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The Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association articles are indexed in

Religion Index One: Periodicals
book reviews are indexed in

Index to Book Reviews in Religion
published by ATLA, 820 Church Street, Evanston, IL 60201, USA

ISSN: 0774 6210

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Foreword

This edition of JEPTA marks the 10th year of my editorship. It has been a journey of challenge and personal benefit as well, I hope to authors and readers alike. This edition also serves as an opportunity to welcome Dr. Neil Hudson to the role of editor, a joint position we will share for the foreseeable future. It is my hope that the development of the journal will continue and that it will increasingly serve to benefit the Pentecostal and Charismatic communities in Europe as well as believers elsewhere in the world.

This particular edition includes a collection of papers relating to educational issues concerning Pentecostalism, all of which were offered at the Conference of the European Pentecostal and Theological Association, held in Brussels, Belgium in 2002. Recent years have witnessed a marked development in theological education both in the Bible/Theological College and the local church. The promulgation in this regard has been largely due to the differing needs and aspirations of those wishing to learn. Two key concepts regularly referred to are the need to offer contextualised theology and learning paradigms. This process has not been without its challenges. Colleges have felt threatened while some church based practices have delivered less than they have promised (and sometimes less than they hoped) in terms of objective analysis and practice. These and other concerns were addressed at the Conference and it is to be hoped that in the ongoing dialogue, the following contributions will help that interaction and development to be a positive one for all concerned.

In an attempt to continue offering a forum relating to all areas of Europe while also providing the opportunity to look to the future through an examination of the past, four more countries and the impact of Pentecostal/Charismatic constituencies therein are explored.

Keith Warrington
Editor
The Early Church and the Axis of History and Pentecostalism facing the 21st Century: Some Reflections*

Marc Turnage

Abstract

The Pentecostal-Charismatic academy of the West must contextually reevaluate its own paradigms and strategies. Pentecostal institutions of higher education in the West need to be committed to training and educating students to cope with the worldwide changes transforming our culture and society. Lessons are offered from the lives of Jesus and Paul.

It is customary to blame secular science and anti-religious philosophy for the eclipse of religion in modern society. It would be more honest to blame religion for its own defeats. Religion declined not because it was refuted, but because it became irrelevant, dull, oppressive, insipid. When faith is completely replaced by creed, worship by discipline, love by habit; when the crisis of today is ignored because of the splendor of the past; when faith becomes an heirloom rather than a living fountain; when religion speaks only in the name of authority rather than with the voice of compassion — its message becomes meaningless.

--Abraham Joshua Heschel, God in Search of Man: A Philosophy of Judaism

Introduction

Paul declared to the churches in Galatia, "But when the time had fully come, God sent forth his son" (4:4). Embedded within Paul’s statement lies the assumption that the coming of Jesus and the growth of his messianic movement was occurring at an important juncture in the history of the world. Paul understood that the social and historical climate of the Roman Empire was ripe for the expansion of the Gospel — the nascent Jesus movement stood at an axis of history. The NT records how both Paul and other members of this movement used the cultural, political, technological, and social advances of the Graeco-Roman world to their benefit in the spreading of the “good news”. Moreover, theological and ideological developments within Judaism during the Hellenistic and Roman eras prove that the time was ripe for the birth of Christianity.

* Dedicated to the memory of Dr. Jerry L. Sandidge.
* This article is an adaptation of a paper originally read at the European Pentecostal Theological Association annual meeting in Brussels, Belgium, July 2002. Marc Turnage teaches in the Religion Department at Southwest Missouri State University in Springfield, MO; 2440 Wildwood Rd. Springfield, MO 65804: marcturnage@yahoo.com.
originating, not in a Hellenistic and pagan milieu, but in the land of Israel where Jesus and his first disciples lived. It is now clear that the literature of the NT cannot be viewed as separate from Judaism of the Second Temple Period within the land of Israel. Moreover, this evidence that the theological and literary impulses of the NT grew out of Judaism and not Greek thought or the Hellenistic world, has been previously thought among NT scholarship. In fact, Greek influence is minimal upon the NT itself. Paul recognized that the historical events of recent centuries had led to a cultural revolution within Judaism and the larger Graeco-Roman world that produced a climate in which the followers of Jesus could traverse the Roman Empire and see the rapid growth of this Jewish movement.

We also stand at an axis of history. Throughout the twentieth century and the beginning years of the twenty-first century, the rate of change experienced by the world has been unparalleled in human history. The world on a global scale has undergone a paradigm shift that has reconfigured our patterns of perception and our most fundamental attitudes. Nowhere has this cultural shift more poignantly been felt than in the Western world. This cultural and social disarray carries with it infinite possibilities, unpredictable complexities, and an overwhelming sense of anxiety. We stand very much in the doorway of a new future—what has been described as a "transition doorway". The pillars upon which Western society and culture have rested for the past four hundred years have shifted, and we find ourselves standing at an axis of history—our future will look exceedingly different from our past.

Marc Turnage: The Early Church and the Axis of History and Pentecostalism facing the 21st Century: Some Reflections

In the midst of this social reconfiguration and cultural evolution, Pentecostal-Charismatics have experienced phenomenal growth even in Western countries, which have evidenced a declining membership in Protestant and Catholic churches. In the nascent years of the twenty-first century, Pentecostalism is the fastest growing branch of Christianity worldwide. This, however, is not the moment for congratulatory triumphalism on either a regional or a global scale. No, the astounding growth of Pentecostalism around the world should lead us to somber and sober reflection. This is nowhere more true than in the subculture of Pentecostal education. As Pentecostals are looked to more and more within the worldwide Christian community, more will be asked from and demanded of the Pentecostal academy, both in terms of writing and research and in training future clergy and laity.

Over the last century, the epicentre of Christianity has shifted from Europe and North America, which boasted the majority of the world's Christian population in 1900, to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In his presidential address to the Society of Pentecostal Studies in 1998, John Christopher Thomas outlined five characteristics of a Pentecostal theology in the twenty-first century, one of which was the need for contextuality. Those centres of Pentecostalism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America need to be encouraged to develop their own contextual theological paradigms and strategies of theology within their regions and cultures apart from traditional western theological models and paradigms. The claim of the existence of one universal "pure", a-cultural theology, applicable to every culture and period, needs to be summarily rejected by the Pentecostal-Charismatic academy of the West, and we need to embrace a plurality within Pentecostal-Charismatic theology and education. Western culture has been predicated upon the assumptions of Aristotelian logic, particularly since Aquinas, which have subsequently

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3Flusser, "The Jewish Origins of Christianity," 77.
5The anxiety brought about by this global change and fluctuation, of course, produces counter fundamentalist movements, which seek to fight against the actual or perceived absorption of cultural traditions and distinctive by globalization. A poignant example being the terrorist bombings of the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington D. C. on September 11, 2001.
6R. E. Cooley, "Staying the Course While the Winds are Blowing," (paper presented at the National Educators Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana, August 4-5, 1997).

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2See also G. B. McGee, "Pentecostal Missiology: Moving Beyond Triumphalism to Face the Issues," Pneuma 16:2 (Fall, 1994) 275-282.
influenced Western theology. Likewise, the scientific rationalism of the Enlightenment has obscured Western sensitivities to literary works written two millennia ago from an Eastern consciousness, specifically Jewish. We, in the Western Pentecostal-Charismatic academy, need to acknowledge that our Western worldview is not that of the biblical authors, and thus, we stand to learn from those who have not been influenced by the musings of Western philosophers, namely our colleagues in the Pentecostal-Charismatic academies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, who in some respects stand closer to the worldview of the biblical authors.\(^1\) This does not mean to suggest that we cannot learn from the rich tradition of Western philosophy, for one cannot rightly understand the history and development of the Western church apart from it. However, the worldviews of Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, and Kant were not those of Jesus, Paul, Peter, and John.\(^2\)

Hollenweger has correctly acknowledged that Christianity is a syncretistic religion, and has been since its inception.\(^3\) Every culture that has come into lasting contact with Christianity has enscripturated\(^4\) their own cultural identities and philosophies into Christianity. For example, the Church Fathers read the biblical writings through the prism of Greek philosophy, and thus, began much of Western theology. Likewise, one of the great misconceptions of the Reformation was that Luther, Calvin, and others were rediscovering the original heart of Pauline and New Testament theology. Thus, Protestants have been forced to read Paul and the NT through the eyes of the Reformation ever since adopting more of an Augustinian theology than Pauline. Thankfully, over the past hundred years, scholars have begun to recognize that the theology of the Reformers was also an enscripturation of the cultural world of the sixteenth century, which was far removed from the world of Paul and the NT.\(^5\) As


\(^2\) A word of caution, however, to those seeking too eager to draw parallels between modern Eastern cultures, whether African or Asian, and the worldview of the NT, simply because Jesus and Buddha made similar statements, we should not assume they ever met or even that their similar sayings grew out of a related cultural ethos. While parallels are important for cultural and sociological studies, if one wants to understand the words of Jesus, one should turn to his Jewish contemporaries of the first century.

\(^3\) Hollenweger, "Syncretism and Capitalism."


\(^7\) Cox, "Why God Didn't Die," 48-49.
different than in previous generations. Students will be by-products of these paradigm shifts, as in fact we all are, and will demand educators and institutions to train according to these evolving paradigms and technological developments. The question we need to ask ourselves today is whether Pentecostal institutions of higher education in the West are training and educating our students to cope with and handle the worldwide changes transforming our culture and society. Are we adjusting our methods of education and curricula in keeping with this cultural evolution? Are we as educators, likewise, evolving with our times? Overall, I think the answer to each of these questions must be no.

The collapse of modernity calls for entirely new ways of thinking and experiencing our world. Completely new paradigms must be developed within the field of education, particularly theological education. Clearly, I am not alone in recognizing this. At the heart of modernism existed a dualism between body and mind, or some may say emotion and reason. People are realizing today that knowledge and understanding of reality can be gained through non-rational means—experience and intuition account as much as logic to many in determining what is real. This, of course, has been part of the Pentecostal experience from its inception. Central to the Pentecostal worldview is the confession that God speaks and acts today as He did as recorded in the Bible. This has led to a high valuation of experience and non-rational forms of knowing within Pentecostal-Charismatic groups. Pentecostal-Charismatics, even in the academy, tend to describe this phenomenon within the modernist dualism of body and mind, or as one might see it more frequently described spirit and mind. Traditionally, Western Pentecostals have expressed a scepticism toward learning and higher education, as something almost opposed to the Spirit. At the other extreme, some Pentecostal-Charismatic scholars continue to yell into a vacuum for the necessity to educate the mind. Thomas in his address describes another of the characteristics that he sees defining a twenty-first century Pentecostal theology, namely integration—what he terms as the integration of “heart and head.” Anderson terms this the need for a “holistic and functional” theology. The problem, however, is that


2This is not necessarily the rejection of rational categories of knowledge, but it does not assume a priori that rational forms of knowledge are superior to the non-rational and experiential.

3Personally, I do not think this dualistic language is helpful to the discussion. One of the shifts needing to occur within Pentecostal groups is the development of non-modern language to describe Pentecostal spirituality.

4Thomas, “Pentecostal Theology in the Twenty-First Century,” 8-10; and Anderson, “The Forgotten Dimension.”

Pentecostal institutions of higher education have educated for the purpose of training and developing students for a vocation or profession, e.g., pastors and missionaries. In other words, Pentecostal institutions of higher education have served the role of vocational training centres for local churches and the mission field. This style of education lacks a genuine component in training students to influence their cultures and be innovators, let alone reflect on cultural shifts or evolve with their cultures. It is my contention that Western Pentecostal-Charismatic institutions need to cultivate a liberal education in order to answer the calls and challenges facing Pentecostalism in the twenty-first century. At the core of this liberal education, it must be both integrated, or if you prefer holistic, and contextual.

The challenge of this paper is to contribute to the theme, “Pentecostal Education in the 21st century: Promises and Challenges,” lessons to be learned from the early Church. This is indeed a challenge, given the historical and ideological differences between the world of the Western “post-modern” person and the world of the early Church. Moreover, as history occurs in three dimensions and the writing about it, both ancient and modern occur in two, historical reconstruction is both complex and difficult. Nevertheless, I would like to offer some insights regarding the holistic and contextual nature of a Pentecostal education of the twenty-first century from the lives of Jesus and Paul, and hopefully by the end, I will have been able to elaborate what I mean by an integrated, contextual liberal education for Pentecostalism in the twenty-first century.

However, before addressing Jesus and Paul and their potential contributions to Pentecostal education, it is necessary to briefly outline the salient changes that had occurred in the ancient world leading up to the first century. These changes, as we noted above, had a dramatic impact upon the development and formation of the early Jesus movement; furthermore, many of the same cultural trends represented by the Hellenization of the Graeco-Roman world provide the antecedents of our present-day western society.

1See the excellent article by M. Palmer, “Orienting Our Lives,” 197-216, see especially 203-206.

2Palmer, ibid.; Palmer notes that it is not the curriculum that defines a liberal education, rather the philosophy behind the education and the training elicited by the education. Arthur Holmes defines a liberal education: “Liberal learning therefore takes the long-range view and concentrates on what shapes a person's understanding and values rather than on what he can use in one or two of the changing roles he might later play,” The Idea of a Christian College (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 29.

3D. Gress, “Multiculturalism in History: Hellenic and Roman Antiquity,” Orbis (Fall, 1999). Online: http://www.findarticles.com/cf_0/m0135/4_30/57670049/print.html; cf. also C. G. Jung, "But one thing is certain—that modern man, Protestant or otherwise, has lost the protection of the ecclesiastical walls erected and reinforced so carefully since Roman days..." "Psychology and Religion," in Psychology and...
The Hellenistic-Roman World

Strictly speaking, the Hellenistic period spanned from the conquests of the East by Alexander the Great, the son of Philip of Macedonia, traditionally dated to 333 B.C., to the end of the last Hellenistic ruler Cleopatra VII, who was a member of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the love interest of Mark Antony (30 B.C.). However, to some extent, one can view the Hellenistic age extending until the fourth century A.D. when the Emperor Constantine adopted Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire. The Latin poet Horace captured the continued impact of the Hellenistic spirit upon the Roman Empire when he said, “dècreated Greece defeated her savage conqueror and introduced civilization to rustic Latium”.

The world of the Ancient Near East was oriented North and South. The annals of the Ancient Near East record the continuous power struggle between the northern Mesopotamian powers, e.g., Assyria, Babylon, and Persia and the southern Egyptian power. For this reason, the OT authors were always keenly aware of the larger geo-political climate involving the northern and southern empires since this power struggle frequently played out on the battlefield of Israel—the land between. With the conquests of Alexander the Great and the subjection of the East to a Western power, the axis of the world shifted to an East-West orientation. Before Alexander’s invasion of the East, the East and West had a fluid exchange of ideas, culture, and material goods for centuries, even a millennia. The Macedonian conquest, however, brought the East under the direct control of a Western power that brought social, cultural, and political changes. The speed with which Alexander brought the East under his control also hastened the acceptance of Greek culture in more areas and by more people. This triumph elicited varying responses from the native populations. Some developed a religious-political resistance within the East, nourishing hopes for the return of Eastern supremacy; others, like the Egyptian oracle of Ammon Re at the oasis of Siwa who proclaimed Alexander the son of the god Ammon Re, embraced the foreign invaders.

The Greek culture introduced by Alexander, referred to as Hellenism, is not classical Greek, or Hellenic, the culture of the age of Pericles, Sophocles, and Socrates. Alexander sought to combine Eastern and Western cultures into a worldwide culture and community, what in the modern world is referred to as globalization. This universal humanity came to be expressed in the Greek term *oikoumenê*, a word originally used to refer to a family household, which came to define the sum total of human cultures. Hellenism, then, refers to the fusion of Eastern and Western cultures into a pluralistic multiculturalism. Alexander first attempted cultural mixing by forcing his officers to take Oriental wives. After his death, however, only one of the marriages endured, which largely provides a microcosm of the influence of Hellenism upon the East.

The Hellenization of the East never fundamentally changed the forms of life and culture in the East. The East absorbed the Greek culture and created its own culture consistent with its ideologies and sensitivities. Much of the Graeco-Roman reforms or what may better be termed as “Greek elements,” in the East were simply cosmetic, architecture, art, civic institutions. In those forms of cultural consciousness such as religion and philosophy, the East had a far greater impact upon the Graeco-Roman...
world than the Greeks and Romans did upon the East. The primary means
Alexander and his successors used for the propagation of Greek culture
was the polis. A city’s reception of the status of a polis carried with it
economic and administrative privileges. Through the poloi, peoples from a
variety of cultures mixed ideologies, philosophies, religions, and
languages. Cities such as Rome, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch in
Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt became the arenas for the encouragement
of the symbiotic relationship between the East and West characteristic of
the Hellenistic and Roman eras. As Meeks has noted, “The cities of the
Mediterranean world were at the leading edge of the great political and
social changes that occurred during the six and a half centuries from
Alexander to Constantine.” While the emigrant populations retained
certain indigenous cultural traditions and values, they moulded these and
became part of the oikoumene. The Hellenistic reforms did not effect those
living in the rural villages and countryside to a great degree, at least
initially. During the Roman period, however, the impact of Hellenism was
more widespread because of three centuries of Hellenization and the
special attention paid by the Romans to Greek culture. The institution of
the Pax Romana created an environment where Greek and Roman culture
could be exported to every part of the empire, and likewise, those
indigenous cultures within the empire could export their cultural wares
onto the streets of Rome itself.

Alexander further sought to tie his empire into an oikoumene by
introducing the Greek language as the universal language of his empire.
Known as koiné (koine dialektos), or common, Greek, it was not the
classical Greek of Herodotus or Thucydides. In keeping with the spirit of
the age, it came under the influence of the vulgar languages preserved
among the Eastern civilizations. For example, the koiné Greek spoken
among Semites will reflect certain influences of Semitic languages (thus,
Semitisms); likewise, the Greek spoken in the Latin West in the first
century A.D. reflected the influence of Latin upon its vocabulary and
grammatical constructions (thus, Latinisms). In the years following
Alexander’s conquest of the East, a knowledge of Greek was limited,
especially in the villages but even in the cities, to those natives who had
economic and political ties to the Greek government. This changed
partially during the Roman period because of three centuries under
Hellenistic reforms; thus, during the Roman period, Greek remained the
lingua franca of the Roman Empire. By the Roman period, many of the
lower classes, especially around urban centers, had acquired a modicum of
Greek, which was relegated in the lower classes mostly to speech. Many
of the Oriental civilizations that came under the influence of Hellenism
maintained a bilingual, if not trilingual (as in first century Palestine),
linguistic setting. Moreover, those Oriental peoples displaced from their
native lands, like the Jewish Diaspora, adopted the Greek language as their
primary language.

Having, thus, traced a general outline of the dynamic cultural
trends of the Graeco-Roman world, we turn our attention to Jesus and Paul. As we are
speaking about a holistic (integrated) and contextual approach to
Pentecostal education in the twenty-first century, I want to focus
specifically on Jesus as a model as to what I mean by holistic, or
integrated, and Paul as the model to what I intend by contextual. This is
not to imply, as will be seen, Paul’s omission from the holistic model or
Jesus from the contextual. Simply, by viewing them in their historical

1 W. A. Meeks, The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul (New Haven and
London: Yale University Press, 1983) 11. Interestingly, the majority of Paul’s recorded work in the
Greco-Roman world took place within these highly strategic urban centres.
2 Tcherikover, “The Cultural Background,” 46-47.
3 The Stoic philosopher Epictetus (1st century AD-2nd century A.D.) described the impact the Pax
Romana had upon travel and trade: “Beneath now, Caesar seems to provide us with profound peace
(eirenēn megalen), there are no wars any longer, no battles, no brigandage on a large scale, nor piracy,
but at any hour we may travel by land, or sail from the rising of the sun to its setting” (Discourses
3.13.9).
Christian Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); cf. also, S. E. Porter, “Greek of the

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context, I intend to suggest some potential models and paradigms for the Pentecostal-Charismatic academy.

**Jesus—To Hear and to Do—The Integrated Model**

Jesus was a Jew: this much is an indisputable historical fact. He grew up in the Lower Galilee among an observant Jewish family. The Gospels indicate that Jesus’ family was extremely pious in observing the commandments (cf. Luke 2:22-24, 41-42). Moreover, Matthew’s (1:19) designation of Joseph as a “righteous man” (dikaios) reflects the idiomatic Hebrew expression identifying him as a learned, pious sage. According to the Gospel accounts, Jesus lived an observant Jewish existence according to both the oral and written commandments, as we find him already at the young age of twelve engaging the oral culture of the Torah (Luke 2:41-52). A careful reading of the Gospels portrays Jesus’ thoroughly formal rabbinic education, which, in fact, was far superior to that of the Apostle Paul’s rabbinic education. He also was acquainted with the fables of Aesop, which he could have learned either by learning Greek or by studying in the “house of study” (cf. Matt. 11:7; 11:16-19; 25:14-30; cf. Luke 19:11-12). Moreover, Jesus was immersed in the trilingual nature (Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic) of first-century Palestine, although, most of his teaching would have occurred in Hebrew as well as been transmitted in Hebrew by his earliest disciples.

Of the streams of Jewish piety known in the land of Israel during the first century, namely Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes (cf. Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.119-166, and *Antiquities* 18.11-22), Jesus most closely identified with the Pharisees. The first-century Jewish historian Josephus described Jesus as a “wise man” (*sophos andrós*; *Antiquities* 18.63-64) identifying he identified him as a Jewish Sage. The Gospels also portray Jesus as most

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1 Archaeological excavations in the Galilee, particularly at Sepphoris, have shown that the Galilee was not an isolated “backwater” region; rather, it was far more exposed by travel and trade to the outside world than was mountainous territory of Judea. Moreover, the Galilee had more of an urban culture than did the southern region of Judea, which also indicates a more cosmopolitan culture. The everyday pottery manufactured at Kefar Hannanya in the Lower Galilee has appeared in excavations throughout the Galilee, both Lower and Upper, and even beyond the Jordan River in the Golan heights; see D. Adan-Bayewitz and I. Pentman, “The Local Trade of Sephoris in the Roman Period,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 40:2-3 (1990) 153-172; and D. Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee: A Study of Local Trade* (Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture; Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1993). Moreover, the appearance of imported goods such as Roman terra sigillata ceramic ware throughout the Galilee, especially in the Lower Galilee, like at Sephoris and Capernaum, have suggested that the Galilee was not isolated but rather part of an international trade network, of which part was a local trade network, within the Roman world. J. F. Strange, “The Sayings of Jesus and Archaeology,” in *Hillel and Jesus: Comparisons of Two Major Religious Leaders*, (eds.) J. H. Charlesworth and L. L. Johns, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997) 291-305. Likewise, the Gospels circle the developed character of the Galilee in the first century; for example, we find a Roman centurion stationed at Capernaum (Matt 8:5-13; and Luke 7:1-10) and Matthew the tax collector (Matt 9:9-13). So also, the harbor of Capernaum was one of the largest on the Sea of Galilee. In antiquity, the Sea of Galilee exported a large amount of fish throughout the land of Israel (cf. Strabo *Geogr.* 16.2.45; Josephus, *War* 3.508, 520; m. *Avod Zar* 2.6; and *m. Ned* 6.4). Even Jesus’ hometown of Nazareth, which contained at most a couple of hundred people, should not be characterized as an isolated “backwater,” for it stood only an hour’s walk (roughly) from the urban center of Sephoris. Furthermore, the standard of religious education and training in the Galilee far surpassed that of Judea. In fact, if one removed Jerusalem from the south, the centre of Jewish religious life in the first-century shifted to the Galilee, which was also more religiously conservative than Judea. See S. Safrai, “The Jewish Cultural Nature of Galilee in the First Century,” *The New Testament and Christian-Jewish Dialogue: Studies in Honor of David Flusser*. Immanuel 1992:394-95; and idem, “The Alleged Ban on Greek Wisdom,” in *The Alleged Ban on Greek Wisdom*, (ed.) E. Schürer, (1992) 100-114.


4 E. P. Sanders suggested in his third Shaffer Lecture at Yale Divinity School in 1991 that knowledge of the Greek language, as well as Greek customs and culture was severely limited in the Galilee in the first half of the first century; E. P. Sanders, *Jesus: His Religious Type, “Reflections”* (1992) 4-12. Flusser’s recognition of Jesus’ knowledge of Aesop’s fables calls Sanders suggestion into serious question; see also E. Schurer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, (rev. and eds.) G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black, (vol. 2; Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 1979) 1-80.


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closely tied with the Sages of Israel, i.e., the Pharisees. We hear him teach his disciples and followers: “The scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses’ seat; therefore, do and observe (poelesai kai tereite) whatever they tell you” (Matt 23:2-3). While Jesus goes on to warn his followers not to behave as the Pharisees because “they say but do not practice (ou poiousin)”, he, nevertheless, endorses the Pharisees’ authority and theology. Jesus’ contribution to the half-shekel tax for the Temple (Matt 17:24-27), a Pharisaic innovation, which was not accepted by either the Sadducees or Essenes, further suggests his close ties with this movement. In addition, the synagogue served as an essential religious institution in the life of Jesus, as Luke tells us that it was Jesus’ custom to go to the synagogue on the Sabbath (Luke 4:16). Likewise, the synagogue functioned as central to the religious life and expression of the Sages. Furthermore, Jesus’ method of instruction, namely story-parables, is an exclusive feature of the Gospels and rabbinic literature. In addition, some of the central themes in Jesus’ teaching, like the “kingdom of heaven”9 and “repentance,” only appear in the teachings of the Sages. Jesus’ life and teachings preserved in the Gospels moreover share a particular affinity with a group close to the Pharisees known as the Hasidim. The term, which means “pious ones,” designates a group of pious, wonder-working teachers who primarily came from the Galilee. Thus, the picture of Jesus that arises from the Gospels when read carefully together with ancient Jewish literature is of a figure entirely identifiable within Judaism of the Second Temple Period. Moreover, the picture of Jesus that emerges is that of a figure who was a part of the fabric and makeup of Judaism during the Second

Marc Turnage: The Early Church and the Axis of History and Pentecostalism facing the 21st Century: Some Reflections

Commonwealth—one who drew from it and contributed to it; one who embraced it and challenged it, but one who was never outside of it.

I have thought it necessary to outline the salient features that encapsulate for me the identification of Jesus as a Jew—the reality of the Incarnation. Having laid this most basic foundation, I want to turn and address the task at hand, Jesus’ contribution to our understanding of a holistic education, by means of one more important parallel between Jesus and the Sages of Israel, namely the gathering and organization of disciples. A reading of the Gospels together with an informed reading of rabbinic Judaism develops the picture of Jesus’ thorough rabbinic education of his disciples. More importantly for our purposes, however, is the method and injunctions Jesus taught his disciples. Thus, I want to look specifically at two sayings of Jesus: the parable of the “Two Foundations” and the so-called “Great Commission,” in order to posit a contemporary model for an integrated education.

The master-disciple relationship stood at the heart of rabbinic education and centred on the primary place given within Jewish culture after the return from the Exile to the study of the Torah. The impulse for the acute Torah consciousness found in the post-Exilic Jewish community was to learn Torah “in order to practice” (m. Avot 4.5; 6.6). The study of the Torah was also seen as an act of worship uniting humanity with God. The disciple sought to learn an entire lifestyle from his master (cf. m. Avot 6.6) through service of his master. Disciples were to show such respect that they could not correct their master in public (b. Menahot 64b), nor could they teach near the same place where their master was teaching (Leviticus Rabbah 20.6-7). The disciples expected to internalize not only their master’s knowledge of the Torah but also his spirit and behaviour, which was expected to be of the highest moral quality. For, while most people would come to hear a sage’s explication of the Torah, his life and personality were expected to elicit the desire in his audience to follow the Torah: “If the teacher is like an angel of the Lord, they will seek Torah from him. If not, they will not seek Torah from him” (b. Hagigah 15b). Shmuel Safrai has commented on this dynamic by stating:

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2For example, one practical note of similarity is that in the Gospels, Jesus frequently taught his disciples while travelling; likewise, the Sages engaged in peripatetic discussions and educational sessions with their disciples (cf. r. Ber. 4.16, y. Ber. 5c; see also m. Shabb. 18.1; and m. Avot 1.4).
4S. Safrai, ibid.
Study by itself did not transform a student into a disciple. For one thing, there were subjects which could not be systematically studied or explicitly enunciated, and subtle spiritual matters could be learned only by participating in the master’s life. Also, it was by submission to his master that a disciple was transformed into a vessel ready to receive his teacher’s spiritual truths, and thus to become his master’s true and faithful successor.1

This, then, should formulate the cultural background to our understanding of Jesus’ relationship with his disciples and their relationship with him.

Both Matthew and Luke locate the parable of the “Two Foundations” after a block of teaching, in Matthew known as the “Sermon on the Mount.” Every one then who hears (akouei) these words of mine and does (poiei) them will be like a wise man who built his house upon the rock; and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon that house, but it did not fail, because it had been founded on the rock. And every one who hears (ho akouon) these words of mine and does not do (mé poion) them will be like a foolish man who built his house upon the sand; and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat against that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it. (Matt. 7:24-27; cf. Luke 6:47-49).

Behind Jesus’ parable lies an ongoing debate among the Sages during the first-century as to which is greater: the study of the Torah or the practice of it.2 This debate stemmed from the careful reading of Exodus 24:7, “And Moses took the book of the covenant and he read it in the hearing of the people; and they said, ‘Everything the Lord says we will do (na “seh) and we will hear (nishma’).’” This generated the question whether the study or doing of the Torah was greater. As we have seen above, however, the study of the Torah was never engaged in solely for itself; it was expected by even the most ardent advocate for the study of the Torah being greater, that “study leads to practice”. Nevertheless, the order of the language in Exodus 24:7 raised the question, which of the two were greater to do (‘asah) or to study (shama’). Incidentally, the Hebrew word “to hear” (lishmo’a) within post-biblical Hebrew had gained the nuanced meaning of “to study” or “to learn,”3 because of the oral nature of learning and study within Judaism of the Second Temple Period.

