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‘CHARISM’ AND ‘SPIRIT-BAPTISM’:
PRESENTATION OF AN ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

This article summarizes the results of a previously published two-volume investigation on the biblical meaning and the historical development of these two fundamental concepts, including a further discussion on contributions to this subject which have appeared in this journal (see below section 4). In contradistinction to K. McDonnell a different catholic position is given here: The term ‘Spirit-baptism’ as used within the Pentecostal-charismatic movement means neither the sacramental grace of initiation nor the setting-free of it, but is a term on the experiential level denoting a special *kind* of infilling with the Holy Spirit in our time. It is not ‘normative’, but—although very widespread—something that the Holy Spirit ‘distributes as he wills’. Thus, the early Pentecostal two-stage model is far more appropriate than the sacramentalistic interpretation. In that sense Spirit-baptism—normally with the gift of tongues—is a special grace of God.

Today there is much confusion about terms such as ‘charism’ and ‘Spirit-baptism’; one must ask in each case what the author means by these words. Therefore, I explored the history and the present importance of these concepts in a two-volume study done according to the semantics and the history of these terms.¹ In the course of the inquiry it became clear that the

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1. Baumert, *Charisma, Taufe, Geisttaufe* (for short *ChTG*). I. *Entflechtung einer*

different threads only became an almost inextricable tangle in the last three centuries. Systematic theology had further developed and enriched such terms as ‘baptism’ and ‘charism’ over the course of time. Movements of awakening in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and finally the Pentecostal-charismatic awakening of the twentieth century looked for words in the Bible in order to give a name to a surprising experience: they spoke of ‘Spirit-baptism’ and ‘charisms’. Biblical exegesis, however, was looking for the original sense of these words;² yet, have we really freed ourselves of all historical baggage? Did the theological terminology always grasp and express clearly and adequately the working of the Holy Spirit?

Under the exigencies of contemporary theological questioning and the necessity of expressing spiritual processes with their inherent dynamic, language has a certain power to forge its own way, despite the efforts of individuals to clarify the semantics. Language narrows down words to a specific content through frequent use in a certain context (the origin of terms), changes their emphases (e.g. through translations), enriches them with new contents (e.g. because of new developments and experiences), or words receive a new connotation in a new context. These ‘natural processes’ must first be comprehended and described in order to arrive at the intended meaning and to become sure in the use of words.

So there is a great difference between χάρισμα in Paul and ‘charism’ nowadays. Something similar holds true for ‘baptism in the Holy Spirit’ (in New Testament Greek found only in the verb form βαπτίζεiv εν πνεύματι). In order to untangle the semantic confusion step by step, I choose an approach to the subject which goes to the roots, and that is the examination

semantischen Verwirrung; II. *Normativität und persönliche Berufung* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2001). Chapters 6 and 7 of the second volume give an answer and represent an opposite position to that contained in the book of K. McDonnell and G.T. Montague, *Christian Initiation and Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2nd edn, 1994), (German translation by Veronica Ruf and Norbert Baumert: *Eingliederung in die Kirche und Taufe im Heiligen Geist* [Münsterschwarzach, Germany: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 1998]); cf. also K. McDonnell, ‘The Pros and Cons of Dialogue with Roman Catholics’, *JPT* 16 (2000), pp. 90-101 (95-98) and Tak-Ming Cheung, ‘Understandings of Spirit-Baptism’, *JPT* 8 (1996), pp. 115-28 (121-22)—Chapter 8 gives my own systematic position and Chapter 9 deals separately with the wider Pentecostal, Catholic and Protestant literature.

2. On ‘charism’ see already in the first issue of this journal (1992): R.D. Moore, ‘Canon and Charisma in the Book of Deuteronomy’, *JPT* 1 (1992), pp. 75-92; on ‘baptism in the Spirit’ see the lively discussion since *JPT* 2 (1993), into which I look more closely in section 4 of this current study.

of the meaning of the words in the New Testament, in history, and today. First of all, I try to describe: What was the intention of the faithful in the first century, of the Church Fathers of the first millennium, of the Christians at the end of the second millennium, for instance following the Pentecostal theology or the Second Vatican Council?

1. *The Word Charism*

In the case of the Greek *charisma* (χάρισμα) strange contrasts come up. Today, some see 'office' and 'charism' as two terms opposed to each other, while others claim that the office itself is a charism—and, thus, they dissolve that difficult process of discernment. The result of my investigation: Charism in Paul is not a technical term for 'certain capacities given by the Spirit for the upbuilding of the church', as is usually said, but in all passages it is translated correctly and sufficiently as 'gift' (something given), and this in an objective sense with a specific content (e.g. a prophecy, and not 'the gift of prophesying'). Besides Rom. 1.11, where Paul himself 'imparts the charism as a gift to the host' (in German *Gastgeschenk*), always God (not the Spirit) is cited as the giver of these gifts, even if in 1 Cor. 12.4-11 they are given by him 'through the Spirit'. In Paul, therefore, this word does not have a specific pneumatological connotation.³

The semantic leap from gift to ability lasted for almost 1000 years, and it took another 600 years for the concept of a 'freely given ability for the service of the salvation of others' (*gratia gratis data*) to be linked with 'charism'. Thus neither in Paul nor in the church-fathers is 'charism' a technical term as has been wrongly claimed many times over in the Western church since the seventeenth century. Therefore, many conclusions that have been drawn from the texts of Scripture and tradition have to be critically evaluated. Since 'charism' today has a strongly pneumatological connotation, reflections on 'charism' and 'Spirit' now always require a definition of terms.⁴

3. See further *ChTG* I, p. 75; similarly Turner, according to J.C. Thomas, 'Max Turner's *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts: Then and Now*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 1996', in *JPT* 12 (1998), pp. 3-21 (19-20); cf. below note 14.

4. See for instance M.F.G. Parmentier, 'The Gifts of the Spirit in Early Christianity', in J. den Boeft and M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk (eds.), *The Impact of Scripture in Early Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 58-78. Cf. also Thomas, 'Max Turner's *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*', p. 10.

So we have to distinguish clearly between the biblical meaning and the technical term today—a development that cannot be reversed. Our ‘proposal as to how to use the word *today*’ is: ‘Charism is an ability that proceeds from the grace of God, given by God the Holy Spirit, specifically and personally in each case that is allotted for the life and service in the church as community of salvation, and in the world’. This is stated in differentiation to ‘sacrament, office, and virtues’ (LG 12).⁵ On the other hand, one should not confine the term to ‘for service’ or ‘striking, extraordinary abilities’.⁶

Thus, we have to accept that there is a gap between biblical language and the theological language of today,⁷ and we have always to determine the meaning of the word charism according to its context. Even where exegetes think they have found the Pauline use of language, they do not

5. LG = II. Vatican Council: *Lumen Gentium* = Constitution of the Church.

6. Similarly G. Fee, ‘God’s Empowering Presence: A Response to Eduard Schweizer’, *JPT* 8 (1996), pp. 23-30 (26), emphasizes together with E. Schweizer: ‘I am reluctant to distinguish ‘miraculous’ from non-miraculous χάρισμα... everything that God does in our lives can be defined as miraculous’ (cf. Eduard Schweizer, ‘A Very Helpful Challenge: Gordon Fee’s *God’s Empowering Presence*’, *JPT* 8 (1996), pp. 7-21 [11]). Otherwise the context must show how the word is meant in each case; as when R.D. Moore, ‘Canon’ (*JPT* 1 [1992], pp. 75-92) contrasts ‘canonical writing and charismatic speech’, meaning by the latter prophetic utterance that is not in Scripture.

7. This is the conclusion of *ChTG* I. Most of this volume is based upon earlier articles, which are briefly listed here: Norbert Baumert, ‘Charisma und Amt bei Paulus’, in A. Vanhoye (ed.), *L’Apôtre Paul. Personnalité, Style et Conception du Ministère* (*BETHL* 73; Leuven: Peeters, 1986), pp. 203–28. Now also in *SBAB* 32, see below, *Studien*; *idem*, ‘Zur Semantik von χάρισμα bei den frühen Vätern’, *ThPh* 63 (1988), pp. 60-78; *idem*, ‘Zur Begriffsgeschichte von χάρισμα im griechischen Sprachraum’, *ThPh* 65 (1990), pp. 79-100; *idem*, ‘Das Fremdwort “Charisma” in der westlichen Theologie’, *ThPh*: 65 (1990), pp. 395-415; *idem*, ‘Charisma—Versuch einer Sprachregelung’, *ThPh* 66 (1991), pp. 21-48; *idem*, ‘Die Gnadengaben in der Kirche. Ihre Bedeutung für das Leben des Einzelnen und der Gemeinde’, *GuL* 51 (1978), pp. 245-60; *idem*, ‘Evangelism and Charismatic Signs’, in H.D. Hunter and P.D. Hocken (eds.), *All Together in One Place* (Theological Papers from the Brighton Conference on World Evangelization; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), pp. 219-26; *idem*, ‘Geistliche Gastfreundschaft (1 Petr 4,7-11)’, in A. Bilgri and M. Langner (eds.), *Weite des Herzens, Weite des Lebens* (FS O. Lechner; Regensburg: Pustet, 1989), pp. 549-65; *idem*, *Jesus ist der Herr* (Hrsg.) (Kirchliche Texte zur Katholischen Charismatischen Erneuerung; Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 1987); *idem*, ‘Leben im Geist in paulinischer Sicht’, *IKZ* 23 (1994), pp. 202-16; *idem*, *Studien zu den Paulusbriefen* (Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände—*SBAB* 32; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2001); *idem*, ‘Zur Unterscheidung der Geister (Röm 12,2-8)’, *ZKTh* 111 (1989), pp. 183-95.

remain uninfluenced by connotations which developed much later. Once we have realized this we can more easily address the urgent questions which face us with respect to the term 'charism', for example, whether a ministerial office is a charism: Certainly, it is a 'gift' in the biblical sense, but not a 'charism' according to the sense in which 'charism' is used and understood today.

It is indicative of a major trend in the modern church, that during the last three centuries this word has been pulled in all directions. The eagerness on all sides to appropriate the term signifies a shift of emphasis from a one-sided stress on the sacrament and the rite (catholic) or on the Word and rationality (reformational) to a greater openness for each fresh and surprising work of the Holy Spirit. Of course the Word and Sacrament still authentically identify these outpourings of the Spirit and support them, while at the same time the latter retain their own character. What is, thus, breaking out in the Christian world is a kind of spiritual enlivening in the life of the individual believer, so that the Holy Spirit can then join together in one 'body' Christianity as a whole, that is ecumenically. Each individual can contribute to this body his or her 'charism', 'allotted to him or her by the Spirit'.

2. *The Problem of the Term 'Spirit-Baptism'*

Likewise the language of 'baptizing in the Holy Spirit', which has undergone a similar change from the Scripture to the present day is a highly pertinent question. Here we are concerned not only with the Pentecostal Movement and the 'Charismatic Renewal' but with the correct understanding of the working of the Holy Spirit as a whole. When at the beginning of the twentieth century many people experienced the power of the Holy Spirit in a surprising way, they said that it was as if they were 'baptized in the Spirit'. And since then similar things have been happening to an increasing extent, so that today one speaks of over 500 million Christians across all denominations, who were somehow touched by a Pentecostal-charismatic experience world-wide. The question, therefore, has come up: Isn't this the 'baptism in the Holy Spirit' which Scripture speaks about (Mk 1.8; Acts 1.5)? Does this mean that only those who were given such a 'Spirit-baptism' have received the Holy Spirit—at least in its 'fullness'?⁸

8. T.L. Cross, 'A Critical Review of Clark Pinnock's *Flame of Love*', *JPT* 13 (1998), pp. 3-29, puts the question (23): 'If we speak of a "second blessing", are we implying that those who have not received the baptism of the Spirit, as we have

Is not, however, the Holy Spirit given to each one (also) in the (water-) baptism? Can one define experiences in this way and make them a measure for all?

In order to find a way out of the dilemma, some theologians say that baptism by its nature is ordered to mediate such an experience of the Spirit. They claim that ‘Spirit-baptism’, including ‘charisms’, is an unpacking of the grace of baptism, even if this experiential element may occur only later, and, as such, it is ‘normative’ for every Christian. G.T. Montague, SM, coming from Scripture, and K. McDonnell, OSB, with ‘evidence from the first eight centuries’, are representatives of this position. Their joint work *Christian Initiation and Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, (see above n. 2), has been translated into many languages.

With this the following problem arises: Either the Spirit experience reported in the Pentecostal-charismatic awakening is leveled down, since one neglects its specific character; or, if it is presented as an ideal, one suggests to all other Christians that they are missing something as long as they do not have it. However, is it theologically speaking a sacramental grace? Or do, at least, the respective elements (necessarily) belong to the sacrament? Is mediation of the Spirit through baptism (and confirmation) and what today is called ‘Spirit-baptism’ really one and the same thing? Interestingly enough, as well as representatives from all denominations there are precisely many Pentecostals, that reject this mixing up with the sacrament.⁹ The consequences are enormous because these convictions

received him, are deficient in their relationship with God? It seems to be that way, and yet I do not find any appeal to second-class citizens in God’s Word. If the pentecostal reality is for everyone, then our terminology about what it is and how it is received must undergo theological reflection of a nature much more careful than in the past.’

9. Cf. H.I. Lederle, *Treasures Old and New: Interpretations of ‘Spirit-Baptism’ in the Charismatic Renewal Movement* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988), pp. 21-31 and Chapters 2 and 4. As for K. McDonnell and G.T. Montague (cf. above n. 2) one can rightly ask with J.D.G. Dunn, ‘Baptism in the Spirit: A Response to Pentecostal Scholarship on Luke-Acts’, *JPT* 3 (1993), pp. 3-27 (4): According to Montague ‘for Luke “there is only one baptism, an integral rite that involves water and the gift of the Holy Spirit” (pp. 30, 39). But do such theological assertions not require a greater exegetical foundation in the New Testament text than these writers offer?’—See also below Chapter 4. After having finished this article I received the booklet of Max Turner, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (Cambridge: Grove, Series R 2, 2000), which sums up his manifold investigations. I am surprised and thankful, that we very often came to similar conclusions, sometimes in different terminology. It will be further referred to as ‘Turner, *Baptism*’.

have an effect in theological teaching and preaching, such as in the open or hidden claim that everyone *must* have certain experiences. This dilemma poses a burden for the theological dialogue as well as for the pastoral praxis in the parishes or congregations, both for the Charismatic Renewal as for the Pentecostal Movement.

Therefore, the basis for the term 'Spirit-baptism', with its regular association with 'charisms', has to be evaluated. As in my examination of charism, the foundation is an analysis of the meaning of the Greek βάπτισμα/*baptisma* (bath of submersion—baptism?) and βαπτίζειν ἐν πνεύματι/*baptizein en pneumati* ('in' Spirit 'baptize'? *ChTG*, II, Chapter 5). This involves confronting a broad theological consensus. With the criterion thus gained we ask, furthermore, how can and should the word Spirit-baptism be used in a responsible way in biblical, patristic, and systematic theology, as well as in pastoral praxis. At first, we follow the interpretations of G.T. Montague (Chapter 6) and K. McDonnell (Chapter 7)—that are representative of many—in order to show where their conclusions are accurate and where they are not valid and why not. Maybe after a 'systematic clarification' (Chapter 8) we can succeed in finding linguistic spoken formulations with which all can agree: exegetes and systematic theologians, scholars and pastors, Pentecostal and 'non-denominational' Christians, as well as Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox; and this is the case not because one has looked for the lowest common denominator but because each concern finds its place in the light of its origin. We gain a new framework for understanding the sources without 'reading' something 'into' them from a later perspective. Once the different nuances in the history of terms are made more precise in this way, quite a few tensions of language, both from history and today, as well as seeming contradictions can be dissolved, because the reasons for misinterpretations become apparent. At the same time, one becomes more free to see and recognize the different concerns of the different authors and how they fit together—an eminently ecumenical result of my two volumes. The following section gives a brief summary of Chapter 5 of *ChTG*, II, as mentioned earlier in this paragraph: 'Taufe—das Werden eines Begriffs'/'Baptism—the Genesis of a Term'.

3. 'Baptizein en pneumati' in the Scripture

The noun 'Spirit-baptism' does not occur in Holy Scripture. The verb form of the phrase *baptizein (en) pneumati*, however, is a metaphor which is not to be understood in terms of 'to baptize', because the Greek verb has in

itself different meanings (to submerge, moisten, make wet, shower, pour out on, wash, take a bath; to soak a piece of land, a cloth; to color, to glaze; to afflict, to destroy, to ruin). The term ‘to baptize’, however, (a symbolic action for conversion, forgiveness of sin, and so on) comes up only in the course of the development of the Christian message and this is visible in the texts of the New Testament. If in Mk 1.5 the people are ‘washed in the Jordan’ (ἐν) and if Jesus in Mk 1.9 is ‘submerged into the Jordan’ (εἰς— for Jesus it is not a sign of ‘conversion’), it means that in any case the term ‘to baptize’ does not fit in the second phrase, because he cannot be ‘baptized *into* the Jordan’. Thus, in a short sequence Mark uses the word in a different sense, pointed out by different constructions (*eis* with accusative—‘into’, *en* with dative—‘in’; the translations, unfortunately, lose this difference). One can see from Mk 1.8 that it should not be ‘to baptize’ in Mk 1.5. The obvious meaning is: ‘I moisten/ shower you with water, he will moisten/ shower you with Holy Spirit’. In this way one can maintain the same meaning in the second phrase, the metaphorical usage. Otherwise one would have to assume that Mark here again varies the meaning, e.g. ‘I wash you with water, he will shower you with Spirit’; however, this is not necessary.

In no way does Mark here think of the (theologically developed) term ‘to baptize’ because—differently from Mk 1.9—this would now introduce a new, highly differentiated term, suggesting at the same time in 1.9 that Jesus would not have been ‘baptized’ in this sense. Moreover, Mark then must have wanted to say that Jesus later (when?), like John, would perform a ‘rite of initiation’. This later Christian ‘baptism’, however, is also performed precisely with water; thus, this cannot be the contrast the evangelist has in mind. And would he really want to say that the Baptist wanted to point to a rite of initiation, which would be performed on each person only once? Would it then be a foretelling of a giving of the Spirit which would be different from the Christian bath of submersion? (We will treat Acts 1.5 later). The term must be more open, comprising the total action of the (exalted) Messiah insofar as he is ‘moistening/making wet or showering with Spirit’, which indeed does not imply that it is something that necessarily occurs only once.

There is a similar result in Lk. 3.16. With a better knowledge of Greek, Luke does not put an ‘ἐν/en/in’ with the instrumental and local ‘ὕδατι/hydati/water’, but he does so in the following, figurative ‘ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ/en pneumati hagio kai pyri/in holy Spirit and fire’. Adding the ‘fire’ is not to be understood as an alternative (as condemning

judgment; it does not say 'or'), but means rather 'with the fire of the Spirit' (cf. Acts 2.3). This is then taken up (v.17) in the different image of the wheat and the chaff in διακαθάραι/*diakatharai*/ to purge, that—analogously to John's bath of submersion—*also* (but not only) has a cleansing function (forgiving of sin, purification), whereas the 'unquenchable fire' here designates the condemnation, not the reception of the Spirit. Spirit and fire are presented, therefore, in v.16 as something that can be 'poured out' (analogously to water; cf. Acts 2.17-18, 33; 10.45). Thus, what does βαπτίζειν/*baptizein* mean? The easiest translation here, too, is 'to moisten, shower with', which fits well with 'water' and 'Spirit and fire'. The word designates, in any case, an action in space (even if in the case of 'Spirit and fire' it is used in a figurative sense); 'to baptize' is not a technical term, in which the non-recurring element and the spiritual reality would be included. Rather, if there is a non-recurring element in the term 'to moisten with water', it results from the intended reference (that is to John's bath of submersion). In the term 'with Spirit and fire', however, the spiritual dimension results from the added element (fire), which is not immediately contained in the word. Therefore, in no case is there a 'technical' meaning contained in the term *baptizein*. As little as one 'baptizes' someone 'with oil' but rather 'anoints' him, one baptizes him 'with water' or 'Spirit and fire', because our technical term 'to baptize' in the modern sense already contains the element of water and the spiritual reality respectively (it would not be an inner accusative), whereas 'to moisten' is more open. The meaning of βαπτίζειν/*baptizein*, therefore, here must follow the conventional, spatial (and also figurative) sense.

Even if John the Baptist's formulation arises from a one-time symbolic action (the bath of submersion in the Jordan) the application of this image is not restricted to a one-time action of the Messiah (such as in Christian baptism or with the event of Pentecost), rather it is open to repeated and manifold sendings of the Spirit. The real contrast is indeed: 'I perform on you a bodily symbolic action, but he will shower you in an immediate way with his (invisible) Spirit'. There would be no consistency if the Baptist was thinking at the same time of a symbolic action of the Messiah. Thus, the biblical phrase 'to moisten with Spirit' always remains open for all the workings of Jesus, especially of the exalted Lord, insofar as he supplies us with Spirit.¹⁰ When Luke refers this to concrete events (Pentecost,

10. Similarly F.A. Sullivan, 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Catholic Interpretation of the Pentecostal Experience', in: *Gregoriana* 55 (1974), pp. 49-68 (59): 'To say that Jesus "baptizes in the spirit", then, is simply a metaphorical way of saying that he

Cornelius: Acts 1.5 and 11.16) it means only that these are more outstanding moments, in which that general promise is realized. However, this must not lead to the assumption that the particular details of these events can be extended to all sendings of the Spirit, or, the other way around, that the concept of ‘moistening/baptizing with Spirit’ can be restricted in such a way that it is used only for specific occurrences, one-time events, or even only for ‘striking experiences’.

All three Synoptics, moreover, use the passive also in the sense of ‘to be destroyed, to be ruined’ (Mt. 20.22-23.; Mk 10.38-39.; Lk. 12.50; the same 1 Cor. 15.29¹¹); and in Mk 7.4; Lk. 11.38 also in the simple sense of washing. They are aware of and use a broader spectrum of the meaning of the word.

On the other hand, *baptisma* soon developed into a Christian term. Based on the meaning of ‘bath of submersion’, it soon stood for God’s entire saving action contained in this sign (forgiveness of sin, initiation into Christ, giving of new life). Yet, in Rom. 6.3-4; Gal. 3.27, and 1 Cor. 12.13 *baptizein eis* still retains the sense of an action in space (used figuratively): ‘(through the bath of submersion) become immersed into Christ/become incorporated into him’. With this a difficulty with Rom. 6.3-4 disappears: ‘(through the “bath of submersion”) immersed in him’ is, first of all, only an image for becoming incorporated in/taken into *the death* of Christ

sends or gives the Spirit’; D. Pawson, *Jesus Baptises in One Holy Spirit: How? When? Why?* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1997), p. 36: ‘To be “baptised in Spirit” is the same thing as to “receive the Spirit”. To “receive the Spirit” is the same thing as being “baptised in Spirit”.’ Cf. also Tak-Ming Cheung, ‘Understandings of Spirit-Baptism’, pp. 123-24. The biblical part of our investigation is elaborated in dialogue with J.D.G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relationship to the Pentecostalism of Today* (Studies in Biblical Theology, Series 2, 15; London: SCM Press, 1970).

In the same sense Turner, *Baptism*, p. 19: ‘The whole of Jesus’ activity’ and ‘to transform the verbal phrase (“he will baptize you with Holy Spirit”) into a noun phrase (you will each receive “the baptism with the Holy Spirit”) is potentially very misleading. The danger is compounded by the fact that, for English speakers, water “baptism” is a discrete initiatory event, and interpreters may conclude that “baptize in Holy Spirit” should be understood in a similar initiatory sense to denote a crisis event which leads to the realm of spiritual gifts. This, however, overlooks the fact that “to baptize with” was quite widely used in metaphorical constructions, and did not usually connote “initiation”.’

11. For a broader explanation see *ChTG* II, pp. 44-45, 68 and 102; and for one that is more detailed within its context see S. Schneider, ‘Auferstehen—Eine neue Deutung von 1 Kor 15 (fzb)’ (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2004), Chapter 7.

(precisely: through the submersion), whereas 'baptism' (as a technical term) is naturally man's participation in the death *and resurrection* of Jesus. Indeed here also it is not speaking of 'being baptized with the Spirit'.¹²

In Christian baptism the Holy Spirit is agent as well as content, since with the new life in God, which he effects in the bath of submersion, is given the indwelling of the Triune God, and thus also of the Holy Spirit (Trinitarian baptismal formula). However, this has to be distinguished from the specific 'gift of the Spirit', which is communicated by way of the laying on of hands and also later by way of anointing.

Both actions, the bath of submersion and the laying on of hands, belong together (= initiation), but they are not exchangeable and the gifts of God which they signify are by no means the same. The biblical 'to moisten/baptize with Spirit' interestingly enough is never applied to these two symbolic actions in Scripture, and also in the tradition up to modern times it is never restricted to these (two) sacramental occurrences. It signifies precisely every form of the sovereign giving of the Spirit of God.

Besides the objective term 'to receive the Spirit' the Bible often speaks of 'being filled', which also emphasizes the subjective side; this is in the context often reinforced by further explanations (e.g. clothed, strengthened, being deeply stirred). Today we call this 'experience of the Spirit'. The reception of the Spirit can have very different effects in different persons. Even though the persons concerned receive the Spirit, they do not all have the same experience. And 'experiences' are never normative.

Likewise, the so-called 'charisms'—in today's terminology—that now and then were manifested when the Spirit was received through the laying on of hands (normally not in the bath of submersion, Acts 8.16; 10.46; 19.6), are individual gifts; they are regarded not as 'exclusive' or 'normative' but as merely 'positive'. By no means all who received the gift of the Spirit in the early church prayed in tongues. Why, otherwise, does one hear almost nothing about it—not even of the 3000 at Pentecost? Even in Corinth, where this occurred more frequently, Paul stressed explicitly that 'not all prayed in tongues' (1 Cor. 12.28).¹³ Does not the image that quite a few have of the early church, need to be critically re-examined?

12. Similarly W. Atkinson, 'Pentecostal Responses to Dunn's *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*: Pauline Literature' (II), *JPT* 7 (1995), pp. 49-72 (58-59). See further *ChTG* II, pp. 52-54.

13. Similarly M. Turner, according to J.C. Thomas, 'Holy Spirit', p. 18 (see above fn 4). Thomas says that Turner's view, that Acts 10.46 and 19.6 do not imply, that everyone present prayed in tongues, cannot be justified from the text. But that is also true for

4. *The Discussion on Biblical Issues in this Journal*

While our investigation presented here has established the verb ‘sprinkle/shower with Spirit’ as a very frequent and comprehensive concept, that can represent any form of sending of the Spirit, there is in this journal a complete discussion, as is usually the case, that has taken hold of the substantive ‘baptism in the Spirit’,¹⁴ and then cannot be freed from the question whether

the opposite case! And Acts 2.4 as a ‘collective report’ does not say this expressly of each individual. And Turner, *Baptism*, p. 10, cf. 12, rightly says: ‘The problem comes in deciding, what aspects of an account Luke is commending as a repeatable (even normative) “pattern” and what owe more to the uniqueness of the person(s) or occasion described’. See further below in note 23. On the further meaning of Acts 2.6-13 see *ChTG* II, pp. 110-11; on the reprimand in 1 Cor. 14.5 see my explanation in *ChTG* II, pp. 267-68: ‘I am in agreement here that you all might pray in tongues, but...’ For more detailed reasons, see N. Baumert, *Ehelosigkeit und Ehe im Herrn* (fzb 47) (Würzburg: Echter, 1984), pp. 48-63 and 312-375.

14. The relevant articles are in alphabetical order, according to author: W. Atkinson, ‘Pentecostal Responses to Dunn’s *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Luke-Acts*’ (I), *JPT* 6 (1995), pp. 87-131; *idem*, ‘Pentecostal Responses to Dunn’s *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Pauline Literature*’ (II), *JPT* 7 (1995), pp. 49-72; J.P. Bowers, ‘A Wesleyan-Pentecostal Approach to Christian Formation’, *JPT* 6 (1995), pp. 55-86; Tak-Ming Cheung, ‘Understandings of Spirit-Baptism’, *JPT* 8 (1996), pp. 115-28; T.L. Cross, ‘A Critical Review of Clark Pinnock’s *Flame of Love: A Theology of the Holy Spirit*’, *JPT* 13 (1998), pp. 3-29; J.D.G. Dunn, ‘Baptism in the Spirit: A Response to Pentecostal Scholarship on Luke-Acts’, *JPT* 3 (1993), pp. 3-27; G.D. Fee, ‘God’s Empowering Presence: A Response to Eduard Schweizer’, *JPT* 8 (1996), pp. 23-30; D.T. Irvin, ‘A Review of *Spiritus ubi vult spirat* by V.-M. Kärkkäinen’, *JPT* 16 (2000), pp. 79-89; Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, ‘Towards a Theology and Ecclesiology of the Spirit: Marquette University’s 1998 Symposium, “An Advent of the Spirit: Orientations in Pneumatology”’, *JPT* 14 (1999), pp. 65-80; F.D. Macchia, ‘The Question of Tongues as Initial Evidence: A Review of *Initial Evidence*. Ed. by Gary B. McGee’, *JPT* 2 (1993), pp. 117-27; K. McDonnell, ‘Can Classical Pentecostals and Roman Catholics engage in Common Witness?’, *JPT* 7 (1995), pp. 97-106; *idem*, ‘The Pros and Cons of Dialogue with Roman Catholics’, in: *JPT* 16 (2000), pp. 90-101; R.P. Menzies, ‘Luke and the Spirit: A Reply to James Dunn’, *JPT* 41 (1994), pp. 115-38; *idem*, ‘The Spirit of Prophecy, Luke-Acts and Pentecostal Theology: A Response to Max Turner’, *JPT* 15 (1999), pp. 49-74. R.D. Moore, ‘Canon and Charisma in the Book of Deuteronomy’, *JPT* 1 (1992), pp. 75-92; J.D. Pawson, ‘Believing in Christ and Receiving the Spirit: A Response to Max Turner’, *JPT* 15 (1999), pp. 33-48; E. Schweizer, ‘A Very Helpful Challenge: Gordon Fee’s *God’s Empowering Presence*’, *JPT* 8 (1996), pp. 7-21; J.B. Shelton, ‘A Reply to James D.G. Dunn’s “Baptism in the Spirit: A Response to Pentecostal Scholarship on Luke-Acts”’, *JPT* 4 (1994), pp. 139-43; J.C. Thomas, ‘Max Turner’s

'Spirit-baptism' in Scripture is a part of initiation or a 'second work of grace', and what relation it has to the bath of immersion and the imposition of hands (later: baptism and confirmation). This discussion was triggered by the two monographs of J.D.G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* and *Jesus and the Spirit* (see above n. 10; further especially Dunn, 'Response'), with which more and more Pentecostal exegetes have interacted. The crucial point concerns the question, whether each writer of the New Testament is to be understood in his own (distinct) specificity or whether Dunn does not read Luke/Acts very much with Pauline spectacles. Luke then separates 'the outpouring of the Spirit on individuals from "conversion-initiation"'¹⁵ and means by this 'pre-eminently, if not exclusively, the charismatic Spirit, the Spirit of prophecy'.¹⁶ Dunn replies that this is a particular emphasis in the Lukan narratives, but one must not make of it 'two completely dissociated functions of the Spirit',¹⁷ as Luke is also aware of the 'soteriological character of the Spirit'.¹⁸

Menzies answers emphatically: In spite of the detailed Pentecostal studies on Luke/Acts, Dunn refuses to change his position. So Menzies repeats that Luke does not see the sending of the Spirit like Paul and John as the climax of conversion-initiation, but 'as the source of power for service'.¹⁹ It is right that the 'Gift of the Spirit' of which Luke speaks is not the dominant ground of conversion, but it comes after, always in chronological sequence, occasionally also after a greater interval;²⁰ Paul and John, on the other

The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts: Then and Now. An appreciation and Critique', *JPT* 12 (1998), pp. 3-21; M. Turner, 'Readings and Paradigms: A Response to John Christopher Thomas', *JPT* 12 (1998), pp. 23-38; *idem*, 'Receiving Christ and Receiving the Spirit: In Dialogue with David Pawson', *JPT* 15 (1999), pp. 3-31; *idem*, *Baptism*, cf. above, n. 9.

15. Dunn, 'Response', p. 6.

16. Thus Stronstad, Shelton and Menzies; in Dunn, 'Response', pp. 7-8.

17. Dunn, 'Response', p. 9.

18. Dunn, 'Response', p. 22.

19. *JPT* 4 (1994), pp. 115-38.

20. As far as the ground for the delay in Acts 8.14-17 is concerned, on which many have speculated, M. Turner, 'Readings', p. 29, writes: 'The inclusion of Samaritans (traditional enemies of Jerusalem) into the restored Israel is best fulfilled in the presence of the leaders of the restored Israel, and through their prayer, if the two are really to become one movement'.—But this must not be an 'exception'. How, if this always happened at the beginning through the imposition of the hands of the apostles, who were also the holders of authority (as the text says), is this not all the more so in the later tradition? It should also be clarified why Acts 9.18 which speaks of the

hand, note rather—from a later perspective in time—that purification is also a work of the Spirit. The two positions are not mutually exclusive, as Menzies argues, but complement one another. In this way, it can be agreed that according to the Scriptures there are various workings of the same Spirit! Just as there is a sequence in the sending of the Son and of the Spirit, so there is also a distinction within these various workings, whereby the last comes into view first. The forgiveness of sins and membership in Christ through the baptismal bath are a work of the Trinitarian God, and so is the specific ‘Gift of the Spirit’, to which Luke gives prominence, another and subsequent work of the Spirit, which of course also belongs to initiation.²¹ In this respect, these pneumatologies are complementary. Menzies’ concern is to emphasize that Luke teaches an empowerment for witness. It is true that speaking in tongues, that is possibly mentioned in Acts 19.6 (on its own in Acts 10.46), is primarily a praise of God; at first ‘prophecy’ has the character of witness. The boundaries are not so sharply drawn.²² Menzies will rightly defend the character of the (contemporary) ‘Spirit-baptism’ as a special sending (of the Spirit), while behind Dunn’s argumentation stands the position that in initiation the Spirit is given to all for salvation.²³

baptism of Paul (presumably by Ananias) only mentions an announcement of a filling with the Holy Spirit; the same distribution of roles is also in Acts 19.5-6.

21. Petts rightly points this out (according to Atkinson, I, p. 105). Self evidently, ‘the Spirit is (not) given in the water rite itself’, as Turner, ‘Readings’, p. 28, emphasizes.

22. Cf. Thomas, in Turner, ‘Readings’, p. 11.

23. To Dunn (in dependence on Atkinson, I, pp. 91-96): I would not say, (1) that Jesus had a new experience of the Spirit at the Jordan, and that this can be called ‘Spirit-baptism’; (2) that the response of the Samaritans was ‘defective’ (with Turner, *Baptism*, p. 19). (3) Paul would have been filled with the Spirit either through the encounter with the risen Lord (Acts 9.3-5) or through the imposition of hands for healing and transmission of the Spirit in one act (?), or that this happened through the baptismal bath (Acts 9.18); the event announced in 9.17 was not in fact reported and may have happened later (through the imposition of hands of an apostle or a person authorized by them?). (4) It is more than problematic to associate ‘God’s act of acceptance, of forgiveness, cleansing and salvation’ with the contemporary designation ‘baptism in the Spirit’! (5) When Paul distinguishes in Acts 19.1-6 between baptism and reception of the Spirit, then ‘Spirit-baptism’ (if one so calls the reception of the Spirit) would be clearly distinguished (not separated!) from the bath of immersion. Are there two baptisms? (6) For this reason Dunn’s conclusion is unconvincing that Luke’s pneumatology would not be supportive of Pentecostalism. It can certainly not simply be deduced by interpreting the infilling of the Spirit as ‘Spirit-baptism’, since for Luke

My answer to the dilemma is that the modern substantive 'Spirit-baptism' is not the same as the sacramental sanctification in the bath of immersion, nor is it quite the same as the Lukan 'gift of the Spirit' as the endpoint of initiation, but it is an individual experience of the presence and the power of the Holy Spirit, given to whomever and however he will, that certainly also 'sanctifies' (afresh), but with the orientation of a new kind of unction (see below sections 5-7). Here we find the rightful concern of the Pentecostals, that is distorted when it is compared to the universal grace of sanctification (which we would call sacramental).²⁴ In a later contribution in answer to M. Turner, Menzies underlines once again his own position, 'that repentance and water baptism are the normal prerequisites for reception of the Spirit, which is promised to every believer'²⁵—I would say: the Lukan 'gift of the Spirit'.²⁶ One can call this 'a Two-Stage-Model of Spirit Reception', in which case the Spirit is also at work in conversion, and the second stage is in a dynamic way 'a gateway to a special cluster of gifts'.²⁷ But what is problematic for me is first when Menzies links the Lukan 'gift of the Spirit' at Pentecost to the contemporary concept of 'Spirit-baptism'²⁸

conversion and entry into the church come in each instance before 'the gift of the Spirit' and are not identical with it.

24. In this sense also Macchia, 'Question', p. 221.—Otherwise I refer for the particular scriptural texts to my interpretation in *ChTG* II, pp. 19-20, 37-38, 91-140 and Index.

25. Menzies, 'Prophecy', pp. 49-74 (64).

26. It is interesting that there was a similar distinction within the Holiness movement. Bowers, 'Wesleyan', p. 66, writes: 'Wesley...may have repudiated the idea of a Spirit baptism separate from conversion' but not so 'the Wesleyan Pentecostals'. Is it not the case that we often start just from what we know? So Cross asks with reason, 'Review', p. 22: 'If water baptism and Spirit baptism are the same, then why are they described as two different events in the New Testament?'

27. Menzies, 'Prophecy', pp. 49-74 (64, 72). Atkinson closes his second contribution (p. 71): 'A Pentecostal articulation of full Christian initiation as incorporating two receptions of the Spirit—one (roughly Pauline) for regeneration and one (roughly Lukan) for empowering—*should be respected, along with other perspectives*, as a valid contemporary reflection of the New Testament's message'. In this way he remains truer to the details of his own origins than those who want to fit everything into 'conversion-initiation'. I would just remove the whole question of 'Spirit-baptism' (Atkinson avoids this term) from the 'Initiation' schema, in which tradition has distinguished between the two sacraments 'Baptism and Confirmation'. The *contemporary* 'Spirit-baptism' belongs from the start to a different level, so to speak at right angles to both of these and to several other ('sacramental') workings of the Spirit.

