An Examination', pp.63-64

⁴⁴ 'An Examination', p.64

⁴⁵ 'Apostles Today', p.210

⁴⁶ A. Wallis, 'Springs of Restoration', p.21

⁴⁷ J. Wallis, *Radical Christian*, pp.263-264

⁴⁸ *Restoring*, p.180

Ambivalence about Recognising and Releasing New Apostles

One of the major events of CMI's history in the late 1990s was the recognition by Bryn of three of the Apostolic Team as apostles: Alan Scotland, Paul Scanlon and Andrew Owen.

This recognition by Bryn was to contribute significantly to the fragmentation of CMI, although it was undoubtedly not Bryn's intention.

It is clear that Bryn realized that Scotland had an emerging gift beyond that of local church leadership. Scotland had already, since the mid 1980s, acted as Bryn's apostolic delegate for the CMI churches in the southeast of England. In the 1990s, up to 1997, Scotland could be viewed as being Bryn's 'right-hand man', accompanying him on many ministry trips in the UK and abroad. Scotland recounted how in 1990, when with Bryn at a meeting in a hotel in New York, a man on the platform publicly prophesied over Scotland that he saw for him a hat, symbolising a new level of authority; a field symbolising a wider sphere of influence and an axe, symbolising a new sharpness in his gifting. Afterwards Bryn said to Scotland that this clearly meant Scotland should move into apostolic ministry, and that he would work with him over a period of two years to see him recognised as an apostle.⁴⁹

However, this recognition took longer to happen, due perhaps to internal disagreement between Bryn and Keri concerning the recognition of Scotland, and possibly Owen and Scanlon too.⁵⁰ It is clear that Bryn became increasingly convinced that he should recognize such emerging ministries, and according to Rossol, he made a public declaration at the last CMI Bible Week of the 1990s (1996) that he wanted to 'confirm' 'sons into their calling'.⁵¹ Keri however, had always wanted to keep a tight operation within CMI,⁵² being reluctant therefore to broaden and therefore perhaps dilute the apostolic leadership as he saw it. According to Scotland, Keri – whom Scotland has always appreciated for his passion for Jesus and the Kingdom of God – had a major weakness in the area of recognising and releasing men into their callings, which kept CMI locked up on the 'pin-head' of Bryn and Keri.⁵³

⁴⁹ Interview, Scotland: 18/1/06

⁵⁰ 'Apostles Today', p.285. According to Aubrey, by 1997 Keri was most in favour of Owen being recognised as an apostle, although even here he was unsure about the timing

⁵¹ I. Rossol, interview with the author by telephone: 10/5/06

⁵² Interview, Matthew: 23/1/06

⁵³ Scotland, interviews: 18/1/06 and 19/3/06

A ceremony was arranged by Bryn to lay hands on these three men, in Leicester, in the late summer of 1997.⁵⁴ According to Aubrey, Bryn lacked accountability and actually acted 'unlawfully' in recognising them as apostles, as he had not obtained the agreement of Keri within the college of apostles.⁵⁵ However, Rossol recounted that Keri did actually agree with the recognition latterly, and wrote Bryn a letter confirming this, also giving apologies that he could not attend the ceremony due to a previously booked flight to America,⁵⁶ making Aubrey's account inaccurate.

It seems clear that although Bryn recognised these men as apostles, his hope was that they would remain within the 'fold' of CMI, under his fatherly apostolic oversight.⁵⁷ There was a picture given at or shortly after the recognition ceremony of the interlocking circles of the Olympic Games, symbolising the working together of the different ministries.⁵⁸ However, within a year both Scanlon and Owen were working with their own ministries, both establishing large, city churches, in Bradford and Glasgow respectively.