Jesus’ parable, like Exodus 24:7, contains the two words “to hear” and “to do” indicating the indebtedness of Jesus’ words to the biblical passage. Given the idiomatic meaning of the word “to hear” (akoue: shome’a) in post-biblical Judaism, we can now understand Jesus’ statement as “Every one who studies [or learns] these words of mine and does them...and every one who studies [or learns] these words of mine and does not do them...” Jesus, then, expected his followers to study and learn his teaching, but he cautioned against those who simply heard or learned his words and did not put them into action (cf. also Romans 2:13). We could put it another way, for Jesus, study should lead to obedient action, and action should bring one back to study.

Our reading of Jesus’ words are strengthened by a parallel parable attributed to the second-century sage Elisha ben Avuyah (ca. 120 A.D.):

A person in whom there are good deeds (ma “sim tovim) and who has studied Torah extensively, what is he like? A man who builds first [of] stones and then afterwards [of] mud bricks. Even if a large quantity of water were to collect beside the stones, it would not destroy them. But a person in whom there are not good deeds (she’ein bo ma “sim tovim), though he has studied Torah, what is he like? A man who builds first [of] mud bricks then afterwards [of] stones. Even if only a little water collects, it immediately undermines them (Avot de Rabbi Natan 24, Version A).

The rabbinic parable of Elisha ben Avuyah, like the gospel parable, highlights the necessity for study and action. Clearly, Jesus and the Sages understood something forgotten within Western society, especially since the Enlightenment, that pure study not reinforced by good deeds will eventually leave the house in ruins, or in the words of another rabbinic parable:

A person whose knowledge is greater than his deeds, what is he like? A tree whose branches are many but whose roots are few: the wind comes and uproots and overturns it. But a person whose deeds are greater than his knowledge, what is he like? A tree whose branches are few but whose roots are many: even if all the winds were to come and blow against it, they could not move it (m. Avot 3.12).

1S. Safrai, ibid.
3Cf. the common expression in rabbinic literature Shome’a ani meaning literally “I have heard,” but idiomatically “I have learned” (e.g., Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Pisha 1.13).
We find Jesus using the language of "hearing" and "doing" on another occasion where he acknowledges the religious piety of his family, and apparently, at least in part, credits his family upbringing for his understanding of study and action: "My mother and my brothers are those who hear (akouontes) the word of God and do it (poiontmes)" (Luke 8:21).1

Traditionally, Western education models since the Enlightenment have viewed education through the prism of the mind-body dualism. As mentioned above, this has led to a reaction within Western Pentecostalism, which has tended to maintain the mind-body dualism, against higher education. Neither Jesus nor his Jewish contemporaries accepted this dualism. Jesus called those who tended to lose themselves in the study of the Torah to righteous action, but he also expected that a studied life would characterize his disciples as well as we hear him say on another occasion: "Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me...For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (Matt. 11:29-30). This saying of Jesus is similar to a rabbinic saying found in the Mishnah, "Whoever receives upon himself the yoke of the Torah, from him the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly care will be removed" (m. Avot 3.6; cf. also Sifre on Deut 32:29).

At the heart of an integrated, Pentecostal liberal education must lie the realization of Jesus' call to study and action. Teachers and administrators must commit themselves to the highest quality and standard of education—whether by the encouragement for higher degrees of faculty members or through personal research and publication. This may also mean the training of faculties in developing technologies. Moreover, opportunities need to be given on our campuses among faculty and students for the development of questioning minds, not dogmatism. Our faculties and administrations must demonstrate before the eyes of the students a biblically moral life, which is characterized by the deepest commitment to study and learn—a mind that can question and innovate within the community of faith. We must do away with the dualistic language of spirit and mind, and rather, like Jesus, teach and live the model that study leads to righteous action and right action leads to study. Moreover, we need to adopt an understanding different from traditional Western models of education that maintain a gap either real or perceived between the faculty and students. An integrated, liberal education is one that raises up disciples, who have the life and learning of the masters poured into the disciples but also trains the disciples to think beyond their masters, evolving and transforming our learning.2

This brings us to the second saying of Jesus, the so-called "Great Commission": "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I commanded you" (Matt. 28:19-20). Since the beginning of the Pentecostal movement in the early years of the twentieth century, the "Great Commission" has served as a functional "canon within a canon" as the Pentecostal mandate to evangelism.3 What is more, Pentecostals have traditionally interpreted Jesus' statement in a narrow sense as solely a command for missions. This saying of Jesus needs to be read in conjunction with a Mishnaic saying attributed to the Men of the Great Assembly: "They said three things: Be deliberate in judgment; raise up many disciples (ha'mida umidim); and make a fence around the Torah" (m. Avot 1.1). Primarily, Jesus' command, like the Men of the Great Assembly, called for the making of disciples. Interestingly, the form of Matthew 28:19-20 known to the Church historian Eusebius prior to the Council of Nicea (when manuscript variants were made uniform) emphasized primarily Jesus' command to make disciples: "Go forth and make all nations disciples in my name, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you."4 Likewise, a similar form of Matthew 28:19-20 appears in a Jewish-Christian source in Arabic translation: "Act as you have seen me act, instruct people in accordance with instructions I have given you, and be for them what I have been for you."5 It is instructive, I think, to see how this injunction was taken by Jesus' early followers as a mandate to "raise up disciples". While I am not wanting to be overly critical of Pentecostal efforts of evangelism, the narrow reading of Matthew 28:19-20 within Pentecostal-Charismatic circles as solely related to evangelism has missed the strong directive given by Jesus to his followers to raise up students, learners who act rightly. We in the Pentecostal-Charismatic academy need to recognize that Jesus' mandate in Matthew 28:19-20 carried with it the primary thrust of making disciples—

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as educators that is what we are to be about. Just as the Sages of Israel, and Jesus following their pattern, sought to create disciples who embodied Torah learning, so also we must raise up disciples who have been trained as critical thinkers, but also possess a life informing and establishing their learning and teaching. At times, deed will have to be emphasized over learning, and likewise, other situations will necessitate the emphasis to fall upon learning and study. We must never lose sight, however, of the balance identified by Jesus in the parable of the “Two Foundations”—the continuous cycle: study leading to action and action leading back to study. Furthermore, these times of imbalance necessitated by a situation should never lead us back into the dichotomy of mind and spirit.

Jesus, like the Sages, trained his disciples for training other disciples. Even while they were in the process of learning, Jesus gave them outlet to practice and use their training in the classroom of experience (cf. Luke 10:1-12, 17-24). Moreover, Jesus found opportunity in his disciples’ mistakes to instruct and correct (cf. Luke 9:37-43). So also, a liberal, integrated education must provide opportunities for students to practice their learning through action. This should not be narrowly defined in what theological institutions traditionally identify as “practical theology,” simply those things relating to the vocational training of students. Rather, these exercises should encompass the totality of life; moreover, our students need to see us in these venues as well. Furthermore, students need to be asked to reflect on what they have done—not on simply the results—but on their intentions and choices, and it is our responsibility to create an environment to critically evaluate such things. A liberal education requires that students gain the reflective ability to exercise maturity in making life-shaping choices, but this ability cannot be simply taught in a classroom or lab. Moreover, simply the creating of a reflective and critical environment cannot alone correct the problem of simple “vocational training centers”.

Within a reflective and critical environment, a student must encounter the life of a teacher who will walk with them through the process and permit the student to learn from his or her life. A gap exists between a student and a disciple and the bridge between the two is experiencing and participating in the life of the teacher.

The rabbinic dictum cited above, “If the teacher is like an angel of the Lord, they will seek Torah from him. If not, they will not seek Torah from him,” understood the synergy of the learning experience when coupled together with a life of righteous action. This integrated approach to life and teaching was understood as a means for generating the desire among the listeners to cling to a life of Torah.

Paul - In Him we live and move and have our being - The Contextual Model

While many Christians will concede that Jesus remained within Judaism, few, especially within Protestant circles, will allow the same for Paul. Time does not permit us to address this most important question; thus, we will have to rely upon the words of Paul himself, when, at the end of his life, he declared “I am a Pharisee” (Acts 23:6; cf. 26:5). He, moreover, reports to the leaders of the Jewish communities in Rome, “I have done nothing against the people or the customs of our fathers” (Acts 28:17). Nor did Paul expect Jews to cease behaving and living like Jews after coming to faith in Jesus as Messiah (cf. Acts 21:20-26; and 1 Cor. 7:17-20). Nevertheless, Paul’s understanding of the Gospel to the Gentiles paved the way in subsequent generations, after the Church had become more Gentile than Jewish, for the break to occur between Christianity and Judaism. Elsewhere, I have dealt at length with the first century debate within Judaism regarding the conversion of Gentiles and its penetration into the early Church. Nevertheless, nothing we find in the NT, either in Acts or in the Pauline Epistles, given an understanding of the diverse opinions present within Judaism of the first-century, presents a picture of Paul outside of Judaism. Furthermore, the discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls have provided scholars with linguistic and ideological parallels for much of Paul’s language and theology. It was not until the period of the Church Fathers that Greek and Pagan ideas became enscripturated into the Christian movement.

1 Apparently, Paul was beginning to see some of these tendencies among gentiles to seek to move away from Judaism, specifically in the community at Rome; thus, he wrote his letter to remind the gentiles there of their heritage and indebtedness to Judaism. See now the excellent work of Nanos, The Mystery of Romans: a passion. Already in the first century the centrifugal forces were already at work within the Christian movement that would eventually create two independent religious communities.

2 See Turnage: “Jesus and the Gentile Mission” (a paper presented to the faculty and students of Continental Theological Seminary, 28 February, 2002).

3 Cf. Flusser, “The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity.”

4 It was, moreover, not until the age of the Apostolic Fathers that one can even speak of Christianity as a separate “Third Race” distinct from Jews and pagans; see A. von Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1972) 240-278. The Church Fathers expressed their idea of the Church as a uniform “Third Race” by developing the vocabulary “Christianity” (Christianismos) as a separate movement directly opposed to Judaism (Judaismos) with “Christians” (christianoi) comprising its members. This first appears in the writings of Ignatius of Antioch (Epile to the Magnesians 10.1.3; and Epistle to the Philadelphians 6.1). In Acts (11:26; cf. 26:29) the followers of Jesus were first designated as “Christians” (christianoi) in Antioch; however, it was not originally an anti-Jewish slogan but eventually in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. came to be used so.

By Paul turning his mission West toward Europe (Acts 16:6-10), a central change in the history of the Church occurred. Although Paul was not the first follower of Jesus in Europe, nor did Christianity cease to develop within the East, by Paul’s turning West and thus being forced to face certain cultural dynamics, and subsequently because of the canonical status rendered to his Epistles, the foundation of the Western Church was laid. Western culture embraced Paul’s proclamation that Gentiles were free from the Mosaic Law and even more aggressively sought to de-emphasize the ritual and ceremonial aspects that characterized Eastern religions, like Judaism (and the Church in the East). Had Christianity crystallized first in Asia, where religious ceremony and ritual are necessary components of a genuine religion, it would have retained stronger ties to Judaism and the Jewish law. Nevertheless, as this happened, Paul understood the “liberalism” that characterized European culture, and thus, he declares, “Eat whatever is sold in the meat market... For ‘the earth is the Lord’s, and everything in it’” (1 Cor 10:25-26). Paul recognized that certain concessions were required of his Jewish sensitivities in order for the Gospel to take hold in the European context; moreover, he felt as an observant Jew that these concessions were permissible within the framework of his Jewish faith.

“But when the time had fully come, God sent forth his son.” A very practical reality of this statement reflects on the establishment of the Pax Augusta, more commonly referred to as the Pax Romana. The Roman peace created a greater degree of safety for travel and trade on both land and sea (cf. Epictetus, Discourses 3.13.9); moreover, the establishment of the Roman army throughout the empire generated the building of roads, built by and for the army, which created an interlocking system of roads and highways that allowed for quick travel and communication. The road system of the ancient Roman Empire permitted the fusion of East and West and invited the dissemination of peoples, ideas, and religions. No single mechanical advance so shaped the character and nature of the rise and development of early Christianity.

Paul clearly understood this technological and political advancement, and as we see from the witness of the NT, he used it to the utmost in his mission to spread the Gospel. In addition, a person with even the slightest knowledge of historical-geography quickly can ascertain Paul’s pattern of selecting essential urban centers from which to base his operations. Not mere happenstance led him to remain for extended periods in Ephesus and Corinth, two of the greatest port cities in the Roman Empire. Paul repeatedly placed himself at the crossroads of the Roman Empire: he understood how to use the technology and geo-political climate of his day to gain the most impact upon his world and culture. And, as we find in the testimony of the NT (Acts 19), Paul’s stay in Ephesus influenced and transformed the culture of that city.

Never in the history of humankind has technology offered so many possibilities and challenges for educators and Christians. Will we seek, however, like Paul, to use and manipulate this technology and global situation to our benefit in transforming and affecting our cultures? Or, will we follow the trend in Church tradition of never understanding the developing world, and thus, we simply criticize it? If there is anything we as Pentecostal-Charismatic educators need to take from Paul’s example, it is his intentionality in using the developed technologies of his day, as well as, making strategic decisions where his message could get the most hearing and also the greatest degree of dissemination. In keeping with the growing number of Pentecostal-Charismatics worldwide, we in the academy need to stand on the cutting edge of developing new models and paradigms for education within our specific contexts. Moreover, we need, as it is in our power, to train and equip our institutions and faculties to keep up with the changing world of technology, which, especially in the west, will be demanded by more of our students. Furthermore, we need to understand that flashy PowerPoint presentations and online Bible software cannot teach students mature critical reasoning skills; nor can technology alone provide a holistic education or bring mature development to a Christian community. Technological advances are tools waiting to be used and interpreted; they can open new vistas in our ability to educate and instruct. The evolution of technology requires the evolution of institutions and faculties—if institutions are going to invest in technology, they need also to invest in training of their faculties to use the technology in a responsible and optimum manner. It should never be forgotten that a truly liberal education requires human interaction to develop critical and reflective skills.

Paul expected those following the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to make a cultural difference in the culture in which they resided, even in the midst of a predominately pagan milieu. Thus, when Paul comes to Athens (Acts 17:16-34) and sees the idolatry of the city, his spirit is provoked, and as the text of Acts indicates, this led him to argue in the synagogue with the Jews and god-fearers. Apparently, Paul thought that this Jewish community should have been affecting the idolatry around them more.

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1 Cf. Flusser, Jesus, 57-58.
positively; therefore, he set himself in the agora to engage the pagans of Athens. Paul's encounter in Athens is unique because it is one of the few places within the book of Acts where Paul interacts with pagans. We find him on a number of occasions encountering gentiles, but most of these are god-fearers, i.e., those who had accepted somewhat the worldview of Judaism and the Jewish people. With this group, Paul had certain common ideological and philosophical points of comparison. The episode of Paul in Athens, however, gives a rare glimpse of Paul's interaction with pagans and his attempt to present them with the Gospel.

Several salient features stand out in this encounter. Again, Paul placed himself at the philosophical and cultural crossroads of the city—the agora. Paul had the contextual and cultural sensitivity to identify where his message would be heard, and potentially the place where it might be best accepted. Paul’s speech in the Areopagus is striking on several accounts. Traditionally, Protestants have assumed it necessary that a person recognize their personal sin, and thus, their need for a saviour, what has been termed in Evangelical circles as the 'Romans Road'. I find it interesting, and quite provocative, that the author of Romans never presents the "Romans Road" to these pagans. Or, to say it another way, Paul recognized that the pagan culture of Athens did not possess a consciousness of sin, particularly as we have defined it in the West, and thus, he did not set out to try and convince them of it. No, he explored other avenues of communication. He acknowledged that he and his audience came from two entirely differing worldviews, but rather than try to chastise them for not presuming those things he did, he used contextual methods of communication. He adapted to the context in which he found himself. True, he did eventually stumble, but it was not in trying to get his pagan audience to believe in their sin—it was the resurrection where he found the breakdown in communication. Is it possible that some of our "doctrines" of evangelism, which have been held sacred since the Reformation, were nothing more than the enscripturization of sixteenth century assumptions and guilt, which have been passed down through the centuries by the canonization of the Reformation?1

If the world has moved beyond modernity, then so must the Church. Western Christians, particularly those closely associated with the Evangelical and Fundamentalist movements, cannot demand the world maintain the assumptions of modernism simply because they have canonized them. Pentecostalism, since it is part of the cultural shifts occurring throughout the world, stands at an axis of prime opportunity, if it will recognize its uniqueness, seize the opportunity, and educate its constituency. It may mean that theological and ideological paradigms in place for centuries need to be rethought, removed, or recreated, not in an effort towards trendiness, but to contextually address ourselves to our evolving, pluralistic world.

Although Paul began his address brilliantly appealing to the contextual nature of the situation he found himself in, his introduction of a human appointed to judge the world (i.e. the Son of Man) and the resurrection created a breakdown in communication. Paul began, as some may describe it, speaking like a Greek, but he ends talking like that Jew that he was. Paul's appeal to the altar of the unknown-god and his citation of the Stoic philosopher Aratus grew out of his rabbinic education. Many of the Sages were acquainted with what went on at pagan temples, or in the theatres or bathhouses; moreover, Paul's teacher Gamaliel instructed half of his students to learn along with their Torah studies Greek literature.1 The Sages, like Paul, understood something that many Pentecostals have not, namely that in order to engage an adversary one must thoroughly understand him. Some things, however, cannot be compromised on, and as we see from 1 Corinthians 15, the resurrection of the dead was one of these components. This should serve as a warning to present-day Pentecostals; in our attempt to be contextual, some things cannot be sacrificed. While the degree of what that is may vary in degree from group to group, or individual to individual, we must also be cautious that those things we identify as "essentials" are indeed that.

Paul offers, however, a model for liberal education. He understood the pagans whom he stood before. He had studied their religion and philosophy to an extent where he could use them to his benefit. Would the students in western Pentecostal-Charismatic institutions receive a similar understanding of where the world is, possibly through music, entertainment, literature, or philosophy, in our institutions that they are capable of reflectively challenging their culture in a contextual manner? If nothing else argues for the need for a liberal education in Pentecostal-Charismatic institutions in the twenty-first century, this dynamic alone demands it. We do not see Paul accepting the worldview of the pagans in

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Athens, but neither does he ignore it, nor demand something of it that it is not prepared to give. Our models of education in the twenty-first century will have to be pluralistic in keeping with the cultural pluralism, which has become a part of western society and culture today. Being contextual, means developing the ability to change, evolve, adapt, and ultimately control the change.

Conclusions
The early Church stood at an axis of history, and it transformed its world through a contextual message spoken by a community seeking to live a holistic and integrated lifestyle. We likewise find ourselves at an axis of history. Particularly as Pentecostals, we stand in an important and strategic location at this point in history to affect and transform our culture. Our future will depend upon deliberate and reflective choices we make in the nascent years of the twenty-first century. The purpose of this paper has been to suggest that Pentecostal-Charismatic education in the twenty-first century needs to be characterized by a holistic and contextual model to address itself to a world standing at the axis of history. The world is changing rapidly; can we evolve and change with it and become the shapers and creators of our cultures and societies during the next millennia? This is the opportunity and challenge facing the Pentecostal-Charismatic academy—I only hope we are ready for the task.

Abstract
This paper explores ancient educational principles, the teaching methodology of Jesus and tries to identify principles and practices that may be adopted in modern theological teaching and training scenarios in order to ensure that the training is offered and contextualised in ways appropriate to the constituencies reflected.

Preamble
Seeing the crowds, Jesus went up the mountain, and when he sat down, his disciples came to him, and he opened his mouth and taught them. "Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven...You are the salt of the world...you are the light of the world...love your enemies...pray like this, 'Our Father who art in heaven'...don't be anxious about life".

And Peter said "Do you want us to take this literally or should we contextualise it for first century pre-modern non-Westernised Jews?" Andrew said, "How many books did you use for that lecture and have you included them in your bibliography with full references?" James said, "Is this coming up in the exam at the end of the semester?" Philip said, "Do you want us to memorise all these points?" Matthew said, "Can you go over the third point; I didn't have time to write it down?" Bartholomew said, "When you said that we should be lights in the world, did you mean that we be like candles in the world or searchlights or these new halogen bulbs?" Judas said, "Do we all have to do this?" John said, "I'm sorry, I think I dozed off; did I miss anything" Thomas said, "I've got some questions" Thaddeus said, "Is it coffee time?"

One of the Scribes asked, "Jesus, what were your aims for this lecture?" One of the Pharisees asked, "Jesus, what were your proposed learning outcomes?" Herod asked, "Jesus, has this been passed by the Jerusalem University validation board?" Pilate asked, "Jesus, does this compare favourably academically with the teaching in the Academy at Rome?"

1This article is an adaptation of a paper originally read at the European Pentecostal Theological Association annual conference in Brussels, Belgium, July 2002.
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Hudson Taylor said, "You didn’t mention missionaries"; Isaiah said, "You didn’t mention me"; Paul said, "What, no tongues?"

And Jesus... wept.¹

Introduction
When Jesus chose his disciples, he chose not to send them to the rabbinic schools but to stay with him. I wonder why. Is Jesus offering us a paradigm for learning that we have ignored? And if Jesus were to come today and choose disciples, would he send them to one of our Bible Colleges or even volunteer to teach at one of our Bible Colleges?

Jesus had a very clear agenda when he set up his learning programme. The questions I want to pose primarily are, "what is the agenda in our learning programmes and have we got too many?" If we do, it is partly because we have a diverse a number of students attending our Colleges. However, the danger of too many targets is that we fail to hit any of them; too many objectives and we fail to achieve any of them; too many voices calling us and we don't respond fully to any of them.

Jesus had one agenda... to create disciples. Having established who he wanted to train and what he wanted them to be trained to do, he set about training them efficiently and teaching them a content that was relevant in a style that was appropriate.

Who are we creating in our undergraduate programmes and are we succeeding? If we are training pastors, our teaching must be obviously different for those who wish to train to be evangelists or those who wish to receive a theological education before functioning in a secular work setting. The subjects of Church history or the history of Christian doctrine or introductory issues (such as the addressees of the letter to the Galatians) are less relevant to the trainee evangelist or pastor than for the student who wishes to function in a more abstract role or wishes to develop his/her knowledge about Christianity. Similarly, issues relating to ethics or the relationship between Church and society are more relevant to the prospective pastor or counsellor than for the trainee school teacher or one who is planning to continue towards postgraduate studies. Similarly, the missionary candidate will benefit more from cross-cultural studies than s/he will from learning Greek or Hebrew. Similarly, our mode of lecturing should vary depending on the training that is being offered. Thus, if we are training disciples, the mode of lecturing is less appropriate; the model of disciple maker is better, and that will involve a different framework of learning. Others have already considered this issue.²

Teaching in the ancient secular world
Jesus lived in a world where education, although not as developed and as widely available as today in much of the world, was nevertheless an aspiration of many who wished to mature within their culture. In the Graeco-Roman world, education was largely for the rich, with fees needing to be paid for education either at home, via tutors, or in a private school. Education was a social issue; teachers were paid by parents or the city in which they lived. Greek students went to school at daybreak along with 60-120 other children, aged up to 18. Teaching took place in rooms where the children sat on benches with waxed writing tablets on their knees while the teacher sat on a chair on a platform in front of them. Instruction relied on copying and memorising sections of classical Greek literature. This resulted in a similar educational culture throughout the Empire for there existed a common syllabus and an approved curriculum. Education was a thing to be enjoyed and involved the broadening of one's mind and the liberation of the consciousness as truth was explored and absolutes questioned. In the Classical Greek era, Philosophy was the highest subject: who we are; why we're here; what is life; issues about life and death, values and beliefs, God and suffering. These were issues to be explored; education was a journey to be travelled and enjoyed, with detours along the way where more information could be gathered. Western education is strongly influenced by such methodology and it has infiltrated non-Western societies even though it is even less appropriate to those cultures, such is the pervasive influence of Western (mainly European and North American) education.

The Romans were influenced by Greek education; thus, many pupils were taught Greek before they were taught Latin. However, they offered distinctive, the main one of which was that topics like maths and music were best taught if there was a practical application. Philosophy was not the topic ranked highest by Romans. There were schools, though these were often not dedicated as such; often classes were out of doors. Teachers were poorly paid and were generally of low social status with little prestige. Most children were taught that which was viewed as necessary for the practical issues of life and employment. Thus, school was mainly for children of the rich (boys and girls), whose adult life was often not the


²Developed from an anonymous reflection.
result of a learned trade or skill. Even they often ended their education at 14 when the boys became voting citizens though some continued until they were about 15/16. Education at this level was mainly in the area of literature and, in particular, rhetoric or communication. The most common form of instruction was via a lecture; well-crafted speeches were viewed as signs of the cultured and well-educated person.

Practical subjects were most exalted including rhetoric...what you do and how you do it; practical issues; utilitarianism; pragmatism not philosophy. Education was basically to prepare children for the practicalities of life; it was utilitarian by nature and less idealistic and philosophical than the Greeks. The latter did influence some early Jewish thought, best represented by Philo, though the Pharisees with their emphasis on practical outworking of the Law would have been more influenced by the Roman model of education. Similarly, in the main, Jesus’ form of teaching and training would have been more appropriate to the Roman format. Issues of pragmatism, usefulness, contextualisation, relevance, practicality and practice were present in both.

Teaching in Judaism
For centuries, education was based in the home and was centered on the Jewish religion (and the Torah and later, the Talmud, with its variety of opinions related to diverse issues) and learning the family trade. Philo indicates that both aspects were viewed as being the responsibility of the father and that from the earliest age, about 6 or 7. Poorer families had less time and expertise to teach the former. A girl was prepared for marriage and trained as a competent manager of the household (Prov. 31:10-31).

The next stage was learning about the Torah in formal schools, partly because many fathers were unable to fulfill their obligation to teach their sons. Learning to read was in order that the pupil could read the Torah; writing was less general and less necessary since it was the reading of the Torah that was deemed to be important, not copying it. Along with this was the learning of religious practice. This was a graduated process until the first signs of manhood when boys were expected to fulfill all the Torah. Reading the Torah was undertaken in order to obey it. This development in education may be traced back as far as the first century BC according to the legendary instruction of Simeon ben Shetah that children should attend elementary school (though it may have occurred even earlier in synagogues), but was probably established by Joshua ben Gamala (high priest from 63-65 AD) when he arranged for teachers to be appointed in each district and town of Palestine.

The teachers were not particularly important members of society though students could sit at the feet of Rabbis later in their education; Rabbis were worthy of honour and pupils stayed with them until the Rabbi died when they would join themselves to another Rabbi or follow one of their colleagues. This education, often taking place in the synagogue, retained certain Jewish distinctive, though also resulted in children receiving a Greek education, appropriate to the increasingly Hellenistic context in which they lived. Thereafter were added, in the secondary colleges of the rabbis, rabbinical interpretation of the Law (the haggadah) and its application to daily life (the halakhah).

Education, to a large degree, was elitist and male orientated in first century Palestine. Teachers developed into experts who enjoyed the educational process, a process that included inquiry, analysis and evaluation. Jesus did not teach according to Greek, Roman or Jewish models of education. Jesus was looking for disciples who were prepared to undertake a learning pilgrimage of a personal and practical nature and none of the educational models available fitted that pilgrimage. If Bible Colleges are to create disciples, the framework of teaching will have to reflect the paradigm set by Jesus and that differs from the normal education systems in Graeco-Roman, Jewish and modern Western academies.

Jesus the Teacher
Jesus was more than a teacher; but He was a teacher first. In each of the Gospels, Jesus is addressed as didaskalos. In the first century, the term rabbi was not yet a fixed title for academically trained and ordained teachers/scribes; it was, however, the most common form of address for teachers. Jesus appeared to the Jews as a Jewish rabbi of exceptional influence, skill, popularity, authority and individuality.

If one looks for a model that more closely represents Jesus’ didactic learning programme, it is most probably found in the schools of the OT.

1. Special Laws, 2.29, 236.
2. Embassy to Gaius, 115; Josephus, Against Apion, 2.18.
4. M. Nid. 6.11. See also later changes, recorded by Schurer, The History..., 2.421 fn. 41.
prophets. Although loosely paralleled with Rabbis, Jesus was distinctive, not the least by his authority, based on his own wisdom, at times, rooted in Judaism (Mt. 5:42//Sirach 4:4-6; Mt. 24:28//Job 39:30). Also, he was not appointed to his position as Rabbis were (via formal ordination by three men, one of whom was himself ordained, with the laying on of hands); neither did he function as other Rabbis in that he did not follow the practice of learning from others; neither did he base himself in one location, preferring to itinerate; nor was he like any other of Rabbi who was described thus, “The teacher was not an inspired mediator of new revelations; he was a transmitter of torah”; Jesus was clearly the former.

What did he teach?
He did not teach everything and he did not know everything. For example, he spoke Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek, but probably not Latin. He taught what was necessary; he taught wisdom (and how to develop it) more than he imparted information (and how to enlarge it); “how” more than “what”; “why” more than “when”; who you are more than what you know; who you can become more than what you can retain. He taught about the Kingdom of God, himself and one’s relationship with God and each other. In other words, his agenda was narrow and focused.

Closely allied to the context of his teaching was the content of his teaching. The content was imparted in the context of praxis and practising; less knowledge and more know-how; less information and more application, less intensive data presentation and more inspiration and transformation; no notes and handouts but hands-on-experience; less cerebral and more personal development; less intellectual and more intuitive; not just the impartation of information but the directing of self activity; giving what was needed not what was merely interesting or might be useful; pragmatic not idealistic; but also not only giving what he thought the person ought to know but also giving what the person was capable of receiving (Mk. 4:33; Jn. 16:12). Jesus was the best paradigm of brilliant pedagogy.