28. There was no such term in the primitive Church! Turner, 'Receiving', pp. 14-15, also emphasizes: "'Baptize with Holy Spirit" was not regular terminology, and...the

and thereby requires such a break-through experience with speaking in tongues for all. According to my conviction, this was not the case in the primitive church (cf. above, n. 15).

In his 'Reply', Shelton is in stronger agreement with Dunn: 'Luke is not as monochromatic as Menzies asserts'.²⁹ He wants 'to reverse the tendency among some non-Pentecostals, to minimize or ignore the work of the Holy Spirit subsequent to conversion-initiation'.³⁰ And he wants to recognize that in the history of childhood 'people are prior to Pentecost described in terms Luke uses of post-Pentecost events'. So, according to Shelton, one must be careful to make a clear distinction between 'Epochs'.

Also to be noted is the excellent and detailed exposition of W. Atkinson, 'Pentecostal Responses to Dunn's *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, I and II', where some nuances in the discussion are intelligently balanced. I have written for myself some affirmative notes in the margin! Also to be pointed out are the dialogues between E. Schweizer and G. Fee, between M. Turner and J.C. Thomas, between D. Pawson and M. Turner and the discussion in V.M. Kärkkäinen's stimulating report of a symposium (on all these; cf. above n. 14). All have spoken and wrestled fairly with each other.

There is an excellent overview by Tak-Ming Cheung, 'Understandings of Spirit-Baptism',³¹ where the different positions are succinctly explained. Of course, the position of McDonnell/Montague is not 'the' but 'a' Catholic understanding of 'Spirit-Baptism'. Cheung rightly emphasizes that nowhere in Holy Scripture is the substantive used and the verbal form 'to baptize in/with the Holy Spirit...should be understood metaphorically rather than literally' (Cheung, p. 123). The parallel with some other verbal statements for the same processes makes very clear that the sending of the Spirit is a manifold happening and not just a once-and-for-all act, that today one could call 'Spirit-baptism', that may be pinned down. In this respect the Pentecostal 'two-stage model' is closer to the Scriptures than a narrowing of the free working of the Spirit to a single sacramental act. The error begins as soon as one explains the 'first' coming of the Spirit (that naturally signifies a turning point) as the only coming (cf. Acts 2.4 with 4.8, 32) and then one identifies it with a type of Spirit-baptism, which surprised the Christianity

early church had no "technical term" corresponding to our "baptism in Holy Spirit"... As narrator Luke never says anything like "and when Paul laid hands on them, they were baptized in the Holy Spirit".'

29. Shelton, 'Reply', p. 141.

30. Shelton, 'Reply', p. 140.

31. See n. 14 above for details.

of the twentieth century and for which one then used the noun 'Spirit-baptism'! Briefly, the contemporary 'Spirit-Baptism' is one form of 'sprinkling with Spirit' of the Scriptures and as a free charismatic gift is not to be compared with the grace of salvation that is necessary for all (for example in the sacraments). Atkinson emphasizes, 'that classical Pentecostalism, at least, has always taught, that all Christians have the Spirit' and rightly cites R.A. Torrey (although not a Pentecostal), who wrote in 1898: '*Every true believer has the Holy Spirit*; but not every believer has the Baptism with the Holy Spirit'.³² Here Dunn may have not correctly understood the Pentecostals.³³

The description by Bowers, of Spirit-baptism 'as a spiritual commissioning into a life of Christian ministry',³⁴ actually fits within the line of the Lukan 'gift of the Spirit' (like the 'gift of the Spirit' in the sacrament of confirmation). But this is nevertheless also to be distinguished, because on the one hand 'Spirit-baptism' comprises a strong element of sanctification and relationship to the three divine persons, and on the other hand it is not universal. It even belongs to another category. And when one wants to establish various emphases among the New Testament authors, it remains a quite different question what God has done and is doing today. So one must finally arrive at an overall vision, that cannot remain tied to a single 'pneumatological model', but which presents the full range of variations,³⁵ without restricting the freedom of God, who can bring forth things both old and new from his treasury.

5. *Baptism and Spirit-Experience in History*

If later in the West the two sacramental/symbolic actions, water baptism and laying on of hands, are separated in time, the postponement of the second element of the initiation to a later age (confirmation) corresponds to the fact that in the beginning (above all or only) those people were initiated who could profess the faith consciously (baptism of adults or believers). In this way the second element in initiation would at least be linked to a conscious decision; not therefore believers' baptism, but a believers' confirmation. Does this mean, however, that one then expects an *experience* of the

32. Atkinson, II, pp. 62-63. Torrey is 'quoted by Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1970), p. 335. Italics his.'

33. See Atkinson, II, pp. 64 and 67.

34. Bowers, 'Wesleyan', p. 77.

35. Cf. above n. 8.

Spirit? However, the practice of the Eastern Church, which immediately gives 'the anointing' (*chrisma*) to newly baptized children emphasizes that both steps belong together; but do decision and experience come later?

Thus, for an historical reflection, we have to distinguish:

- What pertains to the disposition in the initiation of adults?
- What pertains to the essence of the symbolic action?
- Which experiential dimensions are associated with it?
- Which abilities (gifts given in addition) are (necessarily or sometimes) connected with it?

In the early church certainly all those who became Christians received the Holy Spirit, but this does not mean that they all had the same experience (such as a common 'basic experience' or 'break-through experience') or that all received 'obvious charisms'. At times (but not always, not even in Acts 8.17-18) praying in tongues and prophecy are mentioned in connection with 'being filled with the Spirit'. This is not the case for other gifts from the 'list' of 1 Cor. 12.8-10. Praying in tongues and prophecy however, are then mentioned as something striking and special.³⁶ On the other hand, mighty deeds and healings, for instance, never occur in the context of initiation and are attributed only to the apostles and to some mature and prominent persons.

This does not change in the following centuries, and the manifestations of the Spirit do not at any point become associated with the bath of submersion, as McDonnell claims. Tertullian, for example, does not teach that each candidate for baptism should ask for 'prophetic charisms' (in the modern sense of the word) at the initiation or after the bath of submersion. Rather, the decisive sentence, *De Bapt.* 20.5, is an exhortation for the catechumens to *pray* already *before* baptism, so that *at the moment* 'when they come up from the baptismal bath and for the first time open their hands

36. Cf. above note 14. M. Turner, 'Receiving', pp. 21-22, gives good grounds for this assertion: 'It cannot be demonstrated with any degree of certainty that Luke thought Spirit-reception would *normally* be attested an immediate charismatic manifestation'. When Pawson, 'Believing', pp. 39-40, requires 'an immediate awareness of the Spirit being poured out', this may frequently have been the case. But what degree of clarity must this have for it to be spoken about? What was 'lacking' in the water-rite or baptismal bath of the Samaritans when (apostolic) hands had not yet been laid on them so that 'they received the Holy Spirit' (Acts 8.14a)? It certainly means that there was a perceptible effect, but what? In Acts 8.17-18 nothing specific is mentioned. Why do we hear much more often in the post-apostolic period of the 'joy' in the Spirit, but hardly ever of the 'charisms' of the earliest period?

together with the brothers in the presence of the mother—*peculia gratiae distributiones charismatum subiacere*—imparted gifts of grace lie as earnest-money therein'. These are (extra) gifts imparted to each individually, going beyond the gift of the indwelling of the Triune God in the bath of submersion, the gift which is promised in the sacramental sign. But as the context shows: they are *graces*, as *help against temptations*, not 'manifestations'. Thus, in no way is a 'prophetic charism' (in today's sense) regarded as 'normative' here, and the text does not say that one should ask for these gifts right away after the baptismal bath. It says only that after their admission as 'brothers' in the family (Tertullian unfortunately does not mention 'sisters', but they are implied) the baptized may count on them and already now before the bath may ask for them, so that they will then receive special help for their new way of leading their lives (there is no trace of the concept of 'for the service of others').

Another example is when Origen, in Joan VI 33, says: τὸ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος λουτρόν ἐστιν ἡ χαρισμάτων θείων ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ. It does not mean that he understands 'baptism (in itself) as the principle and the source of divine charisms' (McDonnell, *Initiation*, at the beginning of Chapter 11), as if this sacrament was the source of all gifts, ordinary and extraordinary, especially those for 'serving the salvation of others', thus of all prophecies, prayer in tongues, and power to work miracles. The theme of Origen is, as we say today, the relationship between an outward sign and inner grace. Thus the simple bath of submersion as an outward sign (*loutrón!*) not the sacrament of baptism as a whole is 'source and font of divine gifts', but that is of gifts which in their value lie far above these earthly signs, because they have a divine character. This means, first of all, sanctifying grace, the godly virtues, and whatever the bath of submersion mediates; in our terminology the 'graces of baptism'. The word *charisma* here, then, is used in the customary broad sense of 'gift' (= something given) and has no reference to 'manifestations of the Spirit'. Rather, the sentence is an expression of astonishment that such insignificant outward signs mediate such great things. And *charismaton* stands without article! Thus, it does not mean: 'baptism is the source of *the* divine charisms', but 'the bath is the font of divine *graces*'—namely of those that are given through the bath. Only both things together make up 'baptism'. The point is not what may eventually happen after baptism or what could later grow out of the sacrament of baptism. One can neither conclude from the text that all manifestations of the Spirit are mediated through baptism, nor that all later manifestations of the Spirit can be traced back to baptism, as its

unfolding so to speak, even if they normally presuppose the baptismal bath (but cf. Acts 10.47).

Thirdly,³⁷ when Cyril of Jerusalem in his catechesis 17.37 expresses his desire that God may ‘grant (the baptismal candidate) to be worthy of a prophetic “gift” (*charismatos*, without article)’, he does not thereby make ‘prophetic charisms’ a norm in the reception of the sacrament of baptism, but he says only that, sometime in the future, one or the other candidate or catechumen could receive such a gift and that one should be open for it. However, this prophecy will not then be mediated through baptism and much less does it belong to its nature. Rather, it would be a free gift for which baptism is merely a presupposition.

6. *The Noun-Form ‘Spirit-Baptism’ in Modern Times*

Even though since Origen the noun-form ‘baptism of the Spirit’ comes up now and then, it serves only as a description of the sending of the Spirit given with the laying on of hands/ anointing (which is thus sacramental).³⁸ It does not serve to emphasize any experiential dimension.

The noun-form ‘Spirit-baptism’ has come to be used as an experiential term only in modern times. Now (through ‘baptism’) it is also always associated with the concept of the sacrament, by now developed, and consequently it is an event that happens at one specific moment and only once in a life-time. This produces various misleading interpretations. Almost always four elements are implied: a *one-time* event, an *initial* event, a strongly existential *experience* and often an outstanding one. It is applied where people *experience* a sort of initial ignition of the Spirit. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the question comes up, whether this concept refers to re-birth, to a special deepening in the life of the Spirit (‘second blessing’, ‘second conversion’), to an ‘infilling’ with the Spirit (first-time or in a new way), or to a major mission for a certain ministry. It does not have any reference to ‘baptism’.³⁹

37. All three examples are found in my *ChTG* II, pp. 146-83 and 209, along with other interpretations of these texts.

38. See *ChTG* II, pp. 183, 199, 232.

39. *ChTG* II, pp. 278-81 give a summary of the work of L. Schmieder, *Geisttaufe. Ein Beitrag zur neueren Glaubensgeschichte* (Paderborner Theologische Studien 13; Paderborn: Schöningh, 1982), pp. 1-308, with much evidence, not only from the German, but also from the English-speaking world.

In the Pentecostal-charismatic movement of the twentieth century the term 'Spirit-baptism' has been used for an infilling with the Spirit, which was *generally linked with praying in tongues* and was at the same time a kind of initial ignition for a new way of living in the Spirit that includes other striking charisms. 'Spirit-baptism' here becomes a term for a breakthrough experience, ('being submerged in') that leads to a 'charismatic' spirituality. It is not directly associated with water-baptism, but is understood as a 'second blessing'.⁴⁰

In this way the noun-form is pinned down to *one kind* of infilling with the Spirit. In the course of the neo-Pentecostal, 'Charismatic' awakening in the 'historic' churches in the second half of the twentieth century the question comes up of how this 'personal experience of Pentecost' is related to baptism (and confirmation). Is it primarily a new bringing to life, a setting free of the baptismal (confirmation) grace or—without denying a certain relation to baptism and confirmation—is it a new sending of the Spirit?⁴¹ In short, is this invasion of the Spirit an experience of sacramental or of charismatic grace? Is it a renewal of baptism (confirmation) (the ordinary unfolding of faith, hope, love, and so on, that is of gifts apportioned to all), or is it a charismatic experience of the Spirit, that is something that the Spirit imparts not universally, but to each severally *as he wills*? This one would see both in the kind of infilling with the Spirit and in some specific 'charisms' such as tongues and so forth. According to my findings to this point, the answer has to be in the second sense, since this alone corresponds to the biblical data and the actual events in the primitive church. Otherwise most administration of the sacraments in 1900 years of church history would have been unfruitful or rudimentary and there would not

40. See *ChTG* II, pp. 276-77; 281-83; 307-12. As for the Roman Catholic—Pentecostal Dialogue, Phase I, 14-16; 18-20; Lederle, *Treasures Old and New, passim*. See also D.T. Irvin and K.McDonnell in the 'Dialogue', above footnote 15. Turner, *Baptism*, p. 5, cites David Petts, Principal of the Assemblies of God College, Mattersey Hall, since 1978: 'When Pentecostals talk about the baptism in the Holy Spirit, they generally mean an experience of the Spirit's power accompanied by speaking in tongues as on the Day of Pentecost. The terminology is derived from Acts 1.5... The experience is usually closely associated with (many would say "exclusively identified with") endowment with power for service (Acts 1,8) and is understood to be "subsequent to and distinct from regeneration".'

41. The latter position is taken by Sullivan, 'Baptism', pp. 61-66 (see n. 11); cf. also Lederle, *Treasures Old and New*, pp. 185-96 (referring to Sullivan); Barbara Pursey and others also hold this position, see Lederle, *Treasures Old and New*, pp. 201-205; *ChTG* II, pp. 330-31.

have been Christians with a full life of faith. I want now to consider this view further from the angle of the church as a whole. The only thing that is important is that individuals open themselves and accept what is offered to them by God.

7. Universal Offer of Salvation and Personal Election

Today it is clear that one has to distinguish between sacrament and charism.⁴² The fundamental sacraments are a general offer of salvation to all and to that extent are 'normative'. 'Charism', on the other hand, today signifies an individually given ability, and 'charismatic' means the 'free' working of the Spirit that is not bound to the institution, insofar as the Spirit imparts both the experience of the Spirit and the abilities (given by the Spirit) as he wills. Thus, these are not normative. However, it is true that each baptized person is meant to have individually imparted gifts given in addition, which are added to the sacramental grace (charisms in the broader sense of the word).

'Extraordinary' or 'prophetic' charisms, however, do not belong to the *universal* basic component of each individual Christian life, but to the church as a whole and are by no means *normatively* linked to the sacraments of initiation. Apart from the personal vocation to holiness and the individual (more simple and widely diffused) abilities (as additional gifts) intended for all, baptism and confirmation do not require that there be concrete manifestations. If these happen, they are not a 'setting free' of the grace of baptism or confirmation. They were always seen as something special, a personal grace of God. If they are very widely diffused today and to that extent have become 'normal' in the church, they nevertheless do not have a normative character, as if every Christian must have them in order to be a Christian in the full sense.

For centuries the sending of the Spirit in confirmation was very often not very strongly experienced existentially. Thus, it would, indeed, be strange if all of a sudden a break-through experience was now rediscovered as something that takes place as a norm (and that only in a 'renewal' and not usually in receiving the sacrament of baptism or confirmation, also when 'Charismatics' receive it). 'Spirit-baptism' in that modern sense is rather *a concrete free grace of today*, of which nobody can say how long it will last in this way. Thus, one must respect the inner

42. LG 12.

dynamic of growth of the Charismatic Renewal. An after-a-certain-time-changed experience of the Spirit or a reduction in certain manifestations are not always a sign of decline. It is, therefore, quite questionable if the authenticity is measured only in whether it is (still or again) 'as at the beginning' (cf. Eph. 4.13-16).

Spiritual *experience* as such is a basic category of Christian life;⁴³ as a personally and consciously lived relationship with God, this life always entails an element of the perception of the reality of God in the Holy Spirit as well (faith experience); for faith is an answer to this perception. On the broad scale of spiritual experience at least the two poles can be distinguished: inconspicuous versus conspicuous, more plain versus more striking experiences—of which none is 'normative'—although everybody should have some degree and be open for all.

Depending on the content or the main emphasis one can somewhat distinguish experience of *God*, encounter with *Christ* and experience of the *Spirit* in the more narrow sense. Even if the borders may be fluid, still each of the divine Persons has his way which is proper to him alone (e.g. greatness, extent, and sublimity for the Father, word, encounter for the Son, touch, filling and such for the Holy Spirit⁴⁴).

What in the twentieth century was at first called 'Spirit-baptism', is a clear-cut experience of the Spirit, which, on the one hand, is distinguished from clear-cut experience of the Spirit of another kind, such as occurs in mysticism or in the lives of many saints; on the other hand, it is distinguished from plain, everyday spiritual experiences. Its characteristics are: profound impact by the Holy Spirit; deepened living relationship with the three divine persons; intense, life-changing effects; love for prayer and Holy Scripture; an important bodily component with corresponding forms

43. Cross, 'Review', pp. 25-27, remarks under 'Spirit and Universality': 'Pinnock suggests that, because the Spirit created the world and is present in the world, the Spirit also meets people there through various means. "No nook or cranny is untouched by the finger of God"', and speaks subsequently of 'prevenient grace'. The Holy Spirit is comprehensively Creator and Redeemer.

44. When Turner, 'Receiving', pp. 18-20, in reference to the specific work of the Holy Spirit says only that he reveals the Father and the Son, creating relationship between them (similarly *idem*, *Baptism*, p. 16), something is missing. The Spirit is also a Person and there is a way in which he himself is experienced. Pawson, to whom Turner alludes, sees there something right, when he insists, that a 'personal and intimate knowledge of the Spirit' belongs to the full Christian life (cf. also Pawson, 'Believing', pp. 41-45). Thus, as the Spirit points to Jesus, so Jesus points to the Spirit.

of expression; readiness for vocal and free prayer, also in community; special manifestations of the Spirit, usually prayer in tongues. The specificity lies in the combination of all the above.

People with an experience of such a 'Spirit-baptism' usually make up the core of Pentecostal and 'charismatic' groups; but one finds also many people there that have not had such a break-through experience, yet with their spiritual experiences they identify with this spirituality with its charismatic character and are able to take part in it.

Since in the twentieth century the term 'Spirit-baptism' signified, first of all, this Pentecostal-charismatic break-through experience and up to today is largely understood as such, one should leave the term in this realm⁴⁵ and should not extend it to other kinds of spiritual experience, and by no means

45. It remains then understandable why this was called a 'second blessing' and was not related to initiation. I would still now say openly: it is a sign different from initiation with 'water and imposition of hands' (but it can obviously be linked with these). And it is understandable that tongues is presented as 'Initial Evidence' (see Macchia, 'Question'), without making this into a law, so that not every kind of peak-experience is so classified, but rather this kind of peak-experience is 'in an integral connection between tongues and Spirit baptism' (Macchia, 'Question', p. 122). So at the same time the 'sovereignty of the Spirit' remains protected, that he truly gives his Spirit to all, but he gives 'Spirit-baptism' (in this strict sense) only to whom and how he wills'. Thus 'tongues' remains the typical Pentecostal-charismatic characteristic (cf. J.C. Thomas, 'Holy Spirit', p. 18). They are 'an initial evidence' for a Spirit-baptism, but not a sign of initiation as a Christian. When Macchia ('Question', p. 123) fails to find in the book of McGee the opinion of a Catholic, I would want to answer: while the sacrament as a sign given by Christ (e.g. immersion in water) is a 'visible means of grace' that in the Commission of Christ is carried out by humans, so speaking in tongues is on the contrary a distinguishing sign, that God's Spirit is at work in a particular way: it is not humanly determined, but is experienced 'as a free and sovereign act of the Spirit..., not subject to ecclesiastical initiation or manipulation' (Macchia, 'Question', p. 118). Thus I would not call it 'a kind of sacramental element' (Macchia, 'Question', p. 122). But it is a sign for a kind of 'embodiment of grace', 'going beyond established categories of Word and Sacrament' (Macchia, 'Question', p. 127). Yes! Here it is once again clear that Spirit-baptism (in the strict modern sense) is to be distinguished from the sacrament and to this extent the Pentecostal impact on a two-stage model is well grounded: Pentecostals rightly 'feel that only a second-blessing theology of the Spirit does justice to the 'radically new nature and dynamic of Pentecostal experience' (Turner, *Baptism*, p. 24). On the other hand—what may be painful for Pentecostals—it is not in an identical way universal and normative, even when it is to be spread ever more widely in the future. Yet, the emphasis on 'empowering for service' comes more strongly to the fore.

to baptism and confirmation.⁴⁶ Renewal of the baptismal promise and prayer for a revival of the baptismal grace can be a good presupposition for opening oneself to the free working of the Spirit, but it should not be called 'Spirit-baptism'.

Thus, 'Spirit-baptism' is a specific term, that marks a certain spirituality in Christianity, one which is especially widespread today. Spirit-baptism understood in this way cannot be made normative for all—although 'receiving the Spirit' is normative for all.

Spirit-baptism is, therefore, not restricted to being *the* peak or *the* fullest form of experience of the Spirit, but is only one among other clear-cut ways to experience the Spirit, which is imparted by the Spirit as he wills. One can conclude with Turner: The pastoral task is 'not to focus the character of *initial* Spirit reception, but the character of the *ongoing* experience of the Spirit in the church'.⁴⁷

Conceptually one can distinguish:

- (1) *Reception* of the Spirit (it is universal, in the sacrament or outside of the sacrament)
- (2) *Spiritual experience* (it is universal, intended for every human being)
- (3) *Experience of the Spirit* (distinguished from experience of God and Christ)
- (4) *Infilling* with the Spirit (for which every one should be open)
- (5) *Different forms of being filled* with the Spirit, e.g.



The first term (1) is the broadest; it includes all the following terms. The sequence cannot be reversed, so that conclusions cannot be drawn in the reverse direction. Thus every Spirit-baptism is a filling with the Spirit and a reception of the Spirit, but not every reception of the Spirit is an infilling with the Spirit and not every infilling with the Spirit is a Spirit-baptism. In order to distinguish it from other forms, one can speak of a 'charismatic

46. In *ChTG* II, Chapter 9, I distinguish this position from that of some other authors in order to provide a firm foundation.

47. Turner, 'Receiving', p. 30.

infilling with the Spirit',⁴⁸ that is an experience given by the Spirit, to whom and how he wills, and with which he links at the same time the so-called 'charisms' in the stricter sense, such as speaking in tongues and so on.

The parallel to mysticism and Seraphim of Sarov merely means that Spirit-baptism is a different kind of being filled with the Spirit; one should not judge it to be equal with others. Spirit-baptism rather has the character of being an *initial experience*, insofar as it leads to a definite, new status of life in the Spirit in the one who receives it, but it does not say anything about the *maturity* of the recipient and is not necessarily part of 'initiation' as a Christian at all.

Spirit-baptism understood in this way can be given as a gift at all points of the Christian life, at the beginning of a conversion or after conversion has taken place, as a step of growth, as a further deepening of a spiritual journey or at its mature peak, or even as a vocation to a specific ministry. Thus, it is not always a 'fully developed form', even if it may be a peak-point in the life-story of the individual.⁴⁹

As an experience of grace, which goes across all denominations, it has an eminently ecumenical dimension and should help Christians to come together in the Spirit—an opportunity to impact the churches.

Individuals who experience 'Spirit-baptism' in this sense are, therefore, no 'better' than others. Rather, they have a specific vocation which exists alongside other specific vocations in the church (principle of election); and individuals are each assessed according to *their own* measurement and the corresponding fruits. Thus, it does not make sense to try to compare different vocations or spiritual paths with one another (cf. 1 Cor. 12.14-26). However, individuals must ask *themselves* whether *they* have accepted or ignored a call of the Spirit intended to lead *them* onward.

The message of the Pentecostal-charismatic awakening that is impacting Christianity and humanity, because of a new kind of working of the Spirit, which the persons concerned have received, is to encourage all Christians and all people to open themselves to the Spirit of God, so that they can be fully at work in the world in *their way* and according to *their choice*.

48. Turner, *Baptism*, p. 21, uses the term 'charismatic Spirit encounter'.

49. In this way, the discussion whether Spirit-baptism is conversion or empowerment for mission is by-passed. It can bring everything with it, or support it, as the experience sufficiently shows, but it is not tied to a specific stage. On the contrary its centre is a very deep, living encounter with God and the experience of his nearness and power, as well as of certain charisms.

This means, first of all and especially, to proclaim and to testify to the gospel message of salvation directed to all people to lead them to Christ as Lord and Savior. This entails initiation into the body of Christ and, thus, an ecclesial dimension and also to pray to be filled with the Spirit.⁵⁰

Those individuals who have experienced a 'Spirit-baptism' (in the strict sense), have thus been given, like all Christians but in a special way, a responsibility to evangelize through the proclamation of the kerygma, through teaching and testimony; the latter includes also (under the leading of the Spirit) the testimony of their Spirit-baptism, through which they may invite others to open themselves more fully to the Spirit.

However, should the occasion arise that they pray with others for the Holy Spirit, they should pray for the fullness of the Spirit, but they should not give the impression that the 'Spirit-baptism' is the *only* and *universal* form of the 'full' working of the Spirit. Thankfulness for what God has done in themselves and reverence for what he does and wants to do in others will preserve them from being obtrusive and will lead them to a freedom of the children of God, in which, without grumbling and in spiritual joy, they 'serve' (1 Pet. 4.10) to others the gift of the Spirit and the charisms which God has entrusted to them.

One should pray specifically for Spirit-baptism (including the gift of praying in tongues) only when listening to the concrete leading by God and, as a rule, never without the assent of the one concerned. Often one

50. But this does not mean that each one should then receive the 'Spirit-Baptism' (in the strict sense), and also not that those who receive Spirit-baptism must speak in tongues. The manner and the intensity of each particular gift of the Spirit is God's business. When Pawson writes (Turner, 'Receiving', p. 4): 'If the reception (baptism/filling of the Spirit) is *both* an integral element in Christian initiation and a discernible experience, then many professing Christians, in some churches most, have *not* "received" the Spirit', then it can be rightly understood inasmuch as he has broadened the concepts. The question nonetheless remains as to what gauge you apply. What is important is that each seeks God with their whole heart—even when receiving a different answer to that which is usual among Pentecostals (cf. again above, note 9).

Perhaps the 'surprising silence' on this issue of the post-apostolic church can be explained in that they lived quite naturally in the multiplicity of the workings of the Spirit and they had no need of a specific concept of 'baptism in the Spirit'; the substantive form is in fact not found in the Bible (cf. Turner, 'Receiving', pp. 4-5 and 12-13; *idem*, *Baptism*, p. 18). In any case, this frank discussion between Pawson and Turner is stimulating to read. From this it is particularly clear how problematic it is when the working of the Spirit is unconditionally tied to one particular form of giving the Spirit. We, therefore, keep praying anew: 'Come, Holy Spirit!'

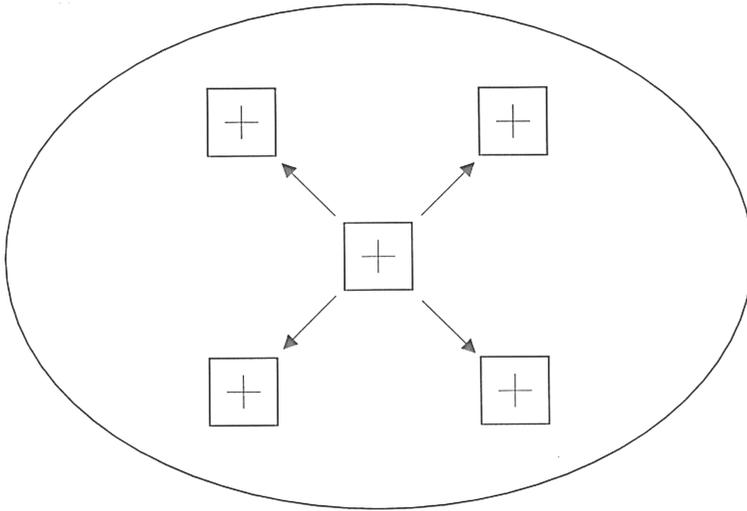
will pray ‘for the Holy Spirit’ or for an ‘infilling with the Spirit’ in a general way, leaving open any further specifications. In practice this may not always be very clearly differentiated; then one will look to the intention, whether one wants to pin down God, so-to-speak, or one really will leave the fulfillment of the request up to him. When one has sincerely prayed for ‘Spirit-baptism’ and it is apparently not granted, one will freely put everything back into God’s hands, without putting oneself or the person concerned under any pressure. However, one should not immediately call ‘Spirit-baptism’ every working of the Spirit that someone experiences after such a prayer. Rather, one should speak of ‘Spirit-baptism’ only if it is an experience of a breakthrough, that is at least open for the prayer of tongues. One should not force rigid categories on living reality. Yet, one needs to use an appropriate language, amongst other reasons also in order to be able to communicate clearly. Often we notice a separation of sacrament and spiritual life in the churches. In Spirit-baptism, however, we are presented with a new wholeness, which does not mean that the sacraments and charismatic life become identical. Access to this charismatic dimension is often triggered by charismatic personalities and a corresponding disposition. Here we should be aware that in Pentecostal and non-denominational churches, where the sacramental signs are missing or scarcely developed, the charismatic realm often takes over to a certain degree the sacramental function. On the other hand, in the traditionally oriented churches we must be on guard not to become rigid through a ritualism and sacramentalism. Yet, the liturgy and the sacraments give a solid framework which protects us from a false hunger for the experiential or even from spiritual activism.

8. *The Basic Tension in Three Pairs of Terms*

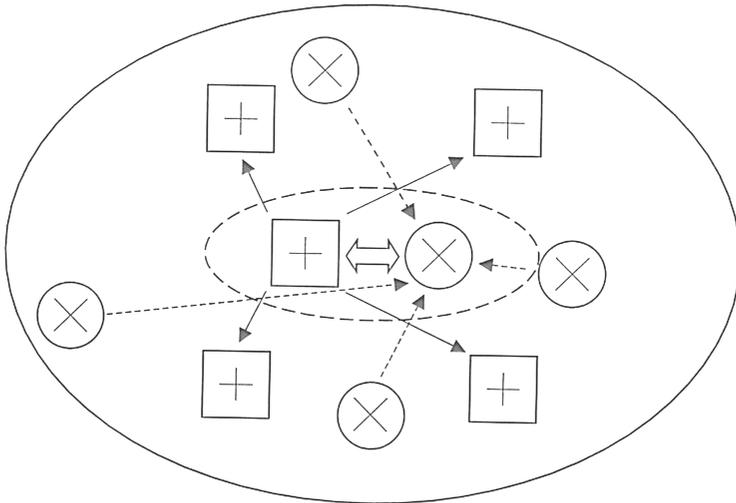
Finally, we can characterize the extent of the tensions brought up here in three pairs of opposites:

- office and prophecy as the basic structure of the church;
- two converging lines in the twentieth century;
- faith and experience

The *basic structure* of the church usually in catholic churches is seen from the viewpoint of the apostolic office. Speaking in Catholic terms: the local bishops, who stand in the apostolic succession, together with their priests and the work that is carried out by them make up the back-bone of the church, so to speak; they are *the* basic structural element (see below Scheme I). In this one could point to Mt. 16.18 and 18.18.

*Scheme I*

According to Eph. 2.20-22, however, the faithful are ‘built upon the foundation of the apostles *and prophets*’ into the ‘dwelling place of God in the Spirit’, in which the ‘capstone’ is ‘Christ’. Here the prophets are not those of the Old but of the New Testament. And as this foundation has a permanent function, in other words, the ‘apostles’ continue to exist (in the ‘office’ of the bishops or in the ‘leaders’ of a church as a living foundation), so also the ‘prophets’ belong to the permanent ‘foundation’ and are ‘structural elements’ of the community of the faithful as well as the apostles. Yet, where is this grounded in the constitution of the church? Since one cannot pass on the prophetic function one to the other as is the case with ordination, but rather the Spirit awakens it newly in each case, the church must continually be on the look out for where God is sending it its respective prophets. It is not left up to the will of the bearers of office whether or not they pay attention to the prophets, but they can exercise their office correctly only if they stand in dialogue with these and both together listen to God. Prophets, however, belong to the ‘foundation’ as well as those who exercise the apostolic office. The same Holy Spirit is working in both, and both exercise the ministry correctly only when they ‘hear what the Spirit says to the churches’. So Scheme II is correspondingly more differentiated.

*Scheme II*

One could be tempted to say that the office represents the Christological and the prophets the Pneumatological line. But it is not that easy. In the same way as Jesus is ‘conceived by the Holy Spirit’, the (Christological) office is instituted in the Holy Spirit and is carried by the Spirit since Pentecost. On the other hand, the prophets (the pneumatological ministry) are raised up by the Spirit, who since Pentecost is sent from the Father *by Jesus* to his church (Acts 2.33, 38). Thus, the sequence of action is now reversed; yet, always both divine persons are involved—and both are sent by the Father. The church-fathers, therefore say that Jesus and the Holy Spirit are ‘the two hands’ of the Father. The question, though, is whether Christians always grasp *both* hands!

Charismatic-prophetic personalities can be called by God everywhere, even outside of the church. They can be called as individuals or in communities, such as in charismatic-prophetic movements. It could happen that they influence wider circles so that people are struck by these ‘senders’ inside and outside the church. The people thus affected stand under a manifold call to listen to prophetic impulses and must recognize for themselves what God wants to show them. Those who exercise the apostolic office are referred to the prophetic impulses in a special way, as, on the other hand, the prophets are referred to the bearers of office. And similarly ‘official’ churches and ‘prophetic’ churches are dependent on each other in the one

Body of Christ. Only in communion can they exercise their foundational function correctly.⁵¹

Prophetic impulses can be restricted more to a single theme or field, and to that extent they are more at the fringes or they can stand more at the center and, thus, according to the circumstances be of a quite extensive importance. Thus, one may well say that the Pentecostal-charismatic awakening in Christianity today has a very deep and far-reaching importance and to that extent is rather central, not only as to what concerns its diffusion, but above all in its call: to live a complete/ fully Christian life by a fresh experience of the Spirit. This awakening is formed by people who have experienced Spirit-baptism in the narrow sense described above.

Is the Charismatic Renewal a movement? There is much discussion on this point. If one wants to say that it should flow into the church and disappear, similarly to the liturgical movement, then there is a correct thought in it, and that is that it does not and should not want to be a church within the church but should rather want to contribute to the revival of the whole. However, in order to be able to make its own contribution it does need a proper character, especially since disappearing through absorption into the church cannot mean that the specific character of Spirit-baptism becomes shallow and watered down. But it does not mean that it is made a norm for everyone. To that extent it does have a proper spirituality and is not simply 'the' spirituality of 'the' church. The working of the Holy Spirit naturally is much broader.

This can be illustrated secondly in two historical lines. Is it by accident that at the beginning of the twentieth century, on the same 1 January, 1901, not only Spirit-baptism together with praying in tongues broke through in Topeka, which spread in increasing measure until the end of the century, but also—what many do not know—on the same day Pope Leo XIII prayed the hymn to the Holy Spirit in the name of the whole church? He did this picking up a prophetic impulse, which was proposed to him more than

51. There is here a kind of analogy to what R.D. Moore observes about 'Canon and Charisma in the Book of Deuteronomy' (*JPT* 1 [1992], pp. 75-92; esp. p. 79): 'Two revelatory channels, that of canonical writing and charismatic speech', the latter as a kind of 'ongoing voice of the Holy Spirit' ('Canon and Charisma', p. 75) or 'through the ongoing prophetic institution... an ongoing revelatory manifestation of divine nearness' ('Canon and Charisma', pp. 84 and 89). Menzies, 'Luke', p. 138: 'The church, by virtue of its reception of the Pentecostal gift, is a prophetic community empowered for a missionary task'. And Macchia, 'Evidence', p. 121: 'The whole issue of charisma and institution will be important for the future of Pentecostal theology'.

once by the now beatified Elena Guerra, founder of the 'Sisters of the Holy Spirit' in Lucca, Italy. Taking up her suggestion the Pope wrote an apostolic exhortation already in 1895 and an encyclical in 1897, in which he called for devotion to the Holy Spirit and recommended the nine days before Pentecost as a novena of prayer for the Holy Spirit: for the renewal of the church, reunification of Christianity, renewal of society and for a 'renewal of the face of the earth'. This impulse was picked up in increasing measure, in the course of the liturgical and ecumenical movements, the Pentecost-novena was held ecumenically and the theology of the Holy Spirit was slowly given more attention, until, finally, John XXIII, full of trust, prayed for a 'new Pentecost' at the beginning of the Council and invited all to join him.

To put it in an image, with Leo XIII's call there began, slowly but steadily, a new awareness of the person of the Holy Spirit as when the ground-water slowly rises, whereas Spirit-baptism (and the Pentecostal movement which grew out of it) gushed forth like a fresh fountain and watered the dry surface. Today, after 100 years, we see how these two streams come together and complement and reinforce each other.⁵² This becomes clear symbolically in the words of John Paul II at the meeting of 400,000 members of spiritual movements in the Roman-Catholic Church for the Pentecost vigil in Rome in 1998: 'We could say, what happened in Jerusalem 2000 years ago is renewed in this square tonight. As the apostles then so we find ourselves together in this Upper Room, full of longing and praying for the out-pouring of the Spirit.' Here they prayed for the 'infilling' of the Spirit promised to all, without the term 'Spirit-baptism' being mentioned. The members of the Charismatic Renewal could understand this prayer for themselves quite naturally in the sense of asking for Spirit-baptism, while others prayed it in a more general, more open sense—each individual prayed for what God had intended for them. The general matter also forms the basis for the specific, but does not make the latter a norm for all; rather, the specific is imbedded in that which is common to all. In this case there were together representatives of spiritual movements of which some can be called prophetic impulses, who on their part, of course, understand themselves—all in a different way—as belonging to their local churches with their bishops. Thus, time and again many impulses join, which break forth from the rising ground-water, on the one hand, and as from a fountain on

52. That must not mean, as Menzies is afraid (*JPT* 4, 1994, p. 137), 'that our "older traditions" might dull our sense of expectation, understanding and, ultimately, experience of the Pentecostal gift'.

the other hand. The same Holy Spirit, who renews his church, works in both, or as John Paul II said during that evening: 'the institutional and charismatic aspects are, as they were then, "co-essential" for the constitution of the church'.