Scotland sought to work within CMI, contrary to Aubrey's contention that all of those recognized by Bryn as apostles in 1997 had wanted to work autonomously,⁵⁹ but had encountered increasing difficulties in these attempts. For example, after being sent to China by Bryn to investigate and report back on ministry in China, he felt God called him to raise money for a humanitarian project in southwest China, to relieve poverty. Bryn and Keri informed Scotland that CMI had no mandate for non-English speaking nations. This troubled Scotland who reminded them of the Great Commission to all nations (Matthew 28:18-20). When Scotland wanted to raise the money for this project, Bryn firstly said Scotland should form his own charity to do this, but then, when the money was quite easily raised from the churches Scotland oversaw for CMI, Bryn wanted to take over the project. At this point Scotland refused.⁶⁰ Scotland parted ways with CMI in December 1997, and founded *Lifelink International* early in 1998, firstly with

⁵⁴ Bryn had asked the South East region CMI pastors in September 1996 whether they would be happy to receive Scotland as their apostle instead of him, to which they had unanimously said they would, all feeling that their relationship was with Scotland and not with Bryn. There had been a delay in this ceremony of recognition that year due to Bryn suffering a minor stroke early in 1997 from which he took some time to recover: I. Rawley, Email to the author, 10/7/6

⁵⁵ 'Apostles Today', p.285

⁵⁶ Interview, Rossol, 10/5/06

⁵⁷ Rossol, Interview: 10/5/06

⁵⁸ S. Matthew Interview: 31/3/06

⁵⁹ 'Apostles Today', p.245

⁶⁰ Scotland, Interview: 18/1/06

the churches that had been overseen by Scotland for CMI in southeast England, but others then joined *Lifelink* from within the CMI network, both in the UK and USA.⁶¹ Six weeks before his death in 2003, Bryn asked Scotland's forgiveness for the way he had treated him and was reconciled to Scotland.⁶²

Concerning Bryn's and Keri's handling of Scotland after his appointment as an apostle, firstly there was a reluctance to release authority to a fellow apostle. Secondly, there was an unwillingness to be open to entreaty from – and therefore to express peer level accountability to – a newly recognised apostle within the team. This led to a major division within what was CMI, and perhaps reflects Wagner's comments that 'peer level accountability is the one level on which the future integrity of the New Apostolic Reformation will undoubtedly stand or fall'.⁶³

Separation between Bryn and Keri Jones

Perhaps the final end of CMI was the parting of the two main apostles within the group. Keri oversaw a number of churches within CMI, and some of the men leading these churches formed close bonds with him.⁶⁴ As Bryn suffered ill-health in the late 1990s, it looked as if Keri would take over leadership of all the CMI churches around that time.⁶⁵ However, on his recovery, there were two, CMI elders' conferences at Nettle Hill in September 2001 and January 2002 at which Keri honourably agreed that Bryn should cover the churches he had overseen prior to May 2000.⁶⁶ Keri soon afterwards formed his own ministry with the churches he oversaw, called *Ministries without Borders* which left only a small number of churches within Bryn in CMI.

Apparently Keri had stated at one of the elders' conferences that he was being 'separated to' a new ministry and not 'separated from' Bryn and CMI.⁶⁷ However, Rossol's perception, shared by others such as Matthews and Scotland, is that it was really a 'separation from' Bryn on firstly theological grounds, as Bryn was becoming open to theological ideas such as the jettisoning the imposition of women wearing head coverings in meetings to pray and to prophesy, which he now saw as legalistic, and to working

⁶¹ Rawley, email, 10/7/06

⁶² Scotland, Interview: 18/1/06 and 19/3/06

⁶³ C. P. Wagner, *Churchquake*, Ventura: Regal, 1999, p.122

⁶⁴ Scotland, Interview: 19/3/06

⁶⁵ 'Apostles Today', p.248

⁶⁶ 'Apostles Today', p.249

⁶⁷ I. Rossol, Interview with the author, Swansea: 30/1/06

with other ministries, while Keri held opposite and firm views about these issues.⁶⁸ Secondly, Rossol also feels there had been no close relationship between Bryn and Keri from the late 1990s, and that Bryn actually found more common ground with Scotland than he did Keri – again agreed with by Scotland.⁶⁹

2. CMI's Contribution to the Church in the UK

The Original Vision Not Fulfilled

The Restorationist vision of 'one body', freed from denominational structures, and instead composed of Restorationist 'streams', which Wallis had clearly anticipated, has not happened.⁷⁰ Possible reasons for this are as follows:

While there has been a general decline in church attendance in the UK⁷¹, statistics showed that there was a healthy 230,000 in total Sunday church attendance from New Churches in 2000, from 1,673 churches.⁷² But there has also been a blurring of lines between evangelical churches within traditional denominations and the new churches generally. Peck mentions that events such as Spring Harvest, which is not purely a new church initiative, attracted 80,000 on four sites in 2003,⁷³ with the worship styles at such an event, as well as at conventions like New Wine and Soul Survivor for young people, being very similar to what was found at Restorationist Bible Weeks. Moreover, doctrinal issues such as apostleship have been explored and cautiously welcomed by some in mainline denominations, as shown by the extensive debate on apostles in the Baptist, charismatic splinter group publication, *Talk Magazine*.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the denominations have not faded away. The Anglican church – the wineskin

⁶⁸ Rossol, interview: 30/1/06; Matthew, interview:23/1/06; Scotland interviews: 18/1/06 and 19/3/06

⁶⁹ Rossol, interview: 30/1/06; Scotland interviews: 18/1/06 and 19/1/06

⁷⁰ 'Springs of Restoration', p.19

⁷¹ E. Gibbs and I. Coffey, *Church Next*, (Leicester:IVP, 2001), p.21: between 1979 and 1998 church attendance dropped from 5.4 million to 3.7 million, in spite of a population growth of 46 in 1979 to 50 million in 1998.

⁷² A. Peck 'New Churches at the Crossroads' *Christianity and Renewal*, June 2003, p.15, quoting figures taken from *Religious Trends* No. 3 2002/2003 ed. P. Brierley.

⁷³ 'New Churches', p.14

⁷⁴ 'The Apostolic Debate', (ed.) S. Ibbotson, *Talk Magazine*, Autumn 2002

that dates back to the sixteenth century – has given birth to Alpha, perhaps ‘the most dynamic evangelistic tool of recent decades’.⁷⁵

Related to the above, the hardening of CMI’s lines in terms of ‘distinctive’ beliefs, and in some cases unwillingness to engage with churches of other streams and denominations, actually caused a separation from what was happening in the church generally in the UK. Scotland feels that a weakness of Bryn and Keri was an inability to engage and work with other Christian groups and ministries – a view shared by Matthew, who stated this was probably a major cause of the decline of CMI in the 1990s.⁷⁶

Positive Contributions

Firstly, numerically, as stated above, there has been significant growth among the new churches. Then, the new churches have introduced many positive emphases into the church scene generally. Both Peck and Miller – the latter commenting on some non-denominational churches in the USA – have highlighted good emphases from these churches, many of which have been embraced by mainline denominations: the freedom from bureaucracy, their visionary, ‘entrepreneurial leadership’, the encouragement of participation of everyone in the churches to be involved rather than simply professional clergy or leaders, contemporary worship and a ‘can do’ attitude of positivism and hope.⁷⁷ The emphasis on church as a family, bound together by relationship, whose members are committed to one another, every day of the week, was another definite and positive emphasis of CMI.⁷⁸

The Offshoots of CMI

Negatively there has been fragmentation from the break-up of CMI. Positively there is now a multiplicity of churches and Bible Colleges across the UK and world as a result of this fragmentation. These will now be evaluated below.

Ministries without Borders, Lifelink International and Together

Matthew, drawing on Stackhouse, outlines a number of options for evangelical churches to be sustained, following the lack of the revival which

⁷⁵ ‘New Churches’, p.16

⁷⁶ Scotland, interview: 19/3/06 and Matthew, interview: May 2003.