1 Both the Rabbis and Jesus were ministered to by their disciples and expected to be revered by them to a very high degree, even equated with the fear of God (b. Ber. 7b, 47b; Sota 22a; Hor. 13a; Pessah 22b; Qidd. 57a).
3 Such ordination was crucial (R. Judah b. Baba lost his life (135 AD (b. San. 13b-14a)) when he disobeyed the command by Hadrian not to ordain more Rabbis) and could not be reversed. Only the best students were ordained, who had learnt the Torah thoroughly, who sat on the first three rows of the rabbinic sanhedrin (m. San. 4:4). The Mishnah mentions over 150 Rabbis; the Babylonian Talmud names over 1500 Rabbis but attributes special significance to 78 of them; see further Byrskog, Jesus..., 96f.
4 m. Abot 4:1; b. Abod. Zar. 19a.b.
5 Byrskog, Jesus..., 98 (though see exceptions, 99).
He taught regularly.
I have two models in mind when I think of Jesus; “little and often” (he taught his disciples in bite sized morsels of teaching, easily digestible) and “the revolving door” (taking advantage of providing guidance and learning opportunities in the context of continuous mission activity). He did not teach in a vacuum; he only taught that which they needed to know at any given moment and he presented it often in snack form; and when they were full, the feeding stopped. Thus, in the lessons he teaches via miracles, he focuses on certain important issues including the demonstration of his mission to incorporate the outcast and to establish the kingdom. Our teaching in College scenarios is often determined by the length of module, credit rating and length of lecture. Issues relating to relevance are not often considered other than in the big picture. Our models may be appropriate but they are different to the pedagogy of Jesus. His teaching was relational, generally informal and reciprocal.

The content was imparted in the context of praxis and practising.
His was a “praxis-based pedagogy”. It was also rooted in relationship; relationship with the teacher, with each other and with God. It was intended to transform not to conform; to liberate thought not to leave no room for further learning. He demonstrates his authority concerning issues related to the Jewish Law in the context of healing miracles and exorcisms (concerning the forgiveness of sins (2:1-12), the Sabbath (Lk. 8:2ff; 13:10ff; 14:1-6; Jn. 5:1-14; 9:1-41), purity laws (Matt. 8:2-4ff; 9:20-22ff; Lk. 7:11ff.) and the temple (Matt. 21:14)). In a cosmic context, he is presented as having supreme power over all the forces of darkness, illustrated by the way their domination over the lives of people is broken with ease when Jesus confronts them miraculously (Mk. 2:8-11; 3:4, 23-27).

What may we learn for our teaching today?

Be relevant
He asked questions that others were also asking and offered answers to questions that people were asking. He offered a learning process that was relevant. His answers related to “how to pray”, the acquisition of spiritual skills and obedience (see Mk. 1:40-45 esp. 45). These were not extra curricular; rather, they were not only central to the course; they were the course. This issue is central to our quest. In order to teach in a relevant way, the vocation of the student has to be determined as clearly as possible to ensure that the content of the teaching relates to their intended destination.

How relevant is our curriculum to the needs of the teacher, pastor, educationalist or student studying for the purposes of achieving a degree? The significance of the history of theology, history of the church, matters of NT/OT introduction should be determined in ideological partnership with the student not imposed by the teacher. How relevant is systematic theology as contrasted with biblical theology; the history of Christian doctrinal development as contrasted with contemporary theological issues? The pastor will be interested in answers concerning such issues as cohabitation; genetic engineering; gender distinctives; the scholar may have a different agenda of interests and quests. What must not occur is that we be too rooted in the status quo so that we do not provide a dynamic response to contemporary questions.

Be praxis based
Education that seeks to stimulate the mind and the person to action is Jesus’ kind of education; education that operates at the level of life is Jesus’ kind of education. Lebar concludes, a student’s “growth is determined not by what he hears, but by what he does about what he hears”. Truth without life will result in deadness while life without truth will result in simplistic and short-lived experience. Harkness speaks of the need of having a “praxiological agenda”. This involves the agenda for the prospective pastor being driven by pastoral and missiological concerns rather than in a literary and praxis vacuum.

Be enthusiastically interactive
There is a great danger that education has spawned a new breed of people—professional listeners. Even this is speculative if the maxim that a

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5 For Jewish rules concerning the Sabbath in contexts of illness, see Shab. 147a-148a.

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2 “De-schooling...”, 152.
lecturer is a person who speaks in someone else’s sleep is correct. It is estimated that at any one time, only 25% of an audience is actively listening to the preacher; are lectures likely to achieve better results? If the lecture involves people being talked at, the lecturer will not be listened to. Teaching must involve interchange, taking into consideration the contexts of those present, the whole personality and action. If lectures involve sitting and listening, we are living in a dream world that supposes people are listening, let alone learning. Lectures must be much more than simply spoken books; in fact if a lecture simply repeats information that is already included in a multiplicity of books, it is surely advisable and cheaper to buy the books.

Plato criticises his former student Dionysius of Syracuse in his Seventh Letter for publishing the lectures of Plato for although they inform and remind, they cannot engage in dialogue. Lectures are usually ineffective in changing attitudes unless discussion is involved. Speaking can be a good means of communicating as long as it multi-dimensional in presentation. Alexander speaks of the role of the “living teacher” as being crucial in the early Church. The written and spoken word will always be a poor second to the living voice that is enthusiastic, interactive and transformational.

Kierkegaard (1813-1855) said, “If God held all truth in (the) right hand, and in (the) left hand held the lifelong pursuit of it, (God) would choose the left hand”. An enthusiastic pursuit of the exploration of God is crucial to the learner and the learners. When this ceases to exist in me, my role as a Learner-teacher will need to be revisited.

Contextualise

Bible Colleges are influenced by the contemporary Western academy (what we offer, where and how we teach it); they often take the place of the contemporary secular Western academy in a Christian culture (Christian degrees taught by Christian tutors in a Christian environment); but crucially, they must not be mirror images of the contemporary Western academy but be distinctive and offer relevant learning experiences for their students and constituencies. This demands careful examination of the needs and aspirations of the students attending to ensure that the learning journey offered contextually fits them, their pasts and their futures.

Identify their prior journey

The best teacher responds to the prior experience of the learner or stimulates his/her curiosity, then goes to the subject, then applies it to the experience of the learner or stimulates his/her curiosity. The problem with Western education is that it is all too often pre-determined before the student is even interviewed for a place on that course. Three concepts dominate Western university education, namely, critical and evaluative examination, disciplined research and orderly systems of learning offered in a framework of teaching and critical enquiry. Though valid and laudable concepts, they may be less relevant for some vocations than for others. We need to be alert to the danger of offering a core curriculum that is static and not appropriately contextualised to the journey of our students thus far and their development thereafter.

Identify their learning journey

The question becomes one not so much of how/what should I teach but how/what should they learn. That itself is based on the prior question, “What do they need to learn?” (closely allied to, “What do they want to learn?” that itself is fed into by the question, “What have they learned thus far?”). What one is considering here is a personal development plan that is partly based on their pre-College development as well as their post-College destination. This demands much more personal involvement but will result in a much better personal fulfilment of their visions and vocations.

Frederick Froebel (1782-1852) founded the kindergarten with its emphasis on play, self-expression, constructive activity and social cooperation. He chose to try to bring out of a person not put into a person. Teaching in Bible/Theological Colleges is best determined after it has been appropriately contextualised in the life settings of the students. The role of the teacher is not to be an expert who gathers together ever-increasing knowledge, some of which may be imparted to the listener; rather, they are to be facilitators. This needs a paradigm change away from learning how to teach, to learning more about learning, in order to teach. This dynamic process driven by the students’ needs, not the content of the predetermined course, is difficult to be accommodated in a static framework of education with pre-set objectives.

Identify their cultural journey

Another aspect of contextualisation is the fact that most Pentecostal/Charismatic believers live in the continents of Asia, Africa and South America. Yet, the form of theological education practised is still after the manner of Western Bible Colleges with a high stress on the cerebral. However, the cultural background of the student affects his/her theology.

Theology is not stagnant; it develops in a context and Pentecostal issues are most significant in this respect (thus, for example, exorcism must be explored differently with students from Ghana and those from the UK because their worldviews, experience and praxis differs markedly). What are the theological issues in the host countries of our students? These are the ones that should not be overlooked.

This aspect means that educators need to be listeners as well as speakers, Learners as well as (instead of (?)) simply Teachers,1 askers of questions not just providers of answers, indulging in dialogue with fellow learners; not functioning only in a teacher-pupil, expert-novice relationship but also in a Learner-learner relationship. In the process, the student must be incorporated as a partner in the learning journey in which the teacher may be a guide and fellow traveller though not exclusively an authoritative determiner of the destination or the road to be travelled or the views or detours on the way. Indeed, the road travelled in the educational process needs to reflect the road already being travelled down by the student whilst enabling their level of consciousness to be raised to encompass vistas relevant to them though as yet not appreciated by them. Such education calls for a more individualistic, intensive and dynamic approach that may not be replicated in a pre-determined format which includes set reading and set notes and that assumes a static pedagogy within carefully defined limits.

Worthy of consideration in the planning of the learning journey of the student are the following questions:-

How does the context and the vocation of the student affect the content and delivery of the teaching? What are the roles of the partners (Learner-learners) in the learning process? (How should the learning material be learnt (and thus taught)?)

Identify their intended journey

Unlike University education that moves from information to theory and possibly to application, the model of paideia education is better for future pastors/disciples. The latter moves from “source to personal appropriation of the source, from revealed wisdom to appropriation of revealed wisdom, in a way that is identity forming and personally transforming”.1

Pentecostal denominations are already aware of this issue and are seeking to develop new models of training for pastors outside the Bible College framework. Interestingly, this has resulted in a proliferation of church based colleges, established for a variety of reasons including a reluctance to send their best people to Bible College and a commitment to hands-on experience. A further significant reason is a commitment to leadership development through discipleship and impartation of vision from a successful leader, a framework of learning that is evidenced in the life of Jesus.

Part of this drive has resulted from the fact, or perception, that the Bible College framework of learning is not only too static but the Colleges are not aware of the need to change or lack the motivation so to do. The fear of being marginalized from the training of future leaders should cause all involved in Bible College education to reconsider that which they are offering and its relevance. A symbiotic partnership between Bible College and the local church needs to be developed as the means for maximising the learning process of the student. The church functions as the hermeneutical context for the learning and practice of the student. It also provides the College with the knowledge as to whether it is providing that which the church needs. Rather than College being the setting for learning, it is to be recognised that the better setting for practitioners is the church community where mission can be developed in the appropriate context. The word “seminary” derives from the Latin, “seminarium”, that is translated, “a seedbed”. The seedbed for the learning of the Bible College is where the growth of the Christian community takes place and that, fundamentally, is the local church. If students are to be trained to be “out there”, they need to be “out there” when they are being trained.

Learn about learning

This issue is crucial for theological education. Pedagogy is more to do with learning than it is about teaching; it is more about how I learn best that which I need to know than how you teach me that which you want me to

be taught. Learning needs to be more than simply receiving and reproducing information. It is the exploration of truth (not key concepts of our cultural or religious heritage only). If a learning process exists solely to transmit and reinforce a cultural and theological heritage, it cannot empower the learner to think creatively, reflect independently and articulate transparently; it cannot ask the awkward questions for fear of what answers may be raised. The concept of problem solving does not easily fit into such a mould and yet learning by solving problems is a developing educational initiative.

Listen for the Spirit
In the pedagogical process, there needs to be an awareness of the potential involvement of the Spirit and a recognition that the journey is itself a holy one in which the Spirit is present. This need not be identified by a time of worship or singing but simply by an awareness that he is speaking through the Learner, the learners, the questions, the probing and the silence. This calls for a particular type of learning environment.

Suggestions
Training for ministry (and discipleship) is different to academic theological education. We could try to harmonise the routes to each but that is a doomed exercise with neither group being benefited fully. Or we could recognise the major distinctions and offer different learning tracks. The Academic model is not the best one for discipleship/pastoral training; degrees do not necessarily make better disciples; degrees do not bestow life; too often they simply bestow doctrine; degrees can lead to rationalism not to radicalism, learning rather than learned behaviour, libraries not lifestyles. The model used by Jesus for ministry and discipleship training was a 3 year, intensive, on-the-job training with a high reliance on example, character development and practice, whilst being rooted in community; in a word, discipleship. A partnership between the local church and a residential College for intensive, dedicated sessions may be a suitable framework for ministry training/discipleship.

Within the context of ministry training, there needs to be a recognition of the importance of contextualisation. The prior contexts and vocational destinations of the students need to be understood in order to determine the most appropriate learning models and module contents. New terms need to be the focus of education including dynamic learning, individual strategies, partnership in the learning continuum, never ending learning and contextualised questions and answers. New models of learning may need to be adopted or at least considered, including open learning, while new metaphors for learning need to be explored, including revolving-door learning praxis, a procedure that includes regular movement, interaction and discourse between the College and the work place.

If someone wants an undergraduate theological degree, Bible Colleges run by dedicated Christian theologians skilled in communication and inspired by the Spirit can function as healthy competitors to the academic, but sometimes spiritually lacking, departments of theology in many secular universities. In particular, part time Masters courses that offer reflection and evaluation of issues currently being faced by practitioners in a learning zone of fellow practitioners are suitably presented in Colleges in revolving-door scenarios. Similarly, theses leading to MPhil and PhD awards can be valuable exercises for the Church especially when the authors explore issues of contemporary value.

Conclusion
At the Teaching Research and Development Network annual symposium on May 15, 2002 at the University of Manchester, the keynote speaker was Prof. Charles Engel (Centre for Higher Education Studies, London). His underlying proposition was, “the twenty first century will witness an escalation in the frequency and gravity of changes that will affect society world-wide”; the Queen at the Palace of Westminster (April 30, 2002) commented to the assembled Lords and Commons, “Change is a constant. How we engage it will define our future”. Change is here to stay and educationalists must be prepared to embrace this fact, including the challenges and the potential. The evidence of how successful we have been in this regard will be identified by how much we are ready to change ourselves before we seek to change those who come and learn with us and from us.

John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) was a Christian educator (the first who popularised pictures in teaching) who has been described as the first modern educator. He lived much of his life in poverty though was highly respected in Europe. Sweden asked him to reform their schools; England asked him to set up a research College. His major work was entitled The Great Didactic. On the title page, he wrote his objective:- “To seek to find a method of instruction, by which teachers may teach less, but learners may learn more”. This must always be our aim.

Would Jesus have sent his disciples to Bible College today?
   For discipleship training, no.
   For theological education for use in the secular world, why not?
For refresher courses/revolving-door experiences; for oases for reflection, stimulation and discussion with others who are asking similar questions, yes.
It's not what we do; it's the way that we do it.
Uncomfortable thoughts for a lecturer in a residential Bible College at the turn of the century.¹

Neil Hudson

Abstract
The paper charts the development of Theological Colleges in Pentecostal settings, highlighting the extent to which they developed their academic standards. It examines criticisms that have been made of the Colleges and suggests that new church based training projects could provide new models for theological training of people wanting to be prepared for future ministry.

Traditional Bible Colleges are facing pressures from every side. Economically, there are few colleges that do not dread the annual budgeting exercises and each year the scramble for new applicants intensifies as we recognise them to be customers who have many diverse choices. There is also the ongoing uneasy relationship that Bible Colleges have with the churches and denominational leaders. In the Colleges, we look for slights and criticisms, convinced that they are present, if only in sub-texts, because we have heard them all before. The temptation to enter the bunkers and snipe at the ‘enemy’ can be overwhelming.

In recent years, this tension has grown as larger churches have set up their own Church-based training schemes. It is never long before what begins with the mega-churches feeds down to the average sized churches, all providing training that by its very existence can appear to be a criticism of the existing models; models we belong to, and in some cases have given many years of our life to. Whether these “new schemes are an illegitimate younger sibling to be drowned at all costs, or an inevitable and exciting development that one should feel privileged to encourage”² is an open question, but the real point is that they cannot be ignored or simply dismissed. For all of us involved in European theological education, the ground rules are changing. We have new competitors and we cannot ignore the challenges that these new players bring us.

Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to examine the challenges presented to Bible Colleges by church based training schemes in terms of ministry preparation. It will intentionally include some provocative thoughts, which along the way have disturbed my own presuppositions and will conclude with some potential changes that need to be considered in the light of these developments.

The development of British Pentecostal Bible Schools
British Pentecostalism saw the development of its first Bible School very early in its history. A German leader in 1909, urging the newly established Pentecostal Missionary Union Training school to develop and expand, wrote, “Since God is calling such fine people into His work and is giving them in the Pentecostal Baptism such a wonderful spiritual equipment, it seems to me we ought to do our very best to add the very best training that human learning is able to afford”.¹ There was a clear recognition that the blessing experienced by the early Pentecostals needed to be augmented with training that would divert the blessing into lasting fruitfulness. To that end it is interesting to see the subjects that were included in their training:

6 am Rise
6-7 Bath, dress, private devotions
7-8 Reading of the scriptures
8-9 Breakfast and Prayers
9-10 Bible Study
10-11 Outlines of doctrines
11-12 Secular studies
12-1 pm Outline of church history

¹ This paper was delivered at the EPTA Conference in Brussels in 2002. Rev. Dr Neil Hudson is the Director of Undergraduate Studies and lecturer in Pentecostal history at Regents Theological College, London Road, Nantwich, CW5 6LW, England: neil.hudson@regents-cr.ac.uk
1-2 Dinner and rest
2-3 Prayer (united)
3.15-5 Visiting
5-6 Leisure, letter writing etc.
6-7 Evening meal
7-10 Meeting
Lights out.¹

There was no disembodied spirituality. They were to be prepared for the hard work of mission and that meant that they needed practical skills as well as Biblical information. Above all, they needed to allow their Scriptural awareness to feed into their character. Here one can see Wacker's thesis that early Pentecostals were both primitivists and pragmatists clearly played out.² They were not going to be of such heavenly worth that they could be of no earthly use. This College eventually became the Training College for the Assemblies of God in 1921.

The seriousness of the link between training and church ministry was made more explicit once Howard Carter became the principal of the College. Students were to pay £1 per week, though the actual costs were closer to half that amount. The extra money was diverted into a fund that established new churches. These were the churches that graduands would lead after they had left the College.³

Elim quickly followed the lead of the Assemblies of God, establishing their own College in 1925 with the clear intention of producing pastors that would be able to follow in George Jeffreys' evangelistic wake. Jeffreys established the College out of frustration. In 1924 he wrote, "Now it is almost impossible to open up new fields and to respond to the various needs by sending out preachers without a certain amount of training".⁴ This training again consisted of the study of the Bible and experiences of practical evangelism. The training was specific and clearly task-oriented: to produce pastors capable of leading new churches. It was also very limited in time. In reality, many students stayed for much less time than they had originally envisaged because churches became available. The task they were prepared for was always greater, and therefore secondary to, the training they were receiving. The expectation was that young pastors would have plenty of time to grow and develop away from College.

⁻¹ News report, Confidence, (Sept. 1909), 206.

Neil Hudson: It's not what we do; it's the way that we do it. Uncomfortable thoughts for a lecturer in a residential Bible College at the turn of the century

However much we may feel this was inadequate, the ministries fared as well as one's leaving college do today in a much more structured programme.

The qualifications necessary for this ministry calling were therefore not academic ones. This ethos was articulated in the Elim Bible College prospectus of 1946, where the one year course was designed for students to "catch the spirit of the Word as well as the letter of it", that truth be practised, not simply learnt about, with the corollary being that the primary qualification was for students to be totally committed to the Lord with a strong desire to serve him effectually.¹

In Britain, by the 1960s and into the 1970s the move for accreditation began, a process described by Kay as embarking "upon a journey with an uncertain destination".² Within Elim, this journey began with the introduction of an 'O' level in Religious Knowledge, an award normally attempted by 16 year olds at school. Many ministers argued strenuously against this development, believing that this was not necessary for the work of the ministry. The move was defended by the College on the grounds that it would introduce some academic respectability and a certain academic competence, albeit very basic. This process has rolled on progressively, through to university accreditation at undergraduate degree level, Masters degrees and finally doctoral level. Having achieved all this, having proved we can sit at the academic table as equal partners, perhaps it is time to pause and ask whether unnecessary sacrifices were made along the way. By examining this, we may be able to understand why church based programmes developed.

Charges presented against the Colleges

We have killed the sense of wonder

Participants in theological education have noted that Pentecostals followed the evangelical route of education methodology whereby an emphasis upon rationalism and reductionism has led to an unavoidable academic/spiritual divide.³ In other words, we have been likely to follow a rationalistic view that would suggest that all issues could be determined by the power of sanctified thinking, and this, alongside a tendency to reductionism, means that the place of mystery in our educational models is limited. One only has to think through how we attempt to 'explain' the

¹ Elim Bible College prospectus, (1946), 4.
² Kay, W., Pentecostals in Britain, (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2001), 203.
concept of the Trinity. As someone who has lived amongst theologians, it would seem safer to say nothing about the Trinity because every time one does, one is classed as a heretic! Where are mystery, worship, and amazement in the learning outcomes of our systematic theology courses? They seem to have been replaced by ‘understanding’. The ultimate irony is that the Spirit, that blows wherever he wills, has been codified, systematised and analysed. This process can lead to the remarkable situation of students leaving the Ethics examinations with first class honours marks, achieving these grades by stealing books from the library. Whilst we deplore this compartmentalisation of life, by examining only the external elements of faith and knowledge we may have colluded in the process.

**We have lost the sense of belonging to our constituency**

A fracture opened up between the lecturing community and the rest of our constituency. The demands of the course not only demanded more sophisticated skills of potential students, the academy forced us to make choices about who should teach at College. Those with successful church ministries, but without the academic qualifications, were dismissed. Whilst the value of non-academic practitioners is being increasingly recognised by the university, we were at their whim and because we depended upon them for the accreditation process we sacrificed that which may have been most significant. This demand for paper qualifications has meant that we have employed people with higher degrees, but we may not have many people on our staff who have been successful pastors, or who are still pastors. We have made ourselves vulnerable to the charge that “those who can, do; those who can’t, teach”.

Along with this process, the emphasis upon evaluative and critical skills has been misunderstood as having an ongoing negative impact on students. Independent, creative, critical thinking is the most highly prized commodity within the academy. It is not within the church.

**We have majored on teaching irrelevant courses**

We have ended up teaching subjects that students do not need to know to enjoy fruitful ministries. There are subjects that may be of interest (particularly to ourselves who may have done doctoral work in the areas) which may not be of any significance outside our academic circles. We should have been more honest about this. Perhaps we should have listened to our students and the churches more keenly. When theology becomes a branch of philosophy, it becomes sterile and although many may make it their life’s work, some theological theories will never make any difference to the lives of ordinary people. For Christians, theology can only ever be

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prosecution can be summarised in this long, but, for those of us who have undergone theological education, evocative description: "They [the students] find themselves immersed in Chalcedonian controversies, they find themselves staying up late at night memorising Greek paradigms, they wake up in the morning, rubbing their eyes, puzzled over hair-splitting distinctions between homoousios and homoiousios. This is not what they had bargained for. Their professors seem far more interested in their spelling than their spirituality. They find themselves spending far more time on paradigms than in prayer."

The situation in the churches

If the developments in theological education had happened in isolation, it would not necessarily have led to the advent of church based training programmes. Church life developed alongside the colleges. If the period from 1960s onwards can be viewed as one of increasing confidence amongst the Bible Colleges, the same period has seen a growing confidence amongst Pentecostal and charismatic churches.

If knowledge, and the perception of expertise, is power, then prior to the early 1970s, in most Pentecostal churches the minister was the only spiritual powerbroker and the fount of all knowledge. This was disseminated to the faithful by means of sermons on a Sunday and mid-week Bible studies and prayer meetings. The effectiveness of these events rested largely on the minister's communicative abilities. This was not challenged to any great extent until house groups began to develop in the churches. Suddenly "sharing" was deemed to be preferable to proclamation and the equality of voices was applauded in the place of the supremacy of one voice. Suddenly people began to believe that they could be as effective as their College-trained minister and had the arena to prove their ability. Linked to this, the next decade proved to be the one where British churches. Suddenly "sharing" was deemed to be preferable to proclamation and the equality of voices was applauded in the place of the supremacy of one voice. Suddenly people began to believe that they could be as effective as their College-trained minister and had the arena to prove their ability. Linked to this, the next decade proved to be the one where British churches were beginning to realise that they needed to make some radical adjustments to their own programmes.

The "impartation" model of education is nebulous at best, at its worst it can lead to poor teaching and an expectation of "learning by osmosis". Learning how others approach life and ministry will not necessarily have led to the advent of church based training programmes. Church life developed alongside the colleges. If the period from 1960s onwards can be viewed as one of increasing confidence amongst the Bible Colleges, the same period has seen a growing confidence amongst Pentecostal and charismatic churches.

They were the ones that created the church-based training schemes initially. The use of the word "training" was specifically chosen, in preference to "education". Their desire was to create schools that were dynamic rather than stuck in traditional learning styles; task oriented rather than preoccupied with abstract theological issues; emphasising positive thinking rather than critical thinking; able to reproduce the most highly prized qualities of the church rather than developing an individualistic worldview. This latter intention in particular was in direct opposition to the traditional Bible Colleges. They wanted to transfer the teaching and ethos of the sponsoring organisation to the student. Indeed, it was more mystical than this would suggest. The intention was linked closely to a view of an impartation of spirit and life. Their aim was to produce students who asked, "why not?" rather than "why?". Students were attracted. People went to these new colleges because of their perceived relevance, innovative practices and spiritual fervency.

However, the results of these Colleges have not been as awe inspiring as their originators would have hoped. The courses offered often became very similar to the traditional colleges they were directly criticising, just at a time when Colleges were beginning to realise that they needed to make some radical adjustments to their own programmes.

The final problem relates to the short-term nature of many of these schools. In England, research concluded that they are inevitably self-limiting, since eventually they run out of the pool of potential students.

1 Wagner, 234. This is in direct contrast to traditional colleges, e.g. Multnomah Bible College that prides itself that "rather than teach a theological position, seminars provide methods for students to develop their own biblical theology"; see also Frame, R., "Is seminary education always necessary for pastoral ministry?", Christianity Today, (1 October 2001), 8
2 Wagner, 235
3 Anderson, 236

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14 Peterson, E., Subversive Spirituality, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 54.
The largest churches with colleges manage to survive because of the larger residual numbers of members and also the much greater turn over of people in major cities.

However, it is my belief that in an ideal world, church based training offers the most appropriate place for both theological reflection and ministerial preparation to take place. The tension between traditional Colleges and church based schemes is not in the part that theological reflection has to play, but revolves around pedagogical issues such as who teaches, what is taught, the outcome of teaching, how that learning is assessed. Colleges can sound very arrogant about that which they provide. Clark, dean at Bethel Theological seminary, argued that colleges provide an antidote to “the simplistic hermeneutic [found] in churches”; whilst teachers at Dallas Theological Seminary suggested that “without training (by implication College training) people can slide into theological imbalance, error or even heresy”; becoming vulnerable to the latest fads and flights of fancy. Surely one only has to examine the opinions of many Bible College trained graduates to realise that churches have not cornered the market on creative heresy.

A way forward for churches?
Church is the place where spiritual formation in its fullest meaning can and should take place. It is the most natural forum for it to happen – amongst people who have seen one develop in faith, witnessed and lived with our errors of judgement and are able to applaud our development and maintain clear accountability structures. To jettison the mundane world of local church to enter the perceived excitement of theological education as a preparation for ministry can merely be an escape for an individual and the perpetuation of the clergy/lay divide.

Three years in a Bible College setting can be a blessing for many and there is no doubt that many people find their ideas about life and faith challenged and changed in a relatively short period of time. But for these changes to happen, Colleges need to be institutions that Harkness describes as “an existential expression of a community of God’s grace, reflective of the church as ‘a community of generosity and sharing, of friendship and belonging, of mission and identity, of freedom and risk taking... of passion... of partnership’”. It may be significant that in trying to describe the sort of ethos that a College should nurture, he uses a quote by Riddell

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1 Atkinson, 39
2 France, 8
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Neil Hudson: It’s not what we do; it’s the way that we do it.

Uncomfortable thoughts for a lecturer in a residential Bible College at the turn of the century that originally referred to the church. In other words, Harkness believes we need to create institutions that are reflective of an institution that already exists. Surely the more obvious solution is to work directly with the real, not merely create a shadow of the real.

For churches to offer a structured place for ministerial training, they need to be places where:
Teachers are sufficiently secure to allow individuals freedom of thought, inquiry and development.
Individuals are treated with respect, as adults who come to the learning experience not with a tabula rasa, but a host of valid experiences that need to be reflected upon and conceptualised.
Training is for released ministry and not merely for the production of constrained supporters of the existing ministry.
Mission, not maintenance, needs to be at the heart of the church activity.

For some, these will seem like utopian desires that bear little resemblance to their own experiences of church. However, if Colleges believe in the primacy of the local church and want to work for the church and with the local church, this is a vision that has to be perpetuated, rather than maintaining the assumption that full-time education is the norm.

The future for residential colleges and church based training schemes
Although crystal ball gazing is a notoriously unreliable art, we need to make preparations for a future that will be a “strange country” for all of us. At this stage I am assuming that whilst Colleges will continue to exist, they will need to change to continue to exist legitimately.

More church based schemes will emerge
There are many reasons for this, but finance may increasingly become the straw that breaks the theological colleges’ back. It is not uncommon for average students to pay up to 40,000 euros for their education. This is an investment that people may be unable to pay, regardless of their desire. Local, church based schemes will appear to be much cheaper and accessible. However, these schemes will need help to develop programmes. Bible Colleges need to be proactive in helping to develop programmes that the churches want, delivered in ways that they think are best.