Thirdly, concerning the history of Christian spirituality, the present gift of Spirit-baptism lies in a straight line of development which can also be noticed elsewhere: If the last centuries were strongly imprinted by the concept of *'faith'*, and this in the sense of 'not-knowing', with a great skepticism towards any spiritual experience, one once again speaks of 'faith-experience' in theology, bringing both terms together. In the biblical sense 'to believe', indeed, means 'to perceive something not with the mere human, un-redeemed senses' but it means what is 'recognizable only in the Holy Spirit, to perceive, to accept, and to rely upon'. In the Spirit one can, thus, recognize it, see it, taste it, and so on. Thus, Spirit-baptism, like charism, is in accord with a present dynamic involving the whole church.

Spiritual perception, however, is not primarily a pre-tasting of a future state (an already realized 'eschatology'). It is first of all to be interpreted through the resurrection of Christ and the sending of the Spirit which already has taken place: We do not live by the anticipation of our future resurrection, but by the participation in the resurrection of the one who, as the exalted one, is always with us (Mt. 28.20)—without having to make a detour via the (future) 'eschatology'. Thus, according to Paul, the resurrection already has begun in us with faith and baptism; it grows further and will finally be perfected on the Last Day. And the Pneumatological line of argument is similar to the Christological: the Spirit is poured out since Pentecost; all people should engage in him completely and personally, pray for him and open themselves for the ever new ways of his sendings and his workings in this world (bound to the institution and unbound, sacramental and charismatic) in order to be led by this dynamic of the Spirit to a mature stature in Christ and, thus, to final perfection.

PENTECOSTAL/CHARISMATIC THEMES IN LUKE—ACTS
AT THE EVANGELICAL THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY:
THE BATTLE OF INTERPRETIVE METHOD

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ABSTRACT

Through interactive dialogue with Evangelical scholars and through an assessment of their interpretive methods, one may identify an ‘apostolic age’ hermeneutic which intrinsically imposes questionable assumptions upon Luke’s two-volume work and upon Paul. The result may be termed Lukan and Pauline cessationism. For Luke, narrative disconnectedness replaces narrative-rhetorical cohesion. His examples and precedents of reception of the gift of the Holy Spirit by disciple-believer-witnesses either undergo mass extinction or reinterpretation, reinterpretation which serves the traditional presupposition of an ‘apostolic age’ instead of the narrative sequencing and personification of Lukan characters. Luke’s fulfilment of prophecy theme is totally ignored. For Paul, similar discursive description of pneumatological experience which Paul assumes is understandable to his selected addressees—language perhaps being urgently and pastorally clarified by Luke’s conventional use of examples and precedents—is disconnected from the common oral and cognitive environment shared within the Jerusalem/Petrine Christianity portrayed by Luke. Via discussion, reflection, and testimony perhaps the coherency and validity of traditional ‘apostolic age’ hermeneutics might be explored on the battlefield of biblical interpretation.

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Introduction

Arguing that there is a distinctive Pentecostal hermeneutical paradigm, incorporating a desire to respond experientially to the narrative and discursive theology of New Testament writers, Lewis advocates a mediating position between the extremes of academic isolation and subsuming Pentecostalism under Evangelicalism (with some Holy Spirit emphasis).¹ Lewis suggests that this paradigm is fundamentally non-Enlightenment without being pre-Enlightenment in orientation,² which is harmonious with what DuPree thinks that Pentecostalism is³ and with what Pentecostalism can represent intellectually in the new Era of the Glimpse of God,⁴ where the

1. Paul Lewis, 'Towards a Pentecostal Epistemology: The Role of Experience in Pentecostal Hermeneutics', *The Spirit & Church* 2.1 (2000), pp. 95-125.

2. Lewis, 'Pentecostal Epistemology', p. 124.

3. Sherry Sherrod DuPree, 'In the Sanctified Holiness Pentecostal Charismatic Movement', *Pneuma: Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 23.1 (2001), pp. 97-114 (113), namely: 'The Azusa Street Revival sparked the Pentecostal and Charismatic movement. The movement is an emotional movement, with behavior ranging from moaning and shouting in the Spirit to the more sophisticated, ordinary behavior like reading the Bible, especially Acts 2.4, and praying.' While this Christian behavior encompasses experiences like Lukan conversion, praying for and being filled with the Spirit in concert with glossolalia and prophetic-type phenomena exemplified in the book of Acts (in accord with the teaching of the earthly Jesus on prayer), empowered missionary vision, fasting, seeking and being used as givers of Pauline spiritual gifts, praising God in Spirit-filled worship with uplifted hands, dancing in the Spirit, and sufferings, this spirituality as a descriptive category is explored by Cecil M. Robeck, Jr, 'The Nature of Pentecostal Spirituality', *Pneuma: Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 14.2 (1992), pp. 103-106; and Daniel E. Albrecht, 'Characteristic Qualities of Pentecostal/Charismatic Spirituality', in his *Rites in the Spirit: A Ritual Approach to Pentecostal/Charismatic Spirituality* (JPTSUP, 17; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 218-51.

4. In the second millennium before Christ, one ancient Near Eastern literary text claimed a beginning for physical reality. In 1963 this cosmic beginning was detected and immediately conveyed the implication of a Beginner. This new 'Era of the Glimpse of God', which humankind entered in 1963 with the discovery of the cosmic background radiation, makes the existence of God an attractive speculation and is conducive to an experiential hermeneutic—one open to the supernatural as delineated in biblical characters' lives—perhaps best represented in Christendom by global Pentecostalism, cf. my 'The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Review Article', *Trinity Journal* 23.1 (2002), pp. 81-101 (96), also available online at <http://www.pneumafoundation.com/resources/in.depth.shtml>.

experimental findings of modern science and theology intersect in an age of science and technology.⁵ This emerging interpretive paradigm, being articulated by scholars like Lewis and Shelton,⁶ is indeed distinctive with respect to the rationalistic structure of both dispensationalism and sacramentalism,⁷ and perhaps may be likened in its perspective to that of Treebeard in John Tolkien's *The Two Towers*, 'I am not altogether on anybody's side because nobody is on my side'.⁸

From this perspective, Evangelicals⁹ today may be understood as having inherited centuries of suspicion of the supernatural and over a millennium of rationalistic theory¹⁰ as to why selected supernatural activities described

5. On this point, cf. John Polkinghorne, *Belief in God in an Age of Science* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1998), *passim*; and 'Theism', in his *Science and Theology: An Introduction* (London: SPCK; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), pp. 66-83.

6. James B. Shelton, 'Epistemology and Authority in the Acts of the Apostles: An Analysis and Test Case Study of Acts 15.1-29', *The Spirit & Church* 2.2 (2000), pp. 231-47.

7. The epistemology of experience, allied to critical interpretation of New Testament texts, is more convincing, and possesses more interior motivating power than some rationally formatted and traditionally venerated conjectures, no matter how firmly ensconced. *On this basis I would suggest that dispensationalism, with its rigid temporal boundaries imposed upon the New Testament text, and sacramentalism, with its claims of automatic transmission of church-incorporation in paedobaptism and automatic transmission of the forgiveness of sins in personal confession, may both be critiqued as evincing rationalistic excess.*

8. With Lewis, 'Pentecostal Epistemology', p. 125.

9. With Garry J. Williams, 'Was Evangelicalism Created by the Enlightenment?', *TynBul* 53.2 (2002), pp. 281-312 (311), I consider the Reformation and Puritanism as Evangelical movements, given that Calvin and the Huguenots were actively concerned for evangelism. However, Evangelicalism today, in my judgement, is yet strongly influenced by a distrust and hostility toward experience, similar to that articulated in Jonathan Edwards' 1746 *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*.

10. For a succinct yet comprehensive overview of the effects of rationalism throughout church history, see John McKay, 'Pentecost and History', *The Spirit & Church* 3.1 (2001), pp. 113-28. In a section on 'The Prophets and Modern Ecclesiastism, Rationalism and Paganism' McKay observes that 'The Reformed churches in the main rejected the prophetic way in favor of the doctrinal and the moral, which though biblically founded, came to be set in the context of Enlightenment rationalism. The result was academic aridity and ethical legalism in the church. The situation was exacerbated as theological correctness and moral uprightness became the acknowledged tokens of respectability—and hence a source of pride' (p. 123).

in the New Testament should not and could not be expected to occur.¹¹ To seek and/or to expect these cessationistically filtered supernatural activities of the heavenly Jesus and the Holy Spirit is rationalistically unacceptable or intellectually incredible as far as some Evangelicals are concerned.¹² A wedge between the ministry and the teaching of the earthly Jesus and the ministry of the heavenly Jesus appears to exist in this Evangelical mindset. The heavenly Jesus would not be expected to engage in ministerial activities that contradict the rigid epochs that have traditionally been imposed upon New Testament texts. Other than as an inert rational proposition, one could be led to wonder whether the heavenly Jesus as a person, as in Acts 2.33, even remembers or takes an interest in the teaching of the earthly Jesus.¹³

The distrust and dismissal of experience brought about by suspicion and rationalistic theory is largely to be attributed, in my judgement, to an anti-Lukan concept known as the 'apostolic age' or the 'Pentecostal age'.¹⁴ So ingrained within some Evangelical mindsets are the concretized ramifications of this traditionally presumed epoch, that a knee-jerk reaction towards those who may challenge this hermeneutical blockade and retardation of Lukan interests is not at all unknown, nor is it always a subsurface

11. Cessationistic theory can be traced to Chrysostom and Augustine, the latter cited by Calvin in this regard, but cannot be traced to their fourth-century contemporary Basil; cf. Sang-Whan Lee, 'The Relevance of St. Basil's Pneumatology to Modern Pentecostalism', *The Spirit & Church* 1.1 (1999), pp. 49-76. Perhaps of equal relevance in the patristic domain would be the late second-century thought of Irenaeus, who felt that denial of gender-insensitive prophetic gifts robbed Christians of their ability to become fruitful; cf. Cecil M. Robeck, Jr, 'Irenaeus and "Prophetic Gifts"', in Paul Elbert (ed.), *Essays on Apostolic Themes: Studies in honor of Howard M. Ervin* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1985), pp. 104-14.

12. Cf. Elbert, 'Globalization', pp. 87-92.

13. In contradistinction to such an epochally constrained worldview, the heavenly Jesus apparently does so remember and act accordingly, probably programmatically so; cf. Odette Mainville, 'Jésus et l'Esprit dans l'oeuvre de Luc: Éclairage à partir d'Ac 2,33', *Science et Spirit* 42 (1990), pp. 193-208; and her *L'Esprit dans l'oeuvre de Luc* (Héritage et Projet, 45; Montreal: Editions Fides, 1991), pp. 248, 257-82; Marcel Dumais, 'Ministères, charismes et Esprit dans l'oeuvre de Luc', *Église et Théologie* 9 (1978), pp. 413-53.

14. For an assessment of the ecclesial effects and ramifications of this concept within the framework of dispensational theory, see Peter E. Prosser, *Dispensational Eschatology and its Influence on American and British Religious Movements* (Texts and Studies in Religion, 82; Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1999). Dogmatic dispensational periodization receives a harsh critique here (*Dispensational*, p. 269).

phenomenon. Scholarship that may seem to challenge this usually hidden and unarticulated interpretive presupposition¹⁵ may be immediately suspect.¹⁶ An intrinsic impulse may exist with regard to such scholarship, rendering it as likely to be ignored or quickly discarded as to be reflected upon. When challenged, quick and dogmatic ‘solutions’ and position protection emerge from the hermeneutical fog as easily as due reflection. The fanciful epochal dichotomies set in place by Calvin, which he well knew were not ‘biblical’ and which are long overdue for retirement, have not yet been laid to rest, perhaps having served some distant political function. The thoughtfulness normally associated with scholarly enterprise may, even today, seem in short supply when it comes to an intersection with ideas that argue against historically established claims stemming from an ‘apostolic age’.¹⁷ While honoring the legacy of the Reformation has its

15. The long-term deleterious effects of the hidden and unarticulated presupposition are well known; cf. Graham N. Stanton, ‘Presuppositions in New Testament Criticism’, in I. Howard Marshall (ed.), *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977), pp. 60–71; Markus Barth, ‘The Problem of Hidden Persuaders’, in his ‘Christ and All Things’, in M.D. Hooker and S.G. Wilson (eds.), *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in honour of C. K. Barrett* (London: SPCK, 1982), pp. 160–72 (164–68).

16. Within scholarly circles historically connected (or wedded) to Calvinistic epochal divisions, and to epochs within epochs, there appears to be little awareness that the continuation of Lukan characters’ experience is even an interesting speculation. Ministerial categories like apostleship are equally over a distant horizon, given that the dispensational closure guaranteed by an ‘apostolic age’ settles such matters ‘once-for-all’, but cf. Jon Ruthven, *On the Cessation of the Charismata: The Protestant Polemical on Postbiblical Miracles* (JPTSup, 3: Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), pp. 205–12, 213–20; and his ‘The “Foundational Gifts” of Ephesians 2.20’, *JPT* 10.2 (2002), pp. 28–43.

17. For example, ‘The Holy Ghost cannot be the subject for the church as such, to ask for now, seeing He has thus been given’, so J.N. Darby, *Notes of Addresses on the Gospel of Luke* (London: Race, 1922), p. 136. The Darbian theory of the Calvinistic tradition, oft repeated by Evangelical commentators, that Lukan Spirit-receptions are confined to the ‘old dispensation’ and that they functioned ‘once-for-all’ in a mystic process of osmotic permeation finds expression in the reactionary treatise of W.J. Erdman, ‘The Holy Spirit and the Sons of God’, in R.A. Torrey (ed.), *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth* (4 vols.; Los Angeles: Bible Institute of Los Angeles, 1917), II, pp. 338–52. F.F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1954), p. 76, continues the rationalistic exuberance of this ‘once-for-all’ theory, entirely ignoring Luke’s prominent efforts to portray characters’ lives prior to the first Jerusalem Pentecost within a soteriological nexus. Bruce goes further to claim, without adequate syntactical, grammatical, or contextual investigation, that Acts 2.38c

commendable aspects,¹⁸ the Calvinistic application of the ‘apostolic age’¹⁹ is still dominant today, both hermeneutically and intellectually, in some Evangelical worldviews. Both Lukan and Pauline cessationism are active and, as yet, critically unexamined concepts in some Evangelical mindsets.²⁰

indicates the automatic reception of the Lukan gift of the Holy Spirit upon repentance, ‘although this is not said in so many words’ (p. 79). However, since the traditional conjecture of ‘once-for-all’ and its presumed osmotic transmission of characters’ experience to future believers is clearly not to be found in the text of Luke–Acts, one must assume that its source lies elsewhere in some unexamined presupposition that has been historically superimposed onto the text of Luke’s two-volume work.

18. While Pentecostals appreciate the work of the Reformers with respect to the recovery of the use of Scripture, they do not pledge allegiance to Reformed ideas or regard themselves as the spiritual heirs of the Reformation; rather it is more descriptive that ‘Pentecostals are Protestants, but often Protestants without the Reformation’ (so Christian Seytre, ‘Le pentecôte’, in Geoffroy Turckheim [ed.], *En compagnie de beaucoup d’autres: Guide théologique du protestantisme contemporain* [Paris: Les Bergers et les Mages, 1997], p. 101). *While some Pentecostals view themselves as evangelical, most view themselves as evangelistic and as a fourth tradition within Christianity, alongside Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Protestantism.*

19. On Calvin’s explicit introduction of this theory into his commentary on Acts, which then not incidentally appears unarticulated as an assured fact in Calvin’s sermons on Acts 1–7, see my ‘Calvin and the Spiritual Gifts’, in Richard C. Gamble, (ed.), *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism: An Elaboration of the Theology of Calvin* (14 vols.; New York: Garland, 1992), VIII, pp. 303–31. The Geneva Divine’s willful cessationist theology or ideology not only informs his final exegesis at this point (Acts 2.38), but his reinterpretation is justified by an outright appeal to *his* non-experience and rationalistic speculation, non-experience which overrides and denies the validity of his textual exegesis. Whether his original exegesis may be confirmed to be correct or most probable is not the issue, rather this illegitimate hermeneutical style is characterized by the willful imposition of philosophical bias—*not in any way due to the testimonium of the Spirit*—in order to suit the non-experience or convenience of the interpreter. This technique, oft repeated, served to set the intellectual stage for the destructive legacy of a ‘Calvinistic hermeneutic’ wherein biblical texts can be piously and obviously shifted in meaning—under the guise of exegesis—so as to conform to ‘interpretations’ best befitting the presumption of an extra-biblical epoch. Calvin, however unwittingly, became the progenitor of ‘apostolic age hermeneutics’.

20. This modern Evangelical sentiment also has roots in scholastic Protestantism and the deistic Enlightenment which also expressed Christian praxis as a matter of ethics, having cessationistically filtered supernatural components from Luke–Acts and Paul. Jon Ruthven, ‘The “Imitation of Christ” in Christian Tradition: Its Missing Charismatic Emphasis’, *JPT* 16 (2000), pp. 60–77 (64), suggests that ‘With the restriction of the miraculous to the first century on the one hand, and the emphasis on Christianity as morality that developed later, the profile of traditional Christian discipleship was set’.

Such cessationisms are not necessarily latent or dormant, but near the surface. Historically conforming to centuries of tradition, Lukan and Pauline cessationisms are both discernible backgrounds to some contemporary Evangelical interpretation.²¹ In the context of this perceived environment, a cognitive environmental appraisal that all of my Evangelical friends might not completely share, I offer several reflections after five years of participation with scholars within the Evangelical Theological Society (ETS)²² focusing on ‘Charismatic Themes in Luke–Acts and Related Issues’.

21. These ecclesiastical but unlikely biblical backgrounds are kept alive before the English-speaking Evangelical public through the marketing of the old and new editions of the KJV and NIV Scofield Bible. This dispensationally based tome uncritically propagates, without curiosity for authorial intent and narrative continuity, the traditional ‘once-for-all’ osmosis theory of Lukan cessation, to wit, ‘For the Christian to go back to Lk 11.13 is to forget Pentecost’; cf. E. Schuyler English, Frank E. Gaebelein, William Culbertson, Charles L. Feinberg, Allan A. MacRae, Clarence H. Mason, Alva J. Mc Clain, Wilbur M. Smith and John F. Walvood (eds.), *The New Scofield Reference Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 1097. As to Pauline cessationism, English *et al* make no attempt to correct the still popular claim among Evangelicals that the τὸ τέλειον (that which is perfect or complete, 1 Cor. 13.10) is a reference to the Bible, but rationally encourage it with the unexamined assertion that ‘Until the New Testament was written, new revelations suited to the new dispensation were given; tongues and the sign gifts are to cease’ (p. 1245). A counterbalance to their theories is offered in similar format by Wesley Adams, French Arrington, Stanley Horton, William Menzies, Robert Shank, Donald C. Stamps, Roger Stronstad, Richard Waters and Roy Winbush (eds.), *Full Life Study Bible: An International Study Bible for Spirit-Filled Christians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1993), recently revised and retitled as *Life in the Spirit Study Bible* (2003) to complement French Arrington and Roger Stronstad (eds.), *Life in the Spirit New Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2003). The *Study Bible* itself is published by Gospel Publishing House (Springfield, MO) in Chinese, Indonesian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Spanish and Ukrainian, with 26 languages pending (Arabic, Czechoslovakian, French, Hindi, Swahili and Tamil, for example).

22. For informative purposes it may be noted that the Evangelical Theological Society has met annually since 1949. ETS consists mainly of a group of North American scholars who doctrinally emphasize biblical inerrancy. Lukan and Pauline cessationisms are prominent traditions among many of its members. Scofieldian editors MacRae and Walvood are past presidents of ETS. Biblical and theological discussion is characterized by the society in the following manner: ‘Very rewarding is the experience of subjecting one’s own ideas to the criticisms of colleagues who are not only sympathetic but judicious’; cf. ‘Purpose Statement’ at <http://www.etsjests.org>. However, for ETS members whose research interests may not lie in the mainstream of the predominate doctrinal and traditional backgrounds, sympathetic and judicious criticism

*Discussion, Observations and Testimony*²³

Luke's second treatise, called the book of Acts, would probably have been considered by his Graeco-Roman literary contemporaries, who were seeking further experientially practical information about Christianity, to be a narrative-rhetorically adroit and pastorally applicable exemplar about what the heavenly Jesus continues to do, about his deeds, given that the first treatise describes what the earthly Jesus did and taught (Acts 1.1). The second book could certainly not have been considered by Luke to be entitled 'The Acts of the Apostles', given that it contains no detailed account of any of the apostles except Peter and Paul. John is mentioned briefly on only three occasions, James the son of Zebedee is executed, and much more space is devoted to Stephen and Philip, who are not apostles, than to John and James; similarly for Timothy and Silas.

While understood to be a Gospel of the Spirit by some of its greatest students (here I think of Augustin George and Arnold Ehrhardt),²⁴ its compositional strengths have been undermined and marginalized in their effect (*Wirkungskraft*) by the long-term superimposition and undeclared presumption of an 'apostolic age'. The main Lukan theme of prophetic fulfillment,²⁵ and the twin focus upon examples and precedents as displayed via an experiential nexus of salvation/forgiveness/repentance/faith/

may not be all that reflective or rewarding. If research interests are perceived as too far from the ETS center of gravity, 'criticisms of colleagues' may be less than hospitable as a recurring impulse of excommunicating and disfellowshipping has demonstrated.

23. Let me take this opportunity to thank my Pentecostal colleagues who have served as an advisory board to the Luke–Acts ETS study group and have participated by reading papers: Jim Shelton, my co-worker, together with Ben Aker, Trevor Grizzle, Charles Holman, and Roger Stronstad. In addition to the aforementioned colleagues on the advisory board, other Pentecostal colleagues lent a hand with presentations: Ken Archer, Harold Carpenter, Craig Keener, Julie Ma, Wonsuk Ma, and Keith Warrington. Our Evangelical colleagues whose responses have been gratefully appreciated include Gregg Allison, Bill Larkin, and I. Howard Marshall.

24. Augustin George, *Études sur l'oeuvre de Luc* (Sources Bibliques; Paris: Gabalda, 1978); 'L'Esprit Saint dans l'oeuvre de Luc', *RB* 85 (1978), pp. 500–42; Max-Alain Chevallier, 'Luc et l'Esprit Saint: A la mémoire du P. Augustin George (1915–1977)', *RScR* 56 (1982), pp. 1–19; Arnold Ehrhardt, 'The Construction and Purpose of the Acts of the Apostles', *StTh* 12 (1958), pp. 45–79.

25. As recently summarized by Brigid Curtin Frein, 'Prophecies and Luke's Sense of Fulfilment', *NTS* 40 (1994), pp. 22–37.

and conversion,²⁶ and via praying for and receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit/being baptized in the Spirit/being filled with the Spirit,²⁷ are matters of comparatively little reflection among ETS members today. Luke's soteriological nexus and his Spirit-reception nexus, both masterfully illustrated via examples and precedents, remain unrecognized as narrative-rhetorical requirements. Particularly, Lukan portrayals of Spirit-reception remain locked in a frozen paleo-Reformed time capsule, dismissed as nothing more than historical oddities, instigating a 'once-for-all' process of osmosis that trickles down through time to other Christians. Such a perspective may seem confirmed as well by the chapter and paragraph divisions in modern editions of the Greek New Testament, which do not adequately, and sometimes very inadequately, reflect the thematic emphases of Luke's text and the activity of the Holy Spirit in the text.²⁸ To think otherwise about these Lukan portrayals of Spirit-reception and their connection to the ministry of the earthly Jesus challenges the Evangelical view that the Holy Spirit is only genuinely at work in Evangelical Christianity within its own focus on evangelism.²⁹ However, it may be that gradually, in time, the investigations

26. Regarding Lukan conversion, cf. R. Michiels, 'La Conception Lucanienne de la Conversion', *ETHLov* 41 (1965), pp. 42-78.

27. For discussion of these main thematic categories, cf. my 'Luke's Expectation for Theophilus re the Lukan Gift of the Holy Spirit', in *Society for Pentecostal Studies Seattle Conference Proceedings* (2000), available from <http://www.sps-usa.org/catalog.htm>.

28. Codex Sinaiticus, where the title Acts (πράξεις) first appears in the New Testament manuscript tradition to introduce Luke's second treatise, both Codex Vaticanus and Sinaiticus appending ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ as a decorative colophon at the end of the text, exhibits 293 paragraph or section breaks. The current United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament reduces this rhetorical effort of 293 to 148, where of course 28 of these begin what that Greek New Testament takes as appropriate chapter divisions. Of the 148 paragraph/chapter breaks in this modern edition of the Greek New Testament, 87 receive appellations or entitlements by the editors. Only three of these mention the Holy Spirit. This rhetorically insufficient labeling needs to be addressed in future editions.

29. This exclusiveness is also noted by the Catholic charismatic theologian Peter D. Hocken, 'Is Renewal of the Church Possible?', *The Spirit & Church* 3.2 (2001), pp. 183-208 (199). Hocken is also well aware that this particular manifestation of Evangelical exclusivity, with its roots in a paleo-Reformed paradigm, is potentially dangerous: 'Where these rationalist patterns are operative in the realm of theology they cannot help but be reductionist in their effects—taking a richer reality and filtering it through a theological grid that eliminates non-rational non-logical elements, even at the same time protesting vigorously against those who utilize the same *Zeitgeist* in more blatantly

of biblical scholars in the Pentecostal/Charismatic tradition will make these aforementioned Lukan themes more widely considered.³⁰

The letters of Paul, albeit with expressions rooted in the Jerusalem/Petrine tradition of past Spirit-reception and Spirit-giving being traditionally eclipsed, have dominated Evangelical discussion for generations. But demographics are changing within world Christendom. Comparatively as of now, with respect to Evangelicalism, the Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal has only a few scholars, while demographically it has many more adherents. The scholarly ratio between Evangelicalism and this New Reformation could, in time, change and even reverse. Given this projection, scholars intrinsically unwedded to and untutored in 'apostolic age' hermeneutics will supervise research dissertations, thereby having the luxury of gaining much needed assistance from their pupils on biblical matters of interest to those with Treebeard's perspective.

While it is now suggested by some that the anonymous writer of the Lukan writings at the heart of the New Testament has a theology and a pneumatology that probably reflects a widespread early tradition totally alien to 'apostolic age' hermeneutics, a tradition accepted and understood by Paul, not distinctive from Paul, such thinking has had little formal impact on ministerial training outside of the global Pentecostal movement and the international Charismatic Renewal. While it is clear that Lukan characters in his first book who participate in his soteriological nexus of repentance/fait/forgiveness/salvation are characters who experience the Spirit through Jesus' own anointing and who experience the Father who welcomes sinners, a narrative inference probably taken to be obvious by Luke, it is characterization and personification with respect to the heavenly Jesus and the

unbelieving ways'; cf. his 'A Charismatic View on the Distinctiveness of Pentecostalism', in Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (eds.), *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William W. Menzies* (JPTSUP, 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 96-106 (105).

30. In spite of the real threat of the evangelicalization of Pentecostalism with respect to interpretive method, it may be that Lukan scholarship will eventually sense the scholarly impact of these themes if they become further articulated from within the Pentecostal/Charismatic tradition. However, it would be unwise to overlook the potential danger of the evangelicalization of Pentecostal reflection and research. Clark Pinnock worries that 'What concerns me about Pentecostal theology is that certain evangelicals may infect Pentecostal work with an unrelational virus, hamper Pentecostal theological development and diminish Pentecostal vitality. I fear that Evangelicals may sneeze and Pentecostals catch cold.' cf. his 'Divine Relationality: A Pentecostal Contribution to the Doctrine of God', *JPT* 16 (2000), pp. 3-26 (22).

Holy Spirit that are finally developed in his second book that has undergone an ‘apostolic age’ style of truncation. However, in a modicum of intellectual movement within some Evangelicalism today one may detect some unease with cessationism (abrupt or gradual dispensational closure following enscripturation) and a corresponding more fashionable awareness that ‘all the Pauline spiritual gifts are for today’.³¹ Within ETS itself this is apparently not in a context of a response to Pentecostalism or the Charismatic Renewal, nor is it in any direct engagement with scholarship treating this subject;³² rather it would perhaps appear to be demographically driven, or tolerated, if the lack of papers to this effect at annual meetings be a guide. If this detection is now credible as a minor intellectual trend within ETS, it probably does not yet reflect an upsurge among some Evangelical scholars zealously and actively to seek the interpersonal gifts,³³ as I believe Paul intended those addressees to do whom he described as ‘receiving the Spirit’, but instead reflects an admission that, rationally, they can (or may) exist.³⁴ While the idea that spiritual gifts experientially

31. Sam Storms, a charismatic scholar, in his *The Beginners Guide to Spiritual Gifts* (Ann Arbor, MI: Servant, 2002), highlights the ceasing of Pauline cessationism and offers a helpful popular journey into this material. However, in terms of linking Paul’s brief discussion of the *charismata* to the tradition underlying Paul’s thought, to the Jerusalem/Petrine tradition in which he stands, I find that the earlier treatment by Harold Horton, *The Gifts of the Spirit* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1934), offers more New Testament contextuality in that he evidently eschews the incoherence of Lukan cessationism in disconnecting the Lukan Paul from the Paul of the letters.

32. As, for example, Heinz Schürmann, ‘Die geistlichen Gnadengaben in den paulinischen Gemeinden’, in his *Ursprung und Gestalt: Erörterungen und Besinnungen zum Neuen Testament* (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1970), pp. 236-67.

33. There are certainly exceptions to this slumber by Evangelical scholars who never embraced the traditional dogma of Calvin’s extraordinary-ordinary dichotomies in the first place; cf. the vigorous reflections of Klass Runia, Emeritus Professor of Practical Theology for the Reformed Churches, Kampen, the Netherlands, *Op zoek naar de Geest* (Kampen: Kok, 2000), with a review by Cornelius van der Laan, *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 21 (2001), pp. 138-40.

34. This rational admission should be understood in its historical setting. When J. Rodman Williams, in his ‘The Upsurge of Pentecostalism’, *The Reformed World* 31 (1971), pp. 340-44 (341), asserted that Pentecostalism had rediscovered ‘a dimension of the Holy Spirit’s activity that had been long overlooked’, Williams realized full well that this dimension is not captured by the occasional use of an interpersonal spiritual fruit or gift. Further, and this is significant in understanding the trend of admission, in much traditional Reformed/Evangelical scholarship the experiential and/or supernatural

detected and cataloged by Paul are for inter-personal giving or transmission between believers today is not an integral part of the Gospel as portrayed by the Evangelists,³⁵ it is nevertheless a compromise between the rationalism and suspicion of the past and the demographic trends of today.³⁶ This idea allows scholars who otherwise ignore Acts theologically and pneumatologically to speculate that certain selected events narrated in Acts may be described in Pauline language. When a Lukan character prophesies or has a vision, a Pauline spiritual gift is quickly adduced, not the contextual Lukan gift of the Spirit or prior Spirit-reception within the narrative continuity of Luke's fulfillment-of-prophecy theme. We will probably see this kind of speculation continue for a time until it begins to become clear that Luke has a pneumatology reflective of the Christians he writes about and that this pneumatology is to be found sequentially in his own double-work, not in Paul's occasional discursive correspondence, which, I have argued, Luke is attempting to clarify, perhaps with some pastoral urgency, with respect to practical matters like Spirit-reception. However, the wholesale interpretation of Luke through Pauline spectacles is probably coming to an end.³⁷

What then about our past seminar work within ETS? How did this begin and why does it continue? The former editor of *JETS*, Ronald Youngblood, and I had a good working relationship, even though my first *JETS* piece on the Spirit in Matthew probably engendered the biggest 'ho hum' in the

elements in Pauline descriptions of interpersonal spiritual gifts have been supplanted by natural perspectives. This is illustrated by Robert L. Thomas's *Understanding Spiritual Gifts* (Chicago: Moody, 1978), along with my review drawing needed attention to the potential introduction of a new divinity unknown to New Testament writers, courageously printed by Ronald Youngblood, former *JETS* editor, in *JETS* 23 (1980), pp. 182-85. Thomas is a past president of ETS.

35. In saying this, let me clarify by noting that love or charity is not a gift category in Paul, but rather the underlying motivation for seeking and participating in the spiritual practice of a gift process.

36. Cf. the clarification suggested by Benny C. Aker, 'Charismata: Gifts, Enablements, or Ministries?', *JPT* 11.2 (2002), pp. 53-69.

37. I am speculating a diminishment in this approach in spite of yet new theories to recast the Holy Spirit as a clone of a new divinity familiar to Paul, a supposed 'spirit of prophecy'. This approach will also, in my judgement, have little long-term impact, coupled as it is with the supposed pastoral irrelevancy attributed to Lukan portrayals (with delicate variations) of Spirit-reception by believer-disciple-witnesses, cessationism that is imposed before Luke picked up his pen.

history of the society.³⁸ But we are not dialoging with senior Old Testament scholars like Ronald or sympathetic New Testament scholars like Norbert Baumert³⁹ or with ecclesiastical representatives having charismatic clientele to consider, but with scholars who, with rare exceptions, have not yet actually decided to engage directly in dialogue at all.⁴⁰ Perhaps the current trend within ETS is dismissive of scholars who write against dispensational traditions, claiming that to connect Spirit-filling to prophetic inspiration makes illegitimate use of Luke's now supposedly defunct examples and precedents,⁴¹ and further that there are 'no scriptural records of "carnal" Christians shedding their substantial Christian experience by yielding their lives entirely to God' as in the dreaded 'second blessing theology'.⁴²

38. 'The Perfect Tense in Matthew 16.19 and Three Charismata', *JETS* 17 (1974), pp. 149-53. As far as I know, only one ETS member interacted with me (in disagreement) in a Matthew commentary. My suggestion in this study supports the idea that Matthew delineated the difference between the ministry of the earthly Jesus and the heavenly Jesus (cf. Mt. 11.28; 28.20b) in terms of revelatory activity from the heavenly Jesus, an idea unharmonious with the proposition that revelation is confined to enscripturation.

39. Baumert's *Charisma, Taufe, Geisttaufe* (2 vols.; Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 2001) might provide another perspective for our potential dialogue partners who have inherited the interpretive method responsible for Lukan and Pauline cessationism.

40. As far as I can tell, both the recent Catholic-Pentecostal Dialogue and the recent Reformed-Pentecostal Dialogue are virtually unknown within ETS today; cf. 'Evangelization, Proselytism and Common Witness: The Report from the Fourth Phase of the International Dialogue (1990–1997) between the Roman-Catholic Church and Some Classical-Pentecostal Churches and Leaders', and 'Word and Spirit, Church and Word: The Final Report of the International Dialogue between Representatives of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Some Classical Pentecostal Churches and Leaders (1996–2000)', *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 2.1 (1999), pp. 105-51, and 4.1 (2001), pp. 41-72, respectively. Also apparently little known and uninvestigated by the majority of ETS clientele at present is William W. Menzies and Robert P. Menzies, *A Call to Evangelical Dialogue: Spirit and Power, Foundations of Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000).

41. Examples and precedents are very much a part of the narrative qualities expected by a competent narrative performance, properly illustrative of the virtues of clarity and plausibility within narrative persuasion, as highly touted by Luke's contemporary, Theon of Alexandria; cf. *Aelius Théon Progymnasmata* (ed. Michel Patillon with Giancarlo Bolognesi; Collection des universités de France; Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1997).

42. This logic is espoused by the current editor of *JETS*; cf. Andreas J. Köstenberger, 'What Does It Mean to be Filled with the Spirit?', *JETS* 40 (1997), pp. 229-40 (231).

Against this background, the Lord knew I needed some motivation to get interaction going within ETS, although ETS management has been hospitable. Obtaining this motivation was not a pleasant experience, but the Lord has kindly let me know subsequent to the first revelatory motivation I am about to describe, that He is pleased with our efforts in the midst of difficulties. I have shared this revelation with several people, believing that collective judgement of revelation is wise and helps get to the right understanding. At first, I did not understand what was revealed to me, the unworthy sinner that I surely am, but now I believe that I do. At the home of a friend in Atlanta I was standing in his living room when the Lord surrounded me with His presence in an awesome manner. Then strong thoughts entered my mind. Something was dead. This death was very serious and awful. I was somewhat frightened and stood motionless awaiting anything further. My friend stopped talking to me. Then it was repeated; death was serious and had serious effects. Where was this death? The death of what? Of whom? I moved about in the room as if to escape what was being revealed to me, but it came again. I told my friend that something was happening to me. Then, the death was made clear. It was how a certain idea or subject was evaluated, was considered, not on earth where I was, but in heaven. Something is dead in heaven. I moved again. It was very strong and understandable then. Cessationism is dead in heaven. It is not just another bad idea among humankind, but cessationism is dead in heaven. At first, I

Köstenberger ignores the larger New Testament picture that might be gained with reference, for example, to Roger Stronstad, *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984) and to Robert P. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness; the Spirit in Luke–Acts* (JPTSup, 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994). While Köstenberger begins with Eph. 5.18, it is exegetically insensitive and extractionary to disconnect language found within the Ephesian letter from its earlier background in the ministry of Paul at Tyrannus' school and from the Spirit-reception by disciple-believers at Ephesus. Köstenberger fails to account for the connections between the text of the letter and that of Acts, connections that are also chronologically significant in light of Paul's relation to Jerusalem/Petrine tradition. Perhaps then Köstenberger's reluctance to countenance or to adequately consider Spirit-filling as portrayed by Luke is influenced by undeclared presuppositions stemming from an 'apostolic age' idea, which is inimical to both Paul and Luke. Further, some fair and balanced interaction with scholars on Eph. 5.18 who do not adopt Köstenberger's extractionist perspective might not have been inappropriate, e.g., Marcus Barth in the commentary tradition, and Howard M. Ervin, *These Are Not Drunken As Ye Suppose* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1968), pp. 74-78; Stronstad, *Charismatic Theology*, pp. 53-55. It may be fairly observed as well that Köstenberger's tactic of dismissing Stronstad by misquoting him is unlikely to be ultimately persuasive.

thought someone had died or was about to die, but that was wrong;⁴³ the revelation concerned a topic, that topic was cessationism, and cessationism is dead where it really counts, in heaven itself. God dislikes it intensely, and I have to conclude that it is now, and has been in the past, regarded in heaven as not just unhelpful, but dangerous.