⁷⁷ ‘New Churches’, p.14 and Reinventing, pp.20-24 and 178-180

⁷⁸ Matthew, Interview: May 2003

Restorationists and others had hoped would happen from the 1970s to 1990s.⁷⁹ *Ministries without Borders*, *Lifelink International* and *Together* (see below), have followed the first emphasis: 'the local church as family', generally with churches not more than two or three hundred strong in order to preserve a sense of relationship within the church, and participation in meetings. While these churches seek to reach out, they have a priority to promote pastoral care and maturity among those in the church. This kind of church seems to emulate the New Testament church the most, following Paul's emphases regarding the church and body ministry (Colossians 1:28; Romans 12:4-13; 1 Corinthians 12-14 etc.).⁸⁰

Ministries without Borders is under the apostolic oversight of Keri and Brian Shutt,⁸¹ based at All Nations Church in Cardiff. There are 13 churches in this group in the UK, a small number in the USA, connections with churches in the Philippines and India, and 18 churches in a network in Norway under the apostolic oversight of Noralv Askeland, who was recognised as an apostle by Bryn and Keri in 1995. There is also a Bible College in Cardiff called Covenant School of Ministries.⁸²

There seems to be a measure of executive control exercised by the apostles over local churches within the group. For example, Thompson recounted how he was a 'conscientious objector' to the doctrine of head covering for women who pray or prophecy in church.⁸³ He found that his view on head covering was unacceptable to the apostles, and received a letter to say that they could no longer walk with him, 'releasing' him and the church he is pastor of in Weston-Super-Mare from *Ministries without Borders'* oversight.

⁷⁹ D. Matthew, D., 'No Revival - So What Now?', article on his website: www.davidmatthew.org.uk, accessed April 2006 and I. Stackhouse, *The Gospel-Driven Church*, (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004): Stackhouse states that the Restorationist desire for revival intensified in the 1990s, and took in mainline denominations too, the impetus being the 'Toronto Blessing' which began in 1994, pp.3-6

⁸⁰ Stackhouse is perhaps therefore over-generalising in stating that the New Churches, with their prophetic emphasis, discard the normal duties of pastoral care: *The Gospel*, p.222.

⁸¹ R. Aubrey, email to the author: 25/4/06. Bryan Shutt was recognised as an apostle by Keri Jones in September 2004.

⁸² www.ministrieswithoutbrders.com, accessed 24/05/06

⁸³ A detailed exposition on this issue will not be attempted in this paper. Blomberg is possibly right to assert that 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 'is probably the most complex, controversial, and opaque of any comparable length in the New Testament, and that 'head coverings send virtually no sexual or religious messages in contemporary societies.' C. Blomberg, *NIV Application Commentary on 1 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994).pp. 214 and 220. The issue should not be put on a par with Communion or baptism, which were direct ordinances of Christ (1 Corinthians 11:23-25; Matthew 28:19).

Thompson recounts that the parting was amicable, although he expressed some sadness that his longevity of experience and depth of understanding of the Bible were not taken into account.⁸⁴ Thompson's departure may also call into question Keri's words:

In any relationship where authority is involved, there is a tendency to fall into a divided loyalty between submission to the authority and one's conscience. It is essential to understand that no human authority must be allowed to override your conscience. To let it do so will jeopardise the integrity of your relationship with God and with other people.⁸⁵

Lifelink International (Churches Working Together) is under the apostolic oversight of Alan Scotland: there are 16 churches in the UK, six in the USA, and connections with churches in Zambia, South Africa, India and China. Lifelink also has a 'Colleges Working Together' network of Bible Colleges, including the Bible College of Wales in Swansea (non-denominational but resourced to a large extent by Lifelink churches) and colleges in South Africa, Memphis, India and Zambia.⁸⁶ Scotland puts a high premium on relationship, coining the term 'Apostolic Company' to mean a wide range of people with different gifts, working together across churches and nations for the sake of the Kingdom. It is perhaps a deliberate move away from the elitist Apostolic Team of CMI, to release every person into their callings, in line with two related values promoted by Scotland: servant leadership and empowering of the saints into their ministries and callings.⁸⁷ These emphases are perhaps more biblical than a hierarchical leadership: Paul clearly worked with a wide range of people across the Gentile churches, (seen in such passages as Romans 16:3-16; 1 Corinthians 16:10-18; Philippians 4:2); Jesus also taught and modelled servant leadership (Mark 10:45)