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1 Drane, 7.
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 Colleges need to be reintegrated to the Church

Bible Colleges will continue to be in existence but need to be reintegrated with the churches. The competitive element, often discernible, does not reflect the spirit of Ephesians 5 and our understanding of that passage. The gift of the teacher is crucial for the church, but is only one of the gifts to the church, not the final word to the church. If we are to serve the church then we need to open channels of communication with the church. Ferris suggests a number of practical steps for this to happen:

  * Invite clergy in to classes to take part and/or to critique what is happening.
  * Provide the principal with an advisory board of pastors to provide a wider perspective on training needs.
  * Include pastors and leading lay people in faculty decisions.

These need to serve as intentional symbols of the desire to reintegrate ourselves into our wider constituency.

We need to show ourselves to be useful

Linked to the previous point, Colleges have a role to offer the wider church, but we need to prove ourselves both fruitful and faithful. Part of Pentecostal spirituality is a rugged activism that wants to see things happen, not just be debated. We need to aid that process. Too often colleges are seen to be the brakes on the vehicle rather than the accelerator. We can help the church to evangelise more effectively, inspire the church to renewal and articulate its faith with accuracy, faithfulness, passion and conviction.

This will mean that Colleges will have to employ people who recognise their wider responsibility to the church. Chan in his book on Pentecostal spirituality writes, "Their task is not to impose their own vision upon the church, but to make explicit what is implicit among the less articulate or literate members of the community. The best theologians are church theologians, those who theologise from and for the community of faith. They are in one sense the least innovative. In fact, according to some church fathers, innovation is heresy".

We need to produce more useful students

We need to produce students who are able to minister more effectively in the churches. One way may be to ensure that more of the content is more firmly linked to the demands of the ministry. We may first have to acknowledge that the subjects that have been traditionally taught and the

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3 Chan, S., Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 1.

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Neil Hudson: It's not what we do; it's the way that we do it.
Uncomfortable thoughts for a lecturer in a residential Bible College at the turn of the century

mode of teaching has been given to us by the academy rather than through divine inspiration! A curriculum built around real needs would mean an end to the fragmentation of Biblical studies from systematic theology, church history from contemporary issues and instead integrate them around issues such as rites of passage, conversion and initiation, leadership, communication, prayer.

This will represent a shift from asking what kind of courses we should be offering or what knowledge our graduands will have to what kind of people we want our graduands to be. It would also mean that they would be aware of the special contributions they will be able to make to the life of the churches. But to do this may mean that we need to think more carefully about the type of person we employ to teach in the Colleges. Is it most appropriate, in light of what we want to achieve, that most of our staff have PhDs but little significant experience of leading churches?

We need to be more proactive in Pentecostal formation

Colleges need to be places of Pentecostal formation. Primarily, students do not need to know about the limits and problems of tongues and prophecy in Corinth in 50 A.D.; they need to be able to speak in tongues and prophesy in Manchester in 2002 A.D. They know how to mediate difficulties between Luther and Zwingli. Space and expectation needs to be built into the timetables for this to happen. This integration of spiritual gifts and theoretical knowledge might be the greatest gift we can give them.

We need to change the mode of learning

In the wake of increased flexibility based around the electronic media capability, the best model of education may be a form of open or distance learning. In this model students would stay in their home churches, supervised and mentored by their ministers as they develop their theological thinking and ministerial practice. They would come to college for very short bursts of face to face lecturing. This is vastly cheaper, means that churches do not lose their most valued workers and means that students do not need to be dislocated but can still gain from the benefits of a College moderated programme of structured learning. If Colleges follow this model, they can work with and for churches with total integrity.

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2 Drane, 7
Conclusion
The stand-off between Pentecostal churches and theology can be broken. No one really doubts the necessity for transformed minds prepared for action. Perhaps the advent of church-based training schemes is the spur to action that was needed to bring Colleges back into a place where they can be focused on the church, servants of the church and prayed by the church. Is it time to go back to square one? Should we be the brave ones who stop swimming against the tide, but instead be willing to sacrifice all that we have spent our time doing up to present to begin again – this time differently, and yet perhaps more productively?

Do we need a distinct European Pentecostal/Charismatic approach to theological education?

Matthias Wenk

Abstract
After a survey of current educational approaches, the article addresses two of the major issues facing Pentecostal/Charismatic education in Western Europe: the praxis vs. theory dichotomy and the role of the Spirit. In the second part, a relational model for theological education is developed that 1) accounts for the role of the Spirit in the process of education, and 2) overcomes the praxis vs. theory dichotomy.

Introduction
Two essential questions relating to education are, “What does it mean to know?” and, “How may knowing be promoted?”. Thus the questions for us are, “What does it mean for European Pentecostals to know and how do we promote such knowledge?”. Only after having answered these questions can we know whether we need a distinct European Pentecostal/Charismatic approach to theological education.

The aim of this paper is to point out some characteristics of a European Pentecostal/Charismatic approach to theological education. I further work on the assumption of a pneumatological dimension in our educational model. The Spirit is more than a “subject matter” of our theological education; he is actively present in the education process. Thus, I will not address the pneumatological intention of such a model (= the “anthropological/kerygmatic” aspect of a specific educational model.

1 The paper was presented at the 24th annual EPTA conference in Brussels, July 2002. Matthias Wenk (PhD Brunel University) is pastor of the BewegungPlus, Hindelbank, as well as a co-leader at the InstitutPlus, Switzerland. Matthias Wenk, Bernstrasse 36G, CH-3324 Hindelbank: m.wenk@bewegungplus.ch

2 No special distinction is made between Pentecostals and Charismatics, and for brevity’s sake, I will further on refer only to Pentecostals but include Charismatics also. Although there are some differences between Pentecostals and Charismatics, especially in the definition of terms as Spirit Baptism etc., the outlook on and the expression of spirituality is very much alike. Further, there are as many differences in spirituality and doctrine among Pentecostals from the various parts of this world, as there are between, for example, classical North American Pentecostals and North American Charismatics of the so-called Third Wave.

3 Throughout the paper, the term “education” is used in a more narrow sense, referring to some form of formal theological education with the aim of training for ministry (over against informal approaches to religious education, either in the family, or in the local church). However, together with Farley, I tend to think that theological education is not necessarily for “full time ministry” only but for Christians in general, especially for professionals who desire to approach their professionalism from a theological perspective: Farley, E., Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 125-203.
programme). The approach chosen is mainly biblical/theological, but always in view of our European setting.

Firstly, I shall provide a survey of educational theories as well as Pentecostal approaches and questions to education. Secondly, I will develop a relational model for education that builds on biblical/theological perspectives. Further remarks on a pneumatological dimension in education will conclude the paper.

**Educational theories and European Pentecostal issues in theological education**

**Models in theological education**

In a paper presented at the 30th annual SPS meeting, 2001, Jeffrey Hittenberger outlines five current educational philosophies, as developed by Knight and Gutek in regard to their views on metaphysics, epistemology, axiology, nature of student, role of teacher, curricular emphasis, pedagogy, social function of schools, proponents and relationship to philosophical schools. The five philosophies are:

- **Essentialism** (learning by receiving, practising, memorising and reproducing)
- **Perennialism** (truth is accessible to us through reason which may also be informed by the senses, intuition and revelation)
- **Progressivism** (we know empirically by the means of sense experience)
- **Reconstructionism** (knowing by doing; praxis rather than speculation)
- **Critical pedagogy** (knowledge is socially constructed. Rationalism and scientific objectivism are illusions)

Hittenberger basically calls for a break with the "traditional," rationalistic and formal approach to education as reflected in classical Western universities. The same tendency is also reflected in general critical educational theory: knowledge is socially constructed. Rationalism and scientific objectivism are illusions.

Christian education as religious instruction: to transmit Christian religion (understanding and practice). The content is the Christian religion and the setting for learning is predominantly formal. The learning environment is structured by the teacher and the learner is a person with developmental and personal needs and interests. This model comes close to what Knight and Gutek label as Essentialism and Perennialism.

The faith community as a guiding image for Christian education: to build the congregation into a community where persons can encounter the faith and learn its life-style. The content is the community's faith and life-style and thus the setting for learning is the community life. The teacher is seen as the community's priest and the learner is a person struggling to identify with the Christian community.

The spiritual development approach to Christian education: to enable persons to grow in faith to spiritual maturity. The content is the Christian faith and the setting is a person's total life. The teacher is more a mentor or a spiritual guide and the learner a person moving through stages of development to maturity (Progressivism?).

The liberationist approach: to transform the church and persons for liberation and humanisation. The content is critical reflection on life-style in light of the Christian faith and the settings for learning are places where Christians are involved in the world. The teacher is actually a colleague and the learners are both individuals and groups (Critical pedagogy).

Faith seeking understanding - interpretation as a task of Christian education: to connect Christian perspectives and practices to contemporary experiences. The content is the Christian story and present experience whereas the setting for learning is again the person's total life. The teacher

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1. For a discussion of dimension and intention in missions, cf. Gniewisch, H.-W., Glaube für die Welt [Göttingen: Göttinger Verlagshaus, 1971], 80-95. This concept has been applied by Bernhard Ott to theological education for missions in Ott, B., "Mission Oriented Theological Education: Moving Beyond Traditional Models of Theological Education", Transformation, 18/2 (April 2001), 74-86.
4. Cf. also the two other papers on education presented at the same SPS meeting: Anderson, A., "The Forgotten Dimension: Education for Pentecostal-Charismatic Spirituality in Global Perspectives";
Pentecostal Issues in Theological Education

If European Pentecostals/Charismatics had to identify with one of the five approaches, they would have a hard time to make their choice. It seems to me that most of our educational efforts reflect aspects of each one of these theories. I also posit that the religious instruction model is currently criticised most severely.

In discussions on education among European Pentecostal churches, it seems as if the choice among educational models is sometimes limited to only two options: Between a “head focused” approach (Essentialism/Perennialism) and a practical one (Reconstructionism). In recent years, the criticism of a “head focused” approach to education, especially among Pentecostals in Western Europe, is often paralleled with a call for a more practical training. This call seems to cohere well with the disillusion of rationalism and objectivism. Currently, the focus in education among many Pentecostal/Charismatic churches of Europe is on practical training for Christian ministry (Reconstructionism), because it seems to be the only valid alternative to a rationalistic approach. The bottom line seems to be theory vs. praxis, since most discussions on education in our circles tend to bother less with philosophical questions. But is this the only option? Does “to know” mean either “to have information about something” or “to be able to do something”?

A further issue that represents a continuous tension for many Pentecostal educators is the dynamic of word and Spirit in their educational model. How do we relate the prophetic word with scripture and tradition? What role does the word play, which one is the tradition, and which one is the prophetic word? and thus, what emphasis should they receive in our theological training? That the issue causes fervent debates is as old as the New Testament. Further, for many Pentecostals, the concept of tradition seems to be diametrically opposed to the spontaneous work of the Spirit and reference is sometimes made to 1 John 2.27. However, this perspective is not necessarily accurate. In 1 John 2.27, tradition and Spirit are linked with each other in a surprising way and, for John, the Spirit keeps the tradition alive. Thus, whereas Luke knows of conflicting situations between the Spirit and scripture/tradition, or between two Spirit inspired revelations, John knows of an alliance between tradition and Spirit; the Spirit is precisely working in and through the tradition.

Perhaps we cannot resolve the issue at this point; perhaps we do not need to. But we definitely need to be aware of the tension and need to be in constant dialogue with each other on this issue and, like the New Testament, keep the two views on Spirit and tradition in our theological education in a healthy tension together.

Conclusion

If some Western European Pentecostals and Charismatics call to desert all head focused approaches to learning, it is as if a traditional Swiss Reformed church called its members to shy away from all emotional expressions of their spirituality. In both cases there may not be much to shy away from. This remark may perhaps be less applicable for American Pentecostal educational institutions where the theological seminary has a longer tradition than among Western European Pentecostals. It is only recently that some of our educational systems are receiving university recognition. But historically our educational efforts were not highly academic nor “head focused”. Especially in central Europe, Pentecostals tended to be anti-educational and anti-intellectual. However, a certain shift is taking place in our days.

Whereas the formal, instructional approach to education is in part related to the worldview of the Enlightenment and Rationalism, the current emphasis on practical training gives in to Western pragmatism and the “Machbarkeitswahn” (the confidence that everything can be “made”) of our society.

1 Seymour, Miller, Contemporary Approaches, 32-33.
3 Cf. Acts 10 – 11 where the Spirit summoned Peter to eat what was traditionally unclean, and to eat with those who were traditionally perceived as unclean, and Acts 20.22 and 21.4, where the same Spirit is described as giving mutually exclusive revelations (Wenk, M., Community Forming Power: The soci-ethical role of the Spirit in Luke-Acts [Sheffield: SAP, 2000], 283-307).

1 Opposing Gnostic tendencies, John argues that his readers do not need any new, special insight or revelation; that which has been passed on to them (= tradition) through the Spirit within them suffices.
3 However, we need to differentiate between a European theological university training that is clearly research oriented and the American “seminary”, that although on university level is a pastoral-professional education model. Much closer to the American Seminary or professional training is the “Fachhochschule” in Germany, speaking Europe; it is a explicitly vocational training but on an academic level (cf. Sehm, K., Praxisbezogene Ausbildung auf Hochschulniveau. Eine pädagogisch-didaktische Herausforderung, [Wien: WUV, 1999], 21-28).
Whereas in some educational models, the emphasis is/was on "information transfer", the emphasis on practical learning falls on learning skills; people are enabled to do something.\textsuperscript{1} The danger is obvious: the value of learning as well as of people can easily be reduced to "productivity". Whatever cannot be used "productively" is not worth being learned; whoever is not productive has not learned anything.\textsuperscript{2}

In a purely practical approach to education, people are simply trained to do certain things but they are not helped to become responsible people.\textsuperscript{3} In a purely rationalistic model, knowledge and the world is somehow perceived as a large objective entity that needs to be analysed and intellectually grasped and thereby controlled. Whereas in a heavily practical model, knowledge and the world are more understood as something that must function, produce or "work".\textsuperscript{4} But the aim is the same, control of the subject matter; be it intellectually or practically. Thus, the two approaches turn out to be siblings and no real options.

The relationship between theory and practice tends to be more complex than often assumed among Pentecostal churches, for there is also a pragmatic approach to theory: the theory of how certain things need to be done. Much of what is labelled "practical training" is simply someone's "theory about practice", mainly based on a specific experience that tends to become an absolute.\textsuperscript{5}

It seems to me that the current criticism of the classical rationalistic approach to education is important. On a popular level, however, and with some exceptions, we are provided with no critically reflected alternative. I now would like to outline a third alternative to "theoretical vs. practical training". I perceive this alternative to be more in line with the biblical model: \textsuperscript{1} A relational model for education. Obviously, any relational approach threatens teachers and students who like to be in control because the outcome of a relationship may not be controlled and may differ from person to person and even vary for one person within a life time.

The Relational Dimension of Theological Education

The starting point for the discussion of a biblical/theological approach to education is Ephesians 4.20 and the author's unique phraseology: "You have not learned Christ in such a way (\emph{humeis de ouk houtos emathete ton Christon}). "To learn Christ" is at first a very odd formulation (thus the NIV translates: "You, however, did not come to know Christ that way") but it captures best the essential aspects of knowing/learning in biblical categories,\textsuperscript{4} which I have summarised as follows:

To know and to learn Christ is to have an encounter with Christ; it means to be in relationship. To know and to learn Christ has to with what traditionally is defined as discipleship and relates to the "Lebensgestaltung" of a person. To know and to learn Christ has also to do with a certain content, reflected in the tradition and the Apodosis. To know and to learn Christ takes place by participation in the life of the faith community through testimonies, rituals and tradition.

\textbf{To know/learn "someone" is to encounter someone.}\n
Pentecostals have much appreciation for a more subjective, personal approach to knowing and learning. For them, God is not primarily "thought of" or defined, but encountered and experienced.\textsuperscript{3} This emphasis coheres well with the importance given to the Holy Spirit as the perception of the manifestation of God's active involvement in human history.\textsuperscript{4} For Pentecostals, to learn Christ, or to learn God, is not to learn about Christ or God but to have a personal encounter with Christ or God through the Holy Spirit.

\textsuperscript{1} For a biblical/theological model of theological education, cf. Banks, Re-envisioning Theological Education, 73-86.
\textsuperscript{2} For a basic discussion of "knowing" in both the OT and NT, cf. Bultmann, R., "\emph{ginōskō}" in TBDT. 1 cf. Groome, T.H., Christian Religious Education: Sharing our Story and Vision, (Cambridge: Harper & Row, 1990), 141-45. Groome outlines the biblical approach of knowing/discriminating: 1) knowing and loving; 2) knowing and obeying; 3) knowing and believing.
\textsuperscript{3} Cf. Land, S.J., Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom, (Sheffield: SAP, 2001), 33-47.

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\textsuperscript{1} For a discussion and an attempt to provide a "practical" training model on university level and some of the reasons why the humanistic model of the enlightenment was at times reduced to "encyclopaedic knowledge", cf. Soh, Praxisbezogene Ausbildung.
\textsuperscript{2} Cf. Sohn, Praxisbezogene Ausbildung who argues that in German speaking Europe the "Verwertbarkeit der Ausbildung auf dem Arbeitsmarkt" (the usefulness/gain of education for the job market) became the primary catalyst for the "Fachhochschule". Hence, education tends to become "training" and primarily, work oriented and no longer the education of a person towards maturity (Sohn, 21-22).
\textsuperscript{3} This reflects also the typical argument of the universities in German speaking Europe against the more practical training of the Fachhochschule: education is more than training; it is helping people to become a "sovereign person" (cf. Sohn, Praxisbezogene Ausbildung, 22-23).
\textsuperscript{4} We also need to realize that theological training differs significantly from any technical training in that it is part of the Humanities and as such also requires knowledge of history, literature and languages.
\textsuperscript{5} An interesting model to overcome the practice/theory dichotomy is proposed by Charles Wood, who reconceptualises the practice/theory model and introduces the notion of "vision" (the totality of the Christian witness) and "discernment" (the particularity thereof), Wood, C., Vision and Discernment, as summarised in Banks, Re-envisioning Theological Education, 46-49. Cf. Farley, Theologia.
Pentecostals believe that it is possible to know God in such personal terms because God takes the initiative. At the same time, Pentecostals know, even though they might at times tend to forget, that God always remains a mystery, hidden, and we can never express fully who he is (Rom. 11:33-36; 1 Cor. 13:10-13; Heb. 11:6). Also, knowing Christ leads to being known by Christ (1 Cor. 8:3; 13:12; Gal. 4:9). It is never an objective “mastering” of a content/subject but the actual living out of a personal relationship.

Since “to learn Christ” is to encounter him, learning will never be restricted to the intellect but also embrace the emotions, one’s passions as well as the body of both teacher and student alike. Neither intellectual nor emotional distance nor bodily control is the aim of such learning but rather an encounter of the learner’s whole personality with Christ. It seems, however, that Pentecostals do not hold a monopoly on such an approach to learning for we are told that Theresa of Avila and her friend John of the Cross were physically lifted up to the ceiling while discussing the Trinity. For them, as for many today, learning and studying was not simply an intellectual effort but an ecstatic experience that affects the entire person.

Neither is truth perceived any longer as an objective reality but as the encounter with the one who is true to his creation. Thus, truth is primarily defined as “being truthful in a relationship”. Such a definition not only comes closer to the post-modern concerns among the younger generation related to truth, but also to a biblical understanding thereof, where truth is more defined in terms of faithfulness than as objectivism.

However, Pentecostals and Charismatics must be careful not to confuse the current boom concerning experience and getting “the ultimate kick” with an authentic encounter and experience of God. Such an encounter with the living God has always been dangerous and scary for the person involved (Ex. 19:16-24; Isa. 6:5; Lk. 5:4-8; Rev. 1:17).

At this point, it may be needed to say that only an educational model that also provides room for curiosity, as one aspect of love, is free from the pressure to be practical. It is learning and encountering God for God’s sake and not for one’s ministry sake. Thus, curiosity as one motivation for theological education guarantees the learner to be continuously open for and surprised by God — which is essential for a genuine encounter.

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2 Groome comes close to such a view in stating: “The purpose of Christian religious education is to enable people to live as Christians, that is to live lives of Christian faith. This would seem to be its purpose since the Christian community began to educate” (Groome, Christian Religious Education, 34). As soon as “Christian lives” are defined in purely ethical/moral terms, Groome’s statement would become problematic. Although Jesus’ parable of the sheep and the goats in Matt. 25:31-46 would support such an approach to some extent.

3 Groome, Christian Religious Education, 34
As Pentecostals, we find it easier to acknowledge such a dynamic dimension of discipleship because of its pneumatological purview. Whereas in the Gospels people are summoned to follow Christ, Paul exhorts his readers to “walk in the Spirit” (Gal. 5:13-6:10). Such a walk will always exhibit the fruit of the Spirit, but these virtues will be expressed differently in varying situation and in different times (nor is the list a complete list but rather merely representative): we all know that to help someone normally is an act of love. However, there might be a situation in which to help someone is simply an act of laziness whereas real love would give the person the chance to do it for herself.

To know Christ will always lead to a renewed “Lebensgestaltung” of teacher and student alike because it is not possible to encounter the love, mercy and justice of God without being transformed to act likewise: Throughout the Bible, God’s salvific and/or judging intervention has become normative for the community’s ethos. The way God was experienced as relating to his people and the world around them has always influenced the community’s interpretation of holiness, justice and mercy and become normative for them in relating to each other and the world around them. Thus, when a person “learns justice” (Isa. 26:9) then s/he does not learn something about it but rather learns to act in justice as God was experienced to perform justice. In other words, unless a person goes through a transformation in one’s feelings, actions and/or thought patterns (values), s/he has not really “learned Christ”. But again, such a transformation is more than learning new behavioural patterns; it is the renewal of values and an altered perception of the person’s past and presence (Eph. 4:23), similar to a conversion experience. However, we must keep in mind that in the Gospel accounts, Jesus summoned also middle class citizens like Peter to a radical transformation and reassessment of the past, present and future (Mk. 1:16-18) and not only a “sinner” such as the tax collector, Levi (Mk. 2:13-14).

To know and to learn Christ has also to do with content, reflected in the tradition/apodosis

It is most likely that Ephesians 4:20 relates to a baptismal/catechetical background. If so, the tradition/apodosis plays an essential role (cf. 1 Cor. 15:3; 2 Thess. 2:15; 3:6). As such, learning Christ is a most radical activity since it is a going back to one’s roots. The tradition knows about the story of God and the story of God’s people; the tradition knows what God has been doing and therefore it knows in part who he is; God is encountered by way of the tradition.

The tradition also knows what God has promised to do and therefore the tradition opens up the future. The tradition is focused on the future and, based on the promise of the past, wants to shape the future. It is not merely a preface for our present time but rather the foundation for our hope. Without the tradition, there is no hope for the future.

This inter-relatedness between remembering the past and opening the future has a pneumatological dimension: “But the counsellor, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you all things and will remind you of everything I have said to you” (Jn. 14:26). What is at stake is more than merely “not forgetting the words of Jesus” but rather the active presence of God in the disciples’ life and thus, their participation in the kingdom of God. The tradition, kept alive by the work of the Spirit, is one way for the disciples to continuously experience God’s active involvement in their lives - also after Jesus’ ascension (cf. 1 Jn. 2:26-27).

The “tradition” of the first Church not only comprised the teachings and deeds of Jesus and the OT, but also confessional (creedal) statements (cf. Rom. 1:3-4) and hymns (cf. Phil. 2:6-11). Furthermore, Paul seems to have equated resistance toward the tradition taught by him with rejection of the Spirit (1 Thess. 4:8). This statement then corresponds with the Johannine emphases on the correlation between Spirit and tradition.

Thus, there is room for “content learning”. However, such learning will always be aimed towards an encounter with “its content” because the content is neither simply memorised nor analysed, but the learner participates in it. At the same time, learning Christ by participating in the tradition of the community, and thereby also giving some emphasis to content, represents a needed element in ensuring an authentic experience of any encounter with Christ.

Such an approach demands from both teacher and student an appreciation for the community of faith, her story, struggles, failures and victories, similar to the OT history writing. Remembering the past may be a most critical act of shaping the future. Thus,

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1. Westermann goes as far as arguing that the centre of all tradition is worship: one day passes it on to the next and glorifies God (Westermann, C., Lob und Klage in den Psalmen. [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht]).

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1. cf. Fee, Empowering Presence, 440
3. Cf. The definition of conversion by Chesnut. “Conversion’ may be defined as the reorientation of a person’s life from a pattern of attitudes, beliefs, and practices judged to be wrong or inferior to another judged to be right or superior” Chesnutt, R.D., From Death to Life. Conversion in Joseph and Asteneth, (Sheffield: SAP, 1995), 16.


To know and to learn Christ takes place by participation in the life of the faith community through testimonies, rituals and tradition

This last aspect of the relational model explains the predominantly narrative character of the Bible: by reading the stories the reader participates in the life of the people of God and “learns Christ”. The epistle to the Hebrews speaks in this context of the great cloud of witnesses that surrounds us (Heb. 12:1). The faith community that lived before and with us becomes this great cloud that helps us to encounter God.

However, in order to understand this cloud correctly any learner needs to make the effort to understand its cultural background, its problems and its worldview (symbolic universe). Thus, anyone, who thought that a relational approach to education represents an easy way out of diligent and often times painful work, must be disappointed. Learning by participating also leads to sharing in the experiences, actions, the symbolic universe and problems of the people of God.

For two reasons, Pentecostals have few difficulties with this approach to learning: The oral tradition within Pentecostalism and the role of the testimony has been accepted for a long time. However, this strength is also linked with a potential danger: it is the testimony, and not the success story that allows us to really learn Christ. If these testimonies do not include our failures, weaknesses and struggles, people will not learn anything about the holiness, mercy or justice of God but rather be, or not be, impressed with what we achieved.

The experience of the Spirit working in any member of the church has made Pentecostals known for having a high degree of participation during the church service. The very purpose of the gifts is to participate in the life of the others (1 Cor. 12:7; 14:3, 12), but in a way that no one is always the teacher and others are merely learning. The Spirit works in such a way that each part contributes to the well being of the entire body; each part contributes to the maturing of the body of Christ.

There is another way of participating in the life of the faith community that is not as popular among Pentecostals, but plays a significant role in both the Old and the New Testament: participation by rituals. Thus Paul's


2 However, cf. the study of Albrecht, D.E., Rites in the Spirit: A Ritual Approach to Pentecostal/Charismatic Spirituality, (Sheffield: SAP, 1999)

language of participation when talking about baptism in Rom. 6:1-10: buried with Christ; raised with him; united with him, crucified with him; died with him, live with him.

Rituals are “bodily experienced” expressions of the communication between God and people. They represent a visible form of communication (e.g. the sacrifices; Eucharist, baptism) and prayers are dramatised (laying on of hands, coming to the altar, tears, etc.). In the OT, rituals played a crucial part in the education of the next generation and were also designed to stir up the curiosity of the learner (Deut. 6:20). Through such rituals, people learn Christ, e.g. they can learn something about the freedom brought by Christ in clapping, singing, gifts that are operative in any person, regardless of gender, social or ethnic background. They learn Christ the healer through rituals of anointing, prayers for healing; they learn God the holy one in times of repentance. Rituals, whether we are aware of them as such or not, function similar to what Westerhoff calls the “hidden curriculum”. As Pentecostals, we can teach about the Spirit, a passion for God, spiritual gifts, the transformative power of God in the live of individuals and the faith community and society. But when no spiritual gifts are manifested in our educational models, when our teaching and our communities do not reflect a passion for God, his people and this world, our students will no longer be Pentecostals/Charismatics. It is time for us to intentionally seek ways for incorporating “our” rituals into our educational models and not leave it up to “spontaneity”. However, simply adding a “worship service” to the curriculum may only foster a false models of integrating the academic with the personal and with our spirituality are needed. For example: In the celebration of a ritual, the learning community experiences the past and participates in what they have studied before. Thus, rituals and rites are nothing else than dramatised forms of “telling the story”: it is moving from analysing to participating in the story.

One important implication for our educational approaches is that if “learning Christ” takes place by participating in the life of the faith community, learning can never be purely a “self study”, but presupposes a learning community. There is no “independent study” as such, but only a

1 Education correctly understood is not identical with schooling... We can teach about equality in our church schools, but if our language in worship excludes women, if positions of influence and importance are held only by men or those from upper socio-economic classes, or if particular races are implicitly or explicitly excluded from membership, a different lesson is learned (Westerhoff III, J.H., Will our Children have Faith? (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1976), 17).

2 Cf. Farley, Theologia.

Matthias Wenk: Do we need a distinct European Pentecostal/Charismatic approach to theological education?
faith community that participates in the lives of each other as in the
testimonies of “the cloud of witnesses”, either by telling or dramatising
the story. This participation takes places in both ways: students participate
in the lives of their teachers and vice versa.

Conclusion
Do we need a distinct European Pentecostal approach to education? My
answer is no, if such an approach is defined as “typical” for Pentecostals.
For that matter, who would define the typical Pentecostal approach for
Europeans? Lewi Pethrus and Scandinavian Pentecostalism, American
missionaries from the Assemblies of God and Church of God, British Elim
Pentecostals or German Pentecostals from the Mühlheimer movement?

However, we certainly need an educational model that is fully relational.
Furthermore, it is my thesis that any relational model is at the same time a
pneumatological one, since the Spirit is the Spirit who enables community
(2 Cor. 13:13) and, in terms of Heitbert Mühlen, is the one who transforms
an I – Thou relationship into a we. It is the Spirit that allows the student-
teacher relationship turn into a “we”, a learning community, and it is the
Spirit who makes it possible for the learning community to encounter God
in their midst. It is the Spirit that enables the learning community to
participate in the lives of each other as well as in the story of God with his
people, and it is the Spirit that overcomes the false dichotomy between
power manifestations and tradition.