So, while Evangelicals may claim that ‘Pentecostal’ experience is unrepeatable and cannot be found in Luke’s second book and cannot have any connection with his first book, and that in order to countenance experience according to Lukan descriptions we also have to have new Incarnations, these cessationistic proclamations are not as applicable to ‘all who are afar off’ as their proponents believe them to be. Such proponents seem unaware that the ‘Lord’s Prayer’, the ‘Our Father’, the ‘Apostles’ Creed’, and the ‘Nicene Creed’ do indeed eclipse and ignore the fully developed teaching of the earthly Jesus on prayer and hide his other important teachings and doings, as Moltmann has recently pointed out with respect to the latter two ecclesiastical conceptions.⁴⁴ Since the Lord knew I was about to leave for an ETS meeting, He chose to motivate me in this unpleasant way that I would not easily forget. Also, recently, at my home church, where absolutely none of the above is known or even conceived of, a straightforward prophecy which I do not despise made it clear that there was someone present who had made an agreement with the Lord and the Lord expected that contract to be fulfilled.⁴⁵ While of course that could apply to others,

43. The need for community evaluation is critical, cf. John Goldingay, ‘Old Testament Prophecy Today’, *The Spirit & Church* 3.1 (2001), pp. 27-46 (44-46); E. Earle Ellis, ‘Prophecy in the New Testament Church—and Today’, in J. Panagopoulos, *Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament and Today* (NovTSup, 45; Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 46-57 (57).

44. Jürgen Moltmann, *Der Weg Jesu Christi: Christologie in messianischen Dimensionen* (München: Kaiser, 1989), p. 171.

45. Prophetic information such as this today is fully consistent with the function of prophecy in Luke’s narrative and with the ministry of characters like Philip’s prophesying daughters (Acts 21.8-9). The fact that these prophetesses do not speak in the narrative does not mean that Luke and Paul, who visited Philip’s home, did not listen to their ministries or that Luke was not impressed enough to recall and record what their ministries might have been. Their silence in his story merely reflects the probability that their ministry was not useful for Luke’s purpose, although his mention of their ministry was deemed useful in that it connects with his understanding of and version of the ongoing gender-inclusive fulfillment of Joel’s programmatic prophecy (Acts 2.16-21). *I suggest that Luke did not find it useful for his purpose to quote from or record any prophetic ministry of these prophesying daughters, just like he did not find it useful for his purpose to quote from or cite any written ministry from Paul’s discursive*

the Spirit impressed upon me right then that this information was for me, because—and this was part of the guidance—I had been thinking about discontinuing the ETS ministry, which, for now at least, should be continued in the face of any discouragement. So, I was given some resolve, which in the natural was difficult to find. For example, when a combative questioner aggressively pointed out that my analysis of the Lukan composition of questions like that posed in Acts 19.2a to disciple-believers,⁴⁶ (in that instance supported by the complementary exegesis of Lake, Cadbury, Hemer, Ehrhardt, Stuhlmacher, Wolter and Zahn with respect to the narratively consistent Christianity of the twelve Ephesians in Acts 19.1 in the eyes of both Luke and Paul), had to be wrong because the great cessationist grammarian, A.T. Robertson, had made a quick uninvestigated dogmatic remark to the contrary, I was calm when responding at length to that questioner. And, as it happened, that same questioner showed up the next day throughout the entire Luke–Acts session, where he remained silent.

Let me close with some personal reminiscences that may be representative of other fellow participants as well; I hope these will be encouraging, perhaps informative, perhaps illuminating. As to the dominance of protecting an established position, particularly one built on the cessationistic and

correspondence. Would Paul tell Philip and his four prophesying daughters that they were not to speak when believers gathered together for worship? Such an understanding of the Lukan Paul is of course absurd and utterly unacceptable; cf. Elbert, 'Globalization', pp. 98-99. Such a misunderstanding of Paul cannot be varnished over, just as it cannot be harmonized with an interpretation of Paul's discursive correspondence which alleges that Spirit-filled women were to remain quiet when believers gathered. Such a misrepresentation of Paul does not begin with the Lukan Paul or with the women that Luke portrays or with the women that the Paul of the letters describes. This misrepresentation does not seek, and historically has not sought, to understand Paul in his prophetic setting, as we know it either narratively or discursively. It is simply a wrongheaded and rhetorically insensitive reading of Paul. It is an 'apostolic age' reading. This interpretation, claiming that Spirit-filled women in the Jerusalem/Petrine tradition, in the Lukan and Pauline tradition, should not preach, a ministry consistent with their prophetic talents, must be discarded by Pentecostals in recognition of the ecclesiastically conforming non-Lukan and non-Pauline tradition that lies behind it. To misrepresent Paul in this way is a tragic distortion of his teaching, conjuring up a cessationistic Paul that Luke never knew.

46. Paul Elbert, 'An Observation on Luke's Composition and Narrative Style of Questions', *CBQ* 66.1 (2004), pp. 98-109. In this study the 152 questions in Luke's first book and the 70 in his second book are analyzed in terms of their narrative connectedness and function in light of the Graeco-Roman literary conventions of narrative-rhetorical composition.

rationalistic assurances stemming from ‘apostolic’ or other ‘ages’ and diverse epochs superimposed presuppositionally upon the text of Luke–Acts at various points, one scholar from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary asked Howard Marshall and me to state what we believed Luke to mean by the gift of the Holy Spirit. This question allowed me to restate that, for Luke, characters in his first book were deliberately portrayed as having entered into a faith/forgiveness/repentance/salvation experiential nexus during the ministry of the earthly Jesus; further, for Luke, the gift of the Holy Spirit reflected and built upon an ongoing Jerusalem/Petrine tradition, phenomenologically and narratively. It was, for Luke, certainly not just an unspecific Jewish blessing, not something to be given a reinter-pretive shredding, as in current Evangelical commentaries employing ‘apostolic age’ style (à la Darby, imitated recently, for example, by Joel Green)⁴⁷, so as to—in the paleo-Reformed style of ‘apostolic age hermeneutics’—brazenly disconnect the gift of the Holy Spirit at Lk. 11.13 from both its narrative foreground and its ensuing development and clarification, reducing

47. In Darbian style of ‘apostolic age hermeneutics’ the tactic is twofold: first, to extract the content of Lk. 11.13 from the immediately preceding teaching of the earthly Jesus on prayer, then, to reinterpret the gift of the Holy Spirit in Luke’s narrative by injecting pleasant speculation supportive of the hidden hermeneutical presupposition of an ‘apostolic age’. This is recently illustrated again by Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), p. 459, who denies outright the persuasive parabolic teaching of the earthly Jesus presented by Luke, assuring his Evangelical readers that ‘Even if the supplications included no request of the Spirit, God grants the Spirit’. *On this method of interpretation, why should obedient prayer in response to Jesus’ teaching at Lk. 11.2–4 not be similarly dismissed?* Whether Green’s contradiction of the earthly Jesus’ teaching on prayer is offensive to the heavenly Jesus is apparently of little or no concern, suggesting that the heavenly Jesus portrayed by Luke not only forgets the teaching of the earthly Jesus on prayer to disciple-believer-witnesses, but that this heavenly Jesus himself is transformed into the new Dispensational Jesus. That the heavenly Jesus in Luke’s second book is portrayed without any hint of such an ‘apostolic age’ driven transformation to the divine is, again, apparently of little or no concern. Green, continuing the tactic, converts the narratively contiguous gift of the Holy Spirit in Luke’s clearly written texts into the reassuring platitude, ‘what is for the best’ (p. 450) – *fait accompli*! Such obvious and blatantly uncritical reinter-pretive shredding, which is offered by scholars without apology, is all the more spectacular given the Evangelical claim to biblical inerrancy, authority, and trustworthiness. *It is quite apparent that none of these concepts in themselves carries enough weight to persuade or to embolden Evangelical scholars, over time, to reverse the more powerful, dogmatic, and insolent grip of hidden and undeclared ‘apostolic age’ presuppositions that have dominated Lukan interpretation in the Reformed tradition.*

it to 'what is for the best' or what is nice.⁴⁸ This is not biblical interpretation in any logical sense, but merely a pious exercise in the repetitious imitation of the philosophical proclivities of Calvinistic hermeneutics (n. 19 above). I reviewed the point that, for Luke, the gift of the Holy Spirit was not salvific, but an expected answer to prayer by Christian believers (in concert on this point with, for example, Giblet, Gunkel, Marguerat, Martin, Menzies, Russell, Schweizer, Shelton, Sullivan; *contra* Dunn, Turner).⁴⁹

48. The cessationistic eclipse or pietistic reinterpretation of the gift of the Holy Spirit and the propensity to disconnect prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit from its narrative context, undoubtedly influenced by the ingrained 'apostolic age' method of interpretation wherein Luke's second book is approached with the unarticulated assumptions of narrative disconnectedness inherent in Reformed-style *Heilsgeschichte* without *Pneumageschichte*, is a well established tradition. This 'apostolic age hermeneutic' appears grounded in the experience (or non-experience) of interpreters, not in the experience of Lukan characters, given that Luke, consistent with the narrative-rhetorical conventions of his day, provides a clear and vivid phenomenological description of the gift and of the events, characters, places, and times in which the gift appears. Further, Luke's description places the gift firmly within his theme of prophetic fulfillment, allowing readers to anticipate the gift for themselves. Clarity and vividness are appropriately enhanced by a constellation of co-descriptions, further contributing to Lukan expectations and anticipation on the part of readers. All of this literary performance is closely consistent with the Graeco-Roman narrative-rhetorical category of description (*ekphrasis*) as delineated by Theon (*Progymnasmata*; ed. Patillon, pp. xxxviii-ix, 66-69) and similar treatises; cf. Herbert Hunger, 'Progymnasmata und andere Übungsreden' and 'Ekphraseis', *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12.5.1-2; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1978), I, pp. 92-120, 170-88. *Luke's coherent and ostensibly 'Theonic' literary performance in this regard is ignored, a performance to be expected in a rhetorically minded culture, by the extraction of the gift of the Holy Spirit from its multiple narrative contexts and its non-Lukan reinterpretation as 'what is for the best'*. The erasure of coherent and consistent narrative meaning by the traditional and unexamined paleo-Reformed style of 'apostolic age hermeneutics' applied to the Lukan gift of the Holy Spirit is clearly an erasure quite out of place with narrative-rhetorical expectations in Theophilus' literary world (or in any interpretive world were an author's and an addressee's expectations are taken seriously).

49. Some details of this review may be found in n. 27 above. With regard to the former scholars on this point, see J. Giblet, 'Baptism in the Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles', *One in Christ* 10 (1974), pp. 162-71; Hermann Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul* (trans. R.A. Harrisville and P.A. Quanbeck; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979); Daniel Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. K. McKinney, G.J. Laughery and R. Bauckham; SNTSMS, 121; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Francis Martin, 'Le baptême dans l'Esprit', *NRT* 106

Perhaps Luke would be disappointed to learn how Christians in later centuries would reinterpret the gift of the Holy Spirit, extracting it from his narrative, reinterpreting it as they told their own story instead of Luke's story. Logically, the Lukan gift of the Holy Spirit is connected to the rest of the narrative in which it appears; it is sequentially connected to the rest of Luke's narrative.⁵⁰ A scholar from the Reformed Theological Seminary, who had joined me for lunch the previous day, then became somewhat upset and assured me that my interpretation was far too experiential and that any experience associated with such Lukan language could not now be biblical and would create insurmountable problems because the experience of reading might lose significance. In other words the experience of reading a text might then be accompanied by the same experience that characters have in the text. This appears to be the same fear that the primacy of written revelation makes natural theology dangerous and illegitimate⁵¹ and

(1984), pp. 23-58; Robert P. Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke–Acts* (JSNTSup 54; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); E. A. Russell, "They believed Philip preaching" (Acts 8.12)', *Irish Biblical Studies* 1 (1979), pp. 169-76; Eduard Schweizer, 'πνευμα κτλ', *TDNT*, VI, pp. 389-455; *idem*, *Heiliger Geist* (Stuttgart: Kreuz, 1978); James B. Shelton, *Mighty in Word and Deed: The Role of the Holy Spirit in Luke–Acts* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991); Francis A. Sullivan, *Charisms and Charismatic Renewal: A Biblical and Theological Study* (Ann Arbor, MI: Servant, 1982); also his *Charismes et renouveau charismatique: Etude biblique et théologique* (Loir-et-Cher: Nouan-le-Fuzelier, 1988). With regard to Dunn and Turner, see the critique of their respective positions in Menzies and Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, pp. 69-86, and 87-106, respectively.

50. Raniero Cantalamessa, *The Mystery of Pentecost* (trans. Glen S. Davis; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2001), p. 30, is correct to point out that Jesus says the heavenly Father will 'give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him' (Lk. 11.13). Similar in pastoral intent are Larry Christenson (ed.), *Welcome, Holy Spirit: A Study of Charismatic Renewal in the Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1987), p. 85, and Lucy Rooney and Robert Faricy, *Lord, Teach Us to Pray: Leaders Manual* (Vatican City: International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services, 2nd edn, 1998), pp. 84-91, 103. Cantalamessa, Christenson, Rooney, and Faricy continue in the Pentecostal tradition and in the tradition of Augustin George, who stressed that '*le don de l'Esprit est le don par excellence*' (*Études*, p. 412). On the other hand, perhaps the *pervasive erasure* of the Lukan gift of the Holy Spirit within Evangelicalism today is typified by Walter L. Liefeld, 'Parables on Prayer (Luke 11.5-13; 18.1-14)', in Richard N. Longenecker (ed.), *The Challenge of Jesus' Parables* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), pp. 240-62, who *fails even to mention* the obvious connection of the gift of the Holy Spirit in the climactic crescendo of Jesus' instruction at v.13 with the rest of the section (vv. 5-12), literally ignoring v.13 altogether!

51. Polkinghorne, *Science and Theology*, p. 71.

is related to the tension created by the exclusive primacy of *Sola Scriptura* versus a motif of *In Spiritu Sancto*, with experiential fellowship and inspiration in the Jerusalem/Petrine tradition.⁵² When I pointed out that an insurmountable problem does not obviously follow, both experiences (reading and Spirit-reception) being equally valid but simply different, noting that we might want also to be aware of the fact that, for Luke, what Jesus spoke, not what Luke wrote, was the ‘word of God’, a description which Luke would never apply to his own work, a stony silence ensued. So, as is the case with other human endeavors, the first encounter with information seemingly contradictory to an established position can be met with incredulous disbelief, but eventually, if thoughtfulness is given a chance, it might be considered.⁵³

One ETS scholar assured me that if texts were interpreted so as to expect experiential events to occur again as they did in the ‘apostolic age’, then we would be left at the mercy of subjectivism. Our role as rational beings would be diminished, and we would be in ‘bondage’. This bondage was no good because it would supplant the experience of reading Scripture—it would compete with written truth. Jack Deere’s bondage of a Bible deist was unheard of.⁵⁴ Would thoughtful dialogue assist in relieving this perceived ‘bondage’, I asked? No way! Bondage was bondage and that was that. For some, the presumptuous claim of automatic divine action through

52. That inspiration is better than information, opening better the door to transformation, was pointed out to me by my colleague Lee Roy Martin.

53. Perhaps another way to understand our situation—and I do not take the analogy as a perfect parallel—is to keep in mind that heliocentricity took several hundred years to replace geocentricity on the library shelves of Europe. The interpretation of a stationary earth, like the earlier interpretation of a flat earth, had a comfortable and understandable charm to its Christian adherents. Challenges to stationary-earth theology appeared unrealistic, counterintuitive, unnecessary, divisive and disturbing. A new physical perspective was needed to understand this challenge to established ‘biblical’ interpretation. Perhaps similarly, ‘apostolic age hermeneutics’ is being challenged today by a new biblical hermeneutic incorporating an experiential paradigm, as well as by a fresh literary appreciation of connectedness and coherency. A new spiritual perspective may be needed to understand this challenge.

54. Cf. Deere’s *Surprised by the Voice of God: How God Speaks Today through Prophecies, Dreams, and Visions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), pp. 251-69. As to Deere’s recent books, one ETS member, representative of unreflective position protection that is closed to dialogue and dissent, reflective of an unfortunate lack of enjoyment with the very vigorous exploratory dissent and interactive debate that is standard fare in the scientific tradition, declared that ‘We don’t want to hear that message, and we don’t want to hear it from Deere!’

the ecclesiastical administration of sacraments, combined with the cessation of the supernatural following enscripturation, may serve to make Lukan experiential portrayal suspect and bring it into serious question, even though consistent with New Testament language.⁵⁵

55. For those in the Charismatic Renewal not wedded to the supposed connection between cessationism and enscripturation, a pneumatological ecclesiology (*une ecclésiologie pneumatologique*), correcting the presumptuous sacramental insistence of automatic divine action, would be beneficial. In my judgement, the sovereignty of the Holy Spirit is ill-considered in assuming that sacraments are automatically an ecclesial means of grace, clerically transmitted if ministers are Spirit-filled, as does Yves Congar, ‘Pneumatologie dogmatique’, in Bernard Lauret and François Refoulé (eds.), *Initiation à la pratique de la théologie* (4 vols.; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2nd edn, 1982) II, pp. 485-516 (496). However, Congar’s critical efforts toward a pneumatological ecclesiology are to be applauded; cf. Isaac Kizhakkeparampil, *The Invocation of the Holy Spirit as Constitutive of the Sacraments according to Yves Congar* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1995). The pursuit of a flexible ecclesiology, stressing the freedom of the Spirit, is unharmonious with a tightly constrained sacramental mindset and has little difficulty in describing contemporary New Testament experience with New Testament language.

On the other hand, James I. Packer’s claim that charismatic experience cannot be described with New Testament language, and is therefore ‘deeply unbiblical’, may be challenged and corrected as well; cf. my ‘The Charismatic Movement in the Church of England: An Overview’, *Pneuma: Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 6.1 (1984), pp. 28-33. Packer, undeterred, in a lecture at Rutherford House, Edinburgh, entitled ‘Charismatic Christianity and Biblical Theology’, *Rutherford House Tape 103* (dated 1989/1990), fails even to surface the possibility that Calvin’s arbitrary confinement of the Lukan gift of the Holy Spirit at Acts 2.38, 39 to an artificially devised epoch is quite openly not biblical theology, a point highly germane to his topic. Perhaps this is not surprising since in this lecture he never refers to the narrative theology of Luke–Acts, bypassing Luke–Acts totally, while continuing to mischaracterize the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement as a bogus restoration of ‘sign-gifts’. According to Packer any second work of grace (that is, any certain experience viewed from the natural perspective of suspicion) cannot then stem from doctrine nor be described by well-fitting New Testament texts, new prophetic revelation is non-existent, supposed ‘sign-gifts’ are not restored even though the movement’s ‘theological roots’ supposedly lie therein (a patently false claim), and everything is satisfactorily explainable via Rom. 8.16 and Jn 14.21-23. *It does seem odd, however, that a Christocentric global movement should develop within a century into a major sector of world Christendom with such scant biblical credentials.* In any case, as Parker well knows, the movement he is discussing did not and is not advancing along these lines, perhaps a bothersome fact best ignored, similar to how a circular sun and a circular moon were ignored in flat-earth theology based on the four corners passage (Rev. 7.1).

Another sincere scholar shared that he does not believe that rationalism exists within Evangelicalism today. It is not subservience to human preconceptions of arbitrary epochs superimposed upon New Testament texts, or anti-supernaturalism or skepticism, or the outright denial and/or dismissal of the examples and precedents that Luke sets out in clear detail; rather there is some other factor at work. What then is that factor? Well, he is not sure, but it is not rationalism. Perhaps there are mysterious circumstances afoot other than politics. This sincere scholar wants actively to encourage the usefulness of the book of Acts within Evangelicalism, with main prophetic experiential themes traditionally dampened while emphasizing missions in general terms, hoping that Acts' missionary purpose will not continue to be overlooked and that it will not be employed in sermons to score only moral and ethical points or in classrooms only to argue for historicity and inerrancy. But does not this disconnect the Lukan missionary characters from their narrative world? Might it not be better at this point in time to prepare missionaries in the original version of the Lukan tradition, like, for example, Elva Vanderbout⁵⁶ or Elize Scharten⁵⁷ or theological educator Alice Luce.⁵⁸

56. Julie C. Ma, 'Elva Vanderbout: A Woman Pioneer of Pentecostal Mission among Igorots', *Journal of Asian Mission* 3.1 (2001), pp. 121-140.

57. Cornelius van der Laan, 'Beyond the Clouds: Elize Scharten (1876-1965), Pentecostal Missionary to China', in Ma and Menzies (eds.), *Pentecostalism in Context*, pp. 337-57.

58. Alice E. Luce, formerly an Anglican missionary to India, became a pioneer teacher, evangelist and dedicated pastor in Hispanic missions. Some of the written legacy of this pioneer theological educator is as follows: 'From the Mexican Border', *The Weekly Evangel* (April 28, 1917), p. 12; 'Open Doors in Mexico', *The Weekly Evangel* (Nov 17, 1917), p. 13; 'Mexican Work in California', *The Christian Evangel* (Dec 14, 1918), p. 14; 'Deaf and Dumb Child in Mexico Healed', *The Pentecostal Evangel* (Feb 20, 1932), p. 11. A rewarding perusal of Luce's contributions, contributions obviously spiritually rich and biblically oriented, during the tenure of her Latin-American missionary work make it clear that her understanding of the New Testament was not at all a foreground of the fragmented contemporary popularization among some Evangelicals that 'all the Pauline spiritual gifts are for today'. Rather, her written ministry and its lack of appeal to the rationalistic charm of diverse epochs and their heritage of disconnectedness could serve as a refreshing popular balm for the excision of the Paul of the letters from the complete Lukan Paul and from the Jerusalem/Petrine tradition, other than to argue that Paul's conversion influenced his Christology. As may be observed in her excellent biblical and pastorally able piece 'Physical Manifestations of the Spirit' (*The Pentecostal Evangel* [July 27, 1918], p. 2), she did not just teach about spiritual gifts, but also appealed to 'The Great Physician and His Medicine' (*The*

Another scholar pointed out that we could hardly expect the ‘Pentecostal’ type events in Acts to have been repeated and thereby to have given rise to the same descriptive language that Luke and his contemporaries would later employ and experientially understand.⁵⁹ I would expect that most ETS scholars are quite unaware of Thomas Manson’s reasonable assumption that the Spirit-reception language employed by Paul has obvious linguistic roots in the Christian heritage which Paul respects and seeks to continue. Linguistic roots imply experiential roots and identification of experience by employing commonly shared language. Since Schnackenburg, in the anniversary volume for the Lukan scholar Heinz Schürmann, linked the Spirit-reception and Spirit-giftedness language of Luke to the almost identical language in the Paul of the letters,⁶⁰ this is a topic awaiting further investigation. In fact, when I asked one prominent Evangelical scholar to engage in a formal dialogue with me in our ETS ‘charismatic themes’ venue on this very point, he declined, stating that ‘Pentecostals would have to *prove*’ (emphasis his), that similar and identical Pauline language was connected to language in Luke–Acts. When I assured him that the goal of dialogue was not intended to fashion a formal proof or to advance or protect ecclesiastical domains, but to advance scholarship, he again declined. Of course most Evangelical scholars find little or no distinction between the

Pentecostal Evangel [Sept 6, 1930], p. 6). Her Christocentric, balanced approach included expectant prayer that regarded the heavenly Jesus as a savior connected to the earthly Jesus, as a baptizer in the Holy Spirit in accord with prayerful Lukan expectations and sequential narrative portrayal, and as a sovereign healer. She evidently felt in the latter category, for example, contrary to the dictates of ‘apostolic age hermeneutics’ wherein the healing ministry of the earthly Jesus is simply unique, didactic, and ‘once-for-all’, that the merciful, compassionate, and curative dimension of the ministry of the earthly Jesus extended prayerfully to the heavenly Jesus. Further research on Alice Luce may be assisted by the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center (www.AGHeritage.org).

59. Such claims that there was no common linguistic base due to common experience, no creation of descriptive language based on experience, and no connection between the Spirit-reception language employed by Paul in his occasional discursive correspondence and the narrative portrayals of Lukan characters, including Paul, can be attributed, in my judgement only to cessationistic motivations, not to serious investigation as begun by Thomas W. Manson, ‘Entry into Membership of the Early Church’, *JTS* 48 (1947), pp. 25–33.

60. Rudolf Schnackenburg, ‘Die johanneische Gemeinde und ihre Geisterfahrung’, in Rudolf Schnackenburg, Josef Ernst and Joachim Wanke (eds.), *Die Kirche des Anfangs: Festschrift für Heinz Schürmann zum 65 Geburtstag* (Erfurter Theologische Studien 38; Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1977; Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1978), pp. 277–306 (284–85).

Lukan Paul and the Paul of the letters, but when the latter employs language of the former as well as the language of the supposedly extinct examples and precedents narrated by his companion and pupil Luke,⁶¹ unforeseen distinctions and barriers seem to arise. Underlying connections between the concepts of power in Luke–Acts (including Luke’s portrayal of Paul) and in Paul’s letters also suggest a common linguistic tradition within which the two authors operated and communicated. These similarities likewise await fuller investigation.⁶² Questions, like where could Luke, who claims to have researched all things thoroughly and was otherwise so informed about Paul’s missionary work, have lived to be unaware of Paul’s letters,⁶³ and why would Luke not seek to clarify important Spirit-reception

61. Regarding this point of association, so too, Tübingen Professor Johann E. Belser, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Biblische Zeitfragen 1/7; Münster: Verlag der Asschen-dorffschen Buchhandlung, 1908), p. 5; Arthur Darby Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (ed. Z. Stewart; 2 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), II, pp. 827–28. For balanced discussion of the ‘we-passages’ in Acts, cf. Colin Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (ed. C.H. Gempf; WUNT, 49; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), pp. 312–34. This connection of Luke with Paul is relevant to the discussion of the common Jerusalem/Petrine tradition of descriptive language, and experiential interaction with the heavenly Jesus related thereto, that these two authors would have shared in communication and practice.

62. The recent work of Petrus J. Gräbe, ‘The Pentecostal Discovery of the New Testament Theme of God’s Power and its Relevance to the African Context’, *Pneuma: Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 24.2 (2002), pp. 225–42 (226–36), is welcome in this regard. Some of this material is explored further in Gräbe’s *The Power of God in Paul’s Letters* (WUNT, 123; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), *passim*.

63. A point also raised, for example, by Heikki Leppä, *Luke’s Critical Use of Galatians* (Vantaa, Finland: Dark Oy, 2002), p. 21, and by Thomas L. Brodie, ‘Greco-Roman Imitation of Texts as a Partial Guide to Luke’s Use of Sources’, in Charles H. Talbert (ed.), *Luke–Acts; New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), pp. 17–46 (37), who goes further: ‘Would a researcher like Luke who wanted to highlight Paul and his preaching set to work without bothering to get copies of Paul’s epistles? In what corner was he marooned that he did not know of these documents? In what literary impoverishment did this elegant writer live that he could not get copies of them?’ On the matter of Luke’s probable knowledge of Pauline correspondence, which bears on an argument that Luke and Paul were *both* supportive of the Jerusalem/Petrine tradition and that *both* reflected its linguistic heritage, see also W. Soltau, ‘Die Herkunft der Reden in der Apostelgeschichte’, *ZNW* 4 (1903), pp. 128–54; Alfred Loisy, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: E. Nourry, 1920), pp. 415, 475; Wilhelm Mundle, ‘Das Apostelbild der Apostelgeschichte’, *ZNW* 27 (1928), pp. 36–54 (44); Barbara Thiering, ‘The Acts of the Apostles as Early Christian Art’, in E.C.B. MacLaurin (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Griffithes Wheeler Thatcher* (Sydney: Sydney

language in the letters via explanatory examples and precedents rather than pastorally to confuse with ostensibly similar language conveying a different meaning than that of Paul, are swept under the dispensational rug. Although Luke obviously writes for Theophilus' understanding, using what must have been commonly understandable language for a reader I take to be already familiar with Christian ideas and practices,⁶⁴ the inadequately considered version of pre-Lukan cessationism that is quite common among Evangelicals today⁶⁵ reflects a hermeneutical bias that Theophilus would, I suspect, find difficult to recognize. According to this bias, we would surely not expect any Lukan language relating to experience that quickly underwent mass extinction, even if contained in Paul's letters, to be relevant in

University Press, 1967), pp. 139-89; Morton E. Enslin, 'Once Again, Luke and Paul', *ZNW* 61 (1970), 253-71; 'Emphases and Silences', *HTR* 73 (1980), pp. 219-25; Lars Aejmelaus, *Der Rezeption der Paulusbriefe in der Miletrede, Apg 20.18-35* (Annales Academie Scientiarum Fennicae B232; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), p. 267; William O. Walker, Jr, 'Acts and the Pauline Corpus Reconsidered', *JSNT* 24 (1985), pp. 3-23; 'Acts and the Pauline Corpus Revisited: Peter's Speech at the Jerusalem Conference', in Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Phillips (eds.), *Literary Studies in Luke–Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), pp. 77-98; Thomas L. Brodie, 'Towards Tracing the Gospels' Literary Indebtedness to the Epistles', in Dennis R. MacDonald (ed.), *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), pp. 104-16 (105-10); and Lars Aejmelaus, 'Reopening the Question of Luke's Use of the Pauline Letters', in Heikki Leppä (ed.), *Lukan Use of Pauline Letters and 1 Clement* (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetischen Gesellschaft, forthcoming).

64. Cf. my 'Spirit, Scripture and Theology through a Lukan Lens: A Review Article', *JPT* 13 (1998), pp. 55-75 (66-73).

65. Walvrood's and Turner's views are similar within the sphere of narrative disconnectedness, cf. Elbert, 'Globalization', pp. 90-91. Walvrood and Turner, against the grain of all known narrative-rhetorical convention bearing on understandability, excise the main Lukan character's teaching on prayer from the minds and lives of his disciples. Unhelpful to this narrative excision is its unappealing disconnectedness with narrative facts. This main character is no less than the son of God, the man to whom all the prophets witness, the character who exhorts his hearers to put his teachings into practice and who says that his real relatives are those who obey his teaching. *Perhaps this might suggest that the pervasive erasure of his teaching on prayer from characters' memories would be contrary to Lukan intentions.* Perhaps Walvrood and Turner's appeal to narrative disconnectedness and incoherence will be as convincing as other cessationistic theories, unless their luster eventually be lost in a scrutiny of the presuppositional basis of 'apostolic age' apologetics.

our contemporary application of Paul, even though Paul views himself as part of an earlier preformed tradition.⁶⁶ It might be argued that Paul developed an appreciation for the legacy of epochal truncation in Rome, passing it to Luke, although both appear ignorant of it.⁶⁷

In any case, my arguments that pervasive oral memory and a common and ongoing Jerusalem/Petrine tradition is detectable in Paul's discursive correspondence, correspondence that Luke who has researched all things carefully from the beginning surely, in my tentative judgement, knows about, do not seem highly resonant with the current mind set of some Evangelicals.⁶⁸ Yet, Luke is an independently minded thinker who, in my view, does not find Paul's letters useful for his theological and pneumatological purpose. A practical telling about the Spirit, rather than elaborate discourse about the Spirit,⁶⁹ is certainly not, however, a narrative constraint for a writer contemplative of the need for urgent clarification of the discursive

66. Paul's continuity with the mother church of Christendom in Jerusalem and its linguistic heritage is well established; cf. Philippe H. Menoud, 'Jésus et ses témoins', *Eglise et Théologie* 23 (1960), pp. 7-20; P. Fannon, 'The Influence of Traditions on St. Paul', in F.L. Cross (ed.), *Studia Evangelica. IV. Papers Presented to the Third International Congress on New Testament Studies* (TU, 102; Berlin: Akademie, 1968), pp. 292-307. As to Paul's transmission of earlier tradition, cf. Paul-Gerhard Müller, *Der Traditionsprozess im Neuen Testament: Kommunikationsanalytische Studien zur Versprachlichung des Jesusphänomens* (Freiburg/Basil/Vienna: Herder, 1982), pp. 204-24; E. Earle Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2nd edn, 2002), pp. 248-51, 256-60.

67. The content of Paul's Miletus speech does not suggest or imply a Lukan characterization of Paul which is at all truncational toward Luke's own development and application of his prophetic-fulfillment theme. Such a cessationistic interpretation of the Miletus speech is wrongheaded, rather, and here I agree with Walton, that 'For Luke, the heart of Christian leadership is to be like Jesus, and the extent to which both the disciples and Paul do and teach what Jesus did and taught—frequently using similar vocabulary—makes this clear' (Steve Walton, *Leadership and Lifestyle: The Portrait of Paul in the Miletus Speech and 1 Thessalonians* [SNTSMS, 108; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000], p. 135).

68. As to this Evangelical *Weltanschauung* or worldview through which the New Testament is read, Wacker, Poloma, Johns, and Archer are undoubtedly correct that a supernatural worldview more akin to that of the New Testament authors themselves provides an alternate *Weltanschauung* to that motivated by a rational modern society; cf. Ken Archer, 'Pentecostal Hermeneutics: Retrospect and Prospect', *JPT* 8 (1996), pp. 63-81 (65).

69. With Marguerat, *First Christian Historian*, p. 128.

correspondence of Paul. Although in light of Reformed tradition, for some, I fear, acceptance of Luke's probable knowledge of Paul's letters, given then his decision not to quote them, would thereby somehow display Luke's narrative inferiority, a perspective highly consistent with the suffocating temporal camouflage long imposed upon Luke's literary accomplishment. Historicity, not narrative theology and pneumatology, has dominated Evangelical scholarship in Acts.⁷⁰ And this is, of course a proper and important enterprise. But if it becomes an exclusive vision, the interpretation of Paul (dispensational and otherwise) can unduly overshadow the Christian tradition, description, and practice as portrayed by Luke.⁷¹ Perhaps absent such rigid preconceptions and the accompanying allegiance to an alien hermeneutic invoked with respect to Luke's narrative world, due consideration and reflection upon differing ideas would function in a more productive manner. I am not sure how well debate and dissent, as productive tools of progress, are working within Evangelicalism at ETS, which appears to me to be a somewhat insular academic operation. Nevertheless, God is at work, as with Apollos, within ETS and its membership, and it is a pleasure to engage in fellowship therein.

As we all know, undue adherence to an established position may prevent, initially at least, otherwise thoughtful scholars, including ourselves, from considering new information. It may also hinder or prevent reflection upon previously articulated information that should be considered. After all, we like ourselves the way we are, and when we surround ourselves with those who are like us, then how can differences, dissent, or valid progress be apparent or very relevant? When my discovery of the consistency of the Lukan syntax of imperative–future middle/passive combinations (as at Acts 2.38) was presented to ETS, a study relevant to Pesch's claim that we live in the time of the Lukan gift of the Spirit (*die Zeit der Geistesgabe*),⁷² not in the 'messianic' or 'apostolic' age where Joel's prophecy was supposedly

70. Perhaps, for some, this dominating interest might not be unfairly paraphrased in its practical manifestation as 'We believe that the events in Acts happened, we just don't want them to happen to us'.

71. Against this possible view, cf. Paul Elbert, 'Paul of the Miletus Speech and 1 Thessalonians: Critique and Considerations', *ZNW* (July 2004, forthcoming).

72. Rudolf Pesch, 'Die Gabe des Heiligen Geistes (Apg 2,38)', *Bibel und Kirche* 21 (1966), pp. 52–53 (53). One notes the imperative–future passive combination at Acts 2.38c, a structure in need of syntactical consideration at least within Lukan and LXX usage.

fulfilled,⁷³ the reaction seemed mainly ‘ho hum’, together with ‘who sent for you?’ By and large, with two exceptions, consideration and reflection

73. The truncation or confinement of Luke’s dynamic understanding of prophetic fulfillment, in the case of selected supernatural categories of inspired speech arbitrarily singled out for extinction in Peter’s rendition of Joel’s prophecy, to a supposed artificial and prophetic-quenching epoch (*Zeit*), is standard fare in the commentary tradition on Luke’s second book. Occasionally, in the ‘apostolic age hermeneutics’ of the critical commentary tradition, the concealed and unarticulated presupposition driving the truncation explicitly surfaces as it does in Hans Hinrich Wendt’s comment on the promise (ἐπαγγελία) of the Spirit at Acts 2.33. Although the promise at 2.33 is rightly connected by Wendt to the same promise (*Verheißung*) at Lk. 24.49 and Lk. 3.16, it is disconnected from Jesus’ teaching at Lk. 11.13 by an established tradition preceding Wendt which has confined Jesus’ teaching on prayer to Lk. 11.2-4. The promise at 2.33 is also disconnected by Wendt from the same promise at Acts 1.4, from its exemplary fulfillment in 2.4, and from the ongoing prophetic prediction concerning the promise in 2.39 which goes beyond narrative time.

All of these well-placed narrative contextual instances of a specific promise and their delicate co-descriptions (Lk. 3.16; 11.13; 24.49; Acts 1.4, 5; 2.4, 33, 39), together with the apparent prophetic extension of this promise to repentant hearers both within and beyond the narrative itself at 2.39, would without a doubt be properly considered in the critical exegesis of a classic epic of narrative fiction involving prophetic fulfillment, had such a construction appeared there. Had 2.17-18 been a prophesy by Zeus or Juno in Homeric or Virgilian epic, contained within winged words by Minerva or within a speech by bold Aeneas, with all of the obvious narrative linkages carefully afforded this promise, with its delicately nuanced co-descriptions and its experiential example of inspired speech, we would find classical commentators considering the mythic supernatural prediction of the speaker and looking for its repetition in selected lives as the story unfolded. *Indeed, we might find commentators hailing this narrative continuity as a display of Homeric or Virgilian ekphrasis worthy of rhetorical acclaim.* In this hypothetical case, since the narrative prediction beyond narrative time is a technique of fiction, its ambitious extension beyond the narrative makes for arresting and entertaining reading, while in reality it is quite preposterous and would not call for comment.