Together is in a sense the direct successor to CMI, being still based at Nettle Hill, under the apostolic oversight of Ian Rossol and Gareth Dufty. The name change from CMI was made after Bryn's death, partly, it was felt,

⁸⁴ Thompson, interview: 11/4/06

⁸⁵ K. Jones 'It's a Team Event', Restoration July/August 1988, p.17. While it may be argued that the apostles within Ministries without Borders were not overriding Thompson's conscience, the fact that Thompson was 'released' from this network of churches, due to his conscientious objection to head covering, does seem quite a high price for him to have had to pay

⁸⁶ <http://lifelinkinternational.org.uk>, accessed 23/05/06

⁸⁷ A. Scotland, *The Church: A People Called* (unpublished draft: 2006), pp. 99-125.

as CMI had been strongly identified with Bryn, and partly as the word 'covenant' had been debased, becoming heavy and legalistic in its connotation, rather than its true meaning based on love and relationship; Rossol also stated that the break-up of CMI contradicted the 'covenant' the groups had espoused. So now it is *Together* for God's Kingdom and his church.⁸⁸ There are 14 churches in the group in the UK, Covenant College still operates at Nettle Hill more as a leadership training programme now, plus a music and worship course too. Help International relief agency, founded by Bryn, is still run from Nettle Hill.⁸⁹

3. Abundant Life Ministries and Destiny Church Glasgow

These churches have followed the second option Matthew outlined to compensate for the lack of a revival: the 'lights and cameras' church which Matthew described as being involved with the media, with a television presence, a publications department and main, charismatic leader who is also like the Chief Executive of the church. The criteria here are big numbers, big buildings, events, and the church run on a business model.⁹⁰ The dangers can be, as mentioned by Matthews, that if the main leader falls, he could bring down the whole church, and that because of the sheer size of the church, 'the meetings make people spectators rather than participants'.⁹¹

Abundant Life Church (ALC) in Bradford has a membership of about 2,500. Paul Scanlon is the senior pastor, with his wife Glenda and daughter Charlotte also designated as senior pastors.⁹² The church 'reinvented' itself in the late 1990s, jettisoning what Scanlon had come to see as no longer relevant titles such as apostle, which he felt had tied people down in a limiting way.⁹³ The church 'crossed over' to become a central resource for outreach to Bradford, and through its conferences and television ministry, a teaching centre, which is purpose driven and authentically up-to-date in Scanlon's view.⁹⁴ Home-groups have been discarded and the church now has different departments, each under pastors, which contribute in different areas such as music and worship, outreach to prostitutes in Bradford etc.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ Rossol interview: 10/5/06

⁸⁹ <http://www.togetherweb.net>, accessed 09/05/06

⁹⁰ 'No Revival', pp.2-5

⁹¹ 'No Revival', pp.2-5

⁹² <http://alm.org.uk>, accessed 24/05/06

⁹³ P. Scanlon teaching CD: *Role Identity* (ALM, 2005)

⁹⁴ P. Scanlon, *Crossing Over* (Tonbridge: Sovereign World, 2004)

⁹⁵ *Role Identity*

Rossol (who worked with Scanlon in the early 1980s, as a youth pastor in Church House in Bradford), has rightly commented that a potential danger of such a structure is the focus on task to the detriment of genuine fellowship within the church, although he added – also rightly – that it is possible to go to the other extreme and to become inward-looking.⁹⁶ While it is understandable that Scanlon has reacted to the more limiting features of CMI's interpretation of the Ephesians 4 ministries, it is perhaps questionable to write them off completely: better perhaps to seek to find a contemporary expression of these biblical functions for today's church.

There are no closely linked churches connected to ALC, except in Belfast, where, David Matthew commented, 'Paul has planted a branch'.⁹⁷ Apart from this, many churches associate themselves with the model of church espoused at ALC, and attend conferences run by the church.

The church also has a Leadership Training Academy and a music and worship course.

Destiny Church in Glasgow is led by Andrew Owen. It has followed a similar model of church to Scanlon: a large city church with regular conferences and resource to reach out into the city.