If our children shall have faith and not simply information, we definitely
need a relational, pneumatological model for education. If our schools and
churches shall become learning communities where people encounter God
and participate in the lives of each other, I despy no other option than a
pneumatological/reational model for the theological education of our
church members as well as our female and male ministers.

Abstract
While, in 1933, Adolf Hitler emerged from the brown quagmire of National
Socialism to become Chancellor of the Reich and to establish his
totalitarian state, a New-Testament apostolic church developed in the
same city. Its leader, Karl Fix, bravely offered Hitler resistance. Neither
the ban on public gatherings issued in 1934, nor the permanent control by
the Gestapo could quench the burning zeal of the new converts. In 1934,
many more than 1,000 participants were counted in the services; many of
them experienced miraculous healings. Through his literature mission, Fix
was able to distribute around two million tracts in more than 12 countries.
Thus, the movement rapidly spread beyond the German borders.
Encouraged by his prophetic view, Fix frankly warned the people of the
self-proclaimed “Fuehrer”. This article, after giving a short survey of how
the German Pentecostal Movement came into being, points out the
contribution of the Volksmission, focusing on its establishment over the
years between 1933 and 1945. The theology of the Volksmission, which is
classically Pentecostal, awaits a further article.

THE ROOTS OF THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT IN
GERMANY

The Holiness Movement and Gemeinschaftsbewegung clear the way
The German Pentecostal Movement has its roots in the German
“Gemeinschaftsbewegung” (“Fellowship Movement”), which, in the
1870’s, was strongly influenced by the Holiness Movement of England.
Several German theologians used to attend the Oxford conferences. Moody
and Saukey had brought the Evangelistic Movement to the British Isles
and it quickly spread to Germany. The “Deutscher Verband für
Gemeinschaftspflege und Evangelisation” (“German Society for the
Cultivation of Fellowship and Evangelism”), the so-called “Gnadauer
Verband”, served as a broad channel for the spiritual revival that was then
bursting forth everywhere. The necessity of salvation through personal
repentance and faith, as well as the necessity of personal sanctification,
was emphasized in the sermons of that time. Further central topics were

1Mühlen, H., Der Heilige Geist als Person: In der Trinität, bei der Inhernation und im Gnadenbund. Ich-

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the imminence of the second coming of Christ, and the truth of the Body of Christ in its unity. Divine healing was also testified to in certain places. The newly converted believers gathered in Christian societies and fellowships, yet without separating from the established churches. Conferences for believers were held, Bible study groups developed and new missionary societies were founded.

**R. A. Torrey at the Annual Conference of the Evangelische Allianz**

In August 1906, the American Evangelist Dr. Reuben Archer Torrey (1856-1928) preached at the annual conference of the Evangelische Allianz in Blankenburg (Thuringia) on the “Second Blessing” or “Baptism in the Holy Spirit”, which, according to Acts 1:8, he interpreted as the event of receiving the “Power from on High for being a Witness”. One of the participants was General Lieutenant von Viebahn. He witnessed to having received an entirely fresh power for evangelistic service. New revivals were the result.

**Jonathan Paul and Emil Meyer visit Thomas Ball Barratt**

In the spring of 1907, Jonathan Paul travelled to Norway, in order to get to know the Pentecostal Movement in Christiana/Oslo founded by T. B. Barratt (1862-1940). In 1896, Paul had already published a book entitled *Ich werde die Kraft des Heiligen Geistes empfangen* (“You will be endowed with the Power of the Holy Spirit”). In this book, 10 years before the events in “Azusa Street”, took place, he had stated, “As there is such a lack of a fullness of the Spirit today, there is also a lack of spiritual power and of the gifts of the Spirit”.

Having returned from Norway, Paul wrote in his booklet *Zur Dämonenfrage* (“On Demonology”), “At those Pentecostal conventions in Christiana, I found a revival movement dealing with deeper purification through the blood of Jesus and with the endeavour to experience a stronger outpouring of the Spirit and His gifts”. Besides Paul, the leader of the Hamburg city mission, Emil Meyer, undertook a journey to Norway in 1907. Later, he was to have a great influence on Karl Fix, the founder of the Volksmission. From Norway, Meyer brought two lady missionaries back to Germany. They were Dagmar Engström and Agnes Telle, who had received the gift of speaking in tongues.

**Heinrich Dallmeyer and the Norwegian Missionaries in Kassel**

In Hamburg, Heinrich Dallmeyer from Kassel heard those missionaries, invited them and started a series of conventions in the home of the Blue Cross Temperance League on July 7, 1907. Even those who later became their opponents reported the meetings to have been calm and harmonious in the beginning. Thus, Christian Krust quotes from Otto Kaiser’s *Ereignisse und Erfahrungen mit der Pfingstbewegung* (“Experiences and Encounters with the Pentecostal Movement”), “On Wednesday afternoon, I attended the Bible study held by brother Dallmeyer, in which, all of a sudden and unexpected by everybody, one of the Norwegian ladies spoke in tongues. Her messages were translated. They almost exclusively were testimonies of the Scriptures, which were directed to the congregation in shattering reverence and seriousness. The atmosphere during the meeting was, in spite of the serious messages, sufficient to make them feel they were in heaven, directly addressed by God. Many of those present began to weep silently, which was an outflow of both the happiness emerging from profound contrition and of a deep bliss.”

**The Movement goes astray**

Later, the services took on a noisy and restless character. The press reported on these meetings; often, people would gather in front of the Blue Cross home yelling and mocking those participating. On the other hand, several started believing in Christ, while others who had been sick were healed. During this time, Dallmeyer had an experience, the beginning of which Paul Fleisch describes as follows, “On the nineteenth, a certain brother, while praying for Christ to come back again, thought, ‘The Lord will not return as soon as that’. Suddenly the Spirit descended upon him, he fell to the floor like dead feeling extreme pain in his chest. When the congregation had left, he received about 32 revelations from 10:30 p.m. to 2 a.m.”

2 Jonathan Paul (1853-1931) became vicar of Ravenstein after having completed his university studies. In 1899, he started serving as a free evangelist. An extensive study on his life and work has been compiled by Dr. Ernst Giese (Giese, E., *Jonathan Paul, ein Knecht Jesu Leben und Werk*, Missionsbuchhandlung und Verlag, Altdorf bei Nürnberg, (1965).
4 The report about this remarkable Revival in Los Angeles has been translated by Witt, E., in *Wie Pfingsten nach Los Angeles kam* (German translation of the report written by Frank Bartleman), Philadelphia-Verlag Leonberg: Leonberg, undated.

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3 ibid. 47.
1 a.m. Each one of these closed with the Spirit's instruction to wait. After, 2–3 minutes the next revelation was given.¹

Ernst Giese comments, "In this case, the following questions must be asked: Had Dallmeyer forgotten the Word of Scripture given in 1 Corinthians 14:32, 'The spirits of prophets are subject to the control of prophets'? Should this man not have realized by the strange ambiguity he was in, and by the peculiar and medially-occult manner in which he made his utterances, being prostrated on the ground, and, above all, by Schrenk's warning to beware of false prophecy, that in this night, seeking a private revelation, he had fallen victim to the occult? Several times, the Holy Spirit of God had warned him by the interpreted messages in tongues given by the Norwegian ladies to 'make a difference between the genuine and the false'".²

From now on, the Kassel movement went astray. Fleisch and Giese describe the attitudes of the Norwegian ladies differently.³ Both agree, though, that the ladies had warned the congregation that something other than the Holy Spirit might creep in. When their warnings remained unheeded, they left the meetings in order to follow an invitation to Switzerland. There must have been more and more misconduct in the Kassel meetings. A man is reported to have beaten a lady with his Bible in such a way that more of her underclothing than of her blouse could be seen.⁴

Some newspaper articles, published by sensation-seeking reporters, attracted such masses of onlookers that in the end the police had to guard the place with their dogs in order to keep things in order. Finally, Dallmeyer was urgently asked by the police to close the meetings that had been held daily for four weeks. Christian Krust comments, "The brethren responsible for the leadership were lacking the necessary rationality. A meeting for the purpose of spreading the gospel cannot be allowed to get out of control as it was the case there. Further, a lack of ability and level-headedness in the leadership is obvious to clearly distinguish the manifestations wrought by the Spirit of God from those having been produced by the human soul, - that is, the entire mixture of fleshly, emotional and spiritual phenomena - to intervene and put things in order in an adequate way".¹

Jonathan Paul is baptised in the Holy Spirit, while Dallmeyer dissociates himself from the Movement

As visitors from all over Germany had come to Kassel, the experience of being baptized in the Spirit spread rapidly. On 15 September 1907, Pastor Jonathan Paul received the Baptism "in the way described in Ezra 8:23," after having resisted the temptation to have hands laid on him in Christiana by brethren speaking in tongues, because he had not wanted "to be taken in tow by a spirit he did not know sufficiently yet".² At the XIII Silesian conference, taking place in Breslau from 23 to 26 September, Paul reported on his experience. Later, the preachers Eugen Edel (1872-1951) and Regheley were to become leaders of the Pentecostal Movement there.³

While this movement spread, conflicts arose at the same time in the Gemeinbsbewegung. Heinrich Dallmeyer dissociated himself; his brother August states in the magazine Reichsgottesarbeitier, "The gifts manifested in this movement are not truly spiritual; without exception they have been wrought by the Devil. By these, Satan has made his way into the fellowship of the Saints. In the Los Angeles movement, a strong mendacious spirit is at work".⁴

First Pentecostal Conference in Hamburg

From 8 to 11 December 1908, representatives of the new movement met for the first time to hold a conference in Hamburg at the beach mission centre. There were also guests from England, Holland, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. Krust lists the following names, "Mr. Cecil Polhill, London; Alexander A. Boddy, Sunderland (vicar); T. B. Barratt, Christiana (pastor); J. Paul (pastor), J. Koch (evangelist), Blankenburg, S. E. Cooke-Colliis, Switzerland; G. R. Polmann (evangelist), Amsterdam; P. Oltmann (Amsterdam); Emil Hunberg, Mühlheim a. d. Ruhr; evangelist Edel.

¹Fleisch, Paul, Geschichte der Pfingstbewegung in Deutschland von 1900 - 1903, Verlag der Franz-Verlag: Hanover, (1957), 38. (This book was published previously with the title Die Pfingstbewegung in Deutschland: Ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte in fünfzig Jahren, Heusche Verlag: Hanover, (1957)).
³Ibid. 67, Fleisch, op. cit. 39.
⁴Fleisch, op. cit. 41.

¹Krust, 50 Jahre Deutsche Pfingstbewegung, 50.
³Fleisch, 59, 62.
⁴Ibid. 66.
Under the topic of the first day “Mitteilungen über Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen” (“Reports on Experiences and Observations”), Boddy (1854-1930) reported in “All Saints”, “The 40 or 50 of us, having received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, meet three times a week, where we have complete liberty of prayer and singing praise. Although the Evil One is coming with all his power, although sometimes the flesh is at work – we still thank the Lord for this Pentecostal Movement. We thank Him for being part of the great body of a Pentecostal church. We have also come here to receive a blessing”. A decision was also made at this conference to publish a periodical paper for the purpose of orientation concerning the latest spiritual movement: Pfingstgrüße (“Pentecostal Greetings”). J. Paul was asked to be the editor.1

The first statement given on the topic of speaking in tongues is quite remarkable, as it shows that the item of “initial evidence” was no subject for discussion then, “Let nobody think that speaking in tongues is a ‘Shibboleth’ for us and that we consider any child of God that has not received this gift less valuable. This is absolutely not the case. We do not think that only those having achieved the goal of speaking in tongues have received the Holy Spirit. Neither do we consider speaking in tongues in itself proof of the infilling of the Spirit. We know that we can judge by the fruit what kind of person we are dealing with (Matthew 7:16)”.

Krust sums up his evaluation by saying that, “by this conference, the German Pentecostal Movement has been brought into being” and that the beginnings of its further development must be dated there.2 Jonathan Paul, the preacher Eugen Edel and Emil Humburg would finally emerge as the leaders of the movement. Emil Meyer published an address to those who had not been able to take part in the conference with the request to read the Pfingstgrüße.3 In the meantime, the movement spread all over Germany. The Mühlheim Pentecostal conferences starting in July 1909 played an important part there. While around 1700 people attended the first conference taking place from 14 to 16 July 1909, as many as 2500 took part in the second conference.

The Berliner Erklärung (“Berlin Declaration”) Around 60 leading brethren of the Gemeinschaftsbewegung met in Berlin on 15 September 1909. Because of the facts before them, they felt obliged to make a definite and final declaration that the spiritual gifts that had occurred in the Pentecostal Movement did not have their origin in the Spirit of God but in “demonic spirits coming from the Abyss”. A nineteen-hour meeting resulted in the so-called Berliner Erklärung, part of which states,

“This movement is inseparably connected with the movement of Los Angeles, Christiana, Hamburg, Kassel and Großalmerode... The so-called Pentecostal Movement has not come from above, but from below; a great number of manifestations are the same as in the Spiritist movement. In the Pentecostal Movement, there are demons at work, which, cunningly directed by Satan, confuse lie and truth, in order to deceive God’s children. There are many cases, where the so-called ‘spirit-gifted’ ones later proved to be demon-possessed.

“Our conviction that this movement is from below, can neither be put in question by the personal faithfulness and devotion of individual leading brethren, nor by the healings, tongues, prophesies... Many times before, such manifestations used to be connected with similar movements, e.g. with the Irvingites, even with Christian Science and Spiritism. The spirit dominating this movement introduces himself through the Word of God, which will be pushed into the background by so-called ‘prophecies’ (compare 2 Chronicles 18:18-22)... The spokespersons conveying these prophecies are mostly women. In many situations, this has - against clear Biblical instructions – resulted in women, even young girls, being in central leadership positions of the movement. The so-called Pfingstbewegung in Germany is represented before the public by its leader J. Paul. There has been no lack of discussions with him and of warnings given to the smaller and wider circle of brethren. As all that has been in vain, we have herewith got to state for his sake and for the sake of the Lord’s work: We cannot acknowledge him any more as a leader and teacher in the Church of Christ; we commit him to the transforming work of the mercy of the Lord... We are not awaiting a new Pentecost; we are awaiting our coming Lord. Thus, we herewith ask all our brethren for the sake of the Lord and of His work, which Satan intends to destroy: Keep away from this movement! Whoever has fallen victim to the power of this

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1 Krust, 50 Jahre Deutsche Pfingstbewegung, 59.
3 Krust, 50 Jahre Deutsche Pfingstbewegung, 60.
4 Ibid. 64.
5 Pfingstgrüße vol. 1, (February 1909), quoted in Krust, op. cit. 64.
6 Krust, 65.
7 Fleisch, op. cit. p. 82.
spirit is asked to break with it and to ask God for forgiveness and deliverance.  

A consensus was not thought to be possible; the only way to save the Gemeinschaftsbewegung was seen in a definite separation from the "demonic" Pentecostal meetings. Yet this verdict rested partly on the fact that only brethren opposing the Pentecostal Movement had been invited. The sentence was pronounced without even hearing those who were accused. After confirming this verdict in the following meeting of the Gnadauer Verband, every member was obliged not to co-operate with any brethren belonging to the Pentecostal Movement. Any violation of this decision was deemed to be "not in accordance with the position of the Gnadauer Verband".

The Mühlheimer Erklärung ("Mühlheim Declaration")
At their third conference, taking place in Mühlheim in October 1909, the members of the Pentecostal Movement responded to the Berliner Erklärung by issuing the Mühlheimer Erklärung, in which, among others, the following statements have been made, "We thank the Lord for the present spiritual movement. We consider this the beginning of a divine answer to the many years of believing prayer for a world-wide revival. Thus, we recognize this movement as a gift from above, not from below... Concerning several details, we want to clearly state that, as a matter of course, not only divine, but also soulish, respectively human, and possibly even demonic features become manifest. Yet, this is characteristic for any revival."  

Since 1910, in spite of various further meetings and declarations, the Pfingstbewegung had become more or less isolated. On 2 February 1914, the "Christliche Kolportage-Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung zu Mühlheim-Ruhr" ("Society for the Spread of Christian Literature, Ltd., Mühlheim-Ruhr") was founded. Emil Humburg became their Managing Director. At Christmas of 1914, the society issued - in spite of the recent outbreak of World War I - the first edition of Das Neue Testament (Mühlheimer Ausgabe) in der Sprache der Gegenwart ["The New Testament (Mühlheim Edition) in today's language"], which has since been followed by several further editions.

THE FOUNDING OF THE VOLKSMISSION IN BERLIN
Hindenburg issues the Emergency Decree "Zum Schutz von Volks und Staat" ("For the Protection of the People and the State")
The Weimar Republic that had come into being in 1919, when World War 1 (1914-1918) was over, was being shaken by severe economic and political crises during its short existence of only 15 years. Finally, at the instigation of Hitler, the 84-year-old German president Paul von Hindenburg issued the emergency decree "Zum Schutz von Volks und Staat" on 28 February 1932. This decree meant the end of liberty guaranteed by the constitution. The KPD (Communist Party of Germany) was immediately forbidden, while political opponents would be eliminated without any legal proceedings. Nevertheless, the NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, ["National-Socialist German Workers' Party"])) missed achieving the absolute majority at the new elections taking place on March 5. The 81 mandates of the KPD were withdrawn at once; the newly constituted parliament met on 21 March in the Potsdam military church. 288 National Socialists, 52 German Nationalists, 73 representatives of the Zentrum (Catholic Centre Party), as well as some representatives of the splinter groups celebrated the "Day of Potsdam". The SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) that had decreased from 120 to 94 members did not join them until two days later. Unitedly, they voted against the Enabling Act that had been accepted by the other 441 members of Parliament, and which was to eliminate the first German Republic for good.

1 ibid. 122-13. This was the first New Testament in contemporary German, and probably the first New Testament published by Pentecostals.

2 A federal republic of 17 states being ruled both as a whole and in each individual state according to democratic and parliamentary principles. The legislative body was the Reichstag with the very limited assistance of the Reichsrat. The highest executive body was the German president who was authorized to appoint the German chancellor and the German government.

3 By the name of Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD), Socialism was re-created in the year 1890 after abolishing the Socialist Law. The increasing strength of the Berlin SPD is reflected in the results of the elections for the Reichstag: 1888: 126, 317 votes, 1893: 151, 122 votes, 1898: 155, 411 votes, 1903: 218, 235 votes, 1907: 251, 215 votes - this equals 66.2 per cent of the total number of votes. In 1912, the votes in favour of the SPD amounted to 74.9 per cent; in other words: Three quarters of all Berlin citizens voted for social democracy (Berger, 1.; Berlin freiheitlich & redlich, Goebl Verlag: Berlin, 1987), 121.

Hitler passes the “Ermächtigungsgesetz” (“Enabling Act”)
On 30 January 1933, the political right wing parties had finally reached their goal - Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler as German Chancellor. Any reservations on the side of the aged military hero would be appeased by referring to the enforced coalition with the NSDAP and to the present constellations in parliament. “Democracy had already died, yet, it was not sure in which direction it would fall,” an observer mentioned later. And in fact, Hitler immediately set about terminating democracy for good. He had new elections called, “the last ones ever”, as he proudly announced – and, in order to support his party, he applied all instruments of power, giving all the other parties over to the terrors of the SA1 without any protection. He used the arson of the Reichstag as an opportunity to crush the Communist Party. Still, he did not have the absolute majority yet, as the NSDAP had not won more than 44% of the votes. This meant that Hitler needed a coalition partner for a cabinet reshuffle. He wanted more than an absolute majority, though. With the help of a two-thirds majority, he intended to annul the constitution legally: “We uphold the principles of a nation under the rule of law, of equality, of social rights that have been laid down in the Weimar constitution. We German Social Democrats pledge ourselves solemnly in this historic hour to the principles of humanity and justice, of freedom and socialism. No enabling act can give you power to destroy ideas which are eternal and indestructible”.

For the next 12 years, this ought to have been the last free speech held in Germany. This was the reason given by the SPD member and party spokesman Otto Wels (1873-1939) when he explained his party’s refusal of the Enabling Act. Nevertheless despite such political opposition, Hitler gained the two-third majority he wanted.2

“Gleichschaltung” (“Forced Coordination”)
The wave of arrests reached all other political parties – arrests, not carried out by organs of the state, but by the SA or SS3, accompanied by dreadful maltreatment and committal to the first concentration camps. A first wave of emigration set in. The parties, robbed of their leaders, became insecure as a result of being split up and spied on, gave in and dissolved. KPD and SPD were banned and political opposition ceased.

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1 SA = “Sturmbteilung” (“Storm Troops”); the task force of the NSDAP having had military training.
3 SS = “Schutzstaffel” (“protection squad”) originally served as Hitler’s bodyguards. After the “Röhm Coup” and due to Himmler’s promotion, they gained the entire power of government. They were to cultivate the “Master Race” in Europe.

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The trade unions were also smashed, the constitutions of the individual German states done away with, the press was “equalized”, while education and arts were uniformly orientated towards the principles of the national socialist government. Forcing the churches into line was more difficult for the dictator. In Protestantism, the so-called “Bekennende Kirche” (“Confessing Church”) came into being1 and firmly resisted the Gleichschaltung. So did the Roman Catholic Church to a certain extent as well, after having been confused first by the offer of a generous concordat, a treaty between the German Reich and the Holy See. All these oppressive circumstances made up the political situation in which the first public meeting of the Volksmission took place in Berlin on 1 January 1934.

Karl Fix comes to know Christ
Karl Friedrich Fix (1897-1969), the founder of the Volksmission entschiedener Christen, was born August 14th 1897 in Kupferzell near Künzelsau in the state of Baden-Württemberg. He spent his childhood in Löwenstein near Heilbronn. As a young person, he was enthusiastic about philosophy, especially about Nietzsche. He also came into contact with spiritistic circles, clairvoyants, fortune-tellers and mystics.4 Five months after having finished his apprenticeship as a textile businessman in March 1914, he took part as a volunteer in World War I; yet, at the end of the War, as a 21-year-old, he was “sick in body, soul and spirit”.5 Attracted by the SPD slogan “No more War!”, he made his way into politics and became a socialist. Having been a gifted writer from his earliest youth, he became a journalist with the “Heilbrunner Stimme”.6 In this job, he

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1 The Resistance church which in 1933 started to turn against the Deutsche Christen, the church of national socialist orientation. Led by Martin Niemöller (1889-1984) and Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945), the “Pfarreremobund” (“Pastor’s Emergency League”) was founded on 21 September 1933. They met for the first free synod in 1934 to bravely oppose the government’s presumptuousness concerning questions of faith and conscience. After the end of the War, the heads of the “Bekennende Kirche” played a decisive part in re-building the structure of the church.
2 Johannes Baptist Sproll, head of the Rottenburg diocese, may serve as an example. From the beginning, he was a special object of GESTAPO control, as he repeatedly preached against the national socialist world view. On 10 April 1938, he did not take part in the plebiscite on Ausma’s enny. Jesuit Duke Helmut von Moltke some opponents of national socialism used to meet in order to discuss a re-structuring of Germany in the spirit of Christianity after the War (see also chapter 13 “Die Kirchen und Politik”).
functioned as a local reporter, a film critic and a representative of the press. From 1928-1932, he served as a “reporter of an uncountable number of political meetings”. Suffering from serious cirrhosis of the liver caused by excessive drinking, people had given up on him. In his tract, entitled *Volle Erlösung in Christo Jesu*, out of which an excerpt had been printed in the magazine *Der feste Grund*, he, who had once written satirical stories against the Christian faith, confessed, “From my earliest youth, my entire life meant restlessness, searching endlessly without finding. Eagerly, I would devour all kinds of knowledge, I would miss out on sleep and on fulfilling my duties. Often, I was depressed, considering suicide. Finally, I was in such inner bondage that many times my own dark thoughts seemed to be eating me up… My despair bought by using drugs, of which I needed certain doses to be able to live. I was eaten up by poisonous bondage and addictions — a hopeless case. A child saved me from committing suicide. I had become a living corpse, a burden to myself and to others”.

Many people contributed to his conversion. Karl Fix particularly mentions in his book entitled *Preiset mit mir den Herrn* his Christian mother and a cousin who had been praying for him for over 15 years, as well as a leading Mennonite. In his characteristic expressiveness, he describes how, sitting on a bench near his wife’s grave in the churchyard, this Mennonite brother kept repeating the same sentence over and over again, speaking it right into the darkness of Fix’s life, “And even if no one else will be able to help you any more, there is One who can still help you — it is the Lord Jesus Christ, the same, yesterday and today and for ever.” This preacher, being called a “friend” by Fix, activated prayer groups to pray for Fix. He also supplied him with Christian literature. There was one booklet by Fritz Binde called *Vom Atheisten zum Evangelisten*. It had a special impact on Fix. The Mennonite preacher and Swiss businessman Alfred Geistlich introduced Fix to Evangelist Emil Meyer, through whom many signs and wonders were performed. He sent Fix his booklet *Aus Satans Bann*. When Fix had studied it, he wrote, “Reading this booklet, the Law of Sin and Death became totally clear to me inwardly — my being absolutely lost and entangled in the bondages of darkness. On the other hand there is only one way out: The redemption accomplished by our Lord Jesus Christ”.

Fix wanted to attend evangelistic meetings held by Emil Meyer in Kassel but he was so weak that he had to find a hotel first in order take his strong medication. Dr. Bircher-Benn, the famous doctor from Zurich, had already confirmed to him in 1925, that his life only hung by a thread and that he might die any moment. For 8-10 days, Evangelist Meyer prayed with him daily, until, as he writes, he experienced the power of God making him whole in body, soul and spirit. Fix remembers, “Every day we had at least two services, counselling sessions and prayer meetings. The Word of God that was being shared there had an immense impact on me. I also listened to many testimonies of people who had an encounter with God, which made me want to write them all down… The power of God came over me in such a mighty way that even other persons realised that something extraordinary had happened to me. During my years of despair I would not be able to find sleep for many, many a night in spite of taking the strongest drugs; I would rather see everything through clouds of depression. That night, though, was to be the first night in my life, in which I could not find any sleep for gladness and joy. For about 24 hours I could not keep my mouth shut because of sheer joy. Great things had happened — God had had mercy on me!”

Fix followed Meyer’s suggestion of accompanying him on his next evangelistic campaign to Berlin. Fix made his good relations with the press available for Meyer’s purposes and helped him with his public relations. Soon, Meyer transferred to Fix his publishing business together with the responsibility for editing the periodical *Gott mit uns*.

**Fix, the Founder of the “Deutsche Volksmission”**

For six months, rallies were being held “all over Berlin”, beginning in the Garde-Hallen in Sophienstraße on 1 January 1933 with many records of...
signs and wonders happening there. Fix was allowed to give his first "testimony". Besides “gladness overflowing”, he also spoke of difficulties in getting acquainted with the world of those believing in Christ, “There is such a vast amount of things to learn. You don't know them all — all those different groups and associations. You don’t know the definition of Methodist, Baptist and Pentecostal. As an outsider, you do not have a clue of all those groups, the fences, the minor and major popes. I am very much ashamed to say that I did not know that in my Swabian home area there existed a place called Möttlingen, till I came to Berlin”.2

In June 1933, Fix, for the first time, heard one of the brethren witness to the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. In spite of some resistance against the outward way of “getting it”, his desire was according to Luke 4:18-19 “…the Spirit of the Lord is upon me as a holy anointing, commissioning me and enabling me to preach the gospel to the poor”, which was to be fulfilled in the autumn of 1933 in one of the branches in Saxony. Fix describes this event, “It was the first time I met a group of believers as described in 1 Corinthians 14:26. Spiritual power was at work there, visions, tongues, revelations, interpretations. During one especially anointed prayer meeting, I heard God’s call, “Whom shall I send? And who will go for Me?” And my heart echoed tremblingly and fearfully, “Lord, send me” (Isaiah 6:8)”.3

Fix understood that the Lord had called him to start an independent “Faith Ministry” in Berlin, called “Deutsche Volksmission entschiedener Christen Berlin” (“German People’s Mission of committed Christians”). Inspired by 1 Timothy 2:4 (“God wants all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth.”) and 1 John 5:14-16, Fix outlines this commitment in his testimony as follows, “The reason for founding the Volksmission was to pray for people living in sin, bondage and sickness, and thus save body, soul and spirit... The purpose of being an evangelistic movement can never be to satisfy itself, but its calling is to save souls. Besides that, saving souls is the main prerequisite for being a biblical church”.4

1 Through the ministry of Johann Christoph Blumhardt (born on 16 July 1805), the small village of Möttlingen near Calw experienced revival and repentance, which affected the whole of southern Germany. Detailed information is given in the report on the illness and healing of Gottliebin Dittus in Blumhardt’s: Die Krankheitsgeschichte der Gottliebin Dittus in Möttlingen. Der Tatsachenbericht an die vorgestetzte Kirchenbehörde, 1844, Verlag Goldene Worte: Stuttgart, (15th edition, 1975).
2 Fix, Preiset mit mir den Herrn, 9.
3 Ibid. 12.
4 Ibid. 13-14.