On the other hand, Wendt, a critical commentator working from the Greek text, like Calvin too at this juncture (n. 19), reveals that he knows what the well-placed instances of the promise probably suggest or at least imply, he knows that they are there, *they are just not at all useful to or compatible with his operational agenda*, which is to confine such supernatural prophetic predictions to New Testament characters. While Wendt does cite 10.45 and 11.17 (and Heb. 6.4) as instances of the gift of the Holy Spirit in 2.38c, he apparently sees the need for a comment partially explaining his lack of consideration of the train of promise-markers (Lk. 3.16 [Acts 1.5]; 11.13; 24.49; Acts 1.4; 2.33; 2.39), a comment which also serves to quench any untoward expectations on the part of *his* readers for prophetic fulfillment pertaining to 2.38c beyond the narrative.

not surprisingly took a back seat. On the other hand, when this same information was presented at SBL in Rome,⁷⁴ it was recognized by linguists and sundry New Testament scholars, as it had been earlier by several classicists with whom I discussed it extensively,⁷⁵ to be interesting and, as I suggested, a factor to be considered in interpretation; hence the contrasting attitude, ‘Let’s have coffee together and discuss this further’. Similarly, with apologies for mentioning my own work, the aforementioned presentation on

Wendt offers the truncating assertion regarding 2.33 that ‘*Der Messias vermittelt die Geistesbegabung, die nach den Prophetenworte (2.17-18) in der messianischen Zeit verwirklicht werden soll*’, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK 3/9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 5th edn, 1913), p. 94.

Historically, the truncation of supernatural components of Joel’s prophecy (Acts 2.17-21) is formally inaugurated at 2.39 in the critical commentary tradition on Luke’s second book (ditto with hand-me-down assurances in more popular ‘Evangelical’ tradition). While the critical tradition may sometimes note that at 2.39 the promise is co-described as the baptism in the Spirit, that the Spirit is the object of the promise, that 2.33, 1.4; and Lk. 24.49 cite this promise, and that Lk. 3.16 and 11.13 are to be recognized as relevant foreground, the contiguous example of the promise (2.4) is marginalized or erased from the scene at 2.39, and ensuing narrative examples—examples which connect to supernatural categories in 2.17, 18—are totally disconnected from prophetic fulfillment. The truncation in the critical commentary tradition at 2.39 (as with Wendt) is accompanied by disconnecting speculation, like ‘*mais le don de l’Esprit appartient aux temps messianiques*’, the children of the truncated promise being ‘*la future Eglise*’ (the church of ‘apostolic age hermeneutics’ in a supposedly different epoch than Lukan characters), so Loisy, *Actes*, p. 215.

What is interesting in all of this is that Luke is never said to be a deliberate misleader or an inept bungler. Obviously he is neither. Instead, his skillful narrative-rhetorical depictions of prophetic fulfillment are—when at variance with ecclesiastical tradition or with neo-Calvinist presuppositions—just presumptuously confined to, or his text divided up into, various arbitrary epochs or ages which, while no more than pneumatological phantoms, function to destroy narrative continuity as in the encapsulating model of von Baer-Dunn; cf. Elbert, ‘Lukan Expectations’ (n. 27).

74. For informative purposes, it may be noted that the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), founded in 1880 to advance the public understanding of the Bible and biblical scholarship, hosts its annual meetings in North America and additionally there is an annual international meeting, cf. <http://www.sbl-site.org/>

75. It is a pleasure to acknowledge discussions with Ron Ipock, Department of Classics, University of California at Irvine, and with John Philips, Department of Classics, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. I would like to thank Maria Pantelia, director of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu/~tlg>), for kindly scheduling research time and extending the hospitality of the Thesaurus library at the University of California at Irvine.

Luke's narrative style in his composition of questions and their narrative function seemed to get an ETS 'ho hum', but at SBL a warm welcome and a letter of inquiry from a New Testament faculty member at Westminster Theological Seminary expressing a desire to study the matter further. Ingrained presuppositions can prove difficult to reconsider, but the youthful are open; the dispensational cloak that has long suppressed the Lukan voice and the Pauline connection to that voice is lifting.

Some bright spots are encouraging. At the last ETS session in Toronto, several questioners in the audience asked where they could find more information on Luke's understanding of 'being filled' and 'full of' the Holy Spirit. As moderator, I was able to direct them to where such timely and practical information could be found, particularly in Jim Shelton's seminal piece in the Horton festschrift, a newly discovered nugget for our Evangelical friends.⁷⁶ Evidently these questioners were not convinced, as was suggested by the immediately previous speaker, that Lukan portrayals of personal Spirit-receptions/Spirit-fillings by believers were all but irrelevant before Luke wrote.

While my wife and daughter waited for me in the lobby of the ETS hotel, as we prepared to leave for the SBL hotel, I encountered a woman whom I had observed to be present during our entire Luke-Acts session that same morning. She turned out to be the wife of a dean of an institution of higher education that has a long-standing position of militant Lukan cessationism. Her son had rejected the rationalistic underpinnings of this belief and had been witnessing to her. She was reflective and her mind had been opened. The two of us stood all alone and talked without interruption for over half an hour. She asked one question after another and considered the answers. I encouraged her to obey the teaching of the earthly Jesus on prayer in Luke's first book, not to be detoured by ecclesiastical pressures that would surely be brought against her,⁷⁷ not to be content with the

76. Filling the bill on this occasion was Jim's '“Filled with the Holy Spirit” and “Full of the Holy Spirit”: Lukan Redactional Phrases', in Paul Elbert (ed.), *Faces of Renewal: Studies in honor of Stanley M. Horton* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988), pp. 81-107.

77. *Traditional Protestant theology deliberately and explicitly eclipses (totally or at best partially) the teaching of Jesus on prayer beyond the ‘Lord’s Prayer’ in the Lukan account (cf. nn. 47 and 48 above), that is Lk. 11.2-4 is ‘for today’ and 11.5-13 is for the supposed ‘apostolic age’.* Rationalistically excised as well are the examples of obedient disciples praying for the gift of the Holy Spirit in accord with Jesus' teaching. Under the hidden agenda of 'apostolic age hermeneutics' these texts are perceived

theoretical admission, independent of Luke–Acts, that spiritual gifts mentioned in Paul’s letters may be for today, an admission often equated with natural talent and secular accomplishment by Evangelical scholars like Robert Saucy,⁷⁸ who, while ‘open’, rely less on pragmatic Pauline understanding of how these gifts are transmitted and given interpersonally *in the Spirit*, and more on notions of epochal boundaries. Rather than scholarly waffling as to whether Paul’s first letter to Corinth should be understood by reading front to back,⁷⁹ she sought encouragement on how prayerfully

as ecclesiastically *verboten*, that is, of a non-applicable, ‘do-not-touch-under-any-circumstances’ kind of biblical material. Any practical pastoral application or appropriation of such material in connection with Luke’s second book is likely to be met with stout resistance by epochalists imbued by training and ecclesial practice in ‘apostolic age’ interpretive methodology. In this scenario, the examples and precedents within the Spirit-reception nexus in the second book are either divorced from Luke’s thematic prophetic-fulfillment theme or are retrofitted to a distant epoch. For a contrary suggestion as to the most effective pedagogic appropriation of such material, cf. Jon Ruthven, ‘“Between Two Worlds: One Dead, The Other Powerless to be Born?” Pentecostal Theological Education vs. Training for Christian Service’, *The Spirit & Church* 3.2 (2001), pp. 273-97 (283-85, 289-92).

78. Saucy, a past president of ETS, sets out his views on the possibility of the supernatural under various suspicions and constraints, one being to meet his criterion that New Testament prophecy to be genuine must be authoritative, not to meet Paul’s criterion that it should edify; cf. his ‘An Open but Cautious View’, in Wayne A. Grudem (ed.), *Are Miraculous Gifts for Today? Four Views* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), pp. 97-148.

79. J. Rodman Williams’ point that 1 Cor. 1 and 2 (with its reference to Spirit-reception) precedes 1 Cor. 12–14 is a valid rhetorically-minded concept rather totally overlooked by Richard B. Gaffin, Jr, ‘A Cessationist Response to C. Samuel Storms and Douglas A. Oss’, in Grudem (ed.), *Miraculous Gifts*, pp. 284-97. Given the distinctively selective and contextually extractive employment of ‘proof texts’ in the theory of epochal imposition/truncation, Ruthven’s argument, that ‘The doctrine of cessationism will one day assume its rightful place in the Museum of Theological Curiosities – joining the Gap Theory, the bodily ascension of Mary and the doctrine that Mussolini is the Antichrist’, has the weight of history on its side; (cf. Jon Ruthven, review of Grudem [ed.], *Miraculous Gifts*, in *Pneuma: Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 21.1 [1999], pp. 155-158 [158]). However, just when Ruthven’s Museum of Theological Curiosities will be fully open to the Christian public to view the biers of Lukan and Pauline cessationism as formerly engendered by experiential suspicion and philosophically based epochal periodization, is difficult to anticipate. A guesstimate of several centuries might be apropos, given the grip of underlying rationalistic presuppositions. The current arrogant denial by some of what is reasonably understood to be spiritual reality may not be based entirely upon the rationalistic impulse to divorce the heavenly Jesus from the earthly Jesus, although this disconnectedness is undoubtedly a

to seek and to persist in seeking the Lukan gift of the Holy Spirit, to value and to accept the examples and precedents Luke had provided her, to put herself in the position of Theophilus and to read Luke–Acts *tabula rasa* front to back. I encouraged her to seek the gift of the Holy Spirit and to continue to do so throughout her life and to have Lukan expectations, not to be misled by prayer formulas which deliberately ignore the teaching of the Lukan Jesus and its narrative clarification. All through this conversation, I felt the Lord’s gentle presence. I do not know what will happen to this determined woman when she encounters opposition, but her humble curiosity, after spending years in the halls of ‘apostolic age’ academia, was, for me, very encouraging and refreshing. I do wish her well.

Conclusions

I have attempted to draw out some of the ramifications inherent in an anti-Lukan ‘apostolic age hermeneutic’ that may be of some assistance to future students of Luke’s interconnected volumes, a double-work obviously composed in light of the narrative-rhetorical conventions of the day which valued clarity, description, and coherence. In contrast to the expectations engendered by Graeco-Roman literary achievement, the truncational method of interpretation concretized in the Reformation remains unresponsive to and reinterpretive of the role of the Holy Spirit in New Testament texts. In Luke’s case, the hidden presupposition of cessationism serves to blot out main themes and destroy narrative cohesion, while in Paul’s case it denies the connection of the letters with Jerusalem/Petrine tradition and the examples and precedents described with a common linguistic heritage.

factor in the denial. The evident conflict with Luke’s fulfillment-of-prophecy theme that this tension creates, combined with the non-Pauline fear that somehow revelatory experience will displace the experience of edifying and instructional texts (as in the real Paul, Rom. 15.4), reminds me of Robert Jastrow’s now famous poetic picture (*God and the Astronomers* [New York/London: Norton, 1978], p. 116). Jastrow depicts some dogmatic atheists confronted with the beginning of the cosmos in 1963, when humankind entered into the Era of the Glimpse of God: ‘For the scientist who has lived by his faith in the power of reason, the story ends like a bad dream. He has scaled the mountains of ignorance; he is about to conquer the highest peak; as he pulls himself over the final rock, he is greeted by a band of theologians who have been sitting there for centuries.’ *When those wedded to the Dispensational Luke and the Dispensational Paul, have explored the last possible tidbits of their thought, perhaps they too, God willing, may be greeted in a similar way by New Testament theologians: Luke and the Paul of Acts, writer of letters.*

Some conservative Evangelicals have historically been better at defending set doctrines of the past rather than constructively changing past blunders. The neo-Calvinist evangelical coalition, whether Wesleyan-Arminian, Baptist, or Reformed, thinks of itself as ‘biblical’ Christianity when, in fact, it evinces a stubborn traditionalism which strongly resists fresh insight into New Testament texts and their cognitive environment from a new perspective unwedded to rationalism. Perhaps an understandable and commendable desire to defend the existence and practices of Lukan characters within history tended to overshadow a due desire to see things through the eyes of characters in the narrative world, to participate in the connectedness of *their* story.⁸⁰ Instead, this preoccupation with historical and source criticism often leads to the conclusion that what Luke writes is just too difficult to understand, too remote, that is, incompatible with respect to the perspective of an interpreter’s story who is locked out of the narrative world because of atomistic readings engendered by exposure to an atomistic commentary tradition, by anti-supernatural bias, or by rational assent to overt or implicit cessationism. It is inevitable that the impulse of reinterpretation in the guise of exegesis, ecclesiastically conforming or not, must come under scrutiny. Yet, the extra-biblical and incoherent practice of ‘apostolic age hermeneutics’—with its strange residue of disconnectedness—will likely retain a puzzling allure. Nevertheless, future scholars trained to ask ‘How do we know?’ and ‘Why do we believe?’ should not be intimidated over the long-term by assertions of highly dubious plausibility, assertions intimately and ultimately allied to the narratively uncritical, rationalistic, and exegetically presumptuous epochs presupposed by past generations of scholarship.⁸¹

80. The observation of W.C. van Unnik is quite apropos: ‘Some generations ago it was usual in writing a biography of somebody to say in the subtitle, “in the framework of his time”. Today such a further indication has fallen into desuetude, but if we wish to come to a correct and fair appreciation of Acts we shall have to see Luke in the framework of his age. I am becoming more and more convinced that much critical study of Acts has been done at a distance from, or even without *living* contact with, Luke’s world. It is not sufficient to remind ourselves that he was not a historian in our sense, but in that of antiquity; but we shall have to walk with him along his roads, to see and hear with his eyes and those of his contemporaries’ (emphasis his), ‘Luke’s Second Book and the Rules of Hellenistic Historiography’, in J. Kremer (ed.), *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie* (BETL, 48; Paris-Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1979), pp. 37-60 (37).

81. Of course a few Evangelicals will continue their attempts to disregard the disciple-believer-witnesses in Luke’s first book, truncate the programmatic narrative

I suggest optimistically that scholars who deliberately unsubscribe to ‘apostolic age’ interpretive methodology and embrace a new paradigm, a new perspective on narrative connectedness and of experiential portrayal as shared by the narrative-rhetorical culture in which the New Testament was composed, will be among those who break new interpretive ground. As they make their work available to the Lord in a ministry useful to pragmatic Christian concerns, they should take their place as partners in progress of a new kind. As to scholarship germinating and becoming productive within the Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal in the new Era of the Glimpse of God, biblical studies emanating from a new paradigm should be of practical assistance in motivating an increase in missionary zeal throughout world Christendom.

Paul’s familiarity with Jesus material, his conversion and Spirit-reception, and his theological and pneumatological development, place him squarely in the Jerusalem/Petrine tradition narrated in Luke–Acts. The mysterious empowerment of disciple-believer-witnesses through reception of the gift of the Holy Spirit mediated by the heavenly Jesus, according to the examples and precedents afforded by Lukan characters and their ministry

force of Acts 1.8 with respect to Luke’s chosen examples and precedents of Spirit-reception in his second book, still claiming in a ham-fisted, cavalry-style execution of ‘apostolic age hermeneutics’ that only the twelve male apostles received the Spirit as true believers so as to assist their ministry and that the promise of the Spirit to all others makes them become ‘believers’, not empowered witnesses, so Peter G. Bolt, ‘Mission and Witness’, in I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson (eds.), *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), pp. 191–14 (212). However, ‘Acts 1.8 Reappropriated: Twelve Dispensational Male Apostles Go to the Remotest Part of the Earth, Rewriting the Prophetic Witness of Women, Sons and Daughters, and Other Disciple-Believers out of Joel’s Prophecy’, along with other prophetically truncating variants of Lukan cessationism, are unlikely to prove persuasive to the majority of future scholars, even though they conform to a palatable canon of neo-Calvinistic tastes. *On the other hand, future scholars who ask ‘How do we know?’ and ‘Why do we believe?’ should uncover the false paradigms of ‘apostolic age hermeneutics’, namely that Luke–Acts is devoid of pneumatological expectation for disciple-believer-witnesses regarding prayerful Spirit-reception, that a grid of narrative disconnectedness must be superimposed upon Luke–Acts in order to understand it, that reinterpretation, extraction from context, and dismissal of grid-filtered material is ‘biblical’, and that much of the experiential description in Luke–Acts is cognitively estranged both linguistically and conceptually from the letters of Paul.* These hidden persuaders and false paradigms are tied philosophically to a persistent sectarian interpretive method (sectarian vis-à-vis Luke and Paul) which I have attempted, however inadequately, to expose to greater scrutiny.

(including Paul) who are participating in prophetic fulfillment, appears directly connected to missionary zeal. If biblical scholars now training a further generation of missionaries and Gospel workers of all kinds will adopt interpretive methodology that can stand up to the logic of examination, contextually sensitive and culturally sensitive to biblical writers,⁸² and seek to be led by the Spirit, diligent not to hold the genuine canons of objective academic enterprise in unnecessary subservience to the great god of Tradition, they should be able to contribute evangelistically to the global missionary endeavor.

82. In this venture, I recommend serious consideration of Adele Berlin, 'A Search for a New Biblical Hermeneutics: Preliminary Observations', in Jerrold S. Cooper and Glenn M. Schwartz (eds.), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), pp. 195-207.

THE RISE AND DEMISE OF WOMEN'S MINISTRY IN THE ORIGINS AND
EARLY YEARS OF PENTECOSTALISM IN BRITAIN

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ABSTRACT

Early Pentecostalism was a revival movement whose 'charismatic moment' in Britain was between 1907 and 1914. During this period women pioneered in ministry, led churches and were popular speakers at conventions. They were often the first to receive the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Prior to this date the ministry and teaching of key women had helped shape Pentecostal theology and many offered a firm biblical basis for their own ministry as women. However, it seems that the early Pentecostal women ministered on the basis of their 'call', 'gifting' and 'anointing' with no clear theological foundation in regard to their authority, which was called into question at a debate entitled, 'A Woman's Place in the Church' in 1914. Instead of a positive evaluation of their contribution, many comments were recorded suggesting women's ministry needs to be limited. As well as looking at the contribution of women to the origins and early years of Pentecostalism in Britain, I will examine the influences which surrounded this debate and seek to draw some conclusions which have relevance for today.

Introduction

Pentecostalism in Britain can be traced back to the visit of T.B. Barratt to Rev. A.A. Boddy's church, All Saints', Sunderland between 31 August

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and 18 October 1907 and related directly back to the Pentecostal outpouring in Azusa Street, Los Angeles in 1905. The annual Sunderland Conventions fanned the flames of revival, and the magazine *Confidence* (1908–14) spread the Pentecostal message worldwide. The importance of women's ministry in the early years could be easily overlooked by reading only classic histories,¹ but the reporting of *Confidence* clearly shows their crucial role as preachers, teachers and leaders of congregations to name a few. During the Sunderland Conventions men and women ministered with complete equality.

These early Pentecostal women followed in the footsteps of the Holiness women who went before them but with one important difference. It seems that they rode the crest of a 'revival wave' and ministered on the basis of their 'call', 'gifting' and 'anointing', whereas the women who ministered in the decades prior to the revival had developed theologies relating to the ministry of women, giving them a foundation of the Word as well as the Spirit. As we will see, they also provided foundational theology for the emerging movement. The year 1914 not only marks the outbreak of the First World War, but the end of the Sunderland Conventions, which according to Gee, marked the passing of the initial period of the revival.² It is significant that it was in this year that the first recorded voices of disapproval surfaced regarding the ministry of women. I will be looking in more detail at the report of the debate entitled, 'A Woman's Place in the Church' as it is recorded in *Confidence*, but suffice it to say the issues raised were those of headship and authority, women speaking in church and women teaching. Why was there not at this time a celebration of their invaluable contribution rather than a debate focusing on their limitation in ministry, and why were views being expressed which were so contrary to what the Holy Spirit was obviously doing in using women in such ways? In this article I will offer my reflections on the above questions as well as look at the contribution of these women and make some observations pertinent to women's ministry at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Yet first let me capture something of this period of Pentecostal spiritual history in Britain in relation to the rise of women's ministry before I reflect on its demise.

1. E.g. Donald Gee, *Wind and Flame* (Croydon: AOG Publishing House, 1967).
2. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p.108.

Holiness Women Who Paved the Way

The origins and early years of Pentecostalism in Britain were influenced by women with powerful ministries from both sides of the Atlantic. They helped shape Pentecostal theology both in theory and practice and had a major effect on the emerging movement. Their public preaching and teaching ministries opened up the way for an acceptance of women's ministry, and they provided strong role models for their generation. Unlike the later Pentecostal women, these Holiness women all had a developed theology regarding the ministry of women which served to undergird their own ministries.

Phoebe Palmer, an American, describes her experiences in Britain between 1859 and 1863 in her book, *Four Years in the Old World*.³ She preached to packed houses in many major cities. Her meetings were characterized by great spiritual power and emotion, as people were saved by the scores and received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit as a distinct crisis experience subsequent to conversion, and some even spoke in tongues. It was while in Britain that she began to teach that 'Holiness is Power', replacing Wesleyan terminology to describe the second blessing, with Pentecostal language. Instead of 'sanctification', it was the 'Baptism of the Holy Ghost' and instead of 'cleansing from sin', it was 'an enduement of power for service'.⁴ As many as four decades before 1907 she held powerful meetings in Sunderland. This is particularly interesting since this town was to become the centre for the twentieth-century Pentecostal revival in Britain. It was as if this woman was catalytical in providing not only the language and experience of Pentecost but also the place. Phoebe faced criticism for her public ministry, and she responded by writing a book defending a woman's right to preach. It was published in 1859, the year she arrived in Britain, and was called, *The Promise of the Father; or a Neglected Speciality of the Last Days*.⁵ She used what she called the 'Latter Rain' argument, that even though women have not been allowed to preach down through the ages of the church, they did so in the New Testament and are being restored to that role as a 'speciality of the last days'. Using a Pentecostal hermeneutic, she

3. Phoebe Palmer, *Four Years in the Old World* (Boston: Foster and Palmer, 1865).

4. Palmer, *Four Years*, p. 395.

5. Phoebe Palmer, *The Promise of the Father; or a Neglected Speciality of the Last Days* (Boston: Henry V. Degen, 1859).

appealed to Joel 2.28-32 and Acts 2.17-21 and asserted an equal right for women to preach just as women were equal in receiving the Spirit. She concludes, 'It is the intention of God that women, whom he has equipped to minister in his church, be given the right to express their spiritual gifts... to pray, prophesy and preach'.⁶ She maintained the traditional view of male headship in the home while still promoting equality and partnership in ministry.

Another frequent American visitor to Britain was Hannah Whitall Smith, who with her husband was instrumental in the emergence of the Keswick movement, which was the main form that Holiness teaching took in Britain. She taught that holiness and spiritual power come through a life of overcoming and faith often called 'higher life' teaching. Importantly for Pentecostalism in Britain was the hunger the annual Keswick Conventions created for a deeper Christian experience. They were attended both by Mr and Mrs Boddy and Cecil Polhill who was instrumental in founding the Pentecostal Missionary Union. Hannah was from a Quaker background which promoted gender equality in ministry and marriage. She was outspoken in her views and in a letter to her daughter she related a speech she had made saying, '...the gospel did not arbitrarily upset the existing order of things, but put a mine under all wrong and oppression that finally blew it up. Women were made free by the working out of the principles of Christ who had declared there is neither male nor female in him.'⁷ She opened the door for women preachers and teachers at the annual Keswick conventions and can be credited with the emancipation of women in the religious sphere.

Carrie Judd Montgomery from California was at the very first Sunderland Convention, and her articles on healing, faith, the Holy Spirit and holiness regularly appeared in *Confidence*. Her main contribution was to provide a theology of divine healing for the emerging movement. She taught that healing was in the atonement and could be claimed by faith.⁸ In 1881 she began publishing *Triumphs of Faith*, a 'monthly journal devoted to faith healing and to the promotion of Christian holiness', which she edited for the next 66 years. After her Baptism in the Spirit in 1908 she used this magazine as a vehicle of the Pentecostal message.

6. Susan C. Hyatt, *In the Spirit We're Equal* (Dallas: Hyatt Press, 1998), p. 162.

7. Hyatt, *In the Spirit*, p. 177.

8. Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), p. 126.

Another American Holiness preacher was Maria Beulah Woodworth-Etter whose powerful influence was felt through her books and reports of her meetings, although she never visited Britain. Her five-month campaign in Dallas, Texas was reported in *Confidence*,⁹ although Boddy comments that he first heard of her four years previously. In 1885 she began to pray for the sick with a special emphasis on faith. Her ministry was characterized by dramatic signs and wonders. Boddy commended her book, *The Acts of the Holy Ghost*, and printed an extensive extract about her life and call to ministry. He advised all readers to get a copy, and he made it available in Britain.¹⁰ 'Maria was aware that if some men in the Pentecostal Movement could get their way, she and other women would have been behind the scenes with little authority.'¹¹ In her defense there was a chapter in her book *Signs and Wonders* entitled, 'Women's Rights in the Gospel'.¹² Using the classic Pentecostal hermeneutical key, she begins by quoting Acts 2.17 and Joel 2.28-29. She argues that Paul speaks as if it were common for women to pray and prophesy and counted them as his fellow workers. She does address passages that seem to place a limitation on women's ministry. Regarding 1 Cor. 14.33-40, she says Paul is here speaking of 'contentions in the churches', and in a footnote she refers to A.A. Boddy of Sunderland who had heard women disrupting services while he was in Palestine.¹³ She then speaks of women who prophesied in the Old Testament and those who preached the first resurrection sermon. She challenges, 'It is high time for women to let their lights shine, to bring out their talents that have been hidden away rusting, and use them for the glory of God... What is the church composed of? Men, women and children. We are putting up a building of God; everyone has a part in this.'¹⁴ Maria's ministry not only had a general impact on British Pentecostalism, but it challenged traditional theological views regarding the ministry of women.

9. *Confidence*, November 1912, pp. 258-59.

10. *Confidence*, February 1913, pp. 31-33.

11. Wayne E. Warner, 'Maria Woodworth-Etter: A Powerful Voice in the Pentecostal Vanguard', *Assemblies of God Enrichment Journal*, Winter 1999, p. 5, http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/199901/086_woodsworth_etter.cfm

The author was told by David Lee Floyd, who had attended Etter's meetings in Hot Springs, Arkansas, in 1913, that the local leadership, which included E.N. Bell, appreciated her ministry but was careful not to give her 'too much authority'.

12. Maria Woodworth-Etter, 'Women's Rights in the Gospel', Chapter 34 of her *Signs and Wonders*, (New Kensington: Whittaker House, 1997 [1912]).

13. Woodworth-Etter, *Signs and Wonders*, p. 198.

14. Woodworth-Etter, *Signs and Wonders*, p. 200.

One British lady who was greatly influenced by the Holiness tradition and especially by the preaching of Phoebe Palmer was Catherine Booth, who founded the Salvation Army with her husband William in 1878. Alongside her rescue mission work, Catherine became a dynamic and forceful preacher. When she learnt of criticism of Palmer's ministry she responded by writing a pamphlet entitled, *Female Ministry: A Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel*,¹⁵ even though this was before she had a public ministry herself. It is worth noting three broad arguments that she used.¹⁶ First she dealt with confusing 'custom with nature', dismissing the idea that women were by nature not fitted to preach. Unlike Palmer, Booth's view emphasized the authority women had to preach, rather than being passive recipients of the Spirit. Secondly, she responded to scriptural objections, examining passages such as 1 Cor. 11.4-5, 14.3-4 and 1 Tim. 2.12-14, saying she based her view on the Bible not in spite of it. Thirdly, she uses the Pentecostal argument (like Palmer) of Acts 2.16-18 and Joel 2.28-29 and, for her, more importantly, the 'Redemption argument' based on Gal. 3.28. She believed that, 'matters of racial, status and sexual distinctions were the result of the fall and a sign of sin... The abolition of these distinctions was the great sign of Redemption.' Her egalitarian views characterized the future ministry of the Salvation Army where all ranks and posts were open to women.

Jessie Penn Lewis worked with Evan Roberts during the Welsh Revival in 1904, but she remains an enigmatic figure. She was a teacher and preacher and was active at the Keswick Conventions. In 1905, her book *The Awakening in Wales and Some of the Hidden Springs* was published.¹⁷ She perceived the revival not just as an answer to prayer, but the beginning of even greater things for the church. At one place in the book she challenges the reader, 'Have you received your Pentecost?' As the Welsh revival waned, Penn Lewis began to re-evaluate the previous few years which resulted in her major work, *War on the Saints*.¹⁸ The teaching in this book regarding demons, the Baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues was strongly refuted by the International Pentecostal Advisory

15. Catherine Booth, *Female Ministry: A Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel* (New York: Salvation Army, 1975; [London: Morgan & Chase, 1859]).

16. Roger Green, *Catherine Booth* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996), pp. 125-30.

17. Jessie Penn Lewis, *The Awakening in Wales and Some of the Hidden Springs* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1905).

18. Jessie Penn Lewis, *War on the Saints: A Textbook for Believers on the Work of Deceiving Spirits among the Children of God* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1912).

Council which met at the Sunderland Convention in 1913.¹⁹ In another report, Boddy denounced her influence on Roberts and on Pentecostalism as 'absolutely negative'.²⁰ However, in the years leading to 1907 she contributed to an emerging Pentecostal theology. She wrote two books defending women's ministry. In *The Ministry of Women* she based her main argument on Redemption, using Gal. 3.28, that in this 'new age' a woman could be entrusted with prophetic and teaching ministries.²¹ In her 1919 book, *The Magna Carta for Women*, she summarized the teachings of Dr Katherine Bushnell who later published *God's Word to Women: One Hundred and One Bible Studies on Women's Place in the Divine Economy*.²² This seems to indicate that Bushnell's teaching was available prior to publication of Penn Lewis' book, and we know she did visit Britain. Prior to 1914, it is probable that Penn Lewis was teaching this theology before publishing her books. The *Magna Carta* employed a hermeneutic that interpreted the Bible from a feminist standpoint.

Women and Holiness Teaching

Hardesty, L. Dayton and D. Dayton offer six factors accounting for the prominence of women in the Holiness Movements.²³ First, Holiness teaching stressed a theology centred on a sanctification experience to which men and women were expected to testify publicly as the Spirit led them. This gave many otherwise timid women the authority and the power to speak out. As part of this experience, many women felt called to preach. Secondly, the doctrine of Holiness was rooted in Scripture. Experience was tested by its conformity to the Word of God, and scriptural truth was illustrated by personal experience. This subjectivity meant that they were not bound by literalist interpretations. It was seen as the dawning of a new

19. *Confidence*, July 1913, pp. 135-36.

20. *Confidence*, August 1913, p. 157.

21. Brynmor Pierce Jones, *An Instrument of Revival: The Complete Life of Evan Roberts 1878-1951* (South Plainfield: Bridge Publications, 1995), p. 203.

22. Katherine Bushnell, *God's Word to Women* (Mossville: God's Word to Women Publishers, 1999). This was originally published in 1923 and summarized by Penn Lewis as *The Magna Carta of Women according to the Scriptures* (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1975).

23. Nancy Hardesty, Lucille Dayton and Donald Dayton, 'Women in the Holiness Movement: Feminism in the Evangelical Tradition', in Rosemary Ruther and Eleanor McLaughlin (eds.), *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979), pp. 241ff.

era where subordination of women would be overcome. The main hermeneutical keys they used were those of Redemption and Pentecost, but a third line of interpretation emerged, using a hermeneutic that reinterpreted the Bible from a feminist standpoint, as in Katherine Bushnell's book *God's Word to Women*. A third major emphasis was the growing stress on the work of the Holy Spirit. The use of Pentecostal terminology reinforced the idea that believers could expect the power and gifts of the Spirit. This led naturally to a charismatic concept of leadership and ministry. The concepts of 'call', 'gifting' and 'anointing for service' figured highly in the testimonies of those women who had a public ministry. This led, fourthly, to a freedom to be experimental. A new style of preaching emerged called 'Bible Readings', popularized by Hannah Whitall Smith. A speaker read a passage and gave appropriate comments. This allowed women to speak informally without using the title of a sermon. Fifthly, the emphasis on perfection and holiness challenged the status quo and led the way for reform and revolutionary ideas. Evangelicalism put men and women on an equal footing before God and had always championed human rights. It has been deemed more important than feminism in enlarging the sphere of women in the nineteenth century. Sixthly, the movement led to the emergence of informal small group meetings where women emerged in leadership roles on the basis of availability and charismatic gifting. Phoebe Palmer modeled these, and at the turn of the century many such groups were meeting in Britain.

Some Firsts for British Women

In regard to the key distinctive of Pentecostalism, the Baptism in the Holy Spirit as an experience subsequent to conversion and accompanied by speaking in other tongues, women were not just instrumental but catalytic in the emerging movement. The first to receive the gift of tongues in England was Mrs Catherine S. Price.²⁴ This was in January 1907, seven months before Barratt arrived. She was part of a prayer group in London that was praying for revival. At midnight in her room, she was kneeling in worship, and as she opened her mouth, she records, 'strange sounds fell upon my ear. It was another language than my own—soft, flowing, beautiful.' The next night at a convention meeting she spoke in tongues again

24. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 21.

and gave an interpretation in English.²⁵ During that summer Mrs Price opened her house in Brixton, and again, according to Gee, these were the 'first definitely "Pentecostal" meetings established in England'.²⁶ Many received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, and, as she recalls, 'A few of us who met for prayer at the beginning will never forget the awe of God's holy presence in the room when everything in it gently rocked'.

In the 1907 revival in Sunderland Mrs Mary Boddy and her daughters received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues before her husband. She had been in the South of England for the first 10 days of Barratt's visit and came into her Pentecostal experience on 11 September. Her husband did not receive this Baptism until Barratt had gone home. She describes her Pentecost in 'The Testimony of a Vicar's Wife'.²⁷

When he [Barratt] laid hands on me... I was quite oblivious to everyone around, just worshipping, then my mouth began to quiver, my tongue began to move, and a few simple words were uttered, as I yielded to the Holy Ghost. Much to my astonishment, I began to speak fluently in a foreign language—Chinese, I think... I felt at last satisfied that there was no difference between me and them as at the beginning.

On 21 September, she says that her two daughters, May and Jane, aged 15 and 13 years, were baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire and spoke in tongues.

Women's Ministry in Sunderland and Beyond

Much can be learned about these early Pentecostal women from *Confidence*. This publication also details the Sunderland Conventions which lasted six days and were hosted by Revd A.A. Boddy at All Saints, Sunderland, annually at Whitsuntide from 1908 until 1914. Most of the men and women who were to gain prominence in the Pentecostal movement attended either as speakers or listeners. *Confidence* also records smaller conventions and Pentecostal meetings such as that held at Sion College in London, by Cecil Polhill, beginning in 1909. The activities of the PMU are well documented with informative letters published from many women missionaries.

25. For her own account of receiving the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, see *Confidence*, August 1910, p. 195.

26. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 21.

27. Mary Boddy, 'Pentecost at Sunderland: Testimony of a Vicar's Wife', n.d. pp. 5-6.

The 1908 Sunderland Convention

The first Sunderland Convention took place from 6–11 June 1908, ten months after the initial outpouring in September of the previous year. This meeting acted as the flagship for the emerging movement. Boddy set a precedent for women's ministry for the years leading to the First World War in 1914. There was a definite theme of equality and unity. On the eve of the convention Mrs Boddy introduced this two-fold theme, speaking on 1 Cor. 1.10 by saying, 'The body must be one—that the spiritual unity may not be hindered. God is sweeping aside things that men have been fighting about.'²⁸ In the review of the week, her husband concludes by saying, 'We felt that we were knit together by a love that burst all bonds of Church organization and social position, and made us truly "one in Christ Jesus"'.²⁹ It seemed that the convention was a visual aid of Galatians 3.28, which had been made possible by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit as it had been on the day of Pentecost. The reporting of the ministry of women served to show the outworking of Acts 2.18, 'Even on my servants, both men and women, I will pour out my Spirit in those days, and they will prophesy'. In fact, according to *Confidence*, women seemed at least, if not more, active in many spheres of ministry than men. We are also introduced to women who in subsequent years were used greatly by God. Although Boddy was the leader at all the meetings, he 'took up very little time. It was the visitors (brothers and sisters) who took most part in the meetings.'³⁰

During the convention, Mrs Boddy preached several times as did a visitor from the States, a Miss Sisson who was 'well known on both sides of the Atlantic as a writer and proclaimer of the gospel',³¹ as well as a teacher. The women were not excluded from the business meetings where they had an equal opportunity to speak. In the discussion on 'waiting meetings' only the women's views are reported in *Confidence*, although six men were present.³² Again, in the discussion on 'Prophetic Messages', although chaired by Boddy, only the comments of four women are reported.³³ It is interesting to note that all the women had been involved in judging prophecies (1 Cor. 14.29) and spoke out of their experience and also mentioned having exercised the gift of discerning of spirits. The pages are full of testimonies of

28. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 5.

29. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 13.

30. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 5.

31. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 7.

32. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 8.

33. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 15.

women who had received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and divine healing, including Boddy's daughters May and Jane.³⁴ Boddy states that 'probably all the nine gifts have been in evidence during the conference'.³⁵ Especially used in the revelatory gifts were two sisters from Norway. We read of their prophetic dreams on the themes of revival and the second coming³⁶ and messages in tongues and interpretation.³⁷ It would seem that one of them had more of the ministry of a prophet.³⁸

Mrs Boddy was especially used in a healing ministry both at home and in meetings outside Sunderland. She had written a leaflet which was available at the convention entitled, 'Divine Health and Healing'. *Confidence* records, 'The vicarage was a busy place... People come with sick bodies and tired souls and all are helped... One meeting was given up entirely to the teaching [by Mrs Boddy] on divine healing, and many witnessed that they themselves had been healed.'³⁹ Boddy publicly endorsed his wife's ministry and he is recorded as saying, 'Where there are no male elders who believe, God has often raised up female elders'.⁴⁰ Mrs Boddy was also very active in leading people into the Baptism in the Holy Spirit by laying hands on them. Pastor Polman from Holland records his experience at the vicarage.⁴¹ 'I was waiting on the Lord, and after a few minutes I felt that my body was shaking and that warm streams of fire were flowing through me... Mrs Boddy said, "Be not ashamed, yield your tongue to the Holy Spirit"... I did so, and I began to speak a few sentences in tongues, and sang.'⁴² Both he and his wife regularly visited Sunderland and ministered there. In line with Pentecostal belief that the Lord was coming soon, prophetic teaching was encouraged. A Miss Barbour from Wimbledon, 'who had been much used in Sunderland...in giving Bible readings and in teaching the deep things concerning the speedy coming of the Lord', said that 'the dates point to 1914 or thereabouts'. She was followed by Miss Sisson who taught from Revelation regarding the 'near coming of the

34. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 21.

35. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 15.

36. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 11.

37. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 16.

38. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 21.

39. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 5.

40. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 18.

41. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 5.

42. *Confidence*, August 1908, p. 25.

Lord'.⁴³ Gifts of administration were also in evidence, and we read of Miss Howell and Miss Scott who, after receiving their 'Pentecost', were now responsible for the distribution of *Confidence* magazine and handling the correspondence.⁴⁴ We also see the prominence given to missionaries and are introduced to Minnie Abrams, an American missionary from India. This is the beginning of a correspondence between her and the Boddys, and she proved to be influential in the lives of future women who were sent out to India by the PMU.

In evaluating the ministry and roles of women in reports from this convention, we see women represented in the Eph. 4.7-13 'gift ministries'. There is no mention of apostles, and this is not the place to enter into a discussion regarding its definition. Yet I would argue that A.A. Boddy exercised a ministry that was foundational, trans-local and could be seen as apostolic, even though he was also a local clergyman. He believed that 'where the husband and wife worked in harmony there was little or no difficulty, for the two were one'.⁴⁵ So Mrs Boddy, in this respect, could be seen to share that gifting, and the same argument could be used for her pastoral, eldership and leadership roles.

We also see women preaching, testifying and taking part in discussions relating to policy. It is recorded that they exercised the gift of tongues, interpretation, prophecy (including the 'weighing' of prophecy), distinguishing between spirits and healings (1 Cor. 12.7-11). Gifts of administration and hospitality were also in evidence, and the all-embracing role of 'missionary'. As Boddy himself said, all nine gifts were in evidence, and there is no reason to doubt that women, as well as men, were involved in their exercise, given that women were so active in ministry at this time.

After the 1908 Convention, during the years until the outbreak of World War 1 in 1914, the trend continued and we see the emergence of women preachers, teachers, leaders of congregations and households and those with pastoral, prophetic and evangelistic giftings. There were women who ministered in their own right and those who were part of a husband and wife team, in some cases the woman having the prominence in the partnership. It was common for women to give testimony to divine healing and to the Baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues. We also see women exercising many of the spiritual gifts, especially tongues, interpretation of tongues, prophecy and healing. They travelled in the UK, and some featured

43. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 17.

44. *Confidence*, June 1908, p. 10.

45. *Confidence*, November 1914, p. 213.

as regular speakers at the various conventions. They were writers, reporters and administrators. Some women volunteered and were sent out by the PMU as missionaries, after spending a period of time training at the women's training home in London.

The Ministry Continues...

Mrs Boddy continued her ministry of divine healing and spoke at home and at conventions around Britain as well as writing many articles and tracts on the subject. For the last 16 years of her life she was an invalid but she still ministered healing to others until her death in 1928. She also continued leading people into the experience of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. Most notable of these was Smith Wigglesworth who later wrote,

At about 11 a.m., Tuesday morning, at All Saints' Vicarage, I asked a sister [Mrs Boddy] to help me to the witness of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. She laid hands on me in the presence of a brother. The fire fell and burned in me till the Holy Spirit clearly revealed absolute purity before God.⁴⁶

Another key person in the early Pentecostal movement, Stanley Frodsham, was also baptized in the Holy Spirit a few months after Wigglesworth, kneeling in the same spot, when the same person, Mrs Boddy, laid hands on him. He writes,

The Spirit literally fell upon me, and there was no need for anyone to tell me I had received from him. I knew it for myself. The Lord took away my English, and I praised him in a way I had never praised him before, and in another tongue as the Spirit of God gave utterance.⁴⁷

It is often overlooked that the now legendary Smith Wigglesworth had a wife, Polly, who was a fiery preacher until her death in 1913. Before Smith's Pentecostal experience, she was the one who usually preached while he led the souls to Christ. *Confidence* records them ministering together and also separately at various meetings and conventions. In some cases it was Mrs Wigglesworth who was the one named, with Smith referred to as her husband.⁴⁸ *Confidence* also makes it clear that women took leadership roles.

After an initial trip to Sunderland, a Mrs Beruslden led the work in Leith and Edinburgh, Scotland. We read that in 1911, 'Remarkable times of blessing are being experienced in the Mission Hall in Leith, which Mrs

46. *Confidence*, October 1908, supplement pp. 11, 15.

47. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 52.

48. *Confidence*, January 1912, p. 19.

Beruldsen and her helpers have recently opened. Many have been Baptized in the Spirit or healed of sicknesses.⁴⁹ Regarding the work in Edinburgh, *Confidence* records, 'There is a beautiful work going on... Mrs Beruldsen is deeply taught of God showing in her life the gifts of the Spirit.'⁵⁰ In Halifax, England, a Mrs Walshaw held Pentecostal meetings. She was present at the first Sunderland Convention, and thereafter she was a regular speaker at this and other conventions. Occasionally her messages were reproduced in *Confidence*. Pentecostal historian and leader Donald Gee made this insightful comment regarding her, 'Mrs Walshaw was one of those personalities that seem to flourish in the early years of a revival movement before it has had time to solidify into a denomination. Frequently they leave the mark of the Spirit of God upon those who later become leaders in a more public sense.'⁵¹ Gee calls Mrs E. Crisp, 'a remarkable woman in several ways and easily one of the outstanding personalities of the early years of the Pentecostal movement in the British Isles'.⁵² She served as principal of the Pentecostal Missionary Union's women training home from 1910 to 1922. She was a regular speaker at conventions and missionary meetings and her addresses were often printed in *Confidence*. Gee comments that she had 'the knack of keeping in harmony with the brethren of the PMU Council' and recalls, 'Her sermons were a delight to listen to, for they were sound in doctrine, rich in practical application and spoken with a beautiful clear enunciation'.⁵³

She also exercised the gift of interpretation of tongues and as late as 1912 voiced the hope that God would give the gift of languages to those called to his work in foreign lands.⁵⁴

The pages of *Confidence* are full of examples of women's ministry. Paraphrasing the words of the writer to the Heb. 11.32-38, 'And what more shall I say?... I do not have time to tell about... Miss Stephens "the Pentecostal flame of Shrewsbury who had the rare gift of being able to kindle the Spirit",⁵⁵ Sister Charles of Aberdeen who "preaches the Gospel gladly

49. *Confidence*, August 1911, p. 189.

50. *Confidence*, February 1911, p. 32.

51. Donald Gee, *These Men I Knew* (Nottingham: AOG Publishing House, 1980), p. 86.

52. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 61.

53. Gee, *These Men*, p. 34.

54. *Confidence*, June 1912, p. 127.

55. *Confidence*, June 1912, p. 78.

in the streets of the Granite city"⁵⁶, Mrs Millar whose heart was burning with fire and fervour of the message she spoke,⁵⁷ Dorothy Kerin, who kept her audiences spellbound in a nationwide speaking tour testifying to a dramatic healing accompanied by visions and being bought back from death,⁵⁸ Margaret Cantel, who led meetings in her London guest house where it was like being in first-century meetings in Ephesus or Corinth⁵⁹ and the many young women missionaries who faced difficulties, disease and often death far away from home...the world was not worthy of them.'

The Great Debate—A Woman's Place in the Church

It is against this backdrop of equality in ministry and leadership that a discussion took place at the Sunderland Convention in 1914. It is recorded in *Confidence* as 'A Woman's Place in the Church',⁶⁰ and appears to be the first comment in *Confidence* directly regarding the theological basis for the ministry of women. A.A. Boddy chaired the meeting, and others present were Pastor Paul (Berlin), Pastor Voget (Bunde), Mr Walshaw (Halifax), Mr Myerscough (PMU Men's Training Home), Predeger Essler, Mr Mogridge (Lytham) and Mrs Polman (Holland). There may have been others, but these are the only ones whose views are recorded. Apart from Mrs Polman, we do not read of any other women being present. It is interesting, then, why at this time a discussion such as this was deemed necessary. It seems from reading the report that Pastor Paul was not happy with the status quo and wanted to place what he considered Scriptural limitations on the ministry of women. One is left with the impression that Boddy would have been content for things to continue as they were. Before evaluating the various views and theological influences there were at that time, I will give a summary of the main points.

The meeting began with Boddy quoting a number of Scriptures on the subject of women in ministry including 1 Cor. 14.34. The issues that were raised were that of headship and authority, women speaking in church and women teaching. Pastor Paul began the discussion by saying that both man and woman need to be in the place assigned to them by God. He said that

56. *Confidence*, June 1912, p. 127.

57. *Confidence*, April 1909, p. 4.

58. *Confidence*, June 1913, pp. 112-13.

59. Gee, *These Men*, p. 33.

60. *Confidence*, November 1914, pp. 208-214.

they were given their place in Genesis, God saw that it was good and now Christ, by his Spirit, gives us our place and says it is good. According to him, a woman's 'place' was one where she did not exercise any authority over a man. He warns that they must be very careful, since 'Paul has plainly said that a woman shall not be a governor of a man'. As well as believing in male headship in terms of authority, he makes the differentiation, 'The man is more the head than the woman...the woman is more the heart than the man'. Whilst being careful to say that the head is not better than the heart, he uses this argument to limit the role of women, because there was a 'danger her heart would overflow rather than her head'. In his opinion the women needed 'training and guiding by a brother with discernment so they are not in danger of going too far'. (I wonder if Jessie Penn Lewis' attack on the Pentecostal movement was behind this comment). In practical terms, he agreed with Paul that a woman should not teach (1 Tim. 2.12). However they could testify, speak by divine exhortation and prophesy as long as they spoke 'the wonderful things God has revealed to them in their heart and...give it as a prophet would utter it'. He also differentiates between the gift of prophecy in the context of 1 Cor. 14.3 and the prophetic gift which carries the authority, 'Thus saith the Lord'. Women need to seek to prophesy in the first sense. He agrees that women can teach 'in their place', which would mean teaching younger women and children, and he refers to Tit. 2 where it says that women were 'teachers of good things'. Later in the discussion, he seems to widen their teaching sphere when he seeks to make a differentiation between a church in a city, i.e. the church in Corinth and informal gatherings such as the household of Chloe, which he says is not a church. In the latter, a woman could teach, but he 'did not think Paul approved of their being leaders in the church, i.e. when they all came together to be edified and have the whole ministry and service of the church'. On the matter of rule and authority in the church, he saw this as a male prerogative. His ideal would be for each assembly to be directed by an overseer, bishop or elders, and then have deacons or deaconesses 'as vehicles through which the Lord would work'. He referred to what he calls Apostolic Churches in which, he said, a woman can help. In regard to Eph. 4.11, he said this reference is to gifted *men* that God gives to the church, and they deserve respect. Using the illustration of Deborah and Barak (Judg. 5), he argued that if there is no man, God will use a woman, but as soon as a man is available, she must defer to him. He added, however, 'there might be exceptions and those exceptions are made by God'.

Not every member of the group took such line, and I will now note some of the other comments that were made. Pastor Voget, taking up the theme of the heart, said that the 'arguments of the heart are sometimes stronger than the arguments of reason'. Women need to seek the gift of prophecy in the context of 1 Cor. 14.3 so the Holy Spirit can reprove us from the heart. Mr Walshaw, whose wife had a very active public ministry, wanted to make the point that he believed that 1Tim. 2.12-15 had nothing to do with teaching in the church but referred only to domestic life, because of the reference to child-bearing. He still wanted to know whether there was ever an occasion when a woman could teach in the church. Mr Myerscough referred to Acts 18.26 where Priscilla and Aquila explained the way of God more adequately to Apollos. He said that he did not believe this could be called teaching. It is interesting to note that in the report in *Confidence*, the names are reversed so Aquila appears first, unlike the order of biblical text. Myerscough saw no objection to a woman serving in the church, but she must not appoint herself or be appointed by others. He said, 'Let it be a distinct call from God, and they must know it is so before they broke the rule'. Prodigier Essler warned of the dangers of taking isolated passages, and made the point that it was Christ who sent the women to the disciples to tell them about the resurrection. Mr Mogridge believed a woman had the same privilege in the church as a man to use every gift that God had given her, but she could not assert authority over a man. In view of this, he paraphrased 1 Tim. 2.12 as, 'I suffer not a woman to be like a schoolmaster, to be always asserting authority over the man'. He also linked prophecy with teaching, referring to 1 Cor. 14.31 which says, 'ye may all prophesy one by one that all may learn'. He commented, 'How can you learn unless you are taught and how can you be taught if there is no teacher'. A woman might therefore edify the church by teaching the Word of God.

The only woman's voice, Mrs Polman's, expressed the opinion that in the Pentecostal Movement women had great liberty. When her husband was away she had taken his place, but did so reluctantly. She would always defer to the pastor and would never teach anything she had not experienced. She says that a man might teach what he found in the Word of God, but as a woman she is very careful about it. A.A. Boddy made little comment. He seemed to favour an egalitarian stance in ministry, saying, 'Where the husband and wife worked in harmony there was little or no difficulty, for they two were one'. He also made a cultural observation from his travels in Palestine. He spoke of his experience in Nazareth where the men and women

had been separated in the meeting. The half-veiled women at the back of the church would whisper to each other, and he remembered the words of St Paul, 'women keep silent and ask your husbands at home'. He called this a 'most helpful and gracious discussion, carried out in perfect love and divine wisdom'.

So the first recorded discussion on women's ministry places it firmly within a framework of subordination established at creation, where male headship is taken for granted. It is clear that the majority of those present approved and encouraged women exercising charismatic ministries, but the key issue they were grappling with was that of 'authority'. Many roles women had assumed since 1907, and even before, did not fit into a literalist interpretation of Scripture. As we have seen, women were leading congregations, and exercising gift ministries to the body. In some though not all cases, they spoke of their authority coming from God, not man, ministering on the basis of a distinct call, according to their gifting and under the anointing of the Holy Spirit. Those present at this debate wrestled with the passages that seemed to limit the woman's participation and which spoke of male headship. They not only included theological arguments, but made references to what they regarded as the emotional nature of women, who, some believed, were prone to deception. The man as head of the home was taken for granted, and the woman was his 'help-meet'. It must be remembered that at this period in history there was little equality for women, and so roles that women had in the church were radical, yet not without precedent. So I repeat the questions I posed in my introduction: Why was there not a celebration of the invaluable contribution of women's ministry to Pentecostalism in Britain rather than a debate focusing on its limitation? And why were views expressed which were so contrary to what the Holy Spirit was obviously doing regarding women's ministry, when ideally Word and Spirit need to operate in harmony? The foundation having been laid, I will now proceed to look at some of the influences at the time that would release and restrict the ministry of women.

Influences that Released Women's Ministry

A.A. Boddy—Facilitator of Women's Ministry

Boddy was a key figure in releasing women in ministry. He held a firm belief in the fulfilment of the last-days prophecy spoken of in the Bible where, 'Your sons and daughters shall prophesy, your young men shall see

visions and your old men shall dream dreams'.⁶¹ He endorsed a testimony by a Sister Garr, whom he met while in New York, who said,

The Lord has poured out his Spirit upon the WOMEN. The women are breaking the alabaster box at Jesus' feet. The old long-necked cruse only dropped a drop at a time of the precious ointment. Mary wanted to break it, for she wanted the Lord to be generously supplied. Pentecost has cut many loose and given him all that they have and are, to pour out ungrudgingly and unstintingly.⁶²

Boddy always spoke affectionately of his wife, and his obvious pride shines through the comments he made about her. As we have seen, he gave equal room for her ministry and had no problem with the laying on of her hands for both men and women to receive the Holy Spirit and divine healing. Significantly the only book Boddy wrote was entitled *The Laying On of Hands* in 1895. He encouraged many other women to preach, speak and teach at all the Sunderland Conventions, their addresses frequently being printed in *Confidence*. Letters from women missionaries are printed in every edition, and books and tracts by women are promoted and articles reproduced. Maria Woodworth-Etter and Carrie Judd Montgomery were given high profile features in *Confidence* and appeared as 'cover girls'.⁶³

He had been involved in the Holiness and Keswick Movements where women had prominent ministry roles and had been influenced by the radical views of J.B. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, regarding primitive Christian ministry. He was fortunate too that his own Bishop, Handley G. Moule, allowed him the freedom to be experimental. William Kay in his book, *Inside Story*,⁶⁴ describes Boddy as a man of curiosity, daring and energy, who was impulsive and willing to take on challenges, as well as being committed to spiritual life and progress. He had travelled widely and been to places where the Spirit of God was moving. He had visited the Welsh Revival in 1904–1905, Barratt's church in Christiana, Norway in March 1907, Azusa Street, Los Angeles in 1912, and *Confidence*, February 1912, records his visit to Zion City. He was also a member of the Royal Geographical Society. Kay writes, 'Boddy was a pastor, and it was the breadth of his pastoral sympathies that made him prefer to put human relationships before doctrinal controversy'. This is evident in the report of the debate regarding women's ministry where he makes two supportive

61. *Confidence*, August 1910, p. 193.

62. *Confidence*, July 1909, p. 140.

63. *Confidence*, February 1913, December 1914.

64. William Kay, *Inside Story* (Mattersey: Mattersey Hall Publishing, 1990), p. 24.

comments and plays down any controversy in his closing remarks. In *Confidence*, two issues after this debate took place, we still see his wife teaching authoritatively in her editorial and having her sermons printed, giving her prophetic views on the First World War.⁶⁵ Without such a charismatic figure as Boddy leading the Pentecostal Movement in its early years in Britain, one wonders whether women would have had such freedom. His open-mindedness had initiated the friendship with Barratt, whose wife Laura was one of the leaders in his church, other women also being part of his leadership group. He had also seen first hand the involvement of women in the ministry at Azusa. I believe that he would have seen himself as ‘head of the house’, yet in all other respects he saw authority in ministry determined not by gender, but by the gifting and anointing of the Holy Spirit working through individuals.

Pentecostalism—An Egalitarian Movement

Central to the Pentecostal message is the priesthood (1 Pet. 2.5-9) and the prophethood of all believers (Num. 11.27-29; Joel 2.28-32 and Acts 2.16-20) as illustrated on the day of Pentecost. In this respect, gender equality was an essential characteristic of the church at the beginning. Paul endorsed this in Gal. 3.28, removing hierarchical distinctives. Hyatt comments in her book, *In the Spirit We’re Equal*, that ‘During the first decade of the Pentecostal revival, a unique blend of theological forces converged, producing a rare time of equality for women’.⁶⁶ This was said regarding the American scene, but it was equally true for Britain. The following quote captures the sentiments of the promise for Pentecostal women,

As the Holy Ghost takes sway and control, women rise in place, position and power... In those days of promise, these ‘latter days’, there is an overturning, an awakening, an enlargement of vision. Women under the anointing of the Holy Ghost, as he is the great emancipator, and blessed equalizer, and as he controls, he brings equality to the sexes.⁶⁷

Since Pentecostalism in Britain can be traced back to the Pentecostal Revival in America, which was birthed in Parham’s Bethel Bible College in 1900, it is worth noting Parham’s egalitarian stance towards women’s

65. *Confidence*, September 1914, p. 167.

66. Hyatt, *In the Spirit*, p. 191.

67. Edith Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), p. 171. Blumhofer is quoting Stephen Marrit from New York, who travelled widely at the turn of the century ‘addressing gatherings of believers yearning for “the higher life”’.

ministry as a result of his Quaker background as well as Wesley Methodist and Holiness teachings. Pentecostal historian, Blumhofer writes,

Some recalled meetings that resembled early Quaker gatherings: Whether a man or a woman preached made no difference; the speaker, male or female, was the Spirit's choice and essentially the Spirit's channel. The anointing, then, validated the message.⁶⁸

The revival in the States came of age in Azusa Street in 1906 and Seymour, who was a catalyst, was mentored by Parham. Meetings were a visual aid of Gal. 3.28 just like the ones later recorded at Sunderland. Cox comments,

What seemed to impress—or disgust—visitors most, however, was not the interracial leadership, but the fact that blacks and whites, men and women, embraced each other at the tiny altar as they wept and prayed.⁶⁹

Boddy tells of his visit to Azusa Street, which surely must have made an impact on him. As he entered the church, 'Mrs Seymour was leading the hymn singing and giving exhortations between. The assembly went into prayer and she led very earnestly as one who knew God.'⁷⁰ There is also a connection between Margaret and Harry Cantel with John Alexander Dowie's Zion City. Dowie offered women public roles in his organization and was favourable towards women's ministries. One can only assume that Dowie's views would have influenced early British Pentecostals, especially those associated with the Cantels who were regarded as the first Pentecostal leaders in England.⁷¹ After her husband's death in 1910, Margaret continued to lead the expanding work and many outstanding leaders such as Wigglesworth and Donald Gee attended her prayer meetings.

Pentecostalism—A Revival Movement

Revivals have historically been vehicles through which women have discovered new avenues of Christian service. Spiritual awakenings brought the principle of the prophethood and priesthood of believers into actual practice. I offer an outline giving reasons for this which apply to Pentecostalism in Britain during the early years.⁷² Pentecostalism was a 'revival with

68. Edith Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God—A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism, Volume 1 to 1914* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), p. 357.

69. Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven* (London, Cassell, 1996), p. 58.

70. *Confidence*, November 1912, pp. 244-45.

71. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 5

72. Richard M. Riss, 'Role of Women', in S.M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee (eds.),

a difference'. It was believed to be the time of the 'latter rain', with an expectation of Christ's return being imminent. The Pentecostal outpouring was seen as the Holy Spirit's equipping of the church for the task of world evangelization, and tongues became an accepted preparation for missionary service. There was a sense of extreme urgency, and all available personnel were to be mobilized immediately, men or women, clergy or laity, formally educated or not. This led to a tremendous emphasis on evangelism and mission, and the urgency of the message enabled women to serve as evangelists, pastors, teachers, editors, authors and missionaries. In revivals, authority is grounded more on experience than on educational or ecclesiastical qualifications, and formal ordination begins to pale in significance compared to the evidence of the anointing of the Holy Spirit on an individual. Lastly, great stress is laid on the experience of a divine call, which, in the case of Pentecostals, is sometimes discovered through the exercise of spiritual gifts.

Influences that Restricted Women's Ministry

Traditional Views

In the early years, Pentecostalism in Britain was contained within the Church of England, Boddy being an ordained clergyman and Polhill, a lay leader. In this tradition only the ordained clergy, always male, could perform certain priestly functions within the church, and the levels of participation of the laity varied in different parishes. We have seen that Boddy felt free to be experimental in his views and practices, but Polhill, although allowing women to minister at Sion College and the London Conventions, did so with certain reservations. He seems to have steered a course between liberty and order, and the need to exercise control as was seen when in 1910 he closed his meetings when he went to China.⁷³ Although Polhill was present at the 1913 Convention,⁷⁴ he was not reported to have taken part in the discussion on women's ministry. However two letters that he wrote to the secretary of the PMU, Mr Mundell, give us an indication of his views.⁷⁵ Although written in 1921, he says that these are views that he

The Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998), pp. 893-98 (898).

73. Peter Hocken, 'Cecil Polhill—Pentecostal Layman', *Pneuma* 10.2, 1988, p. 124.

74. Kay, *Inside Story*, p. 37.

75. Personal letters written to Mr Mundell by Cecil Polhill on 8 February and 25 July 1921 from his address at 10, York Terrace, Regents Park, London NW1. These

has always held. The first letter, dated 8 February 1921 is about members who are to be invited to serve on the PMU council. He writes, 'The CIM have mostly men on their Council' and he says that he wants to make it clear that 'what we need is the help of men who can give frequent attendance'. In the second letter dated 25 July 1921 he is far more explicit. He is writing regarding the practice of praying for people to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit and says,

The only instance Scripture gives of the laying on of hands for the baptism, was by elders, and there is no instances of women having done so. With us the custom is for the *venuit tyro*⁷⁶ in faith and practice, to do so, including quite young girls. I have always thought there was something wrong here (Polhill's underlining).

Polhill believed that any position of authority had to be held by a man. This was not only the authority invested in the office of an elder, but he also brings into question charismatic authority, where gifting is imparted through the laying on of hands, even when women pray for women. This is more in line with his Anglican background, where this practice was seen as a priestly function, than what was common among Pentecostals. Also present at the discussion on women's place in the church was Thomas Myerscough, who was from a Brethren background where women held no positions of authority, neither were they permitted to minister publicly. His views had probably been modified since becoming part of the Pentecostal Movement, but his comment suggests that he still believes that authority was a male prerogative, even when it came to gift ministries, since he does not believe a woman should teach a man.

*Pentecostalism—A Restorationist Movement*⁷⁷

The 1913 Sunderland Convention addressed itself to 'The Task of the Pentecostal Movement' and to 'The Conditions of Apostolic Revival'. Pastor Paul was one of the main contributors regarding teaching on the

and other of his original letters are in the archives at the Donald Gee Centre, Mattersey Hall, Mattersey, UK.

76. This phrase is not in common usage but would seem to mean any person who had just come in to the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, *venuit* being from the Latin 'to come' and *tyro*, a recruit or beginner.

77. The understanding of the term 'Restoration' among the early Pentecostals is to be differentiated from the use of the term in the Restoration movement of the late twentieth century whose focus was on the kingdom of God spreading and increasing before the coming of Christ.

movement's task to restore the Apostolic Faith, especially the spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12) and Eph. 4 gift ministries.⁷⁸ This is not without significance, since it is this very teaching which can also form a theological basis for restricting the ministry of women. It was the next year that Pastor Paul seemed to be the instigator of the discussion on the ministry of women and to express his restorationist views. Like the Holiness movements before them, Pentecostals in the early days placed all the emphasis on the Pentecost event and the equality of the sexes before God and left the traditional interpretation of passages about women alone. Dayton explains that 'the experience of Pentecost leads quickly to the claim to have restored the "apostolic faith"'⁷⁹ and with this, the gifts and practices of New Testament Christianity. This teaching was disseminated in the magazine *Apostolic Faith* which was sent out from Azusa Street, and, as early as 1908, it records William Seymour narrowing the sphere of women's ministry. He acknowledges that 'the anointing oil was poured out upon women at Pentecost' but also says that, 'no woman having the Spirit of Jesus wants to usurp authority over the man'.⁸⁰ Blumhofer cites the dilemma this posed regarding the ministry of women.

Early Pentecostals took metaphors such as 'latter rain' with restorationist seriousness and thus challenged the accepted practices and traditions, including appropriate roles for women. On the other hand, restorationists noticed the apparently overwhelming preponderance of texts that narrowed woman's spheres. The liberationist and the patriarchal exegesis, then, were rooted in ambiguities in the restorationist reading of scripture, for taking everything in the New Testament literally gives us both daughters speaking their visions and woman keeping silent.⁸¹

Blumhofer believes that 'since many Pentecostals read the Bible as restorationists rather than as Holiness people, they frequently asserted, even in the earliest phase of their history, a New Testament warrant for regulating women's participation'.⁸²

In 1909, W.F. Carothers, a committed restorationist who had begun to work closely with Parham, described the relationship between men and women 'as it should exist', with reference to government and work of the

78. *Confidence*, June 1913, p. 115.

79. Dayton, *Theological Roots*, p. 26.

80. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, pp. 171-72.

81. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, p. 176.

82. Blumhofer, *American Pentecostalism*, p. 15.

church.⁸³ He introduced his discussion with nine verses dealing with a woman's submission to men, their silence in church and in respect of male headship. His views were almost identical to those expressed by Pastor Paul. His argument was rooted in creation, that as man was made in the image and likeness of God, it was his prerogative to rule, and that distinctions in roles were ordained by God. He said that women were by nature weaker than men, and regarding Gal. 3.28, he said that 'a woman is as truly a Christian in her place as the man is in his place'. The Bible, he believed, precluded women from exercising authority over men or teaching men. He admitted their right to prophesy, understanding this as 'preaching under direct inspiration from the Holy Spirit'. However, his views went further than any of the British leaders expressed, but I include them, and those of others, to show what was being said at the time and no doubt influencing opinion on women's ministry in Britain. Regarding prophecy, Carothers believed that the person simply 'functioned as a channel, and since the intellect was not involved, a woman would exercise no authority'. If a woman felt called to be the pastor of a congregation, 'testing such a call would be a waste of time since claims of calling could not supercede Scripture'. In 1914, the Assemblies of God in America was formed, and one of the main influences on policy regarding women's ministry was E.N. Bell. He could not deny the overall contribution of women but 'believed that those who had established themselves as pastors had no biblical warrant for their office'.⁸⁴ Women were to be helpers and hold no office where they had authority over a man, no matter what a woman's 'charismatic enduement'. He viewed Gal. 3.28 as meaning that only in salvation are the lines of sex blotted out and that 1 Tim. 2.11-15 affirmed women in subjection to men. In 1916, it was recorded that he perceived ministering women as substitutes for 'men who failed God'.⁸⁵ Frank Bartleman, who was responsible for the wide reporting from Azusa Street in 1906, spent several years in Britain with his family visiting Pentecostal centres,⁸⁶ especially Sunderland. He was very outspoken in his views regarding women and believed 'that women should accept their role in the home as God's call'.⁸⁷ It was evident that society's views regarding women influenced Pentecostal thinking. Even A.J. Gordon, who encouraged all opportunities for women 'within their

83. Blumhofer, *American Pentecostalism*, pp. 358-61.

84. Blumhofer, *American Pentecostalism*, pp. 206-207.

85. Blumhofer, *American Pentecostalism*, pp. 364-65.

86. *Confidence*, August 1910, p. 185.

87. Blumhofer, *American Pentecostalism*, p. 366.

true spheres', believed that a woman's proper place was dictated both 'by her nature' and 'her distinct place in the social economy'. Women in his view 'were not adapted to leadership'.⁸⁸ It seems that restorationist teaching was one of the main influences that marked the demise of women's ministry. Pentecostal eschatology did not encourage a body of literature on the rights of women to preach, in comparison with the Holiness tracts and books that were written on the subject. Again, Blumhofer points out, in early Pentecostalism, 'basic points were never discussed, they were assumed'.⁸⁹ This was the case in Britain as well as America where those from existing denominations brought their established biases into the movement. By the time restorationist teaching was taking hold in Britain, the country was embroiled in the First World War at the end of which Pentecostalism was heading towards becoming a denomination.

Decline of Revival

Just as women rise to prominence in revival situations, with the decline of revivals the converse is true. Signs of institutionalism mark the decline of revival. Regarding the Pentecostal revival, Gee calls 1907 to 1914, 'the initial period'.⁹⁰ At first there was no organizational link in the Pentecostal Movement, although the Sunderland Conventions provided a focus. As early as 1908, warnings appeared in *Confidence* regarding 'veiled women' who were likely to visit Britain.⁹¹ Boddy said that they were self-opinionated and were used by the enemy to bring in division, fleshly methods and sad results. This warning is reminiscent of that in 1 Tim. 2.12. In 1912, there was the formation of the International Pentecostal Advisory Council. Kay comments that 'it is clear that the Sunderland Conventions were beginning to act with charismatic authority to stem potential abuses'.⁹² Examples of this included warnings against 'soulsh experiences' or 'fleshly demonstrations',⁹³ teachings against marriage⁹⁴ and against 'spurious literature' and 'putting private revelation on a par with Scripture'.⁹⁵ The Advisory Council met in 1913 and dealt with the attack made on Pentecostalism by

88. Blumhofer, *American Pentecostalism*, pp. 362-63.

89. Blumhofer, *American Pentecostalism*, p. 371.

90. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 108.

91. *Confidence*, December 1908, p. 13.

92. Kay, *Inside Story*, p. 32.

93. *Confidence*, December 1912, p. 277.

94. *Confidence*, July 1913, p. 135.

95. *Confidence*, June 1914, pp.108-109.

Jessie Penn Lewis in her book 'War on the Saints'.⁹⁶ Like the PMU Executive Council, the Advisory Council members were all men.⁹⁷ The decline of revival is also marked by a decreased sense of urgency regarding mission. In the initial stages of the movement, mission was seen as an urgent task, and women were essential not only in spreading the gospel but also the Pentecostal message. When Christ did not return, concerns began to change. In addressing the questions of the 'Task of the Pentecostal Movement' and 'The Conditions of Apostolic Revival',⁹⁸ the conclusions reached at the Sunderland Convention in 1913 were that the first tasks of the Pentecostal Movement were within the church and then in the realm of evangelism.⁹⁹ Thus followed the discussion on the place of women in the church. New concerns were now being raised and new questions became relevant as to how the movement was to be established and perpetuated. In early Pentecostalism servanthood, rather than authority, was the focal point of ministry. The manner in which services were conducted suggested that the Holy Spirit chose whomever he wanted to serve the body of believers. It was originally a lay movement, and the 'sense that God had called one to a specific task was infinitely more important than gaining human authorization to perform the task...The anointing validated the message and the messenger.'¹⁰⁰ Benvenuti suggests that 'the idea of authority entering into the debate was a direct reversal of the position taken by early pioneers'.¹⁰¹ I will be giving some sociological insights below, but Barfoot and Shepherd distinguish between 'prophetic' and 'priestly' stages of Pentecostalism's history and comment that as 'priestly Pentecostalism began its ascent, a reaction quickly set in "against the movement's prophesying daughters"'.¹⁰² The reaction was to place the entire issue of women's ministry on the question of authority, that is should women in ministry have positions in authority over men.

96. *Confidence*, July 1913, pp.135-36.

97. *Confidence*, June 1913, p. 111.

98. *Confidence*, April 1913, p. 74.

99. Kay, *Inside Story*, p. 33.

100. Blumhofer, *American Pentecostalism*, p. 357.

101. Sherilyn Benvenuti, 'Anointed, Gifted and Called: Pentecostal Women in Ministry', *Pneuma* 17.2, 1991, pp. 229-35 (321).

102. Margaret Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads—Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1989), pp. 102-103.

Sociological and Psychological Insights

According to Poloma, *charisma* is the social-psychological key that best assesses the Pentecostal outpouring of the twentieth century.¹⁰³ The ‘charismatic moment’ for Pentecostalism in Britain was between 1907–1914, where its prophetic stance equalized women’s ministry, and institutionalized forces had not yet completely replaced charisma as the driving force. Sociologist, Max Weber, notes the ‘great receptivity to women to all religious prophecy’ and the ‘completely unconstrained relationship with women [which is] maintained by practically all prophets [including Christ]’. Rodney Stark, in his sociological attempt to reconstruct the role of women in the rise of Christianity notes the greater responsiveness of women and the high status which they were given in relation to the surrounding pagan culture. We see this pattern in their embracing of the Pentecostal message and their prominence in ministry. However, Weber proposed that,

Only in very rare cases does this practice continue beyond the first stage of a religious community’s formation, when the pneumatic manifestations of charisma are valued as hallmarks of specifically religious exultation. Thereafter as routinization and regimentation of community relationships set in, a reaction takes place against pneumatic manifestations among women, which come to be regarded as dishonourable.

Poloma concludes that institutionalism ‘mutes the prophetic message’ found in Acts 2.17-18, and with this there is a disjunction between male and female roles, with the male culture taking on the ascendancy. There comes a concern again for social respectability resulting in an accommodation to culture. Although this was a time when women were finding greater social freedom and suffragettes were pressing for political power, social roles for males and females were well defined and distinct. Pentecostalism was a ‘gap closer’ in regard to gender roles. The argument was also given that women are more emotionally inclined and therefore gravitate to ecstatic religious movements. Taking other psychological factors into account, it has been said that in the early stages of Pentecostalism the prominence of women was due to their innate intuitiveness and ready response to the Holy Spirit, as opposed to the cognitive element in the male psyche which was more suited to institutionalized forms.

103. Margaret Poloma, ‘Charisma, Institutionalization and Social Change’, *Pneuma* 17, 1995, pp. 245-52.

Conclusion

In early Pentecostalism's 'charismatic moment' it is evident that women ministered according to their 'call', 'gifting' and 'anointing', not their gender. Early Pentecostals felt they were living in exceptional times, and men accepted the 'special calls that God, in his sovereignty, may give to women under exceptional circumstances'.¹⁰⁴ The prophetic nature of ministry took precedence over the need to worry over more restrictive biblical verses. Pentecostal women did not in general defend their ministries as the Holiness women before them. It seems that within the early years of Pentecostalism in Britain there was no common theology regarding women's ministry. Women operated within existing structures, albeit with a freedom that the baptism in the Holy Spirit brought about. Perhaps the one prominent woman of the early twentieth century in Britain, whose theological writings could have given women's ministry a firm biblical foundation, was Jessie Penn Lewis. However her reaction against Pentecostalism negated her chance to have any positive influence in the emerging movement. In evaluating the contribution of women's ministry generally in the Pentecostal movement, Harvey Cox comments, 'Wherever the original Pentecostal fire breaks through the flame extinguishing literalist theology, women shine'.¹⁰⁵

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, nearly 100 years after the Pentecostal revival, we need not merely celebrate the past but in looking to the future, learn from the mistakes our forefathers (or should I say 'foremothers') made. I believe that along with 'Pentecostal fire' there needs to be a sound theological base on which women exercise their ministry. Women need to minister with confidence *because of*, not *in spite of*, a biblical foundation. God still calls and anoints women, but they need to be empowered by both the Spirit and the Word. I agree with Susan Hyatt who says,

If the Spirit and the Bible agree, it should be possible to harmonize the two without tampering with the text or without manipulating the meaning intended by the author. We need a fresh look, laying aside pre-suppositions and traditions allowing the Holy Spirit, the source of Truth to lead us into all truth (Jn 15.26, 16.12).¹⁰⁶

104. Ruth Tucker and Walter Liefeld, *Daughters of the Church: Women in Ministry from the New Testament to the Present Times* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987), p. 364.

105. Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, p. 125.

106. Hyatt, *In the Spirit*, p. 233.

I believe that this is a key signpost to point us to the future.

In her article, 'Anointed, Gifted and Called—Pentecostal Women in Ministry', Benvenuti says that the 'problem passages need to be wrestled through using all of the academic tools available'.¹⁰⁷ She continues,

Pentecostals are developing a hermeneutic which is more in line with Pentecostal experience. Hopefully within this new hermeneutical context, women will become more assured in their calling to ministry, more assured in their giftings by the Holy Spirit and more appreciative of who they are biblically and historically through the process of education.

Janet Everts Powers addresses this question and provides an example of a Pentecostal hermeneutic to empower women in her contribution, 'Your Daughters Shall Prophesy'.¹⁰⁸ As many church structures become more flexible and organic, this allows for the development of charismatic ministry and leadership based on gifting rather than gender. This would offset the sociological polarization of charismatic and institutional forms and structures which result in the decline of women's ministry. In my opinion women's ministry should not be seen merely as an exceptional measure for exceptional times and circumstances but bedded in a theology where Word and Spirit operate in harmony to give a strong foundation to a new generation of women in ministry. The challenge, then, is for twenty-first-century women to be role models who will disciple and mentor young women in theology and ministry in order to enable them to pursue their God-given gifts and calling so that their contribution to the twenty-first century may be as crucial as at the beginning of the first and twentieth centuries.

107. Benvenuti, 'Anointed, Gifted and Called', pp. 232, 285.

108. Janet Everts Powers, 'Your Daughters Shall Prophesy', in Murray Dempster, Klaus Byron and Douglas Petersen (eds.), *The Globalization of Pentecostalism* (Oxford: Regnam, 1999), pp. 324-33.

THE PROTO-GENESIS OF THE MARCH FOR JESUS MOVEMENT, 1970–87

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ABSTRACT

March for Jesus emerged out of the charismatic and evangelical milieu of the UK in the 1980s. Its defining feature was the organization and conduct of street processions incorporating elements of praise and worship, witness and spiritual warfare. The movement is noteworthy for its sudden emergence and extraordinary initial growth, its rapid evolution into a global phenomenon, and its deliberate and planned cessation in 2000. March for Jesus also exhibits important features of charismatic spirituality and merits study as a possible example of a developing global charismatic culture. This analysis offers an introductory overview of the movement as a whole and then identifies five factors that contributed significantly to the initial formation and growth of the movement between 1970 and 1987.

In the mid-1990s three books were published that drew attention to the phenomenon of a burgeoning movement of charismatic Christian spirituality that was exhibiting global dimensions. Anthropologist Karla Poewe edited and published a series of articles in 1994 under the title *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*,¹ a study in which Poewe and her contributors explore the emerging features of a newly emerging global religious culture. A year later, journalist Ian Cotton's *The Hallelujah Revolution*:

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1. Karla Poewe (ed.), *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture* (Studies in Comparative Religion; Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994).

*The Rise of the New Christians*² drew attention to what Cotton characterized as a new, liberal, left of center and socially active form of conservative evangelical Christianity with roots in the UK but that was also finding significant sympathy in the US. That same year theologian Harvey Cox published *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century*.³ Cox details his first-hand and sympathetic examination of Pentecostalism and analyses what he describes as a recovery of 'primal spirituality', again, on a global scale. In her introduction, Poewe offers a description of charismatic Christian spirituality that is substantially consistent with the findings of Cox and Cotton:

Charismatic Christianity reverses emphases that we have long taken for granted: the centrality of the rational, of calculated doing, of articulate verbal skills, of doctrine, and of things Western. It does not deny nor reject these things. Rather it comes to *them* in unexpected ways. A charismatic Christian comes from the nonrational to the rational, from happening to doing, from experience to talk, from sign to metaphor, from spiritual gifts to utility, from receptiveness to action, from demonstration to theology, from indigenization to globalization.⁴

This description is also a fair characterization of March for Jesus, a movement that Cotton puts forward as a significant example of what he calls the new 'Countercultural Christians'.⁵ All three of these writers, and the March for Jesus movement itself, point to a form of growing and globalizing Christianity that appears to stand in relative discontinuity with historic, denominational Christianity, although not necessarily in opposition to it.

The analysis to follow provides an account of a number of factors that made March for Jesus (MFJ) possible and that proved to be instrumental in its extraordinary development and growth. The discussion will address selected developments in the UK in the 1970s and 1980s up to 1987 when the first event later known as March for Jesus occurred. A detailed analysis of the actual formation and early development of MFJ, however, is left aside for a separate treatment. Before addressing the proto-genesis of the

2. Ian Cotton, *The Hallelujah Christians: The Rise of the New Christians* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1996; [London: Little, Brown, 1995]).

3. 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).

4. Karla Poewe, 'Introduction: The Nature, Globality, and History of Charismatic Christianity', in *Charismatic Christianity*, p. 12; emphasis in the original.

5. Cotton, *Hallelujah Christians*, p. xi.

MFJ movement, it will be helpful to sketch a brief description of the phenomenon.

The March for Jesus Movement in Outline

On 10 July, 2000, an estimated 7 million people marched for Jesus in thousands of communities around the globe.⁶ This event was the climax and the conclusion of a movement that began in 1987 when 15,000 people marched through the City of London under the banner 'The City March: Prayer and Praise for London'.⁷ In the 13 intervening years, the March for Jesus movement grew from a local, one-time initiative to an annual global phenomenon. Between 1992, when the March for Jesus officially became Global March for Jesus, and July 2000, almost 60 million people are reported to have been mobilized to sing, dance and pray as they walked together through the streets of their cities, towns and villages.⁸

March for Jesus began as a localized public event consisting of people processing through the streets of London to bring a public witness to the Christian faith while praying for the city's major public institutions. It was initiated and executed by a loosely organized group of leaders who were in association with one another because of their common interest and activity in Christian mission, outreach and community development. These leaders, four in number, each represented their own agencies of Christian ministry. The character and goals of these ministries are to a large extent reflected in the features exhibited by MFJ as its development unfolded.⁹

6. Steve Clifford, (chairman), *Jesus Day Global Report July 2000* (Surrey, UK: March for Jesus; Atlanta, GA: March for Jesus Americas, [2000]), p. 1.

7. Graham Kendrick, Gerald Coates, Roger Forster and Lynn Green with Catherine Butcher, *March for Jesus: The How and Why of Public Praise – The Official Story* (Eastbourne, UK: Kingsway Publications, 1992), pp. 29, 34. The number of marchers was estimated by police.

8. *Jesus Day Global Report July 2000*.

9. At the time of writing the ministries of the London group of four were still continuing. Interested readers may be able to gain a general impression of the nature of these agencies by checking the following internet websites downloaded on February 14, 2003: Roger Forster, Ichthus Christian Fellowship—<http://www.ichthus.org.uk>; Gerald Coates, Pioneer Trust—<http://www.pioneer.org.uk>; Lynn Green, Youth With A Mission—<http://www.ywam.org>; Graham Kendrick, Make Way Music—<http://www.makewaymusic.com>. Lynn Green is no longer directly associated with Youth With A Mission and leads an organization named Reconciliation Walk working for reconciliation between Christians and Muslims. The Reconciliation Walk website is <http://www.reconciliationwalk.org>.

Roger Forster was the founder and leader of the Ichthus Christian Fellowship, a network of congregations originally centred in southeast London and concentrating on Christian witness and community development at grass roots level. Gerald Coates was the founder and leader of Cobham Christian Fellowship,¹⁰ an independent congregation that was developing into a leader among the 'New Churches' that had emerged from the Restorationist House Church Movement of the 1970s and 1980s. Lynn Green was the London-based leader of the ministries of Youth With A Mission (YWAM) in the United Kingdom and Europe. Youth With A Mission is a parachurch agency working at evangelism, discipleship training and what the agency calls 'mercy ministry'. Graham Kendrick, then a member of the Ichthus Fellowship, was the former musical director of British Youth for Christ, a popular musician and songwriter and the founder of Make Way Music, a venture experimenting with the potential of praise processions for Christian witness. All four of these leaders were intimately associated with the evangelical and charismatic stream of British Christianity.

In the 1980s Forster, Kendrick and Green had felt directed by God to engage in intensive prayer for the City of London that resulted in processions of prayer and praise. In 1982 Green and Youth With A Mission conducted a march in the Earl's Court area of London, and in 1986 Ichthus undertook a similar venture in Soho. Both of these events were seen as being instrumental in preparing the way for the establishment of a more permanent ministry in the area. On the heels of the Soho event a group within Ichthus began to envision the possibilities of a much larger festival of witness and praise taking place in the old City of London. As this vision was immediately confirmed and joined by the other three partners, the initiative developed into the 1987 City March. At the time of the City March no sequel was planned, but within months Coates and Forster had discussed the possibilities of another march, this time in Westminster, and Green and Kendrick

10. The Cobham Christian Fellowship was in the process of becoming the centre of a network of New Church congregations and was also known as Pioneer Trust, the name under which the organization was registered for tax purposes. In 1991 the Cobham group was renamed as Pioneer People. Brian Hewitt, *Doing a New Thing? Seven Leaders Reflect on the Past, Present and Future of the House Church Movement* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1995), p. 134. Because most of the primary literature documenting the MFJ movement began to be published after 1991, references to the Cobham Christian Fellowship are generally under the names 'Pioneer People' or 'Pioneer'. To avoid confusion, this convention will also be followed in this analysis.

readily agreed. With the successful conduct of a second march, then, in 1988, MFJ began to gather momentum.

Continuing in their conviction that God was leading them to expand the scope of these initial praise and prayer processions, the London group engaged a network of churches and agencies across the UK that had developed in the course of the British charismatic renewal and the New Church movement. The September 1989 event, now billed as a National March for Jesus, spread out from its London base to include 45 different towns and cities and approximately 200,000 participants.¹¹ By 1990 plans were being laid to expand the march across Europe in 1992.¹² Advance indications of such widening interest were already evident with published reports of marches held in imitation of the MFJ model in Brussels and in Austin, Texas in 1991.¹³ Later that same year reports of praise marches being held in Japan and in South Africa served notice of the potential for MFJ to become a global movement.¹⁴ In actuality, 1992 saw the official extension of MFJ not only to continental Europe but also to North America and Australia. The 1992 marches were not yet coordinated to occur on a single day, but between Easter and September MFJ reported that 250 local marches were conducted in the United Kingdom and that 740,000 marchers had taken to the streets in Europe, North America and Australia.¹⁵ The integration of such efforts into a truly ‘Global March for Jesus’ was set for 1994.

This vision was realized on 25 June, 1994, as MFJ reported some 10 million marchers in 1,500 towns and cities representing 171 nations spread around the globe in an unbroken sequence from time zone to time zone.¹⁶ With this, the sights of the now-global phenomenon were set on raising annual coordinated marches around the world in each year leading up to the end of the millennium in 2000. After the 10 June, 2000, event, it was

11. ‘Journalists and Jesus’, *Forward: The Magazine of March for Jesus* (New Year 1990), p. 5.

12. ‘Partners in Prayer—Prayer Action Guide’, *Forward: The Magazine of March for Jesus* (New Year 1991), p. 15.

13. ‘In Brief: News of Christians Taking Action’, *Forward: The Magazine of March for Jesus* (Spring 1991), p. 10.

14. ‘In Brief: News of Christians Taking Action’, *Forward: The Magazine of March for Jesus* (Autumn 1991), p. 14.

15. *Joining Hands across the Nations, 12 June 1993, Prayer Guide and Song Book* (Middlesex, UK: March for Jesus), p. 3.

16. *A Day to Change the World: Global March Report* (Middlesex, UK: Global March for Jesus; Austin, TX: March for Jesus Americas, [1994]), p. 2.

reported that an estimated 7 million marchers had taken up the March for Jesus banner worldwide to celebrate Jesus Day.¹⁷ In the same official report that detailed the success of the long-anticipated Jesus Day 2000, it was also announced that, ‘the Founders of March for Jesus, based in the UK, believe that it is time to give this movement to the existing and local co-ordinating groups’.¹⁸ In the judgment of the original four, Coates, Forster, Green and Kendrick, Global March for Jesus had run its course. The future of the praise procession movement now lay in the hands of the massive network of local and national organizations that had been gathered together over the previous 13 years.

The skeleton narrative supplied above has outlined the chronological and geographical context of the MFJ. The significant features of the movement, however, are to be discerned in its roots and in the course of its development. In a 1992 publication, *March for Jesus: The How and Why of Public Praise – The Official Story*, the founders of MFJ begin with a brief account of the beginning of the Movement:

March for Jesus did not start in a committee room with church leaders trying to find a new way to mobilise the church. It started spontaneously as four friends were prompted to lead believers out onto the streets. The four were not part of the traditional denominations, yet many people from every section of the Christian community, in different countries of the world, have responded with enthusiasm.

March for Jesus emerged in the UK out of earnest prayer. The Ichthus Christian Fellowship, Youth With A Mission (UK) and the Pioneer Trust were mobilised by the fact that evangelism was not bearing fruit in England to the same extent as in other parts of the globe. Meanwhile worship pioneer Graham Kendrick was at the forefront of a movement that simply brought worshippers out of their church buildings, whatever the consequences may be, evangelistic or otherwise. As they prayed and responded to what they felt God was asking them to do, they found that their evangelism began to bear fruit. When they asked ‘Why? What elements combined to make this more effective?’ they discovered that marching and praying were two of the common factors. And when the leaders of these groups realised that they were finding the same answer, the movement now known as March for Jesus was born.

It began as the leaders of these three groups and Graham Kendrick brought their ministries together in response to what God seemed to be doing. As the years have gone on their cooperation has developed as a simple principle is

17. Clifford, *Jesus Day Global Report July 2000*, p. 1.

18. Clifford, *Jesus Day Global Report July 2000*, p. 10.

put into practice; they listen to God, watch what is happening in the world and devote their energies to what God seems to be blessing.

March for Jesus has never had, nor has now, a hidden agenda which stretches far into the future. The four: Roger Forster, Gerald Coates, Lynn Green and Graham Kendrick want to see God's kingdom come in Britain and to the ends of the earth. Together with others they have sought God and have been open to listen to his directions. They see themselves as the custodians of a vision that God is revealing. God writes the agenda. They seek to respond, continually giving away that vision and watching to see what God does next.¹⁹

This thumbnail sketch of the genesis of MFJ points to some of the basic features of the movement itself.

March for Jesus began as a short-term and local initiative from within an unstructured and informal matrix of personal friendships representing like-minded Christian ministries. In its beginning and also over the course of its growth and development, MFJ was never intended to become an independent and established parachurch institution. No permanent headquarters were established. Initially, administrative operations were conducted in private homes, then in short-term rental facilities and finally in some shared office space in the headquarters of Pioneer People, the network of congregations led by Gerald Coates. Virtually all of the time and the labour expended by and for MFJ were supplied by volunteers. People already working for organizations sympathetic to the goals and program of MFJ lent themselves to its support. By 1990, their efforts were coordinated by a part-time office administrator, Erica Youngman. Throughout its course the leadership of the movement considered MFJ to be something that was unfolding under divine initiative and direction; their responsibility as leaders was to discern God's will in respect to the movement and act in concert with that will.

The spiritual ethos within which MFJ was born was consistent with this self-understanding. MFJ emerged from a disciplined spirituality that placed first importance on prayer and on a confidence that Christians could and should be able to discern God's will in terms of immediate and concrete responses to local and present circumstances. Furthermore, being granted such revelation of God's will brought with it the pressing requirement that those entrusted with such revelation must act on it in obedience to God's will. This means that MFJ was not developed out of a clearly discerned plan of action laid out in advance. Rather, in the minds of its organizers, the

19. Kendrick, *et al.*, *March for Jesus*, pp. 7, 8.

work was a step-by-step response to ongoing divine leadership. The leaders did not consider it necessary to know or to understand why they were being led to craft the early marches as they were, or where the future of the movement might lead. In time, accumulated experience produced a more clearly articulated theological and practical rationale for the conduct and character of the praise processions, but prayer, revelation and obedience to that revelation were the clear precursors to such understanding.

A third feature of the genesis of MFJ is that it emerged from a churchly milieu that was outside the historic denominational mainstream of British Christianity. Both Roger Forster of the Ichthus Christian Fellowship and Gerald Coates of the Pioneer People had come out of that stream of the British charismatic renewal movement of the 1960s and 70s that had developed apart from the historic denominations. The House Church Movement, as a large portion of this extra-denominational element was often called, had by the 1980s become more affirming of the mainstream and more prepared to make common cause with churches and individuals who could be found under the umbrella of organizations such as the Evangelical Alliance.²⁰ Lynn Green of YWAM was likewise from within the larger and global charismatic movement. YWAM too was separate from, but allied with, other evangelical and charismatic expressions of Christianity both inside and outside the denominational mainstream. Ichthus member Graham Kendrick was first a free-lance Christian musician, then a worship leader for Youth for Christ and next a regular worship leader at Spring Harvest, an annual Easter festival sponsored by the Evangelical Alliance. Kendrick was also equally at home in the historic denominations and in the New Church movement. Thus, all four of the primary MFJ directors shared a friendly and sincere openness to broadly based Christian alliances while

20. David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1989), pp. 231ff. The wing of the charismatic renewal that developed outside the historic denominations has been termed the House Church Movement by some and the New Church Movement by others. A significant segment of this movement has also been distinguished as the Restoration Movement. For detailed treatments see Andrew Walker's *Restoring the Kingdom: The Radical Christianity of the House Church Movement* (Guildford, UK: Eagle Publishing, 2nd edn, 1998); Cotton, *The Hallelujah Revolution* and Joyce V. Thurman, *New Wine-skins: A Study of the House Church Movement* (Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, 30; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1982). All three of these works provide extensive background on Roger Forster's Ichthus Christian Fellowship and Gerald Coate's Pioneer People.

remaining grounded in strong, community based, networks of churches that were independent of historic denominational allegiances.

A basic feature that characterized the early stages of the MFJ was that it was a limited and modest initiative addressing local concerns. This initiative grew out of a spirituality that reflected the background of the founders in the charismatic renewal. The identity and ethos of the MFJ had grown from that branch of the renewal that lay outside the stream of historic British churches but was nevertheless significantly involved in evangelism and social action at the local level, while also actively networking with the larger evangelical and denominational community.

Even the brief and cursory characterization being supplied here is evidence that MFJ exhibits congruence to Poewe's summary description of global charismatic culture.²¹ For example, the religious subculture out of which MFJ emerged and the ministry organizations that fostered the movement were grounded in a spirituality that practiced disciplined reliance on divine revelation, inspiration and vision. While a high level of efficient organization was applied to the implementation of these visions, the initial goals were not arrived at via linear rational analysis. This reflects Poewe's assertion that charismatic Christians come 'from the nonrational to the rational' and 'from receptiveness to action'.

Poewe's suggestion that charismatic Christians proceed 'from happening to doing' is directly reflected in the insistence of the four leaders that they were merely responding to what God was already doing in their immediate environments. Their decision to follow the vision of MFJ from a single happening to what became a global movement was, in their minds, merely the outcome of their disciplined intent to follow through in obedient response to how God had providentially worked in the preceding events. The same dynamic is seen in their exhibition of Poewe's point regarding proceeding 'from experience to talk'. MFJ developed by trial and error in a thoroughly entrepreneurial spirit. The articulation of the MFJ program in terms of systematic rationale and detailed description emerged only as such elements were needed for the dissemination of the movement to others or in defense of the movement in the face of controversy. The initial founding and formation of the movement was not on the basis of a formal prospectus worked out in advance.

As a final example, it is clear that MFJ and the agencies that sponsored it were rooted in grass roots and local ministries that attempted to serve

21. Poewe, 'The Nature, Globality, and History of Charismatic Christianity', p. 12; emphasis in the original.

people at street level. It was only in response to the needs and issues of local communities on the ground that these agencies engaged larger corporate entities or even formed larger corporate entities of their own. The history of MFJ strongly reflects Poewe's finding that in the emerging global charismatic culture, people prefer to move 'from indigenization to globalization'.

Having introduced the March for Jesus movement in terms of an outline of its development and a brief analysis of some of its seminal features, it remains to identify five factors lying in the movement's immediate historical background that helped create the milieu out of which MFJ emerged. These factors can also enhance our understanding of why the movement was so successful and why it took on some of the features it displayed.

*Significant Developments in the Proto-Genesis of the
March for Jesus Movement*

The planning for 'The City March: Prayer and Praise for London' began in October 1986, but the elements that contributed to the first march can be discerned much earlier. The unexpectedly large and enthusiastic participation in The City March and the subsequent exponential growth of March for Jesus were not the result of a long and carefully strategized advance publicity campaign, because no such effort was undertaken. There are five factors, however, that can help to account for the extraordinary and apparently sudden success of the MFJ movement. An event on 25 September, 1971, more than 15 years earlier, can serve as an instructive precursor to the MFJ.

The 'Festival of Light', September, 1971: Learning to Engage Social Issues

The March for Jesus movement insisted that it was not motivated by a desire to mount demonstrations of social protest.²² It was, however, determined to insert itself into the public domain with a clear representation of the kingdom of God.²³ MFJ leaders took for granted that such a presen-

22. *Renewal*, August 1988, p. 37.

23. This analysis employs the language of 'kingdom of God' rather than some current alternatives such as 'reign of God' or 'rule of God', because the author wishes to stay with terms of reference that are consistent with the theological self-understanding and language that are characteristic of those under discussion. In the usage of those associated with the March for Jesus no clear distinction is made between 'kingdom of God' and 'kingdom of Jesus'.

tation would necessarily carry with it explicit messages relevant to social and political structures and issues of social justice. Such deliberate engagement with the public arena had not always characterized evangelical and charismatic Christianity previously. The 1971 'Festival of Light' brought to light a newly developing willingness on the part of conservative British Christianity to venture into the public sphere in a manner designed to attract support to itself while presenting a clear message to a public and secular audience.

From Gerald Coates' discussion of this event, it is clear that the Festival of Light should be considered to stand in the lineage of the MFJ.²⁴ The Festival was conceived by Peter Hill, a missionary recently returned from India. Hill was on the fringe of a New Church leaders' prayer and fellowship group in London and later became a 'house church' leader himself. The initial impetus of the Festival, then, is related to the same circle that later gave rise to the MFJ. Upon his return to England, Hill had become distressed at what he considered to be signs of moral degeneration in the UK. He took his concerns to Malcolm Muggeridge and at Muggeridge's suggestion a huge festival was held. The cause giving rise to the festival was one that would attract the attention of New Church and conservative denominational Christians alike. Thus, according to Coates, some 30,000 gathered at Trafalgar Square and marched to Hyde Park for a rally where Muggeridge addressed the crowd. While Coates is careful to assert that the Festival of Light was not a house-church initiative, he also affirms the festival as a 'crusade for moral purity in the media and in private and public life'.²⁵ Coates also maintains that the festival stimulated a series of follow-up events in the form of Jesus rallies and area-wide gatherings. It is clear that the Festival of Light was a signal event in the constituency that would later produce and support the March for Jesus.

David Bebbington places the Festival of Light into a broader context and sees it as a culmination of a growing engagement with social and cultural issues by British conservative Evangelicals.²⁶ As evangelical dismay at the increase of pornography in the public media came increasingly into sharper focus, Christians also became mobilized around a more broadly defined social agenda. Leaders such as Muggeridge and Hill organized such widespread concern into a visible manifestation of their resistance to

24. G. Coates, *An Intelligent Fire* (Eastbourne, UK: Kingsway, 1991), pp. 82-83.

25. Coates, *An Intelligent Fire*, p. 83.

26. D. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1989), pp. 263-66.

moral decay. In fact, the festival at Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park was the climax of a countrywide demonstration. Hilltop beacon fires were lit across the landscape to warn of the pending moral collapse. Bebbington sees the phenomenon as a largely Evangelical event but not exclusively so. Attendees at a follow-up rally held 5 years later were 42% Anglican, 22% Baptist, 9% Pentecostal and charismatic house fellowships, 6% Evangelical or Free Evangelical Churches and 3% Brethren.²⁷ The Festival of Light points to the capacity of British Evangelicals, including the New Church Movement, to cooperate in a broadly based attempt to engage the British public agenda.

Andrew Walker considers the Festival of Light to be more closely tied to the House Church Movement. While the constituencies he sees represented at the 1971 event include a wide spectrum of ‘Catholics, evangelicals, charismatics and some right wing organizations and Establishment religious figures’, for the House Church Movement the Festival was ‘a battle cry against the “kingdom of this world” and its prince, Satan’.²⁸ Walker also suggests that the charismatic ethos of the House Churches came to dominate the rallies that sprang up in the wake of the Festival.²⁹ This observation is consistent with the opinion of David Tomlinson, a former House Church Movement leader. Tomlinson maintains that by the mid-1980s ‘the whole centre ground of [British] evangelicalism [had] become gradually charismaticized, adopting the style and ethos of the charismatic movement’.³⁰ It would appear that the ‘charismaticization’ of the evangelical mainstream noticed by Tomlinson was the culmination of a process that had been already observable 15 years earlier at the Festival.

Nigel Wright also sees the 1971 Festival of Light as a ‘pivotal moment’.³¹ Wright, a Baptist and a former participant and leader in the charismatic renewal, had remained apart from the Restorationist movement but continued to be engaged with the broader agenda of charismatic and Evangelical renewal. Writing in 1989, Wright observed a readiness of evangelical Christians to engage the public sphere:

27. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 270.

28. Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom*, pp. 68-69.

29. ‘Singing and speaking in tongues, free-wheeling worship, fingers pointing high to Jesus who is king, and cries of “hallelujah” and “amen” became a feature of the mass demonstrations’ (Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom*, p. 69).

30. D. Tomlinson, *The Post Evangelical* (London: Triangle, SPCK, 1995), p. 15.

31. Nigel G. Wright, *The Fair Face of Evil: Putting the Power of Darkness in its Place* (London: Marshall Morgan & Scott, 1989), p. 174.

The evangelical withdrawal from political and social engagement, which has more recently been seen as a major fault, was a direct outgrowth of the view that the root of all problems was the need for individual transformation. More recently we have been inclined to see that the changing of the individual must be accompanied by the transformation of the social context if we are to do justice to the gospel of the *kingdom* rather than simply one of personal salvation.³²

Looking back, Wright agreed that the Festival of Light signaled a new readiness of evangelical Christians to work for social transformation in addition to individual transformation and to address issues of social morality, social welfare and social justice. While affirming such social engagement, Wright also had misgivings:

It [the Festival of Light] was a heady occasion when Christians realized that they were not a tiny, insignificant minority but could muster large crowds of highly motivated individuals with relative ease. We had power after all and were going on the offensive. We were the church militant. At the same time, I could not help feeling then that we were in danger of playing the world at its own game. We were flexing our muscles in the same way we had seen others do of whom we disapproved.³³

Wright's reservations aside, it is clear that he agrees that 1971 marked a new rise of Evangelical activism in the United Kingdom. Moreover, Wright seems to see this new beginning as continuing to energize the Evangelical community into the late 1980s.

Examining the background context of the rise of the MFJ in the late 1980s, the 1971 Festival of Light seems to signal the emergence of several relevant developments. There was a rising spirit of engagement and activism among British Evangelicals, and furthermore, Evangelicals were not averse to demonstrating this new energy through events that gathered large numbers of highly vocal sympathizers ready to press their convictions in the public domain. Secondly, while this new spirit of engagement was shared broadly across the spectrum of denominational allegiances and the various streams of renewal, the ethos of such events coincided well with the exuberance and confidence characteristic of the charismatic stream and, more particularly, of the New Church Movement. Charismatic spirituality and worship, with their emphasis on verbal expression and witness, on a certain free-wheeling informality, and with their ready employment of media and forms of expression borrowed directly from the popular

32. Wright, *The Fair Face of Evil*; emphasis is in the original.

33. Wright, *The Fair Face of Evil*, pp. 174-75.

culture, seemed confident and eager to attempt bridging the gap between a post-Christian British public and the church. Furthermore, the social infrastructure of the charismatic renewal, and especially of the New Church Movement, that had been developing over the past two decades had become mature and effective. Leaders now in their middle years and with tested experience were networked across the UK in a web of relationships. This network lay largely outside formal denominational and institutional connections, but it was nonetheless effective because it was deliberately grounded on a conviction that Christian unity and common cause were fostered most effectively through common trust and friendship, won in the experience of shared worship and face-to-face informal fellowship. Such a network, grounded in trust but unencumbered by institutional process and deliberation, was capable of considerable flexibility and entrepreneurial initiative.

The Annual 'Spring Harvest' Festival: Learning to Worship and Work across Boundaries

A further factor that should be discerned in the background to The City March of 1987 can be represented by a second event with its own wide-ranging implications. This is the 1979 inauguration of Spring Harvest, an annual Easter celebration of worship. Spring Harvest enhanced the sense of common purpose and shared experience already in evidence at events such as the Festival of Light and did so on an annual basis. In the formation and ongoing program of Spring Harvest an informal social infrastructure of networked leaders and congregations was also formed. The bond shared by this informal community was regularly reinforced through annual gatherings of worship, celebration and teaching.

Spring Harvest was a weekend outdoor camping-festival oriented toward families.³⁴ It was begun by two people, Clive Calver, a Baptist minister and then the director of British Youth for Christ, and Peter Meadows, editor of *Buzz* magazine and communications secretary with the Evangelical Alliance. In its 1979 launch Spring Harvest attracted 2,700 attendees, and by the mid-eighties some 70,000 were participating annually.³⁵ The aim of Spring Harvest was to serve as an event to draw together charismatic Christians from the various denominations and from those not aligned with the

34. Spring Harvest is still ongoing, attracting some 60,000 participants to its annual Easter conference held in three regional locations on three different dates in April. Information taken from <http://www.springharvest.org/>; Internet; accessed 28 February 2003.

35. Roland Howard, *Charisma: When Christian Fundamentalism Goes Wrong* (London: Mowbray, 1997), p. 17.

historic denominations. Deliberate steps were taken to avoid sectarianism by making sure that speakers and resource people represented a variety of denominations and church orientations.³⁶ Another goal of Spring Harvest, according to David Tomlinson, was to ‘contextualize evangelical faith socially and culturally and [to] facilitate the church being “salt and light” in society’.³⁷ Tomlinson also suggests that the event has been an important factor in the charismaticization of British evangelicalism, although this has nowhere appeared as an overtly stated objective.³⁸

Calver became the national director of the Evangelical Alliance in 1983, and his involvement in the formation of Spring Harvest and then the leadership of the Evangelical Alliance points to another relevant implication of the Spring Harvest phenomenon. In his analysis of British Evangelicals in the 1970s and 1980s, David Tomlinson points to Calver as a prime example of a transformation that had been occurring in the evangelical leadership. In taking the directorship of the Evangelical Alliance, Calver took responsibility for a broadly based coalition of evangelical churches first formed in 1846. Calver was Baptist but also was openly charismatic and well connected in New Church circles. As the new leader of the Evangelical Alliance, Calver undertook a dual-track strategy for the organization’s renewal. He aimed at establishing a place for the Alliance in two constituencies by enhancing the credibility of the Alliance in the larger evangelical community of the UK while also working to establish a positive image for the Alliance with the British media and with British political leaders. In particular, Calver was successful in demonstrating that there was a second Christian establishment in the UK and that the Church of England, under the Archbishop of Canterbury, did not necessarily speak for all Christians in England. In the judgment of Tom Sine, ‘by 1988 the alliance had turned the corner. Members of the media began routinely to contact EA [the Evangelical Alliance] for its views on a broad range of issues. And the alliance became highly respected because it was nonpartisan, and it always did a thorough job of researching issues for its theological and public policy implications.’³⁹

36. Howard, *Charismania*.

37. Tomlinson, *The Post Evangelical*, p. 20.

38. Tomlinson, *The Post Evangelical*.

39. Tom Sine, ‘What British Evangelicals Do Right’, *Christianity Today*, 9 December 1996. Magazine article on line accessed through Ebsco Host; Internet; accessed 18 March 2003.

Calver is thus credited with rejuvenating an organization that had become ‘moribund and backward looking’, but it is notable that he did so by rebuilding its leadership with younger leaders recruited from the House Church Movement.⁴⁰ This resulted in the emergence in the 1980s of a new evangelical establishment that exhibited four features also characteristic of Calver himself: ‘charismatically inclined, if not full-blown charismatics; theologically fairly conservative; socially and politically aware; [and] eager to promote evangelical values within society, as well as the evangelizing of individuals’.⁴¹ It is understandable, then, that two regularly featured leaders and speakers at Spring Harvest were Gerald Coates and Roger Forster. While some New Church leaders such as Roger Forster had always maintained open and affirming relationships with the historic denominations, there had also been a strong stream of anti-denominationalism and anti-establishment sentiment among other Restorationist and house church leaders.

Under the charismatic covering of the Spring Harvest, the informal friendship network of evangelical and charismatic leaders already emerging in connection with the Festival of Light was significantly strengthened. This conclusion is clearly expressed by Roland Howard, a critical analyst of the charismatics: ‘Spring Harvest largely succeeded in its aims. Leaders of large house churches, such as Gerald Coates and Roger Forster deepened friendships with denominational leaders and both groups realized that they were, in essence, doing the same thing, and would benefit from working together.’⁴² The creation of a far-flung network of friendly and trusting relationships among primary leaders in the evangelical and charismatic churches proved to be a ready conduit for the rapid dissemination of the MFJ vision and program.

Graham Kendrick’s Rise to National Prominence: Learning Worship with Intent

Spring Harvest was instrumental in setting into place a third vital factor for the future success of March for Jesus. Spring Harvest served as an important ecumenical and national platform for the emerging ministry of Graham Kendrick, who would later be the main creator of MFJ in its form and function. The son of a Baptist minister, Kendrick trained as a teacher

40. Tomlinson, *The Post Evangelical*, p. 18, quoting Ian Bradley, *Marching to the Promised Land* (London: John Murray, 1992), p. 55.

41. Tomlinson, *The Post Evangelical*, p. 18.

42. Howard, *Charismania*, p. 17.

but upon graduation devoted his energies to becoming one of the first full-time gospel musicians in Britain.⁴³ While he had remained on the edge of the renewal movement, Kendrick's ministry took him into house church and charismatic circles, and in that context he partook of his own personal charismatic renewal experience in the early 1970s. Kendrick links the beginning of his intense interest in and involvement with praise and worship to this spiritual encounter: 'How significant that moment was! It was only the beginning and I had an incredible amount to learn, but God began to open me up to become a worshipper. Out of that flowed writing new worship songs and learning how to express worship without being uptight, physically restrained and emotionally repressed.'⁴⁴ This marks the beginning of Kendrick's formation as a worship leader.

Kendrick formed a close friendship with Calver who was a fledgling evangelist at the time. By 1976, both Calver and Kendrick were serving on the staff of British Youth for Christ, Kendrick in the role of musical director. When Spring Harvest was begun in 1978, Kendrick was its praise and worship leader, a highly visible and influential role in that context. In the process, Kendrick had abandoned his performance career to work full time as a praise and worship leader and songwriter.⁴⁵ In this role, and particularly as praise and worship leader at Spring Harvest, Kendrick became a household name among British evangelicals of all stripes. By the mid-eighties, Kendrick also became a member of the Ichthus Christian Fellowship and had entered into the friendship network of charismatic evangelical leaders represented not only by Clive Calver but also by Roger Forster, Gerald Coates and Lynn Green, all of whom were well known to the wider Spring Harvest constituency. It is clear that the four leaders who would later facilitate the rise and growth of the March for Jesus movement were persons who enjoyed a wide circle of respect and influence among British charismatics and evangelicals and had ready access to the organizational and networking resources of nationwide agencies, such as the Evangelical Alliance and the British Youth for Christ.

Kendrick's decision to embark on a ministry devoted to worship leading and creating worship resources set him on a path of innovation and development that leads directly to 1987 and the beginning of MFJ. Kendrick

43. Tony Cummings, 'Graham Kendrick: Praisemaker', *Renewal*, November 1989, p. 15. This article is an abridged transcript of three interviews with Graham Kendrick conducted in August 1989.

44. Graham Kendrick quoted by Cummings, 'Praisemaker', p. 17.

45. Graham Kendrick quoted by Cummings, 'Praisemaker', pp. 16-17.

experienced insight and enlightenment as he began to focus more intensely on his own spirituality as a worshipper, as a worship leader and as one experimenting with change and innovation in Christian worship. As his own personal experience of Christian worship became a more existential extension of his charismatic sensitivities, he allowed this expression of ‘worship in the Spirit’ to guide his work as a guest worship leader in congregations. Kendrick began writing worship choruses out of this emerging spiritual dimension of his own experience, and while he readily admits that some of these early attempts were ‘lightweight and even banal’, he also insists ‘something happened when we sang them’.⁴⁶ Others soon affirmed Kendrick’s observations: ‘I [Kendrick] had observed that when Christians got together and worshipped and entered into praise in the Spirit—which is very strong, committed praise—there was a kind of spiritual breakthrough. That’s hard to define; you need to be *in* it to understand how it works, but church leaders would say, “we found that as we praised God the spiritual atmosphere changed”’.⁴⁷

Kendrick had begun to enunciate several crucial ideas about praise and worship that would prove seminal for the March for Jesus movement. As is to be expected within a context of charismatic spirituality, Kendrick was primarily interested in obeying the practical imperatives of his growing sense of what he understood God to be teaching him about worship. More systematic articulation, however, was soon forthcoming. In 1984 Kendrick published a book entitled *Worship*.⁴⁸ Running to more than 200 pages, the book is a comprehensive discussion of biblical, theological and practical aspects of worship. Several observations from this publication are relevant to the background of MFJ. For Kendrick, worship is the ground upon which all of Christian experience rests.⁴⁹ Worship, then, for Kendrick encompasses both private and corporate activity.⁵⁰ In short order, he goes on to insist that worship is also a political act:

46. Graham Kendrick quoted by Cummings, ‘Praisemaker’, p. 17.

47. Graham Kendrick quoted by Cummings, ‘Praisemaker’, p. 18.

48. Graham Kendrick, *Worship* (Eastbourne, UK: Kingsway, 1984). The citations provided here are from the North American edition, *Learning to Worship as a Way of Life* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House, 1985).

49. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, pp. 14-15. In part, Kendrick grounds his thesis in two texts, Eph. 1.11-12 and the leading proposition of the Westminster Shorter Catechism, which he paraphrases as ‘Man’s chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him for ever’ (p. 15).

50. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, p. 24.

To genuinely worship Jesus as Lord of all is immediately to challenge all false gods, and to pose a threat to their dark and dingy domains. Bearing in mind that the gods of this world are intricately bound into the godless political and social systems that surround us, it is absolutely true to say that worship is a political act. If Jesus is Lord, then every other 'lord' is excluded from that title and subservient to him.⁵¹

The scope of Kendrick's vision of worship is measured in an entire chapter entitled 'Celebrating a New Social Order'. Quoting Col. 3.11-17 at length, he concludes that 'worship is a celebration of the new kingdom'⁵² and that the foundations upon which worship should be built are profoundly social and grounded in reconciliation:

Here are no nationalistic divisions: Jews are not better than Greeks; the British are not of more value than Asians, West Indians or Argentinians.⁵³ Here there are no 'class' divisions based on different religious experiences, no exclusive and superior club for those baptized in the Holy Spirit, or caucus for the mutual protection of those who regard it with distaste or suspicion.

Here there are no cultural prejudices but a desire to understand and accept those who are different; no divisions between rich and poor, the professional classes and manual labourers, but a sharing of wealth and resources.⁵⁴

Kendrick concludes his vision for the social dimensions of worship with an emphasis on the humble servanthood of Jesus and his identification with the poor, citing Phil. 2.5-7 and Mt. 25.41-46. This leads him to a final exhortation:

Our worship should reveal to us the Jesus who suffers with the poor, the hungry, the sick, the naked and the imprisoned, and our meeting with him in the Spirit should send us out to meet him in the flesh of the world's outsiders. It is so much easier and more attractive to spiritualize our worship to the exclusion of the world outside, but we must face the fact that by so doing we shut Jesus out as well.⁵⁵

This entire vision is predicated on 'worship in the Holy Spirit', a worship that brings one's own spirit into increasing, daily, obedient and practical congruence with the Spirit of God:

51. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, p. 35.

52. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, p. 43.

53. This is probably an allusion to the recently concluded Falklands War of 1982 between Britain and Argentina.

54. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, p. 44.

55. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, p. 57.

It is in those times during which we concentrate ourselves exclusively upon worshipping God, that we can actually learn integrated Christ-like behaviour as a habit of bodily life...

Just as a dancer needs the private disciplines of the rehearsal studio in order to become a natural and spontaneous performer, Christians need the practice room of worship to learn behaviour that flows from the spirit into bodily action. Regular withdrawals into private and corporate worship, where the personality is given over entirely to practising a sensitive response to the Holy Spirit will, among countless other benefits, help to establish new habits for the whole of life, and send us out into the world as reformers, not conformers.⁵⁶

The vision animating Kendrick's ministry of leading worship and creating worship resources was comprehensive and multifaceted. Grounded explicitly in his own charismatic renewal, it was nevertheless a vision that reached out broadly to the church at large and well beyond it. Kendrick's call to worship was nothing less than a call to Christian renewal and social reform. In 1984, however, the platform upon which this vision was being developed was still located, literally and figuratively, within the walls of the church. The demonstration of Kendrick's passion for worship was to be seen primarily within the congregations to whom he ministered as an itinerant worship resource person and on the temporarily sacred precincts of venues such as Spring Harvest. Only one brief paragraph appears in 1984 that portends the development of MFJ a few years later. Under the heading 'Praise as a public witness', Kendrick quotes Pss. 18 and 40 and then concludes, 'Praise is a way of proclaiming the reality of God in our lives, of making known his character and his deeds to the world'.⁵⁷ Kendrick had not yet begun to take his vision of worship to the streets and alleyways of British cities, towns and villages, but to a significant degree, the stage had been set for such a development.

The year after publishing *Worship*, Kendrick was participating in a complex of initiatives in the City of London that eventuated in the 1987 inaugural March for Jesus. In the course of these developments Kendrick became profoundly dissatisfied with how music and singing were being used in association with some prayer walks in the city. At the core of his concern lay Kendrick's growing sensitivity to what he perceived to be a profound divergence between the culture of Christian worship within the

56. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, p. 111.

57. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, p. 193. The exact citations are Ps. 18.49 and Ps. 40.3, 9.

precincts of the church and the culture of British streets where groups such as Ichthus and YWAM were taking their prayer walking and praise procession efforts. In response, Kendrick developed an approach to designing and conducting public processions of praise and worship that stood in direct continuity with the principles, values and insights he had developed in *Worship* and was also aimed directly at the audience to be found in the typical British public square. Under the heading of 'Make Way Music', Kendrick ventured publication and recording of his approach, and it was immediately taken up by his already established evangelical and charismatic constituency. Initially, these public processions were small, local, congregational efforts, but when the opportunity came to join together in similar events on a mass scale under the MFJ banner, an eager and experienced cadre of participants from across the UK readily came forward.

A 'Spiritual Warfare' Mindset: Adopting a Posture for Engagement

Two further factors in the proto-genesis of March for Jesus remain to be discussed. These are more in terms of theological attitude or mindset. The first of these has already been intimated in the discussion of Kendrick's developing experience as a worship leader. Kendrick's explicit statement that when he led congregations in 'worship in the spirit' the 'atmosphere changed'⁵⁸ points to a feature of British charismatic renewal spirituality that would play an important and controversial role in the formation and development of the MFJ. This feature is spiritual warfare, a phenomenon representing convictions and practices that in earlier times would have been analogous to exorcism in the more mainstream liturgical churches or to deliverance ministry in the longer course of Pentecostal and charismatic history. Despite including a chapter on 'Dethroning the Gods' in his book, Kendrick did not develop any detailed connection between his emerging vision of worship and the practice of spiritual warfare.

Spiritual warfare and its earlier analogues, however, were a significant feature of the British charismatic renewal as well as being present in the approved practice of the Church of England. Michael Harper, a leading activist in the British charismatic renewal movement, had written a book in 1970 under the title *Spiritual Warfare*, perhaps the earliest published occurrence of this terminology.⁵⁹ John Gunstone, describing the impact of charismatic renewal on the Church of England, included deliverance

58. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, p. 18.

59. Michael Harper, *Spiritual Warfare* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1970).

ministry as a feature of that influence.⁶⁰ Contemporary attention to such a phenomenon in the historic churches, however, goes back at least to 1965 when the Bishop of Exeter convened a study commission that produced, by 1972, a report entitled *Exorcism*. More study followed under the less formal auspices of the Christian Exorcism Study Group, later renamed the Christian Deliverance Study Group, leading to the 1987 publication of a 180-page handbook, *Deliverance: Psychic Disturbances and Occult Involvement*, edited by Michael Perry, Canon of Durham and editor of *The Christian Parapsychologist*.⁶¹ Perry's claim that virtually every Church of England diocese had designated an advisor or team of advisors for deliverance ministry would seem to indicate that such ministry was not foreign to the larger body of British Christianity in the two decades leading up to the 1980s.⁶²

In the 1980s and 1990s how deliverance and spiritual warfare were understood and practiced started to be both refined and amplified in a manner that is directly relevant to the genesis of MFJ. Missiologists in the US drew attention to the anthropological, theological and practical implications of taking more seriously the worldviews of non-western traditional societies rooted in pre-Enlightenment times. The work of Paul Hiebert and C. Peter Wagner is notable in this regard.⁶³ The articulation of 'strategic level spiritual warfare' by C. Peter Wagner in the 1990s, with its discussion of territorial spirits and its direct human engagement of evil powers in spiritual conflict in aid of evangelism and social reform, was only the wider eruption of a dimension of spiritual warfare that was already being practiced among charismatics as early as the 1970s. John Dawson of YWAM testifies to the use of such an approach in Cordoba, Argentina, in 1978, and there is little doubt that YWAM and other similar charismatic mission

60. John Gunstone, 'An Impressionistic View of the Influence of the Charismatic Renewal in the Life of the Church of England', in David Martin and Peter Mullen (eds.), *Strange Gifts? A Guide to Charismatic Renewal* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), p. 88.

61. Michael Perry (ed.), *Deliverance: Psychic Disturbances and Occult Involvement* (London: SPCK, rev. 2nd edn, 1996).

62. Perry (ed.), *Deliverance*, p. 1.

63. Paul G. Hiebert, 'The Flaw of the Excluded Middle', *Missiology: An International Review* 10 (January 1982), pp. 33-47, and C. Peter Wagner, *Warfare Prayer: How to Seek God's Power and Protection in the Battle to Build his Kingdom* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1992). See also Willard M. Swartley (ed.), *Essays on Spiritual Bondage and Deliverance* (Occasional Papers, 11; Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1988).

organizations were engaging in modes of spiritual warfare that aimed at the deliverance of territorial, social and institutional bodies deemed to be under the domination of demonic powers.⁶⁴ The change of atmosphere intimated by Graham Kendrick, as he describes his initial discoveries regarding worship in the Spirit, can be understood as an early inkling of what later would be known as strategic-level spiritual warfare. That such thinking and practice were within the purview of the MFJ leadership is inherent in the direct relationship between YWAM and the other ministries represented by the Ichthus Christian Fellowship, Pioneer and Graham Kendrick. Roger Forster's personal alignment with this approach to spiritual conflict is well demonstrated in his writing of an eight-page foreword to the British edition of C. Peter Wagner's book, *Territorial Spirits*.⁶⁵

The belief that intercessory prayer could be enhanced by placing oneself in proximity to the object of such intercession was a logical concomitant to the convictions that stimulated the development of strategic spiritual warfare and the discernment of territorial spirits responsible for evil and for resistance to the Holy Spirit in particular locations. A refinement of this understanding is the prayer walk, a practice whereby Christians purposefully walk through or around a locale and engage in prayerful intercession for the people and institutions in that place. A 1993 publication by Steve Hawthorne and Graham Kendrick suggested that the practice had arisen simultaneously in multiple settings around the world with little or no contact between them. Hawthorne and Kendrick write:

We found hundreds of independent initiatives. We can find no father of this movement. It's unlikely that we'll ever find an original prayerwalker who stimulated the idea years ago...

Initiatives appear to be clustered on a timeline. Our informal queries have surfaced very few reports of prayerwalking, as we understand it, before the mid-seventies. During the late seventies we found several reports about deliberate, corporate, intercessory walks... In the mid-eighties scores of diverse initiatives popped up with very little connection with one another. Many initiators of prayerwalks can remember little influence from other prayerwalking efforts. The instigation points seem to be independent of one another, scattered unevenly across the globe.⁶⁶

64. John Dawson, *Taking our Cities for God: How to Break Spiritual Strongholds*, with a foreword by Jack Hayford (Lake Mary, FL: Creation House, 1989), pp. 18ff.

65. C. Peter Wagner (ed.), *Territorial Spirits: Insights on Strategic-Level Spiritual Warfare from Nineteen Christian Leaders*, with a foreword by Roger Forster (Chichester, UK: Sovereign World International, 1991), pp. vii-xv.

66. Steve Hawthorne and Graham Kendrick, *Prayer-walking: Praying on Site with*

YWAM was undoubtedly one mission agency that was making extensive use of the prayerwalking strategy already in the 1980s. Certainly, the prayerwalk was to figure prominently in the events in London that would produce the MFJ movement.

Making the Kingdom of God Manifest: The Essential Goal

The background elements identified so far appear to have coalesced in the formation and development of MFJ in the context of a particular theological perspective on the kingdom of God. The developing articulation of a theological paradigm based on the kingdom of God lent an overarching sense of purpose and legitimacy to the substance and the form of the MFJ. This theological perspective emanated more generally from within the house church culture, but it can be discerned as being central to the theology of those who would come to lead and shape the MFJ phenomenon. A theological rubric centred on the kingdom of God infused the language of MFJ and served as the matrix within which its various emphases were integrated.

Graham Kendrick's emphasis on worship as being the activity that both grounded and elevated all other expressions of Christian thought and action has already been sketched. Lying behind this conviction for Kendrick was a fundamental assumption of the priority of the kingdom of God and the absolute and total claim of King Jesus on the allegiance, obedience and worship of Christian believers. For Kendrick, worship of Jesus as Lord and the kingdom of God were theologically inseparable: 'To worship Jesus as Lord is not only to invite his lordship into our individual lives but to set up a rival kingdom in the middle of the old one, which inevitably invites the wrath of the "gods" down upon our heads'.⁶⁷ It is evident that for Kendrick this kingdom is equally grounded in personal and private spirituality and in corporate and public realities. At the same time, the public dimensions of the kingdom were not to be achieved in Christians capturing the reins of public power or governmental institutions:

It seems that the church has often veered from one emphasis to the other, from an almost exclusive concern for its own health and 'spirituality' to a neglect of personal experience of God and his power for the sake of social and political activism. In the first case the result has often been a separatist

Insight, with a foreword by John Dawson (Orlando, FL: Creation House, 1993), p. 14. No documentation in support of the conclusions suggested by Hawthorne and Kendrick is offered.

67. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, p. 37.

'ghetto' mentality, with the church falling inwards on itself, and in the second place the genuine power and experience of God has been abandoned for something that in practice is only marginally discernable from humanism or socialism. Where both these 'camps' exist, neither seems to make much impact on the world. What we need is not a compromise, or even a union of the best of both, but a constantly renewed vision and experience of Christ. From all our activities, battles and campaigns, we need constantly to return to worship the greatest Champion of the poor and oppressed, of truth and justice, Christ himself. In him we discover the true motive for changing society, which is not our own idealism, despair, frustration or self-image as would-be 'liberators', but the God who says 'Be holy because I, the Lord your God, am holy' (Lev. 19.2). It is in worship that we concentrate our attention upon the One who laid down his life for the world, and trusted neither in the power of political activism, nor in mystical escapism under the title of 'spirituality'.⁶⁸

Kendrick's desire to transcend the dual dangers of escapist personal piety and secularist social action by grounding both personal spirituality and social action in worship that yields 'a constantly renewed vision and experience of Christ' is clearly evident. The same transcendent dual emphasis links Christian worship and the kingdom of God:

Many of us are worshipping the King in apparent ignorance or disregard of the justice and righteousness of his kingdom, while others are trying to build the kingdom while neglecting to worship the King. The King and his kingdom are inseparable, the kingdom being no less than a practical extension of his character, and we must not forget that it is built for his glory anyway! We should build the kingdom because we love and worship the King, or we may discover too late that we have been building not *his* kingdom, but ours.⁶⁹

In linking his emerging theology of worship with the kingdom of God, Kendrick was reflecting a theological emphasis that had been foundational to the House Church and the Restorationist movements. The primitivist and restorationist instincts of the emerging House Church Movement of the 1970s became articulated in terms of the kingdom of God. One House Church innovator and leader who attempted to express the implications of the restored kingdom was Gerald Coates. Coates wrote two books on the subject, *What on Earth Is This Kingdom?* in 1983,⁷⁰ one year before

68. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*.

69. Kendrick, *Learning to Worship*, pp. 38-39; emphasis is in the original.

70. Gerald Coates, *What on Earth Is This Kingdom?* (Eastbourne, UK: Kingsway, 1983).

Kendrick's *Worship*, and then a second book, *Kingdom Now*, in 1993.⁷¹ The second book served as a restatement and refinement of the first, but Coates' thinking in 1993 stands in direct continuity with what he and his associates were thinking about the kingdom of God in the 1980s.

While there certainly would have been a range of nuances among house church leaders, it may be assumed that Coates' principal emphases represent a leading statement of the kingdom theology that guided house church thought and practice. The kingdom of God, for Coates, represented a transcendent reality that was more primitive and therefore more fundamental than the church:

Today many churches are sailing under false colours. We all understand why we have denominations or particular groupings. Most stand for an historic and significant departure from the erring ecclesiastical status quo of the time. Each made a radical attempt at being kingdom people as against simply church people.

But we have to go back to the Christ before Christianity to discover the King and the kingdom. Scripture must not be understood through the church hierarchies. Hierarchies must be seen in the light of Scripture!⁷²

Coates' core biblical vision of the kingdom is grounded in the gospels, particularly in Matthew and also in Luke. His references are to the Sermon on the Mount, with special emphasis on the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer, and most emphatically on the hard sayings of Jesus concerning the kingdom of God.⁷³ The passion of Coates' vision should be understood against his earlier dispensationalist background among the Brethren,⁷⁴ a feature that was widely shared by house church leaders. In contrast to the dispensationalist teaching in which he was formed, Coates clearly embraces both an 'already' and a 'not yet' perspective on the kingdom of God. His dominant focus, however, is his determination to put into play a realized eschatology in which the kingdom is already being put into practice among Christian believers and being offered to the world as a new people among whom the sovereign God is working:

Of course, there are many things that are 'already' and some that are clearly 'not yet'. They come after our Lord Jesus has returned to earth to set up his kingdom on the earth: a kingdom rich in grace and truth, friendships and loyalty, faithfulness and commitment; complete with animals and streams,

71. Gerald Coates, *Kingdom Now!* (Eastbourne, UK: Kingsway, 1993).

72. Coates, *Kingdom Now!*, p. 19.

73. Coates, *Kingdom Now!*, pp. 14, 20, 22-24.

74. Coates, *Kingdom Now!*, p. 8.

sunlight and laughter. We are not given many clues as to what the age to come is going to be like – but it is going to be something like that. The Scriptures tell us that much.

Nearly all of the creeds either futurise the kingdom or have erased all mention of it, whereas Jesus made the kingdom imminent: ‘Behold, the kingdom of heaven is at hand’. In the words of my friend Roger Forster, we can stretch out our hands and grab great big handfuls of it and drag kingdom life, kingdom spirit, kingdom truth and kingdom principles into our personal morality, our relationships, finances, business life, ministry and travels. The kingdom of God is ‘at hand’.⁷⁵

Coates sees ‘kingdom people’ as living in a tension between ‘the kingdom with its taste of forgiveness, mercy, grace, truth, healing, deliverance, reconciliation and justice and the “not yet” which by its very nature has yet to be’.⁷⁶

Several features of Coates’ vision of the kingdom of God and its people are particularly relevant to the MFJ. It is clear that the realization of the kingdom does not involve the imposition of a theocracy upon the wider society. Coates writes, ‘I am not talking about reconstructionism – imposing Christian government on an unbelieving world. Righteous government does not create righteous citizens. I am talking about what Jesus talked about: salting and lighting society, networking our localities with the gospel.’⁷⁷ Such involvement with society, however, will bring confrontation and spiritual conflict between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world:

A return to the King and his kingdom will stir every local community, its media, commercial enterprises and industrial concerns. A return to the King and the kingdom will radically affect the world of entertainment, politics, education and medicine. A return to the King and the kingdom will bring about a clash of values and personalities, but primarily of spirits. The Spirit of the kingdom of God is altogether different from the spirit of the kingdom of darkness. Not only are they different, they stand opposed to one another!⁷⁸

The mission of MFJ to take praise and worship into the public market place and there confront the worldly kingdom and its spiritual powers while also bearing witness to the presence of and invitation of the kingdom of God

75. Coates, *Kingdom Now!*, p. 13.

76. Coates, *Kingdom Now!*, p. 20.

77. Coates, *Kingdom Now!*, p. 41.

78. Coates, *Kingdom Now!*, p. 18.

flows directly from the theology and worldview enunciated by leaders such as Kendrick and Coates.

Another feature of Coates' understanding of the kingdom of God is also relevant to the nature of MFJ. Not only does the kingdom of God transcend the church theologically but Coates' vision of the kingdom also issues in a challenge that confronts the full range of corporate and denominational Christian life. He not only challenges the historic denominations for being immobilized in the *status quo* but he judges the renewal movement in general, and the House Church Movement in particular, as also becoming institutionalized, settled and complacent.⁷⁹ Coates sees a radical separation of Christians into two opposed categories, namely settlers and pioneers.⁸⁰ It is the pioneers who have embraced the kingdom of God and are determined to live in the world as a pilgrim people. For example, pioneers welcome and embrace change and flexibility. They are experimental and experiential, willing to take risks knowing that they will make mistakes. Pioneers are unpredictable and 'only cautious when it serves God's purpose'. They 'have no static concept of God but do have a living relationship'.⁸¹ In its entrepreneurial, supra-institutional character and multifaceted sense of mission, the MFJ can be seen as a valid expression of the kingdom vision articulated by Coates and widely held among MFJ activists.

Five important contributing factors have been discerned in the two decades leading up to the emergence of the March for Jesus movement. As illustrated by the 1971 Festival of Light, British Christians, and Evangelicals in particular, were prepared to demonstrate their concerns regarding social issues in the public sphere by means of mass events. Evangelicals and charismatics, particularly those associated with the New Church movement, were taking leadership of such initiatives even as the culture of British evangelicalism was being significantly charismaticized. A social infrastructure of informal networks had developed among British Evangelicals that permitted the rapid diffusion of ideas and practices. Spring Harvest and the Evangelical Alliance represented important dimensions of this network. Leaders that later proved to be the instigators of the MFJ were integrally linked into this network. Within this networked, charismaticized evangelical culture Graham Kendrick was disseminating a coherent approach to worship

79. Coates, *What on Earth Is This Kingdom?*, p. 43; *Kingdom Now!*, p. 37.

80. Coates, *What on Earth Is This Kingdom?*, p. 37; *Kingdom Now!*, p. 31. Note that the network of congregations and ministries headed by Coates himself came to be called 'Pioneer People' in 1991.

81. Coates, *Kingdom Now!*, pp. 31-32.

that had clear implications for cooperation among Christians and also for social activism. This same culture was also familiar with convictions and practices associated with spiritual conflict in the form of deliverance ministries and spiritual warfare. Such practices were also already being adapted to activities conducted in the public spaces of towns and cities in the form of prayerwalks. All of these factors carried a potential to be mobilized by a vision to realize the kingdom of God.

An investigation into the factors that contributed to the spectacular eruption and growth of the Global March for Jesus movement is not exhausted by this discussion. Further insight into the movement awaits a more detailed rendering and analysis of the history of the movement's development itself. What has been set in place in this discussion is an overview of the movement as a whole and the identification of five factors that contribute to our understanding of the rise and early growth of the movement.

A REVIEW OF AMOS YONG'S *BEYOND THE IMPASSE**

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Amos Yong is unquestionably one of the brightest theological lights shining on the intellectual horizon today. Through *Discerning the Spirit(s): A Pentecostal-Charismatic Contribution to Christian Theology of Religions* (JPTSup, 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), *Spirit-Word-Community: Theological Hermeneutics in Trinitarian Perspective* (Ashgate New Critical Thinking in Religion, Theology & Biblical Studies; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), and a host of articles that have appeared in journals and books, he has advanced a distinctive pneumatological imagination and a Pentecostal *theologia religionum*. *Beyond the Impasse: Toward a Pneumatological Theology of Religions* seeks to take these conversations further in a foundational direction, strengthening the groundwork for larger theological projects that he expects will soon follow.

The 'impasse' to which the title of the book refers is a perceived christological cul-de-sac that various other Christian theologies, confined by the categories of exclusivism, inclusivism, and pluralism, have reached in inter-religious dialogue. The problem, Yong argues, is that, proceeding from a christological starting point, these theologies have ended up tangled in soteriological concerns that are specifically Christian, and are thus unable to engage the other religions in dialogue on these other religions' terms. His own proposal is to bracket christological categories for a time and to

* Amos Yong, *Beyond the Impasse: Toward a Pneumatological Theology of Religions* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books; Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003).

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lift up the distinct economy of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit blows where the Spirit wills, inside as well as outside the boundaries of historic Christian thought and tradition. What is called for, Yong argues, is discernment of the Spirit through the spirit of the other religions. He believes that his pneumatological approach can move beyond the impasse to achieve a more positive engagement with other religions in their own right and on their own terms, thereby respecting the integrity and 'otherness' of these religions without compromising his own Pentecostal Christian identity.

Yong does not argue that his is the only pneumatological approach. Several chapters in fact are devoted to in-depth engagement with various other Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Evangelical theologians who have taken a similar pneumatological turn. His criticism of these other efforts is that they have too quickly returned to christological concerns, thereby short-circuiting a more positive engagement with, and eventual appropriation of the work of the Spirit that has been mediated through other religious faiths. Linger longer in the pneumatological moment, and placing discernment at the center of Christian dialogical practice, he believes, will lead to a more adequate global theology, open to the insights of other religions and thus more universal in character. Yong himself eventually makes a christological (re)turn of his own in the end. He argues, however, that his own particular (re)turn, coming as it does on the other side of an effort to discern the work of the Spirit in the other religions, is able to embrace more fully the diversity of the knowledge of the divine encountered in world religious experiences. Christological categories have their place in his theological construction, but they are expected to be greatly enhanced by the insights of other world religious traditions.

Throughout the book I found Yong navigating well the tricky doctrinal passageway between the Scylla of arguing for a separate economy of the Spirit, and the Charybdis of arguing for the economy of the Spirit being subordinated to that of Jesus Christ. Guiding him throughout these pages was the well-known image of Irenaeus of Christ and Spirit being the two hands of God at work in history. The trinitarian insights went beyond simply removing the *filioque* clause from the creed, pressing in the direction of a more fundamental re-evaluation of all areas of Christian theology through the lens of his *theologia religionum*. This is important for the more robust trinitarian theology that he is after. Yong seems to me to be well aware in this regard that his is still a Christian project. It is not (at least in this book) *bodhicitta*, the seed of Buddhist enlightenment, that he pursues, but rather the groundwork for a more contextualized Christian theology

and a renewed Christology, capable of assimilating tenets of other religions that are congruent with or enhance of Christian faith. He invites us to look beyond sources that have historically been formed as explicitly Christian for doing Christian theology today. To this end he writes toward the conclusion of the book (pp. 190-91): 'The long-term result of the dialogical quest for truth driven by a pneumatological theology of religions will, I believe, be a thoroughly reconstructed Christian theology that will have passed over into the other faiths and returned home transformed in such a way as to be able to speak the gospel effectively and meaningfully in a world context generally and in the context of the diversity of religions in particular'.

It is an exciting evangelical project that Yong has mapped out for us here. I believe that what he is pointing us toward is a more receptive Christology, alerting us that Christ himself continues to live in history and to be actively receiving the gifts of other traditions and thereby manifesting more fully the eschatological glory that is the Holy Spirit. To help him further in this direction, I would raise two questions in particular for the book.

The first concerns what I perceive to be a tendency toward what is still a decidedly Western metaphysical commitment. While I concur with the effort to detail a more robust Christian trinitarian theology of other religions, I find in this book a tendency to move in a metaphysical direction that perceives the substance of God as something that is abstracted or abstractable from the persons of the Trinity. This is a tendency that has long been adhered to in the Latin theological tradition of the West, in contrast to the Eastern Orthodox tradition where the divine substance is understood to be a function of the personhood of the Father communicated to the Son and Spirit and thus not capable of being talked about apart from the personhood of God. Yong at times seems to me to be suggesting that the persons of the Trinity illustrate something that can be said in more universal terms through metaphysics. His use of Peirce's categories of firstness, secondness and thirdness on pp. 132-34 is a case in point, as is his identification of *logos* and *pneuma* with the concreteness and dynamism inherent within any historical form. A similar tendency toward abstraction hampers still the project of discernment that is his critical starting point for inter-religious dialogue, I think. Yong's three criteria for discernment are divine presence, absence and activity. By his own admission they are ambiguous, and I would suggest too vague to carry the ethical weight that is eventually placed upon them.

My second question follows along the lines of this last comment and concerns the inherent ambiguity of pneumatological categories. If the danger that confronts foundational christology in the inter-religious dialogue is inherent religious imperialism, the danger that confronts foundational pneumatology is inherent religious vagueness. Augustine, in *De Trinitatis* XV.17, alludes to this problem when he points out that the Spirit is the only person in the Trinity who is common to the other two in such a manner that the other two can be called by the same term. The Father is properly called Spirit and the Son is properly called Spirit, in a manner in which the Spirit is never called Father and the Spirit is never called Son. The Spirit testifies not to the Spirit's own self, but always to another. The long tendency in Christian theology has been for the Spirit to be understood as giving testimony not only to Christ, but to the church. This problem does not entirely escape Yong's analysis, for after giving away a privileged role for the explicitly Christian history of the church with one hand, he seems to be taking it back with another. Listen to what he has to say on p. 72: 'My optimism that a truly transcultural and universal discourse and rationality is available to encultured human beings is finally founded, then, on the experiences of the ecclesial people, who participate in the kingdom of God even while anticipating its full realization'. One cannot help but wonder if with the notion of 'the experiences of the ecclesial people' he has not returned, not just to Christology, but to ecclesiology as the ultimate horizon of discourse and reason. Outside the kingdom of God, one might say, there is no salvation. But then this begs the question of whether the kingdom of God is the same as *nirvana*. Does the Buddhist *sangha* or the Islamic *ummah* anticipate the full realization of the kingdom of God in the same way that the church or the ecclesial community does?

These are not, in my estimation, questions that are incapable of being addressed from within the framework that Yong himself is constructing. Neither do they reduce the overall value of this work. *Beyond the Impasse* is an important contribution to the emerging *theologia religionum*. It deserves a wide reading, not just in Pentecostal circles and not just in Christian circles, but by those of other faiths as well, among whom Yong is seeking to discern the work of the Holy Spirit. I look forward to his own forthcoming contributions to Buddhist-Christian dialogue and the longer promised project of a full systematic theology.

BEYOND *BEYOND THE IMPASSE?* RESPONDING TO DALE IRVIN

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Dale Irvin has read *Beyond the Impasse* carefully and got me exactly right. He correctly highlights the importance of the pneumatological imagination for approaching other faiths on their own terms and for allowing them to define themselves in their own voices. Further, he correctly observes the evangelical (and Pentecostal) nature of my theological inquiry, even as we attempt to rethink our own Christian self-understanding in the late modern world of the twenty-first century in dialogue, not with Plato and Aristotle but with Confucius, Laozi, Nagarjuna, Shankara, and so on. Finally, he correctly senses my struggling to find a middle way between the Scylla of subordinating the Spirit to the Word (the perennial failure of the classic theological tradition) and the Charybdis of disengaging the Spirit from the Word altogether (the perennial temptation of the tradition of enthusiasm). For his sympathetic review, and for his encouraging words, no author could be more appreciative.

I am also grateful for the difficult questions that are raised. Allow me to rephrase Irvin's two concerns as three interconnected questions related to my metaphysical speculations. First, there is the worry that my metaphysical proposals privilege or assume the Western starting point of the one substance of God behind the three persons rather than the (triune) personalistic metaphysics of the Eastern churches (I gather Irvin favors the latter). Second, there is the worry that this leads to a more abstract metaphysical

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formulation than is helpful (especially for Pentecostal intuitions and sensibilities, Irvin would insist). Third, there is the vagueness of my metaphysical categories, which begs all the questions that attend the interfaith encounter (including those Irvin raises at the end of his review). I trust that these adequately capture Irvin's prods; at any rate, they are the issues that I wish to address briefly by way of response in what follows.

First of all, let me say that metaphysical assumptions are unavoidable. Sure, in our 'post-metaphysical' world, we have rightly sought to purge ourselves of the kinds of 'totalizing' discourse inherited from the Western onto-theological tradition. But this has opened up into our postmodern condition where there are only narratives, confessions, and testimonies, which are radically private and subjectivistic, where one can speak only for oneself and for no one else. Yet we still communicate, showing that our languages are not incommensurable with other languages. This fact begs for metaphysical elucidation. It is not whether or not we can avoid metaphysics, but what kind of metaphysical scheme best explains the facts as we experience them. And especially in light of the inter-religious encounter—the subject of *Beyond the Impasse*—what kind of metaphysical framework best accounts for the actuality of genuine interfaith interaction, of inter-confessional understanding, of inter-testimonial appreciation? My suggestion that the gift of the Pentecostal Spirit is not just the utterance of strange tongues but also the gift of interpretation of tongues which preserves the distinctiveness of the communicating and receiving languages is, in this sense, a metaphysical claim. Hence, when reflecting theologically on the fact of our religiously plural world and the interfaith encounter, our narratives, confessions and testimonies need to be translated into public discourses that include some self-critical reflection on the underlying metaphysical assumptions that make this possible.

Secondly, given that metaphysics trades on generalities—by definition, metaphysics seeks to articulate the most general features of our experience, applicable to all and inexplicable of none of the facts we encounter—it cannot but be abstract. Irvin wishes to take seriously the Eastern (Cappadocian) starting point of the triune persons rather than the Western, more abstract, one divine substance. At times, I am inclined to follow out this line of thinking. At other times, I wonder whether or not doing this simply exchanges one set of problems for another. While a personalist metaphysics most adequately interprets the human experience of intersubjectivity, for example, it has also had the most difficulty accounting for the human experience of evil, of natural processes, and of evolutionary waste. To opt

for one over the other model assumes an either/or, thus begging precisely the long-standing division of opinion between the East and West on this point. Further, in light of the intra-Pentecostal divisions between trinitarian and Oneness perspectives, I am especially wary about the threat of tritheism attendant to the social trinitarian tendency of the Eastern model. From this Pentecostal perspective, opting for East over West or vice versa begs the debate between Oneness and trinitarians regarding the ultimate nature of God.¹ My recourse to Peirce's triadic metaphysics is one attempt to go beyond (or get behind, depending on one's metaphor) this impasse in the theological tradition.

Thirdly, if the foundational pneumatology developed through utilizing Peircean insights is too vague (as Irvin claims), note I am using the notion of 'vagueness' in a technical Peircean sense applied to comparative categories: a *vague* category allows for comparison of two things which may (or may not) turn out to be contradictory at further levels of specification. So 'salvation' is a vague category applicable to Buddhists and Christians at one level that may (or may not) be contradictory when specified at other levels such as 'enlightenment' (for Buddhists) or the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit' (for Oneness Pentecostals). Only the careful process of 'thick' comparison can begin to tell. What is important is that vague categories allow us to begin the process of discernment while being sensitive to the difficulties of comparing across linguistic, cultural and religious traditions on the one hand, and yet while attempting to honor the particularities, values and insights of what is being compared on the other. The comparative task cannot be avoided if we hope to communicate the gospel; the ethical obligation to respect the other should be heeded in this process.

Having said all this, perhaps Peirce's categories are not as helpful on the points Irvin highlights. I have been wondering recently if the 'fit' of any metaphysical scheme depends on the context of inquiry. In my recently completed book on Pentecostal theology, for example, I raise the metaphysical question in the chapter devoted not to the interfaith encounter but to the treatment of modern science and the quest for a theology of nature.² There I attempt to develop a Pentecostal and pneumatological theology of the environment with the help of Peirce. Perhaps Peirce's triadic metaphysics is more helpful in negotiating this set of issues than those related

1. I discuss the issues at stake in my study, *The Spirit Poured Out on All Flesh: World Pentecostalism and the Reconstruction of Christian Theology in the 21st Century* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, forthcoming), Chapter 5.

2. See *The Spirit Poured Out on All Flesh*, Chapter 7.

to the inter-religious encounter. If this is the case, perhaps there are more or less appropriate metaphysical schemes depending on the issues under negotiation. It would be better, then, to talk not about metaphysical dogmas but about metaphysical hypotheses. If metaphysics is the attempt to provide a world-theory, the metaphysical hypothesis dealing with matters raised in *Beyond the Impasse* needs to register the features arising from the human experience of a religiously plural world. As such, it should make sense of religious plurality not only for us as Christians but also for everyone else. The latter aspiration, however, should not trespass on the 'everyone else' in an imperialistic sense, making their categories fit into our preconceived terms. Rather, how can their big-picture perspectives not only be respected but also accounted for? Our metaphysical hypotheses need to be flexible enough to adjust to the perspectives registered by 'everyone else'. This is especially crucial in the inter-religious encounter—hence the import of the pneumatological imagination. Whether or not the Peircean hypothesis is most suitable for this task appears to remain, from this interchange, an open question.

From this, the following three caveats emerge. First, metaphysical hypotheses are third-order reflections on first-order experiences and second-order religious beliefs. Put in Pentecostal terms, they are our means of interpreting the tongues we speak to others. Second, metaphysical hypotheses are provisional, subject to adjustment or even wholesale abandonment as we experience facts that resist interpretation according to the schemes at hand; our commitments are not to metaphysical hypotheses as such but to how well they hold the particularities of the commitments of differing (religious) communities together. Put in Pentecostal terms, we who follow after the Spirit realize that the comings and goings of the Spirit are difficult to track, and that we need to be appropriately humble in our questing after the Spirit of God. In alternative Pentecostal configuration, the process of contextualizing the gospel in other languages and cultures will itself result in an enrichment of the gospel for those of us willing to learn from the Spirit. Third, metaphysical hypotheses can be seen in that sense as vague eschatological wagers, the particularities of which will be made explicit in the coming kingdom. Put in Pentecostal terms, we who look through a glass dimly now will see him as he is in that day when the down payment of the Spirit is redeemed by the Father through the Son (cf. 1 Cor. 13.12). At that time, the differences between metaphysical hypotheses (and between the religions also) will be clarified, adjudicated, or perhaps even overcome.

Of course, in this eschatological framework, Irvin is right that the question is *currently* begged about whether or not the kingdom of God is the same as *nirvana* or whether the church is the same as the *sangha* (or the *ummah*). There is the real sense that from our present historical perspective, they are not.³ Yet, given the outpouring of the Pentecostal Spirit on all flesh (Acts 2.17) and the redemption of all voices for declaring the wonders of God (Acts 2.11-12), is it not possible to hope that even now, the voices and perspectives of those in other faiths can be heeded and valued for Christian self-understanding even as we anticipate and herald the eschatological day of the Lord?⁴

3. I broach some of these matters in my volume, *Does the Wind Blow through the Middle Way? Pneumatology and the Christian-Buddhist Dialogue* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, forthcoming [any update?]).

4. I explore this question at greater length in my essays, “‘As the Spirit Gives Utterance...’: Pentecost, Intra-Christian Ecumenism, and the Wider *Oekumene*”, *International Review of Mission* 92.366 (2003), pp. 299-314, and ‘The Spirit Bears Witness: Pneumatology, Truth and the Religions’, *Scottish Journal of Theology* 57.1 (2004), pp. 1-25.