In some senses then, *Destiny Church* is a hybrid between a modern, 'mega' church and one which holds to distinctive, Restorationist, church government. Unlike Scanlon, Owen is committed to both the Ephesians 4, 'five-fold ministries' and to a home-group structure within the church.⁹⁸

Destiny Church has sister churches in some of the largest towns and cities in Scotland, and connections in mainland European countries. *Destiny College* exists for biblical and leadership training.⁹⁹

Conclusions

While it is perhaps slightly sad and even ironic that the CMI vision to unify the church into one, large, non-denominational church actually contributed to the church's greater 'fragmentation, with increasing bureaucratic overheads',¹⁰⁰ Hewitt is right to state that leaders are human and made of clay (2 Corinthians 4:7), and 'human frailty is not a disqualification for service of God. On the contrary, it is an absolute requirement.... (in such as

⁹⁶ Rossol, interview: 10/5/06

⁹⁷ Matthew interview: 23/1/06

⁹⁸ A. Owen, *According to the Pattern* (Glasgow: Destiny Publishing House, 2005)

⁹⁹ <http://destiny-church.com>, accessed 24/05/06

¹⁰⁰ *Church Next*, p.81

Bryn Jones) the Holy Spirit found men willing to be used'.¹⁰¹ Bryn and CMI pioneered a new way forward for the church in the UK, many of their emphases being adopted into more mainline denominations. Again, ironically, having contributed to change in the evangelical church scene, perhaps one of the main reason for the demise of CMI was an unwillingness to engage and work with others in the wider Body of Christ for the sake of the Kingdom of God.

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¹⁰¹ *Doing*, p.200

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Book Reviews

**Spirit and Kingdom in the
Writings of Luke and Paul. An
Attempt to Reconcile these
Concepts**

Youngmo Cho

(Milton Keynes: Paternoster,
Biblical Monographs)

This book, originally written as a PhD thesis for the University of Aberdeen, sets out to 'shed light on the differences between Luke and Paul with regard to their understanding of the Spirit' (p. 1). The thesis that 'Paul develops the role of the Spirit more fully than Luke, understanding the Spirit as the means by which all may participate in the blessings of the kingdom in the present ... Luke, however, presents the Spirit in a more limited way in relation to the concept of the kingdom of God. For instance, the Spirit inspires the proclamation of the kingdom of God' (p. 12), clearly presents a continuation of Menzies' argument as presented in his various books and articles.

New, and hence an enrichment to scholarship, is Cho's way of linking Menzies' thesis to the topic of the kingdom of God and trying to verify it in this way.

After presenting an overview of current scholarship on the issue, Cho discusses in chapter two the Spirit and life-giving wisdom in intertestamental literature. Here he dialogues mainly

with Turner and repeats largely Menzies' arguments. Cho recalls the role of the Spirit in the messianic traditions but somewhat fails to link it with the general Jewish eschatological expectations centring on the kingdom of God. One result being that throughout his study he is defining the soteriological concepts related with the kingdom for the most part on an individual and personal level (how Luke and Paul relate the Spirit to a person's conversion) rather than on collective and cosmic level: the Jewish hopes for a renewal of this world order.

In his third chapter Cho elucidates the relationship between the Spirit in Paul and the kingdom of God in the synoptics. His basic conclusion is that Paul uses Spirit language for what is associated with the kingdom of God in the synoptics. He exemplifies his conclusion by way of comparing Paul with the synoptics on: a) life in the Spirit and life in the kingdom (here one misses the dialogue with N.T. Wright and his substantial work on Jewish eschatological hopes as well as his newest work on resurrection), b) righteousness and c) ethics. This strong part in Cho's argument is somewhat weakened by two factors: 1) at times it seems as if Cho is building his argument concerning the synoptics by referring to Matthew

or Luke based on who ever suits his purpose best; 2) the predominantly individual soteriological categories, centring on 'conversion', associated with the kingdom of God. Cho, for example, refers to the Lord's Prayer 'Thy will be done' without elaborating the cosmic renewal in view here ('on earth, as it is in heaven'). However, this would provide an important step beyond the current debate on Lukan Pneumatology, since much of this discussion builds on and reflects a more individual soteriological concern; a person's conversion, rather than the first century Jewish hopes for a renewal of this world order.