Public Meetings in Linienstraße
Selma Bischof was a sister in Christ coming from the south of the state of Brandenburg. When she was in prayer, God gave her the inner impression that Karl Fix should found a church in the north-east of Berlin where the poorest used to live, and that this church should “be a manifestation of the full salvation in Christ”.1 The “Verein für Urchristen” (“Society for Early-Church Christianity”) provided a church hall for Karl Fix in the Linienstraße, which he could rent for several months for daily use. The first service took place on 1 January 1934. Every morning, there would be a prayer meeting, every night an evangelistic meeting. During the day, open-air meetings were conducted in the large Berlin backyards that were situated in the midst of blocks of up to 100 flats. Fix writes that about 95% of the over 1000 people that attended the services during the first year experienced Jesus as their physician, while many others were set free from bondage and vices and were baptized with the Holy Spirit.2

Volksmission Registered and Banned
Although Fix had not intended to found an officially registered church in the beginning, he followed the advice of his hosts, an elderly couple, to do so. Thus, the founding of the church as a registered body of 35 members and about 75 friends took place on 27 June, 1934. Only one week later, Fix was summoned by the police. The regional officer told him that according to section so-and-so his meetings were prohibited and that he should not dare to open up another business like that in Greater Berlin.3 For the time being, the church met in private rooms, until, after making enquiries and studying the Reich’s law for weeks, the section, responsible for the ban was discovered: “Selling of, and dealing with, illegal medicine.”

The president of the Berlin Pankow police explained to Fix after reading Fix’s article Willst du gesund werden (“Do you want to get well?”) from Heilsbote No.7, that practising prayer for the sick had been the reason for the ban. Finally, the following agreement was made with the police president: Meetings may only take place under the surveillance of the district police, and the congregation must consist of one third of friends, and two thirds of registered members. Open-air meetings were forbidden and the magazine Der Heilsbote banned. Both members and friends were questioned by the Gestapo, which meant an additional danger considering Karl Fix’s socialist past. When Kuttler, an elderly brother in Christ, was questioned about Fix and his political background, he answered, “Earlier

1 Gast, “Heimat für Heimatlose”, 12.
3 Fix, Preiset mit mir den Herrn, 17.
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started, when our dear old brother Fritz Dohring suddenly started stuttering before breaking through speaking in tongues. The message I heard thrilled me: ‘Peace be with you! This is the way. Follow Me. You must enter the Kingdom of God through much tribulation. But do not be afraid. I, the Lord, am with you. I will strengthen you...’. What happened further cannot be reported. Psalm 36 literally describes the overwhelming experience we had: ‘They feast on the abundance of your house; you give them drink from your river of delights. For with you is the fountain of life, in your light we see light’ (In Luther’s translation, which was standard in Fix’s time, it says, “They will get drunk from the abundance of your house...”). Drunk with heavenly delights! My dear brethren experienced something similar. This way, we were made one in our blessed Holy Spirit for a definite mission. From then on, we were one, baptized in His Spirit, united as His body by the bonds of love and of the Holy Spirit under divine orders’. In the afternoon, Martin Gensichen, who was the guest speaker, explained the manifestations which had occurred that morning, in connection with the meaning of being baptized in the Holy Spirit referring to 2 Chronicles 1:7.

Setting up the Literature Mission

The Berlin Volksmission made literature mission its major field of activity. When, after moving to Höchstestraße, they had been assigned to a new police precinct, and their relationship to the government offices had continually improved, they were only observed sporadically. The officers attended the meetings in plain clothes. A bookstall was maintained again which was registered with the Reich’s Literature Chamber via the Liebenzeller Mission, with whom the Volksmission had a good relationship. Tracts were bought from the Swiss “Verein für entschiedenes Christentum in Basel”, but this meant nothing more than a meagre temporary solution to Fix for he intended the entire German people should become acquainted with the message of the full salvation in Christ, in contrast to the “waves of national socialist propaganda flooding the

on, he was a socialist, but now we are involved in heavenly politics”. Being asked what kind of politics, Kuttler answered, “We are waiting for the Lord’s return”. Contemptuously, the officer closed his file saying, “He will not come anyway”. Fix remarks, “With this, I was not in danger any more”.1

Even the prayers were taken down in shorthand by industrious Gestapo officers. For every word, the church was held accountable.2 Reviewing this time of oppression, Fix writes, “Let me state this very definitely considering Romans 8:28: Our work was stabilised by this ban. As for me, I was given enough time for prayer and for the Word of God, which the Lord especially used to talk to me about establishing churches in the biblical way. Yet, our members were strengthened as well. We certainly knew for sure who was one of us. The name of ‘Deutsche Volksmission entschiedener Christen Berlin’ was officially registered then; we were on record with the government offices, they knew who we were and what our goals were. We had passed one of our first trials and tests”.4

Fix only counted those as members of the church who had been baptized in water, and only these were admitted to the Lord’s Supper.6 Erna Müller was a great help to Karl Fix. Originally, she had been a member of Miss von Treskow’s girls’ group. She joined the Volksmission in its very beginnings, was healed by faith from a terrible disease and married Karl Fix on 24 April, 1935.7

Moving to Höchstestraße

Rapid growth and tension with the “Verein für Urchristentum” urged them to look for their own premises. Finally, a former dance hall was rented in Höchstestraße 27. For some time, it had served as a storeroom for a fruit merchant. 200 people could be seated there. The dedication service was marked by joy overflowing, as Fix reports, “The praise session had hardly

1 Fix, Preiset mir mir den Herrn, 18.

2 Fix relates how he was questioned by a Gestapo officer at the headquarters: “A sister had prayed, ‘Lord, would you please tell Sister Meier that she is not to look upon her sick leg but upon you, Lord Jesus.’ What could she have meant by this?” (Fix, Preiset mir mir den Herrn, 19).

3 In the constitution of the Berlin Church of the year 1938, section 8, it is stated that “The Volksmission has been registered with the Secret Police of Berlin C under V 3270/ V 3250/13 including a list of members and the creed, and listed in the NSDAP registry of societies under No. 1391/38 (Berlin Area).”

4 Ibid. 20.

5 It happened several times that baptisms were accompanied by healings. Helene Velke, who joined the Volksmission in 1935, relates in her autobiography Erzichte Gnade (22), how she was spontaneously healed from a severe knee ailment that had been caused by calcification.

6 Fix, Preiset mir mir den Herrn, 34.

7 Ibid. 13.


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people”. Fix writes, “Thus, I beseeched God by prayer and fasting to give us a literature mission, also making a clear promise not to seek any advantage for myself, not even to print a post office bank account onto any piece of literature (I had realised that here and there in the Kingdom of God, money, together with a post office bank account, played quite a negative role!); if possible, the tracts should be distributed free of charge”.

Shortly after this, a farmer living near the German-Polish border, came to see Fix. His name was Otto Gohlke. Together with some brethren, he had founded the Meseritzer Schriftenmission, publishing tracts and brochures. As they could not present themselves so well, they asked Fix to take over the editorship and the printing in Berlin. Besides publishing the tracts, they also wrote a prophetic statement on the People of Israel which “got lost in the mail”. Not only did they never get back the paper, but soon after, the Meseritzer Schriftenmission was banned. Fix then edited literature from his own publishing house. They were distributed with the following remark printed on them: “These tracts are distributed free of charge. Previous issues will be mailed, if the address is submitted. Please see that these tracts are spread far and wide, pray for this work”. The first 5000 tracts cost 60 Marks.

The Gestapo Confiscate “Grauen, Grausen”
The fourth tract with the provocative title “Grauen! Grausen! Wehe denen, die auf der Erde wohnen...” (“Terror! Horror! Woe to those who live on earth...”) is a testimony of Fix’s prophetic vision of the coming catastrophes of World War II. Fix writes about the birth of this tract, “Concerning the tract “Grauen! Grausen!” my heart was unusually troubled. I heard many prophecies, visions and messages about the coming disaster. It had been revealed to me, and I would have liked to once more warn everybody. Yet, I knew that this way I would certainly ask for problems, as on the opposite side the ‘Millennium of Hitler’ was being proclaimed. Pros and cons fought a long battle in my heart. Finally I said to myself: If you live in a house and you know a fire has broken out, you must shout ‘Fire!’ at least once, even if the others say, ‘Be quiet, everything is completely fine’”.

When the first edition of 5000 had been distributed, the Gestapo confiscated the tract, taking the second edition directly from the press to their headquarters. Yet, neither the organisation nor the literature mission were banned. On the contrary, it was spread all over the world due to contacts with the Swedish evangelist E. Grunewald. Fix had invited him to conduct evangelistic meetings in the summer of 1935. Grunewald in return supplied Fix with addresses of German speaking churches in Hungary and Yugoslavia. Until July 1939, when the literature mission was forbidden, more than two million large, four-page tracts had been sent to twelve countries, as far as Canada and Brazil. One should remember that in Germany, free distribution of Christian tracts was prohibited then because of “causing public offence”, and every circular letter and tract had to bear the warning “Public distribution of these tracts is forbidden”. If any tracts had been complained about, they could only be sent to foreign countries, while every new edition, as well as the manuscripts, had to be presented to the Gestapo before printing. In July 1939, the entire literature mission was banned for good. Fix comments, “You need not have any illusions: World War II was about to begin. For months I had already had a service-record book with a call-up for the first day of mobilisation. Thus, I wrote a circular farewell-letter to all my friends of the literature mission quoting the wonderful word of comfort from Hebrews 13:5b and made a little package of tracts for everyone. This was my last big distribution of literature in the Third Reich. The next day I became a “Driver” in the Third Battery A. R. 176 Potsdam”.

The consequence of this last distribution of literature was a thorough search of the Fix’s house, from where almost all the scriptures were confiscated. The reply to Erna Fix’s protest, “My husband on the battlefield will be overjoyed when I write to him about what has happened.” was, “He is lucky to be there, otherwise we would take him with us”.

That day, the “Führer” pronounced to all the world: “If tomorrow there is a war in Europe, there will be no Jews left in Europe the day after tomorrow!” All over the world this statement had been heard. Yet, nobody had the power to prevent this catastrophe. I myself was just busy writing a tract of warning at that time. With this brochure, I wanted to warn the people living in the regions that would be especially endangered in case of a war. According to the Bible, these had to be the European countries, where the greatest number of Jews lived. These were Poland, Romania and Hungary. At that time, the brochure was not granted any success. One tract of warning was confiscated by the GESTAPO right at the press” (Fix, K., Millionen Menschen müssen sterben! Ein Mahner an alle, Karl Fix Verlag Deutsche Volkmission entschieder Christen: Schomdorf, (1955, (VII. edition 1962)), 66).

One of the reasons was the pacifist message, documented by statements such as “Love your enemies...” (Fix, “Aus dem Kleinsten sollen tausend werden...”, 18).

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Fix, Karl Fix Verlag Deutsche Volksmission.


Fix, ibid. 11.

Fix, Presse mit mir den Herrn, 23.

The tracts had to bear the imprint, “Karl Fix, Deutsche Volksmission entschiedener Christen, Berlin N 58, Chorinnerstr. 61” (Fix, K., “Lasset uns fortfahren mit der Heiligung in der Furcht des Herrn”, 11, unknown date).

Fix, Presse mit mir den Herrn, 24.

ibid. 25. In 1955, looking back, Fix wrote: “When before the past World War, Mussolini paid his first official visit to Hitler in Berlin, about two million people had gathered on the Maifeld at the same time. According to the Bible, these had to be the European countries, where the greatest number of Jews lived. These were Poland, Romania and Hungary. At that time, the brochure was not granted any success. One tract of warning was confiscated by the GESTAPO right at the press” (Fix, K., Millionen Menschen müssen sterben! Ein Mahner an alle, Karl Fix Verlag Deutsche Volkmission entschieder Christen: Schomdorf, (1955, (VII. edition 1962)), 66).

One of the reasons was the pacifist message, documented by statements such as “Love your enemies...” (Fix, “Aus dem Kleinsten sollen tausend werden...”, 18).

Fix, ibid. 30.
All Pentecostal Churches are Banned
Although between 1935 and 1945 the Volksmission was continuously under Gestapo surveillance, and Fix permanently had to appear at the police headquarters, it was not banned, but the Pentecostal Churches were. When raising one’s hands for prayer and praise was later misunderstood as an imitation of the “Hitler salute”, Fix would refrain from it. He would also resist the requests made by other Pentecostal Churches to join their congregation in order to find protection from being banned referring to Isaiah 8:12-13 (“Do not call for a treaty every time that these people call for a treaty; do not fear what they fear, and do not dread it. The Lord Almighty is the one you are to regard as holy, he is the one you are to fear, he is the one you are to dread ...”).1

Branch Churches are Founded
Fix had a constant desire of founding new churches. Thus, branch churches, such as those in Birkenwerder, Friedrichsfelde, Borkheide, Klein-Machnow and Moabit were founded in Greater Berlin.2 On his “trips to Saxony” he would travel to Zittau, Groß-Schönau and Waltersdorf. Often, healings accompanied the founding of new churches.3

The “Weckhof” in Southern Germany
In 1925, Fix came into contact with the “Weckhof” through his relatives living in southern Germany. It was a tiny, inconspicuous hamlet in Hohenlohe, close to his birth place of Kupferzell. There, he helped in strengthening the young church.4 The founder of the Weckhof church, Marie Primmer5, née Wolf (1873), emigrated to America towards the end of the nineteenth century. She has heard of the revival taking place in Los Angeles in 1906. In July 1925, she returned to Germany for a two-year stay. In the homes of her relatives she would conduct services reading and explaining the Word of God. Her niece, Rosa Munzinger, relates how already on 9 August 1925, three young persons were baptized in the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues”.6 Water baptisms “in the Name of Jesus Christ” were carried out in the Kupfer river; the surrounding areas were evangelised on foot or by bike. As the revival movement was harshly attacked by the state church, the believers left the church and on 23 June 1928 founded the registered society, “Freie Pfingstgemeinde Weckhof e.V.”.7 Georg Breuninger was called to be their leader. Having attended Bible seminars conducted by Benjamin Schilling in Berlin, he got into contact with churches in Leipzig, Thuringia, Switzerland and Vienna. In the years between 1931 and 1939 the brethren Benjamin Schilling, Ernst Hebeisen and Hans Lack (Switzerland), as well as Karl Fix, who called the “Weckhof” his other spiritual home, would come to preach there.8 The brochure written for their 50th anniversary witnesses to the endurance of this church and the astonishment of the American occupational forces at the end of the war:

As from the beginning, the whole village had rejected national socialism, neither a flag, nor a swastika, nor a Hitler portrait could be found in any household. When the commanding officer entered the room in the Breuninger/Eisseles’ house that was used for the services, he immediately realised, by the way it was arranged and equipped, that it was a sanctuary. He was very surprised and glad by the explanation that there was a local Pentecostal church. Immediately he ordered the whole village with all its inhabitants and the numerous evacuated persons to be spared. There were no thefts, lootings or evacuations.9

The Outbreak of World War II
At the end of August 1939, Fix was conscripted by telegram. He assigned the subsidiary church leadership to Fritz Döhring. Rudolf Lehmann from the Stieglitz church was entrusted with the preaching ministry. After having served on the western front line for one year, his company was transferred to the eastern areas as an occupation unit. From there, he had to guide an ammunition supply convoy via Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria to the Russian

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1Fix had also put this in section 7 of the constitution of 1938: “As the D.V.e.C. have made it their goal to serve the public without any obligations to a certain denomination – in their midst, are Protestants, as well as former Roman Catholics, Baptists, Methodists, Free Churches etc. – they will per se not promote any acquisition of members.”
3Fix Priester mit mir den Herrn, 34:35.
5In Breuninger, W., 50 Jahre Missionsgemeinde entschiedener Christen e.V., Weckhof: Missionsgemeinde Weckhof e. V., the family name of the founder is said to be “Drümmer”. Yet, the correct name is “Primmer” according to a letter written by Taubert, M., as of 26 February 2001, where he mentions a letter written by hand with the sender’s name being clearly readable as “Priimmer”.
6Munzinger, R., Augenzeugenbericht über die Entstehung der Weckhof-Gemeinde, unpublished typescript, Künzelsau, (1998). R. Munzinger writes how her 11-year-old brother prophesied after having received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, “that there would still be many coming to the Weckhof, and that they would be coming from afar”.
7Breuninger, 50 Jahre Missionsgemeinde entschiedener Christen e.V., 2:5.
8Schilling was in Weckhof in the years 1928/29. Miraculous healings having happened under his ministry have been reported (Taubert, M., Info über Weckhof-Gemeinde, unpublished typescript, Künzelsau, 1998).
9Fix, Priester mit mir den Herrn, 34.
winter front line. Weakened by the Wolhynian Fever, which had most likely been caused by a gunshot wound, he was finally admitted to a German military hospital on 20 April 1942, which saved him from having to go to Stalingrad. Fix considered it a miracle that a comrade managed to get a transfer to the staff headquarters OKW (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht) for him. He had to serve in the coding department, which was a secret service branch of the foreign broadcasting surveillance. As he had to work mainly at night, he could still attend the services and lead the church through the hardest time of need, until in April 1945, his military headquarters were transferred to the south, 50 km away from Salzburg. The leading general handed over his troops to the Americans. Fix was granted an early discharge to his southern German home, where his family had already been evacuated to in 1943. Their former home had been destroyed and all their possessions had been looted and burnt, so that his wife with their two children had to be put up in the school building of the neighbouring village, which served as an emergency accommodation for the time being.

During the bombings, many people came to Christ. Thus, the General Superintendent and Bishop of the Berlin Lutheran Church, Kurt Scharf, published the testimony of the former social democratic member of the Prussian parliament, Mrs Dr. Hildegard Wegschneider, titled Die verborgene Gemeinde (“The Hidden Church”), in his special brochure “Wir sind doch Brüder” (“But we are Brothers”) celebrating the 1st Kirchentag, which is the national convention of the Lutheran Churches in Berlin. He introduced this testimony with these words, “The fact that Berlin has been revived after the horrible war of nerves during the Hitler years and 6 months. Some faithful deaconesses feeling at home in the Volkmission had helped to obtain it. Their conduct in the hospital work had been so positive, that “the Matron and the Reverend Diekmann willingly made their chapel available”.

As Fix’s profession could not actively contribute to the rebuilding of the nation, he was refused the permanent right to stay by the authorities of the eastern section. This caused him to make Vaihingen/Enz in the state of Württemberg his place of residence. Nevertheless, he often visited the Berlin Church which he had entrusted to August Witt. On 8 September 1946, a baptismal service was conducted again.

How the Volkmission came to Stuttgart

Shortly after World War I, an unknown female believer who had come to know a Pentecostal church during a longer stay in America, spoke about the Word of God every Sunday afternoon in a “House Meeting” in Hördtstraße 2, Stuttgart-Zuffenhausen. This house group got in touch with the “Freie Pfingstgemeinde Weckhof e.V.”, and when the woman was not able to hold the meetings any more due to old age, Breuninger and Egner, amongst others, took over this task. A special highlight was a Bible study held there by Karl Fix in the year 1937 or 1938. This house group was to become a second home for him. At the same time, a prayer meeting of a similar kind developed in Brackenheimer Straße, which is about 10 minutes’ walking distance from the Hördtstraße. Here, the “meetings” were held by Paula Gassner, who had experienced the Baptism of the Holy Spirit during a stay in Kensington Temple, London. Some of the “pillars” of the Brackenheimer Straße were Otto Stegmüller and Adolf Schnegelsberg. In the years 1938/1939, Fix made use of the possibility to minister there.
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abilities. - His preaching has, in a good sense, been influenced by the holiness movement led by persons like Stockmayer...\(^1\)

The history of the Volksmission, which, due to its membership in the Bund Freikirchlicher Pfingstgemeinden (BFP) ("Federation of Pentecostal Churches in Germany") has the rights of a public incorporated body since 1988, is inseparably connected with the work of Karl Fix. Until breathing his last, he had inspired and motivated the fellowship of about 60 churches, granting them a sound theological basis. His care for senior citizens and for those in need led to the birth of the "Haus Elim, Alters- und Erholungshaus Leutenbach e.V." under his leadership in 1962, by which two homes for the elderly and for those in need of care are being run today.\(^2\) Thanks to his concern for foreign missions, the Volksmission, as the first Pentecostal Church in Germany after World War II, was enabled to send Heinz Battenann to Kenya as a missionary in 1956.\(^3\)

Fix was a bold prophetic warning voice in his time when almost the whole of Germany applauded the "Fuehrer" and when every kind of criticism could endanger one's life. May his unshakeable faith and his consecrated life spur the next generation into unreserved dedication to their Lord Jesus Christ.

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\(^2\) Roes, and Kaupp, Missionarisch in die Zukunft, 29.
\(^3\) Ibid. 134.
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The Pentecostal Movement in Finland

Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen

Finnish Abstract


Lähetystryö on ollut niihinkaan leimallista molemmille helluntaihyödyksille Suomessa. Ensimmäiset helluntaihöetti lähettiin jo 1912. Kasvu on ollut nopeaa. Tänäpäivänä suomenkielisiä lähetysohjelmia on 450 kaikilla

Swedish Abstract


Introduction

Finland is a Scandinavian country, with about five million people, located between the East (Russia) and the West (Sweden), in Northern Europe. Since 1917, Finland has been a republic. Its foreign policy is neutral, although for decades after World War II there was a co-operation agreement between the Finnish and then Soviet governments. Finland is a bilingual country with two official languages, Finnish (majority, more than 90% of the population) and Swedish, and, consequently, with two separate Pentecostal Movements along the language lines. This article will focus on the Finnish speaking section, because it is by far the biggest and because these two sister movements have the same historical roots and many similarities in theology and pastoral praxis. The distinctive characteristics of the Swedish-speaking movement will be presented insofar as they differ from the Finnish-speaking movement. There is also a small Finnish-speaking Pentecostal movement in Sweden1 (as well as in the United States/ Canada and in Australia) where a considerable number of Finns emigrated especially after World War II, but these movements are not treated here.

THE FINNISH SPEAKING PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT

1. Emergence and Historical Developments
1.1. The Historical Background and Context

The nineteenth century was a time of wide nationalistic awakening. Consequently, the political climate was stormy at the turn of the twentieth

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1 Viljo Koivisto et al., eds., Ruotsin suomenkielisen helluntaiherdykren historia (Stockholm: Bokas-Center, 1996).
century as the various forces of the independence movements were sweeping through the century. The First World War and the Russian revolution paved the way for Finland's independence. The religious development followed the Scandinavian pattern from Catholicism to Protestantism.

From an early period, charismatic manifestations were apparent in Finland, mainly among the groups called Lestadiolaiset ('Laestadians') and Heränneet ('Awakened'). Actually, the later movement started with a sudden outpouring of the Holy Spirit in 1796. Such observable signs as visions and speaking in tongues accompanied the event. In time, charismatic gifts were widely accepted and speaking in tongues continued on into the twentieth century. However, the manifestations of the Spirit were not greatly emphasized within the movement. Later on, a critical attitude towards these kinds of experiences began to grow in these circles.\(^1\)

Likewise, glossolalia has occasionally occurred among the members of another Lutheran group, the “Laestadians”. In 1889-1899, a Laestadian group experienced an outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the city of Narva in Northern Estonia. At the time, visions and prophecies occurred and the group became known as the “Narvaitic Leastadians”. Furthermore, two Swedish speaking Baptist pastors, J. A. Lindkvist and A. A. Hermans, and several church members experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit.\(^2\) In addition to these revivals, Suomen Lähetyssyysra (Finnish Missionary Society; Lutheran) was an instrument of renewal in the early years of the twentieth century. Also, the so-called Free Churches reached Finland at the end of the nineteenth century: the Baptists, the Methodists, the Free Church, the Salvation Army and the Adventist Church.\(^3\)

As far as political and religious conditions are concerned, the following factors seem to have been the most crucial in contributing to the emergence of the Pentecostal Movement in Finland at the turn of the twentieth century: (1) the political climate with all kinds of independence yearnings prepared the population at large to accept new ideas and fight for them; (2) the religious developments were generally directed toward evangelical and fundamental Christianity; (3) various revival movements in the Lutheran State Church and also in the Free Churches had open the Finnish mind to a more enthusiastic Christian perspective; (4) the missionary endeavours had already begun.\(^4\)

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Laestadians, some Christians from the Methodist Church, the Free Church, the Finnish Missionary Society, Baptists and Salvation Army accepted the Pentecostal message. Pentecostal summer gatherings were initiated in 1912, and the first baptismal services were held during the summer of that year. The first Pentecostal missionary, Emil Danielsson, was consecrated in July 1912. The name **Helluntaiherra (the Pentecostal Revival)** was first used for the Finnish Pentecostals in 1913. Barratt visited Finland again in 1912 and 1913.1

Before the First World War, the Pentecostal message had been introduced into most parts of the country. Furthermore, Pentecostal pastors and evangelists ministered in Estonia and in the Finnish speaking regions of Russia as well as among the immigrants of North America. Pentecostal ministers and lay-leaders began to hold annual conventions (veljesliitto) and the Pentecostal Alliance of Brethren (veljesliitto) was formed in 1914. The first local church, Siloam, was founded in Helsinki in May 1915 by the Baptist sector of the Pentecostals. The other Pentecostals, however, continued to gather informally. The First World War and the Civil War in 1918 unfortunately hindered growth for many years.

1.3. Later Developments

Obviously, the first Pentecostals experienced a powerful renewal experience, usually the key to the expansion of the revival movements. Attached to this was a heightened consciousness of Christian fellowship. In the beginning, the congregations were small and people had a chance to get to know each other. Perhaps, the key spiritual dynamic had been prayer, both in the emergence of the Pentecostal Movement and in the rise of its missionary endeavour.2

In 1919-1920, a division occurred over the doctrine of the local church. The Baptists’ view of the church and closed communion was debated with the result that the Pentecostals split into two groups. The advocates of open communion and informal fellowship took the name the **Pentecostal Revival**:3 Smidt, who worked in Finland during 1912-1914 and 1920-1925, played a part in the breach. In the 1920s, the two groups were equally strong. During that decade, the adherents of the **Pentecostal Revival** set up over forty local assemblies. In addition, the first common associations were established to sustain publishing efforts and missionary outreaches. At the end of the 1920s, the total number of Pentecostals was estimated at ten thousand. By the end of the 1930s, the **Pentecostal Revival** had become the main branch of Pentecostalism in Finland. At the end of the decade, the number of local churches numbered 90 and the total number of Pentecostals stood at over twenty thousand.4 A steady growth and establishment of the new movement continued during the 1930s. Lauri Ahonen calls this decade the “Decade of Revivals”.

During the World War II, Christian work was seriously disrupted. The churches were left without pastors as a number of ministers served in the army. The district of Karelia was lost to Russia and fourteen Pentecostal churches had to be evacuated from that region.5 After the Second World War, the membership of the **Pentecostal Friends** began to diminish and their activities became defunct in the 1990s. On the other hand, the **Pentecostal Revival** experienced a period of growth. A number of churches were founded and church buildings erected. In 1960, membership of local churches reached twenty-six thousand. In the beginning of the 1960s, another division occurred when an influential pastor, Vihla Soiminen, started a group called the Free **Pentecostal Revival** (Vapaa Helluntaiherra). This group reunited with the **Pentecostal Revival** in 1965. In 1964, the seventh Pentecostal World Conference was held in Helsinki. At the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, a revival occurred as a result of the healing ministry of Niilo Yli-Vainio. The meetings were attended by thousands and the ministry attracted much press coverage, mostly favourable. Before Yli-Vainio’s death in 1982, the ministry had gained a world wide reputation.6

1.4. The Current Status and Statistics

Currently, about 87% of Finns belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church. About 50,000 are members of another state church, namely the Eastern Orthodox Church; these are the people who had to flee from the Soviet Union during World War II when there was war between Finland and the Soviet Union. There has been a strong secularization of society, the effect of which has been further accentuated by the individualistic character of Protestant Christianity.7

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1 Ahonen, Helluntaiherra (Helsinki: Otava, 1987), 106-168.
2 Bukka Brofeldt, Helluntaiherran historia vuosina (Mikkeli: Toivon Tähti, 1934), 30;32.
3 Kuosmanen, "Suohten helluntaiherra," 54.
4 Facts about Finland (Helsinki: Otava, 1987), 90.
At present, the Pentecostals form the third largest religious entity in Finland. At the end of 1996, there were 223 Finnish speaking churches with a membership of 46,300. The Swedish speaking churches numbered thirty-two with the membership of 2,700. Thus, there were 255 churches belonging to the fellowship of the Pentecostal Movement with the total membership of 49,000. Together with adherents (e.g., the children of Pentecostal families), the number is now estimated as between 55,000-60,000. The largest local church is Saalem of Helsinki with a membership of 3,169 at the end of 1997. In addition, there are a few independent Pentecostal churches which do not belong to the Pentecostal Movement (e.g., Silicoam). The estimated membership of these groups is about 1,000.

2. Doctrinal and Pastoral Distinctives
2.1. Early doctrinal disputes
The Pentecostal Movement in Finland had to go through the same kinds of painful doctrinal disputes as other sister movements in Europe. The new movement gained considerable strength from several clergy who had received both solid theological training and the Pentecostal experience. There was a variety of theological viewpoints which compelled the Pentecostals to ponder upon their distinctive beliefs: (1) the issue of sanctification: "perfectionism" was rejected; (2) overemphasis of prophesying; (3) "Jesus only"-doctrine; (4) universalism. The most crucial doctrines to be decided were the doctrines of the baptism with the Holy Spirit and the doctrine of the church. Furthermore, the rapid growth of foreign missions brought with it a plethora of theological and pastoral problems to be solved.

2.2. A Biblictic Approach
Characteristic of Finnish Pentecostalism has been a reluctance to define doctrinal issues in a definitive, theological language. "The Pentecostal Revival [in Finland] has strongly opposed drafting a written statement of faith." Rather, Finnish Pentecostals have emphasized the importance of a "face-value" reading of the Bible as the source for the doctrine. Up until now, no definitive Statement of Faith exists. A recent compilation by three foreign missions brought with it a plethora of theological and pastoral problems to be solved.

The cardinal Pentecostal doctrine of Spirit-baptism is a case in point. Most Pentecostals in Finland, if asked, would say that when a person is baptized in the Holy Spirit, he or she receives the gift of speaking in tongues. However, no doctrine of "initial evidence" (as in the Assemblies of God, USA) has ever been defined. A widely used textbook says about this issue the following: Since we are different as persons, there are different ways to the fullness of the Spirit, and it is not possible to say one way is better than the other. The book of Acts reveals that when believers were filled with the Holy Spirit, without exception they spoke in tongues - at least when they were filled for the first time, Acts 2:4; 10:45-46; 19:6. The point here is that, even though Finnish Pentecostals practically follow the same tradition as most Pentecostals (i.e., speaking in tongues as a sign of the reception of Spirit baptism), they are very cautious about defining a dogmatic statement about the issue, especially since they do not see it clearly defined in the Bible.

2.3. Ecclesiological Focus: The All-Importance of Local Churches
Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Scandinavian Pentecostalism in general and the Finnish Pentecostal Movements in particular is the emphasis on the autonomy and independence of the local church both in theology and in practice. The local church is the focus of evangelism and missions, too. In the very beginning, the movement was very loose and it was made up of representatives from various denominations. Later on, however, those who had experienced Pentecost were disregarded and often denounced by their mother churches. Thus, gradually, a group was formed out of necessity.

2 Ahonen, "Pentecostal Movement in Finland," 2.
3 Ahonen, Helluntaiseurakuntien historia, 90-91.
4 Kuosmanen, "Suomen helluntaiseurakuntsia," 31-32; Ahonen, Missions Growth, 89-105.
5 Ahonen, Helluntaiseurakuntien historia, 325. For the Swedish-speaking movement, see Kanto, Piesströrelsen, 12 and Herberts, En falk, 117.
In terms of the doctrine of the church, the majority adopted the view of the pre-eminence of the local church which was to be one of the key characteristics of this movement. The final decision was made in 1920. The concept of the local church developed according to the pattern found in the book of Acts. The Board of Elders is in charge of church government and although the churches normally employ full-time pastor(s), the administration is executed collectively. Nevertheless, the Board of Elders is accountable to the congregation and church members are consulted on major issues. Thus, the form of church government is a mixture of Congregational and Presbyterian practices. The elders are also in charge of preaching and teaching insofar as the paid pastor is also part of the Board of Elders. The deacons assist in practical aspects of ministry. The preacher, or preachers in larger churches, are usually in the paid full-time ministry. There is no official clergy or priesthood, rather a "brotherhood". Surprisingly, the clergy who joined the Movement abandoned their ecclesiastical titles to stress the equality between all believers.

The ecclesiology of Finnish Pentecostals gained substantial influence from the neighbouring country, Sweden. Leijeen, the leader of Swedish Pentecostals and an influential figure in the developing European Pentecostalism, paved the way for a distinctive "Scandinavian model" in which the autonomy of the local churches is the point of departure. Conforming to the Scandinavian pattern, the Pentecostal Revival of Finland is a distinctly lay-movement. Also, the contribution of women, especially in terms of evangelism and mission has to be noted.

The local churches are in voluntary fellowship with each other and they form a united front. Conventions of pastors and lay-leaders are held twice a year both nationally and in the provinces. The churches depend on association for the coordination of mutual interests. Organizationally, the movement is extremely loose; total autonomy of the local churches is the point of departure. Conforming to the Scandinavian pattern, the Pentecostal Revival of Finland is a distinctly lay-movement. Also, the contribution of women, especially in terms of evangelism and mission has to be noted.

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In 1952, the first Pentecostal Bible Institute was founded in Paimio from where it moved at the end of the 1950s to Hattula. Opinions were divided as to the future of training: both long term theological/pastoral education as well as short term training were real options. The decision was made for the short term training. Up until the 1980s, the institute offered only three months basic courses which emphasized evangelism and mission. In fact, this was the only theological training pastors and evangelists received.

Beginning at the end of the 1980s, the curriculum was slowly expanded and in 1994 a final decision was made to establish a Bachelor of Arts-equivalent 3-4 year theological/pastoral training program. In the following year, Iso Kirja-opisto (Iso Kirja College), the current name of the school that is located in Keuruu, in Central Finland, received recognition from the government including substantial annual financial support. Currently, there are three departments: the Bible College department, the Missions department and a fast-growing Extension/Correspondence department in conjunction with the international ICI University.1

3.2. Summer Conferences
One of the best known distinctives of Finnish Pentecostalism is the tradition of summer conferences which draw tens of thousands of Pentecostals together each summer. The roots of these mass meetings go back to 1939 when big tent meetings for Pentecostals from all around the country were held with attendance of about 2000 people. In the 1950s, conferences which were held in various cities in Finland, drew over 10,000 participants for four days of Bible studies, revival meetings and missions events.2

In 1991, when Iso Kirja College moved to Keuruu, it was decided that that would be the permanent conference site. The campus area is ideal for such purposes with almost sixty hectares of camping and conference facilities. Currently, there are from 30,000 to 40,000 participants in these mass meetings held in huge tents. In addition to the main summer conference in June, two other annual conferences are held in Iso Kirja College campus: a charismatic Eliotulet-conference in the beginning of August with about 5,000 to 7,000 attendants and an internationally flavoured youth festival called Youth Celebration at the end of August with about the same number of young people getting together.

3.3. Publishing House and Magazines
Ristin Voitto, the common Pentecostal publishing house, currently AIKA Oy, was established in 1926, although the Pentecostal magazine by the same name, still in existence, was launched in 1912.3 In 1960, another Pentecostal publishing organization, Kristillisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, KKS (The Society for Christian Literature) was founded to promote evangelism and Bible study correspondence courses.4 KKS adopted International Correspondence Institute’s (now: ICI University) correspondence courses to its program and translated them into Finnish; in 1994, ICI University operations in Finland moved to Iso Kirja College.

Ristin Voitto functioned in Vantaa, near Helsinki, for several decades; in summer 1999, AIKA Oy moved to Iso Kirja College campus where it had built modern facilities. Besides the weekly magazine Ristin Voitto, AIKA Oy publishes childrens’ magazine Hyvää Paimen (Good Shepherd), evangelistic magazine Hyvää Sanoma (Good Tidings), and special Christmas edition Kultayhteys (A Golden Bundle).

The publishing house has released hundreds of books and pamphlets to disseminate Pentecostal doctrine and news. The most significant works has been the multivolume Raamatun Tietokirja (Bible Encyclopedia) and its accompanying volumes, widely used by other churches, too. The Pentecostal mission headquarters publishes a mission magazine called Maailman Lopet (The Ends of the Earth).

3.4. Home Missions
In 1943, an organization called Evankelioimuistorahasto (Fund for Evangelism) was founded to promote the work of itinerant evangelists, most of whom did not have any permanent support. In 1966, the name was changed to Vapaan Sisäpuhdistus (Free Home Mission) and a commitment was made to promote evangelism consciousness in all churches. Ten years later, a full time home missions secretary was elected to visit churches and speak for evangelism.5 Currently, the activities of home mission include school evangelism with more than ten full time school evangelists, mass media evangelism and various activities to raise funds for evangelism.

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1 Ahonen, Helluntaiherykästen historia, 173-176.
2 Ahonen, Helluntaiherykästen historia, 365.
3 Ahonen, Helluntaiherykästen historia, 253-257, 373-375.
3.5. Rehabilitation Centers
Krisillinen Alkoholisti- ja Narkomaanikoti, KAN (Christian Home for Drug and Alcohol Addicts) was founded in 1971. It has six rehabilitation centers to help converted former drug and alcohol addicts to recover.

4. Foreign Missions
4.1. Statistics and Current Activities
Scandinavian Pentecostals in general and Finnish Pentecostals in particular are perhaps best known for their unusually extensive foreign missions activities all around the world. As J. T. Nichol states in his now classic study on Pentecostalism: "For a relatively small religious group, the Finnish Pentecostals are zealously missions conscious... These men and women are not sent out by a central missionary society, but are dependent on local congregations for their support". ¹

In terms of growth, Scandinavian Pentecostal churches have been at the top of mission statistics. Sweden’s 100,000 Pentecostals have sent out over 900 missionaries. Norway’s 35,000 Pentecostals have sent out around 350 missionaries. Finnish Pentecostals have sent out over 400 missionaries. The ratio of missionaries to church members is about 1/100. This great missions enthusiasm is unique even on an international scale. Nowadays, Finnish Pentecostals are working with more than 420 missionaries in almost forty different countries, in every continent. Bible colleges have been established in Japan, Kenya, Taiwan, Thailand, Uganda and Uruguay. The former USSR has been opening up for Christian missionary work and many kinds of social and evangelistic missionary activities are going on by Finnish Pentecostals in that area, too. Finnish Free Foreign Missions (FFFM), the common missions board for the Finnish speaking Pentecostal Churches, celebrated its seventieth anniversary in 1997. FFFM is the main missions agency which works in close co-operation with several smaller specialized Pentecostal missions organizations.

After seventy years of aggressive missions work, the results are quite impressive at least with regard to numbers.² The statistics show clearly the steady growth of the number of missionaries sent by the Pentecostal churches after the World War II:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Missionaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>271</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FFFM- missionaries are distributed in different continents as follows: Asia (155), Africa (83), South America (28), Europe (123), Near East (21) and Oceania (22).²

The missionaries are chosen, sent, and employed by the local churches. All funds for missions are received as volunteer donations. In development aid work, missionaries are employed either by the churches or by Lääketyksen Kehitysapu (LKA), the International Relief and Development Aid Department of FFFM. Various missions activities include among others the following:
- preaching, teaching, evangelism, and church planting;
- Bible schools (in thirteen different countries; in some countries several schools) and training programmes;
- an extensive children’s ministry and training of children’s workers in different parts of the world; the year 1998 was dedicated to children;
- Team Action-Outreach Ministry, evangelism and church planting programme for young people, attracting annually more than a thousand Finnish young people;
- ministry among Muslims through preaching, publications, and mass media (TV, radio);
- missions among gypsies in various parts of Europe and beyond;
- tentmaking projects, in which professional people have a chance to fulfill their missionary calling;
- missionary aviation in co-operation with Missionary Aviation Fellowship (MAF); currently four couples are working full-time with MAF;
- Bible translation in co-operation with the Wycliffe Bible Translators (currently ten missionaries);

expanded version for prerequisite studies for the Th.D.-degree at the University of Helsinki, Department of Ecumencics and Missiology (1994).

1 Ahonen, Helluntaitevyyksen historia, 381-383.
3 For an analysis of the factors contributing to the growth of Finnish Pentecostal foreign missions, see V.-M. Kärkkäinen, "From the Ends of the Earth... to the Ends of the Earth. An Analysis of the Factors Contributing to the Growth of Finnish Pentecostal Mission," Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association, (xx) (2000) 116-131. The article is based on two previous unpublished study papers: a research paper for the School of World Mission of Fuller Seminary (1989) and later as an
- ministry among foreigners in Finland (currently there are 73,000 foreigners from about twenty different countries residing in Finland);
- missions training.

As already mentioned, FFFM works in close co-operation with some other Pentecostal missions organizations, such as:

Avainsanoma. For twenty years, Avainsanoma has worked among Finno Ugric peoples through the Bible Translation Institute, translating, publishing, and printing Bibles and other Christian literature. Today, Sunday School material, evangelism and teaching books are translated and published in Mari and Komi languages. In Slavic languages, Avainsanoma publishes and prints Russian and Ukrainian literature. It also works with Jews in former Soviet Union.

HyytSanoman Radio/ HSR-TV. IBRA Radio association was founded in 1955 in Finland. In the beginning, it broadcasted via short wave from Morocco and later also expanded to include Russian language broadcasts, eventually reaching all of the Soviet Union. In 1986, the name was changed to HyytSanoman Radio/TV and today it is operating out of its own modern facilities in Kerava. Together with TV and Radio directed to the former Soviet Union area, they also broadcast locally on Finnish television, and via satellite and locally to the Arabic speaking Muslim world. Potentially, they reach with the Good News an audience of over 400 million people. In addition, they support radio ministry in Thailand, Japan, Kenya, Uruguay, Spain and Bulgaria. There is also active correspondence and sending of videos, cassettes, literature and Bible study material to those who request them. Hannu Haukka and his Russian born wife Laura are some of the best known Western missionaries throughout the Commonwealth of Independent States through their extensive Russian TV and radio programmes.

While most Pentecostal missionaries are engaged in preaching, teaching, evangelism and church planting, a significant number of them work with social projects through various ministries of LKA. In 1997, LKA had thirty long term projects, which are mainly health care, education, and orphan care projects in Albania, Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Laos, Mongolia, Myanmar, Tanzania, Thailand, Uganda and Vietnam. There are about 60 employees in the projects (the number includes spouses). The total costs of the projects in 1997 were estimated at 33 million FMK while the following year it was 43 million FMK. LKA work is supported by the government of Finland. In 1998, the government share was about 21 million FMK.

LKA development projects are planned to promote evangelism ministry of the local churches or to enable missions in otherwise unreached areas. One way to promote missions consciousness is the mobile Missions Exhibition that has already reached about 90,000 children and youth all around Finland.

In Finland, there are also almost forty LKA-related missions markets, the profit of which is used in funding aid in developing countries.

A significant part of mission is the custom held in almost all churches throughout the country of dedicating one Sunday each month for a special "Missions Sunday", when missionaries are preaching, missions offering is given, and often exhibitions or missions lunches are provided. Furthermore, annual missions conferences, attracting several hundreds of missionaries, pastors, and elders, and more than a thousand young people, help disseminate the cause of mission.

4.2. Emergence and Historical Developments

The first Pentecostal missionary was Emil Anselm Danielsson (1878-1965). Before his proper career, he had helped missionaries at the mission station of Ksumu (Kenya). On the way home, he met with pastor Bmr in Norway and received a call, through a prophecy, to enter into missionary work in Africa. In 1912, Danielsson was consecrated to missionary work by foreign ministers, G. Smidt and J.H. King. At that time, no Pentecostal Churches existed in Finland. Furthermore, Danielsson left on his own as a faith missionary.

The second Pentecostal missionaries were Nikolai and Martta Pöysti. After a serious illness, Nikolai committed his life totally to missions and began to work among Russians in 1923 (his mother was Russian). Later on, the Smyrna Church of Turku (a Finnish Pentecostal congregation) adopted the Pöystis as missionaries and sponsored them to the mission field. The Pöystis have been very influential in the development of Pentecostal missions at least in two ways: first, through their own example they inspired many...
young men and women to commit their life to the missions, and secondly, their role was important at the beginning of the Finnish Free Foreign Missions, the first president of which was Nikolai Pöysti.

Toimi Yrjölä was the third missionary of the Finnish Pentecostals. Interestingly enough, he too committed his life to the missions after a very serious illness. In 1926, at the age of seventeen, Toimi Yrjölä entered the Missionary Training School of the Finnish Missionary Society (Lutheran). But when he received believers’ baptism, he was dismissed from the school, and he joined the Saalem Church of Helsinki in 1929. Within a short period of time, the necessary support was raised, and Yrjölä was sent to China in 1929. His first term in China was very fruitful. He built a large church in Manchuria and introduced the Gospel to other cities as well. Yrjölä traveled extensively in Finland and appealed to the Pentecostal believers. That year saw an explosion in missionary enthusiasm. Also his second term was a period of growth in China. After World War II, Yrjölä left for China for the third time.

During the furlough that followed the third term, a most influential development took place in Finland. An old minesweeper was remodeled to become a floating mission station. The crew was composed of new missionaries; twenty-eight adults and several children left with this ship. Toimi Yrjölä was in charge of that new missionary "exodus". At first, the ship sailed to Ceylon and India in 1955. This mission ship is one of the reasons why Toimi Yrjölä is commonly recognized as the most influential missionary among the Finnish Pentecostals so far.

After World War II, foreign missions grew explosively. At that time it was extremely difficult to get even visas or currency; however, new missionaries somehow found their way to various mission fields. Those who went overseas had extremely strong faith. Missionaries were consecrated to the work by their own churches, but usually the churches were unable to support them; the only support was in the form of prayer. This is what has been called "missionaries of the one-way-ticket-mentality". In China there were at most seventeen Finnish Pentecostal missionaries! Hundreds of converts were baptized during the short period before the great country was finally closed in 1950. From China, Pentecostal missionaries went to many countries and all over the world. Furthermore, new missionaries had grown up in the homeland, some of whom went for example to Kenya and Israel.

4.3. Organization and theological understanding of missions

From the beginning, ecclesiology has informed mission among Finnish Pentecostals. The local church has been in focus also in missionary activities. As mentioned earlier, already in 1928 an organization called The Finnish Free Foreign Missions was established. Nikolai Pöysti’s role was crucial here. Actually, this organization was under the supervision of the Philadelphia Church of Helsinki. The organization had already sent out one missionary, Anna Kempe, to Tibet, and plans were made for sending others, too. The reason for founding this new mission board was to help local churches in practical matters, like its "sister-organization" The Finnish Missionary Society (Lutheran) was doing. However, local churches opposed the idea of a central organisation, because it was seen as a threat to the autonomy of the local churches. Consequently, the new organization was closed down for two decades.

Meanwhile, Helsinki Saalem Church, the leading Pentecostal church, had founded its own mission board called "Saalem-Mission" in 1929. Also the Finnish Free Foreign Mission, as a mission board, was "revived" in 1950. But now it was made clear that the mission board would in no way replace local churches and their sovereign autonomy. The only purpose of the Finnish Free Foreign Mission was to assist in all kinds of practical matters, for example applying for visas and currency as well as assisting in legal matters.

The close bond between missionary and local church is made possible by the fact that it is the local church that selects and consecrates missionaries. Furthermore, it is required that candidates work at least two years in their homeland before going overseas, preferably in their home congregation. So, before being sent to the mission field, candidates have gained the confidence and reputation from "their own". As far as selection for the missions is concerned, academic and professional requirements are minimal, the stress is on the one hand on the call and spiritual gifts, and on the other hand, on the

1 Kuosmanen, Herätysjen historia, 357.
2 For a recent statement of mission strategy and philosophy, see the book by the current Executive Secretary of FFFM: Arto Hildmäki, Etei yksikän hukkutisi. Simun paikaksi tahtoyössä (Vantaa: RV-kirj, 1992); for international perspectives, see V.-M. Kärkkäinen, Maailman kansalaiset. Simun vainuut maailmasta (Vantaa: AIKA Oy, 1995).
3 Schmidt, Die Pfingstbewegung, 201.
4 Westman, Pohjoismaiden ihdisthistoria, 107.
confidence gained from the church(es). Of course, language skills are required as well as basic Bible and Mission College courses, but these "outer" qualifications have always been, and continue to be, secondary when compared to "spiritual" qualities.

As early as early as the 1940s, the Helsinki Saalem Mission, influenced by Toimi Yrjölä, began to publish a missions magazine, Pokainen Toivo (The Hope of the Pagans). When this magazine was discontinued in 1947, Yrjölä started a new one, Pokainen Huuto (The Cry of the Pagans), in 1943. In 1926, the publishing house of the Finnish Pentecostals, Ristin Voitto, was founded. In addition to the magazine Ristin Voitto and various kinds of books and music, the publishing house issued a very influential mission magazine, Maailman Äaret (The Ends of the Earth) in 1962. A few years ago, Pokainen Huuto and Maailman Äaret joined together; as a result, quite an extensive section on the latest developments in academic and professional missiology was added to the paper.

5. Ecumenical Relations
As already stated in the beginning of the article, Finland is permeated by the Lutheran tradition. The majority of Finns belong to the Lutheran state church by virtue of infant baptism. The official discussions between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Pentecostal Movement of Finland were held between 1987-1989, followed by the establishment of a follow-up committee that continues occasional unofficial talks. The discussions were based on the Lutheran side on the decision of the Bishops' Conference in 1981 to enter into mutual talks with both the Evangelical Free Church and the Pentecostal Movement. On the part of the Pentecostal Movement, the offer of the discussions made by the Lutheran Church was viewed favourably and a delegation was appointed in the Preachers' conference in 1986. Also the Swedish-speaking Pentecostal Movement in Finland was represented in the team.

The following topics were treated in the dialogue: the history of the Pentecostal Movement and its relations with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, the Bible and faith, baptism and justification, the congregation and church, and some practical matters such as the status of Pentecostals in Finland and dual membership (i.e., some Pentecostals still retain membership in the state church(es)).

The main results of the discussions can be summarized in these terms. In the doctrinal discussions a difficult problem was that of differing traditions of biblical interpretation. In Pentecostal circles there has always been a desire to hold to a direct and immediate manner of Bible exposition un influenced by confessions or doctrinal definitions. In preaching and teaching, the direct influence of the Holy Spirit has been sought. However, Pentecostal teaching and preaching is guided by a definite oral tradition of doctrine and the authority of certain leaders. In the Lutheran Church, on the contrary, there are historical, binding confessions, although the Bible is held in the foremost place.

Theologically, the most significant achievement was evidently the common statement of views concerning the meaning of the Apostles' Creed and justification and new life. With regard to the former issue, prime emphasis was laid on the Trinitarian basis of Christian faith. It is important to note here that after the very first years of the movement, no significant group of Oneness Pentecostals (also known by the name 'Jesus Only' Pentecostals) were established in Finland. This has helped the Movement to embrace the classical Trinitarian creed.

In the statement concerning justification and new life, emphasis was laid on the objective bases of salvation. It is noteworthy that Finnish Pentecostals, living in an environment permeated by the Lutheran tradition for centuries, have adopted some emphases which are in line with Lutheran theology. The most significant of these is the doctrine of justification. A doctrinal manual states: 'Righteousness by faith, or justification as this doctrine is come to be known, is the fundamental doctrine in the New Testament...Nothing else creates such a peaceful mind in a believer than the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ.' In fact, as a Lutheran theologian notes, in international relations Finnish Pentecostals are sometimes known as "Lutheran Pentecostals". 

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1 For details, see R. Ahonen, "Appraisal of the Discussions between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Pentecostal Movement of Finland," in Dialogues, 57-63.
4 Väätä, Terveen opin päätöskirja, 70. See also Kuosmanen (Raamattupetelusio), who devotes no less than almost ten pages to the topic (88-90).
The representatives of the Lutheran team acknowledged that there had been one-sided views of the doctrines of the Finnish Pentecostal movement. Furthermore, it was noted that there were internal tensions, even contradictions, among Pentecostals as to the doctrine of salvation. It was also noted that one of the most valuable results of the discussions may have been the definition of theological differences. The differences have to do, beside Bible interpretation, with doctrines of the church and sacraments and to some extent also sanctification.

Finnish Pentecostals have also been actively involved with the Free Church Council of Finland (Suomen Vapaiden Kristittyjen Neuvosto) that operates as an official organ for the concerns and contributions of the Baptists, Methodists, Adventists, Evangelical Free Church Christians and Pentecostals. With regard to a relationship between Pentecostals in Finland and the other state church, namely the Orthodox Church, no ecumenical dialogues have yet appeared. There is, however, a plan to enter into a mutual dialogue at the international level between Pentecostal and Orthodox Christians.

Yet another challenge to Pentecostals in Finland has been the emergence and establishment of the Charismatic Movement. It was introduced to Finland at the turn of the 1970s. Especially in the first years of the 1970s, there was a lot of public interest among Lutherans and others as to the nature of the new movement. The first large Charismatic convention was held in 1971 in Kotka with about sixty pastors and preachers from the Lutheran Church of Finland and some Free Churches. New Charismatic organizations, training centres, and publications saw the light during these years.

Pentecostals were both enthusiastic and confused about this new phenomenon. On the one hand, the existence of the Pentecostal Movement, with its proclamation and publications, had already introduced the topic of charismatic in Finland. On the other hand, Pentecostals were quick to point to the doctrinal differences between themselves and the “newcomers”. Differences had to do with ecclesiology and the understanding of Spirit baptism as well as sacraments, mainly water baptism. A Pentecostal observer labelled the emergence of the Charismatic Movement vis-à-vis Pentecostals in the following way: “The New Charismatic Movement confuses the [Christian] map”.

THE SWEDISH-SPEAKING PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT IN FINLAND

Historical Developments and Current Statistics

As already mentioned, much of the roots and early history of the Swedish- and Finnish-speaking Pentecostal Movements is common. Here I will highlight some distinctive characteristics of the Swedish speaking section. The Pentecostal message among Swedish speaking Finns first took root on the West coast of Finland where it since has had its stronghold. In February 1908, a spiritual awakening with Spirit baptism took place in the vicinity of Vasa. There were several other revivals among various Free Churches at this time. T.B. Barratt’s first visit to Finland three years later brought Pentecostalism to the surface. Another Scandinavian pioneer, Gerhard Olsen-Smith of Norway, was also of great influence at that time.

The first Swedish speaking Pentecostal church was founded in Nykarleby in 1920. Another church, a bilingual one, was founded in Helsinki about the same time. Later on, the church was split along language lines resulting in the emergence of currently the largest Finnish-speaking (Helsinki Saalem Church) and Swedish-speaking (Helsinki Fladelfia Church) churches. Many other early Pentecostal churches were in the beginning bilingual, to be later split along language lines. Currently, there are thirty-two Swedish speaking churches in Finland, fifteen of them in Southern Finland and seventeen on the West coast. The total membership in 1994 was a little over 2,700. Pentecostals are the biggest Free Church movement among the Swedish speaking section of Finland. The total membership number has been biggest in the 1950s and 1960s with almost 4,000. In the 1980s, there were about 3,300 Swedish speaking Pentecostals.
Various Activities in Homeland

Swedish-speaking Pentecostals, as their Finnish counterparts, have not had formal theological training for pastors and evangelists until recently. The pastors have been trained in Fria Kristliga Folkhögskola in Vasa (founded in 1945 in Jakobstad), a common Free Church school. The publishing house for Swedish speaking Pentecostals is Taborförlaget that was originally owned by the Filadelfia Church in Helsinki. Founded in 1931, Taborförlaget publishes books, music and teaching material. The monthly magazine is called Korsets Budskap (The Message of the Cross) founded in 1933. Samariamission, with rehabilitation homes in Finland and activities in Baltic countries, is a rehabilitation ministry to socially disadvantaged persons, for example for former drug addicts. Like their Finnish counterparts, Swedish speaking Pentecostals have gathered annually in national summer conferences. The first conference was held in 1947 in Kvevlax. Since 1930, they have also had Preachers’ Conventions and Bible Study Weeks for pastors and evangelists.

Foreign Missions

N. J. Poysti’s influence as one of the pioneers of Pentecostal missionaries from Finland was decisive also to the Swedish-speaking movement in view of the fact that he was for a while senior pastor of Filadelfia Church of Helsinki, the main Swedish-speaking congregation, and also the editor of the Swedish speaking magazine Korsets Seger. Finnish Free Foreign Mission, the common missions organ for Pentecostals in Finland, was at first bilingual. The first missionary sent to Estonia was Aleksander Summanen who had Russian roots and therefore spoke both Russian and Estonian. Since then, close contacts between Swedish-speaking Pentecostals and Estonian Pentecostals have been established.

From very early on, Brazil established itself as one of the main mission fields under the leadership of Lars-Eric and Ester Bergsten who traveled there for the first time in 1948. Bergsten has been called the “Apostle of Modern Times.” His ministry was prepared by two earlier missionaries from Sweden, Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren. Africa came also to play a crucial role in the Swedish-speaking Movement’s mission. The first missionary to Africa was Sylvi Moomo who left for Tanganyika in 1933.

In the 1930s, mission was expanded also to the Far East: China, Mongolia, Manchuria, the Himalayas, India, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Thailand and Philippines. The following decade can be called the time of missions explosion among Swedish speaking Pentecostals. Like their Finnish speaking counterparts, Swedish speaking Pentecostals have also been active in various social and rehabilitation activities in several mission fields. Since 1981, Swedish speaking Pentecostals in Finland have held annual missions conferences to disseminate missionary ideas and enthusiasm among local churches.

Ecumenical Relations

As already mentioned, Swedish speaking Pentecostals were officially represented in the dialogue between Lutherans and Pentecostals in Finland in 1987-1989; they are also part of the ad hoc follow-up committee. Finlands Svenska Frikyrkorid (Swedish-speaking Church Council) was founded in 1936; it comprised Baptists, Methodists and Fria Missionsförbundet (Free Missions Fellowship). At first, Pentecostals wanted to stay outside. In 1959, it was decided that representatives of the two largest Swedish-speaking congregations (Helsinki and Vasa) would be part of the Council. In the 1980s, the representation became even more comprehensive.

Swedish-speaking Pentecostals have participated in several interdenominational activities and organizations: Fria Kristliga Folkhögskolan, the common Free Church Training Institute, interdenominational radio ministry and common youth ministries. Furthermore, in the 1970s an interdenominational magazine called Frikyrklig Kontakt (Interdenominational Contact) was launched. Swedish-speaking Pentecostals have also participated in several social projects with other churches.

Challenges for the Future

According to Valtter Luoto, a Pentecostal statesman and educator, the Pentecostal Movement in Finland faces the following challenges at the turn of the third millennium.

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5. Herberts, Ett folk, 98.

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Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen: The Pentecostal Movement in Finland
The Pentecostal Movement should be open to the moving of the Spirit and guidance in order to be able to channel the spiritual blessing to the country. Especially important is the commitment of the younger generation to this vision.

It is decisive for the future of the Movement that members and churches are committed to the mission and doctrinal identity of Pentecostalism. Luoto claims that this might be the challenge in these times; the younger generation does not take for granted the doctrine and the lifestyle of their fathers and mothers.

Written statements of faith are lacking among Pentecostal churches. In the future, to strengthen the identity and to communicate to outsiders, it is of decisive importance to have clearly defined doctrinal and practical guidelines. This work may help clarify some fuzzy issues that have not yet been dealt with in a proper way.

One of the major challenges for the future is to develop an organizational structure which on the one hand honours the principle of local church autonomy, but on the other hand, facilitates flexible cooperation between churches and various Pentecostal organizations.

Theological education has been reformed radically during the 1990s. Although it has been necessary in a movement where long term academically orientated education has been neglected, the dangers are apparent; as a result of the education reform, the nature of Pentecostalism as a lay movement must not be surrendered. Furthermore, the educational reform should display a distinctive Pentecostal outlook rather than merely Evangelical training.