In his fourth chapter Cho elucidates the Spirit and the blessings of the kingdom of God in Luke-Acts and comes to the conclusion, in correspondence with his thesis, that Luke does neither associate the Spirit with sonship, nor with ethics or resurrection. But Luke does, and this is his last chapter, associate the Spirit with the proclamation of the kingdom. At the end of this chapter he analyses also the Spirit's role in the church's proclamation of the kingdom of God. However every so often the argument in this section builds upon the presupposition of the author's thesis and is thus not always convincing.

Although this study provides a fresh and stimulating look at a seemingly never ending debate, two questions remain: a) is it possible to differentiate so neatly between Jesus' (and the church's proclamation) of the kingdom and the realisation thereof? Is not the proclamation of the kingdom at the same the realisation thereof,

hence the 'blind can see and the captives are set free?' b) would not an approach that examines the question of the life-giving power of the Spirit, the Spirit of creation and of the renewal of creation, be a more fruitful way to look at both Pauline and Lukan Pneumatology, since it comprises both power and the renewal of life? This would, however, require defining New Testament soteriology more in cosmic and eschatological terms than in mere individual ones, as is so often the case in evangelical discussions of the issue.

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**The Spirit Poured out on All
Flesh: Pentecostalism and the
possibility of global theology**

Amos Yong, 2005

Grand Rapids, Baker Academic,
ISBN 0-8010-2770-5, pp 320,
paperback, £24.99

Amos Yong here sets himself the daunting task of outlining a world pentecostal theology for our late modern culture, and sets about it in his usual detailed, intense and provocative way. The methodology he brings to this task is to consistently start with the pentecostal experience of the Spirit 'poured out on all flesh' and to work from that towards a pentecostal theology, in dialogue with the wider Christian

theological tradition. This theology is biblically grounded, 'pneumatologically driven and christologically centered.' Yong provides important surveys of pentecostal thinking on issues that have not been well addressed and stretches our thinking in the process.

Salvation forms the central theme of the theology, understood in a holistic way as affecting personal, physical, spiritual, communal, political and ecological concerns. Baptism in the Spirit forms a key metaphor for understanding Christian salvation as holistic and eschatological. This salvation entails membership of the church and Yong reflects on the marks of the church as 'one, holy, catholic and apostolic' from a pentecostal perspective. Reflection on the ecumenical potential of pentecostalism naturally proceeds from this, with Yong suggesting that ecumenical movements need to be characterised by the 'diversities of the Spirit' and the 'missionary thrust of the church' as at the day of Pentecost. The particular ecumenical challenge regarding our understanding of God is considered with reference to the impasse between Trinitarian and Oneness Pentecostals on this issue. Yong attempts to get beyond the impasse by means of emphasising the unity of God whilst considering a more narrative basis for Trinitarian understandings. This always provides a useful link with his consideration of other religions, notably in a study of Christian-Muslim

encounter. Yong sees the Spirit at work within other religions and presents a useful framework for a pneumatological theology of religions. Finally, he extends the work of the Spirit to creation as a whole and develops a pneumatological theology of creation that draws on the metaphysics of C.S. Peirce and Donald Gelpi.

Yong has produced a hugely creative book that addresses the key issues in pentecostal theology from new directions. It demands of its readers a good grasp of theological debate and a willingness to see things differently. Pentecostals and charismatics are challenged to see more holistic and world-impacting ways in which the Spirit has been 'poured out on all flesh.' However, at times it feels that Yong is attempting too much and produces more a set of reflections rather than a developed theology, notably in his treatment of ecclesiology. Also his choice of dialogue partners is eclectic and he can seem to be developing arguments without adequately considering contrary voices. Overall, an essential book for students of theology that awaits accessible adaptations to challenge and stretch the life and mission of our churches.

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