To be able to relate to other churches in a constructive ecumenical spirit, requires a strong identity and assurance of basic Pentecostal distinctives.

To these timely challenges, others can be added. Firstly, the dangers of nominalism are evident especially in the larger churches in Finland. The attendance in regular church activities is declining especially among young adults and their families. This presses church leaders to ask some self-critical questions, such as: How well do we meet the needs of various age groups in the church? Is our teaching relevant?

Secondly, the challenge of internationalization and globalization of our world has several implications for Pentecostal churches as they prepare to move to the next millennium. How does one preserve one's identity in a world full of conflicting messages? What are the implications to our mission strategy? Or to home missions?

Thirdly, relations to other churches in the past have been determined mainly by the attitude of confrontation in a context where there is a dominant state church. Even after a rather fruitful dialogue-process, the attitude of sectarianism is still there. How should we define our relations to other churches in a way that would be constructive to both? There are certainly lessons that both Pentecostals and other churches could learn from each other.

A corollary question relates to the relationship between Pentecostal churches and newer charismatic groups. As recently as 1999, the Pastors' Annual Conference dealt with the question of so-called “City Churches”, younger independent Pentecostal/Charismatic churches. Are they to be counted among Pentecostal churches organizationally or at least as some sort of partners? Opinions are divided. Some see a threat in these newer groups. Some regard them as an impetus for a new revival of Pentecostalism in Finland. At the moment of the writing of this article, the decision was made to suggest to the newer groups some basic rules as to the principles of planting of churches, doctrinal core issues and pastoral care. Are we coming back to a situation like the one at the turn of the twentieth century, when Pentecostalism was born? Are the newer revival movements again facing the opposition or skepticism of older, established churches and have to earn their right for living?
Early Pentecostalism in Serbia

Branko Bjelahac

Christ's Spiritual Church (Infant Baptism)
The beginnings of the Pentecostal movement in Serbia can be traced back to before the First World War, when some believers in a German-populated area of Baška (Vojvodina) attached themselves to this rising movement. One report speaks of the city of Subotica but without any date. However, except for these brief notes there is no other information available. There are indications, however, that the first meeting was held in the village of Beška (Srem area) as early as 1906, the same year when the Azusa Street meetings in Los Angeles started.

Nikola Knizl, who learned about the “Spiritual movement” in Germany, returned to his village and began similar meetings. The first converts were members of the local Lutheran church, mainly German nationals. The church in Beška has grown significantly in a short period of time, and after the First World War it had 400 members. From Beška the teaching spread to the surrounding places. New churches were founded in Zemun, Belgrade, Dobanovci, Vrdnik, Brešača, Subotica and Vinkovci [now Croatia].

In the 1939 European Pentecostal Conference held in Stockholm, Johann Filippi spoke about his early days of the ministry. He was called by God to go to Yugoslavia in 1910, where he found only remnants of a great awakening that was dying because the people did not know what to do and they had no spiritual leadership. He asked Swedish missionaries to come and to continue to pray for the Balkans. Another delegate was John (Janoš) Lurch who came from the USA where he had joined the Pentecostal movement in the early 1930s. Later, he started a Pentecostal church in Osijek, Croatia.

In the 1923, the Swedish Pentecostal magazine Evangeli Harold (The Herald of Gospel) told a story from Georg Steen who had recently visited Yugoslavia. Steen visited Vojvodina and Belgrade. His report is important to ascertain what was the actual situation at that time. Steen wrote that he had found some Pentecostal churches, mostly of German background, but that among the believers he saw Hungarians, Croats and Serbs as well. Some of the churches were 15 years old (which means that they had been started in 1907-8), but that since 1918 they had stabilized and received new believers. The main problem he identified was the shortage of leaders. Steen further described the situation in particular places: Beška had about 50 believers (with 32 of them being “baptized in the Holy Spirit”), Novi Vrhas had 15 believers who all came from a Methodist background and were all “baptized in the Holy Spirit”. The church in Novi Sad had 18 members but was without a leader. In this city, Steen met with Milan Kusčera, a Methodist, who was interested in the new teaching. The church in Krčedin had 26 Spirit-baptized members, and the one in Indija had 5. Steen also wrote about an accidental (providential) meeting with one believer in Šidski Banovci who was isolated. His conclusion was that since every nationality used its own language (Hungarians, Germans, Serbs/Croats, Romanians) it was truly hard to envision a unified work. He also spoke about the religious divides along the national lines, i.e. Serbs being all “Greek Orthodox”, Germans and Hungarians being of the “Augsburg Faith” (Lutheran) and Reformed, and the “Nazarenes” and the Adventists being viewed as sects. During the period of growth in the 1920s and 1930s, the church in Beška served as a headquarters for the “duhovne zajednice” (spiritual communities), as they were called. Soon after, in the same place annual meetings were held.

This movement approached the authorities and in some cities were registered as the Blue Cross temperance societies, which was actually a deception. The government tolerated the work of these small churches, though with some occasional small disturbances. The church in Subotica was founded in 1925 by Franjo Rae and became a regional centre for the future growth of the movement.

1 Georg Steen, “Herrners verk i Jugoslavien och på Balkanhallven” (God’s Work in Yugoslavia and Throughout the Balkans), Evangeli Harold, 17 (1923), 195-7.
2 Ibid.

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4 Ivan Cvitković, Savez komunista i religija (The Communist League and Religion). (Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina: NIŠRO Oslobodenje, 1989), 223.
6 In an interview given to the Assemblies of God magazine “Pentecostal Evangel” in 1968, Ludwig Ulten, then the president of the Union of the Pentecostal Churches in Yugoslavia, stated, “Actually, the first services were held in 1905. A brother by the name of Schell came from Germany to northern Serbia [Vojvodina]. Some people were saved and baptized in the Holy Spirit, and the group increased...” See Paul Willitsch, “A Day of Opportunity in Yugoslavia,” Pentecostal Evangel, (March 24, 1968), 16-17.
7 Sabo, 4.
In 1932, a Pentecostal church was founded in Belgrade. Small groups of Christians in the larger Belgrade area had their first contacts with Pentecostal teaching in the early 1930s. In 1935, the believers in Belgrade started regular prayer and worship services in the neighbouring town of Zemun. When the war broke out in 1941, the River Sava became the state border, so the group in Belgrade continued to meet in the homes of individual members. Since the church grew in numbers even in the midst of the war, when the war ended in 1945 the group started to use the premises of the Salvation Army, until that Christian organization was banned. In 1938, Johan Lerch came to Yugoslavia. He had been working as a Pentecostal missionary in Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. He indicated that a greater problem than ignorance for the Pentecostal believers was poverty. In the Stockholm conference, he lobbied for social work in Balkans.

Christ’s Spiritual Church (the “foot-washers”) Another Pentecostal group under the same title of “Christ’s Spiritual Church” emerged in the town of Vrdnik around 1925, apparently independent from the “infant-baptism” one. They were “believer baptistic” but also performed foot washing during the Lord’s Supper, so this group was often referred to as the “foot-washers”. During the period up to the Second World War, they did not register with the government and their work was banned in several instances. One of the promoters of this movement was Jon Balca. Milin reports about their meeting in private homes in Vojvodina and mentions that the meetings were visited by some Methodists as well.

The major theological disagreement of these two expressions of Pentecostalism could be summarized in the following statements: “The “infant-baptizing” group accepted the previous infant-baptism of new members, probably because in the beginning they started from the former Lutheran church membership. They practiced infant-baptism for the children of their members, though also practiced believer’s baptism if the person had not been baptized earlier. The “foot-washers”, in addition to a believer’s baptismic position, washed each other’s feet during the Lord’s Supper, following the example of Jesus at the Last Supper.”

Christ’s Pentecostal Church (believer-baptism) The first church of this branch of Pentecostalism in Yugoslavia was founded in 1923 in the village of Veščica, Prekmurje (now Slovenia) when a Slovenian woman, who had moved to America, returned with her Hungarian husband and began to win converts in her home village. They had been members of the Assemblies of God church in Waukegan, Illinois. A group of immigrants from Yugoslavia in this church prayed eagerly that they might be helpful in spreading the Gospel in their former country. Imre Mihok and his wife returned to the village of Veščica and in three years they had 30 converts. Their first meetings took place in the large house of one Josef Novak, who later became the first national promoter of this movement in Yugoslavia. The strongest base was again among the German-speaking population.

Before the war, the Assemblies of God was one of the largest Protestant denominations in this entire area [Europe]. Before World War II, Assemblies of God missionaries and ministers from the United States were instrumental in establishing national churches in Yugoslavia. Soon after the beginning of this work, they sent Peter Dautermann and Petar Krnjeta to Vojvodina, where Jon Petruc was already active among the Romanian population.

Some Difficulties Due to difficulties in getting recognition from the government, “Pentecostals frequently called themselves Baptists in order to get around the ruling.” Milin reports that when their church was forbidden in Osijek [now Croatia], which influenced the events in Vojvodina, the church

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1 Presbyter statement of “The Holy Trinity Church,” the Pentecostal Church in Belgrade, April 18, 1992, on the occasion of the dedication of the new church building. However, this church had left the “infant-baptism” position in the late 1950s, endorsing believer’s baptism.
2 Europeiska Pingstkonferensen, 158.
3 Lazar Milin, Crkve i sekte (The Church and the Sects), (Belgrade, Yugoslavia: Sveti arhijerejski sinod Srpse pravoslavne crkve, 1974), 134.
5 David Steele, “Configuration of the Small Religious Communities in the Former Yugoslavia,” Religion in Eastern Europe XIV, 3 (June 1995), 35.
was not affiliated with them until 1943, when every Slavic nation represented had been given the status of branches of the Assemblies of God. The Yugoslav branch was recognized in 1947 and the first superintendent was Petar Krnjeta, probably the same person whom Swedish Pentecostal Georg Steen in 1923 described as a Methodist interested in Pentecostalism. This Pentecostal Union sent several missionaries back to Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, immediately after its founding. In 1925, one of their members, Gustave Herbert Schmidt, a missionary to Poland since 1920, approached the Assemblies of God (headquarters in Springfield, Missouri) in order that they jointly establish the first Pentecostal Bible school in Eastern Europe.

On the initiative of some former missionaries to Eastern Europe, the Russian and Eastern European Mission (REEM) was founded in 1927 in Chicago, with the designated mission fields being Russia, Poland, Latvia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The REEM and the Assemblies of God worked together to open the Bible school in Europe. It was opened in the Free City of Danzig (now Gdansk, Poland) in 1930 and the name was “Danzig Gdanska Instytut Biblijny.” Apparently, one Yugoslav went to study there, beginning in 1939, but never graduated due to the war. It is not known what became of him.

The Romanian Pentecostal Churches

The first Pentecostal church among Romanian nationals in Serbia (Vojvodina) was founded in Uzdin in 1932. The founder was Ilija Brenka who had help from Jonica Spariosua from the USA. Brenka was a member of the “Nazarene” congregation, but in 1925 he met Spariosua who came from USA for a brief visit to see his family in Uzdin. They continued contact and Spariosua sent additional materials to Brenka who embraced the new beliefs and in 1932 started services in his own home. Brenka later contacted the Pentecostal leaders in Romania. This church came to have about 60 members.

Apparently, at the same time when the church in Uzdin started, the church in Vladimirrovac also started (in 1932). There is no information on how

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2 Tom Salzer, “The Danzig Gdanska Institute of the Bible,” Assemblies of God Heritage, 8.3 (Fall 1988), 8-11, 18.
4 Ibid., 14.
one Paja Buzdika embraced the Pentecostal teaching, but in this year he started meetings in his house. This church had 12 members in 1944. Ilija Brenka from the Uzdin church founded a group in Kuštilj in 1934-5. In the beginning the group had only two members. In 1937, they had five members, and later grew into a church.

In 1933, in a village of Margita, the Pentecostal teaching also spread among the Nazarene believers, and continued to grow. In 1936, a delegation of believers went to Timisoara, Romania, where George Bradin, the founder of the Pentecostal movement in Romania, held meetings. There were also some groups active during 1930s, i.e. in Jasa Tomic and Selee. The Romanian churches organized themselves in 1946 into a union and started to cooperate with each other.1

The Aftermath of the Second World War and the 1950 Unification
During the war, Pentecostal churches were suspended and their work forbidden. All their property was seized and their members often joined other Protestant congregations or held house meetings. The remaining Germans were sent to concentration camps in 1945 or executed. Peter Dauterman met Dragutin Volf who became a Christian due to his witness. Volf later became the very influential pastor of the Novi Sad church for 31 years. Volf was also president of the Pentecostal Union and one of the founders of the Evangelical Theological Faculty in Osijek, Croatia.3

The first signs of the recovery were seen only in 1950 when the “Christ’s Spiritual Church” was founded in Osijek, thus uniting all four movements into one organization. However, this did not last long since the “foot-washers” and the practitioners of infant baptism withdrew. The remaining group took the name “Kristova pentekostna crkva” (Christ’s Pentecostal Church).5 Their position on water baptism was “believer’s baptism.”

There were several other attempts to unite the movements, mostly by the government who wanted to have them under one organization. In the late 1990s, those practicing “infant-baptism” became nearly extinct, while the

“foot-washers” are now affiliated with the Church of God, Cleveland, TN, USA, with about 7 congregations and 300 members. The rest of the Pentecostal churches joined the Union of Pentecostal Churches of Yugoslavia,2 which is not affiliated with any particular denomination abroad, but represents a loose organization with about 53 congregations and at least 3,600 members.3

Concluding Remarks
The Pentecostal churches in today’s Serbia in the early days grew predominantly among the German population, and in 1945, the work was devastated because the Germans left or were persecuted. There were two major groups in the beginning, one emerging as a result of German missionaries (or traveling ministers), and another as a result of immigrants – missionaries who returned from the USA – a situation similar to the Baptist movement in Serbia. The newcomers worked openly seeking to convert the members of other Protestant denominations: Lutherans, Methodists and Nazarenes. However, the Pentecostal churches grew quickly and achieved strength after the Second World War, when the Union was formed.

In the formative period, there were no publications or theological education offered. Such developments started only after the 1950s. The Pentecostal churches often faced difficulties and some persecution. Thus, they tried to present themselves, with some measure of success, as “charitable societies” or “Baptists,” since those organizations were recognized and accepted in the wider society. Although the Union of the Pentecostal Churches today is only a loose organization, its total membership and number of communities is second in size only to the Adventists, among the younger Protestant denominations.4

1 Their official name today is “Crkva Božje” (The Church of God).
2 The churches originally attached to the Assemblies of God, in three separate attempts in the 1960s and 1970s tried to organize their work, but the attempts were never long-lasting. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the main contacts with the Assemblies of God headquarters were maintained by the Croatian Union, partly because of the lack of organization and structure in Serbia. At the present, in 1998, four splinter church groups from the Union of the Pentecostal Churches have re-registered with the authorities as the “Assemblies of God of Yugoslavia.”
4 Due to the frequent “demonization” in the local media, most of the local congregations have changed their names in 1998 to the “Protestantska evangeliska crkva” (Protestant Evangelical Church), but have remained Pentecostal in their theology and practice. It was believed that this would ease the tension created by some militant Eastern Orthodox and nationalistic groups.

1 Ibid, 26-7.
3 Dragutin Volf is the father of Miroslav Volf, a prominent contemporary theologian who emigrated to America to become a professor at Fuller Theological Seminary and, since 1998, at Yale Divinity School.
4 Barrett’s report however states that until 1954 they were known as the “Religious Church of Christ,” 756.
5 Cvitković, 223.
An account for the sustained rise of New Frontiers International within the United Kingdom

David Smith

Introduction

The study of New Frontiers International (NFI) provides both a challenge and an opportunity. In contrast to much academic church history, the very "newness" of the movement and the fact that it is still dynamically growing and changing, necessitates the reliance upon primarily oral sources. There is very little of substance written on the New Church Movement as a whole, let alone on NFI as one of the many "streams". Andrew Walker's *Restoring the Kingdom* is the most comprehensive history of UK Restorationism to date, but is generally weak on NFI. More recently, Peter Wagner has picked up on the international growth of the "New Apostolic Churches", which helps putting UK developments in the wider context, but fails to provide any in-depth assessment of NFI and the other British New Church streams. Thus the challenge of lack of secondary source material presents a great opportunity for original research. With the key NFI leaders willing to be interviewed, and with other apostolic leaders similarly available, much can be gleaned from such dynamic sources. Less helpful, but nonetheless available are articles in *Restoration*, *Renewal* and *New Frontiers* magazines. However, most useful for this essay, was access to an unpublished autobiographical manuscript by Terry Virgo, soon to be used as the basis for a new book to be published this summer. This unique source helps confirm and develop many of the themes that became apparent from the oral interviews. Due to a lack of space, this study will confine itself to the UK, although New Frontiers has a clearly growing "international" ministry.

Setting NFI in the broader context of the growth of new religious movements, it has been beneficial to draw upon the research of Rodney Stark. He identifies at least 10 factors which influence the success or failure of a new religious movement: cultural continuity; non-empirical doctrines; medium level strictness; legitimate authority; a mobilised labour force; adequate fertility; a favourable ecology; network ties; maintaining strictness and effective socialisation of youth.1

**THE RISE OF THE NEW CHURCHES**

**Denominational decline / New Church growth**

NFI and the New Church movement have clearly benefited from being able to "compete against weak, local conventional organisations within a relatively unregulated religious economy". Although there are evident problems with statistical evidence, recent research2 shows that against a backdrop of declining church attendance and membership amongst the more established denominations, the New Churches have experienced major growth, although at a slower pace in the 1990s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1 – Sunday morning attendance figures</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C of E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 R. Stark, "Religious Movements", 141.
4 Compiled from Briery, *Tide*, 34, 37.

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1 The author studied History at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, and then completed a D. Phil. for the Oxford Theology Faculty in 1992 on “George Whitefield as Inter-Confessional Evangelist, 1714-1770.” He leads Peterborough Community Church, which he and his wife Karen started in 1988.
5 Terry Virgo and Nigel Ring (Brighton), Dave Holden (Sidcup) and Dave Devenish (Bedford).
6 E.g. Alan Scotland of Lifelink, Stuart Bell of Ground Level (Lincoln) and Simon Matthews of Plumbine Ministries (Huntingdon).
Pentecostal-Charismatic movement

Significantly, the only other group whose membership is up, is the Pentecostals, albeit their actual attendance is down for the first time in their history. Thus, the main growing sectors of the British church scene, are those that can be broadly labelled Pentecostal-Charismatic.

This can be set against the broader backdrop of the growth of Pentecostalism over the previous 100 years, to an estimated 500 million adherents worldwide. In the UK, the neo-Pentecostal or Charismatic movement of the 1960s, has led to the renewal of both existing denominational churches and to the setting up of new ones. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, in a post-modern world, traditional churches are declining, whereas those emphasising the immediacy of religious “experience” seem to be flourishing.

New Church streams, like the other New Church streams, have been well placed to benefit from this rising charismatic tide. Terry Virgo himself was baptised in the Spirit at the Pentecostal Peniel Chapel in Notting Hill Gate in 1962, and much of his early ministry was connected to bringing others into the baptism in the Spirit. His first pastorate at the new Evangelical Church in Seaford (1968-79) was in effect a training ground for bringing a non-charismatic church into the gifts of the Spirit. His ministry began to broaden, amongst small groups, “increasingly interested in the activity of the Holy Spirit in the Church today.”

Restorationism

Yet the rise of neo-Pentecostalism alone fails to account for the growth of the New Church movement. Whereas some early charismatic leaders focussed on a “renewal” of the existing denominations, leaders of the early “House Church Movement”, such as Dennis Lillie and Arthur Wallis, set out on a far more radical programme of “Restoration”. New churches, established by modern-day apostles and prophets, were modelled on the Book of Acts. Buoyed along by an almost triumphalistic post-millenialism, they captured the imagination of many who had received a fresh baptism in the Spirit, but who became frustrated or alienated by the leadership or structures of their current denominations. In reaction to the perceived coldness and indifference in the worship of the mainstream denominations, many charismatics who had drunk of the “new wine”, sought solace in these new church wineskins.

Usually clearer in their doctrines, the New Churches drew many who were frustrated at the more open-ended theology of a Broad Church, like the Anglican Communion. One denominational author, writing in the mid-1980s, noted how Restorationism attracted a high professional intake, particularly amongst married couples with young children, who were searching for “some rock-like certainty... in an age of so much uncertainty”. Whether the new churches benefited from a reaction to the “uncertainty” and fluidity of the 1960s is a point worthy of further investigation, but the greater sectarian “strictness” and higher standards of church life that they provided would undoubtedly have been attractive to

TABLE 2 – Church membership figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R. Catholic</td>
<td>2,746,203</td>
<td>2,454,803</td>
<td>2,198,364</td>
<td>1,721,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>2,987,046</td>
<td>2,179,808</td>
<td>1,727,967</td>
<td>1,657,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>673,256</td>
<td>539,804</td>
<td>477,540</td>
<td>386,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>292,976</td>
<td>238,805</td>
<td>230,377</td>
<td>209,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal</td>
<td>86,090</td>
<td>117,582</td>
<td>153,962</td>
<td>233,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>422,444</td>
<td>236,706</td>
<td>222,918</td>
<td>195,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Church</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>10,037</td>
<td>76,485</td>
<td>137,225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled from Brierley, Religious Trends, 8.2, 8.6, 9.2, 9.8, 9.10, 9.12, 9.15.1.

When interviewed, Peter Brierley (May 8, 2001) acknowledged the discrepancies between Pentecostal attendance and membership, but thought that the latter figure was likely to be too high.

This is despite the fact that in the past decade there seems to have been a shift away from “charismatic” to “mainstream” evangelicals, but thought that the latter figure was likely to be too high.

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David Smith: An account for the sustained rise of New Frontiers International within the United Kingdom

1 Compiled from Brierley, Religious Trends, 8.2, 8.6, 9.2, 9.8, 9.10, 9.12, 9.15.1.
2 Ibid., chs. 5-8.
3 Ibid., 49.
4 E.g. Michael Harper, curate of All Souls, Langham Place, founder of the Fountain Trust.
6 William Davies, Rocking the Boat, 90.
8 William Davies, Rocking the Boat, 40, 58.
many zealous souls within the denominations. The use of commitment classes for both new converts and those transferring from other churches, has helped in building a unity and quality, and in screening out “free riders”.2

Peter Wagner’s research into the growth of “new apostolic churches” world-wide highlights key characteristics (shared by the British New Churches),3 which differ from the traditional churches, particularly “the amount of spiritual authority delegated by the Holy Spirit to individuals”.4 Certainly, with its emphasis upon modern-day apostolic authority, the UK New Church Movement has benefited from an emphasis upon strong, visionary leadership, dedicated to the equipping and releasing of lay volunteers.

THE RISE OF NFI

The New Church Streams

If the New Church Movement as a whole has grown at a time of mainstream denominational decline, then New Frontiers have made the greatest gains.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STREAM</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Frontiers</td>
<td>176 1</td>
<td>9,000 60</td>
<td>25,000 170*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pioneer</td>
<td>4,300 45</td>
<td>9,600 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vineyard</td>
<td>2,000 4</td>
<td>8,000 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornerstone</td>
<td>1,250 10</td>
<td>3,750 30</td>
<td>5,000 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ichthus</td>
<td>570 10</td>
<td>1,701 33</td>
<td>2,600 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMI</td>
<td>2,800 20</td>
<td>5,000 50</td>
<td>2,000 14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 “New Study Reveals Which Churches Grow”, Christianity Today, (April 23, 2001, 45.6), 19, confirms that high standards are a key to church growth.

2 R. Stark, “New Religious Movements”, 137. Ben Davies, leader of a fast-growing Baptist church in Bracknell, cited the introduction of a commitment course as one of the first and most significant changes that joining with Terry had brought: “Who is this Terry Virgo”, Renewal, (Jan, 1988), 7.

3 He lists 9 “new” features — name, authority structure, leadership training, ministry focus, worship style, prayer, finance, outreach and power orientation - Peter Wagner, New Apostolic Churches, 19-20.


5 Attendance figures for the various New Church streams are not available before 1998. The totals for that year appear somewhat inflated — see P. Brierley, Tide, 41 - e.g. NFI 43,800, Ichthus 27,300 (presumably including their “Link” churches) and CMI 17,000 (presumably prior to the recent “splits”) — nevertheless confirm NFI as clearly the largest group.

6 Actual figures = 152 with at least 15 church plants and other cell planting initiatives (NFI office, Sidcup, March, 2001).

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The figures reveal that NFI is clearly the biggest of the New Church streams, and apart from the Vineyard movement,6 the fastest growing in the UK. By comparison, Covenant Ministries International (CMI), once the largest and most influential, have been reduced to a figure on a par with, or lower than in 1980.5

The rise of NFI was not widely recognised until the late 1980s. Writing in 1988, one author picked up on the weakness of Walker’s Restoring the Kingdom as having overly focussed on Bryn Jones rather than Terry Virgo, “a weakness which is underlined by the relative disparity which these two men have exercised since the book went to press.”7 In January of that year, an article appeared in Renewal asking “Who is this Terry Virgo?”.8 With an even faster rate of growth in the 1990s, and with Stoneleigh Bible Week regularly attracting 20,000 people,9 NFI’s place at the forefront of the New Church movement, and the UK evangelical scene seems assured.

Terry Virgo

Undoubtedly, the success of NFI is due to a large extent to the “rise and rise of Terry Virgo”.10 Like other apostolic leaders he exercises a tremendous influence and generates respect within his movement. Yet, the manner in which that authority is exercised is particularly appealing in a British context in that it is characterised by a great humility and is in some ways very understated. Whereas the highly inspirational and confrontational style of Bryn Jones was off-putting to some, Terry soon earned the nickname the “acceptable face of Restorationism”.11 Alan Scotland, formerly one of Bryn’s team commented on the graciousness and friendliness of Terry, a style which drew people, and made them feel that he had time for them.8 Simon Matthews of Plumbline Ministries9 has often remarked on the essential “Britishness” of Terry. Whereas Bryn Jones and CMI seemed, at times, open to and more comfortable with a more American prosperity style of up-front ministry,10 Terry while clearly a strong leader, has more of the style and demeanour of a English gentleman.
Not that one is necessarily right or wrong, but this has undoubtedly hastened Terry’s appeal on the British scene. However, in his latest autobiography, he attempts to disavow the image of “acceptability” by emphasising NFI’s clear stance on controversial issues such as women in governmental leadership and the role of Israel. Yet the overall style is still one of apparent humility and graciousness, which will continue to endear many to him. To quote one ex-NFI elder, Terry’s success is due to one word: “Grace: a grace that is rooted in theology and thoroughly worked out in practice.”

Reformed teaching
This strong grace emphasis, is very evident both in Terry and in NFI as a whole, and is part of the clearly Reformed stance that they take. Whilst not implying a vindication of Reformed over Arminian theology, this does provide a vital key in understanding the appeal of NFI to certain sectors of the British church movement. In a similar way that George Whitefield’s Moderate Calvinism was his ticket to the transatlantic Puritan world of the mid-eighteenth century, (doors that were often closed to the Arminian John Wesley), so, too, Virgo’s reformed teaching has gained him an audience amongst many late twentieth century Baptists and Independents. There are always exceptions to the rule, such as Brickhill Baptist church in Bedford and Nene Family Community Church, Peterborough. But for charismatic, reformed Baptists and Fellowship of Independent Churches (FIEC), looking for Restoration-type leadership, NFI as the main reformed New Church stream, is the logical choice. This highlights Stark’s contention that such churches will therefore have to expend a minimum of “cultural capital” in joining New Frontiers.

Not that the Reformed message is hyper-Calvinistic or that those within the movement are expected to conform to a doctrinal standard of the Five Points: some evidently do not do so. Nor does the clear emphasis upon the Sovereignty of God lead to fatalism: there is an evident activism borne out of a clear confidence that God is with them. The emphasis upon grace is strong and significant, as is the clear sense of being a people of the Word as well as the Spirit.

The grace message is certainly not unique to NFI, and has been a common theme running throughout much of the New Church movement. However, what has given NFI particular strength has been Virgo’s own strong teaching ministry. Whereas others, like Gerald Coates have a “prophetic” edge to their gift, Virgo’s cautious temperament, allied to his Reformed theology and his teaching gift have meant that NFI is characterised by its solid exegesis and expository preaching. It was this “Word” emphasis that distanced Virgo from the “R2” grouping in the split of the late 1970s and, more recently, has kept NFI from following perceived “fads” like spiritual warfare against “territorial spirits”, Celtic worship, youth churches, and the like, embraced by others.

Thus, Virgo’s expository ministry has undoubtedly been a fundamental key to the ongoing stability and appeal of NFI. He may lack the charisma of Bryn Jones or Gerald Coates, but much of his charismatic authority is derived from his teaching.

Modus operandi
As well as acknowledging the importance of charismatic leadership, Stark also emphasises that that new religious movements need to display a “medium level strictness”. Of all the major New Church groups, NFI seems to have been particularly well placed in this respect, avoiding the apparent over-control of CMI and “looseness” of some of those in the “R2” grouping. Although not directly involved in the divisions that

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1. E.g. Andy Martin of Stamford Community Church, while clearly embracing NFI’s “grace” emphasis would not subscribe to a classical Reformed position.
2. See e.g. the article on Gerald Coates in B. Hewitt, Doing a New Thing, ch. 5.
3. Ibid.
5. A term used by A. Walker (1985) to describe the streams led by the likes of Gerald Coates and John Noble, in contrast to the “RI” wing which included Bryn Jones, Terry Virgo and Tony Morton (Cemestone, Southampton).
6. “NWWP”, ch. 27. Terry Virgo, Nigel Ring, Dave Holden and Dave Devenish all commented on this as a key to their strength and cohesion.
7. Andy Martin (May 9, 2001) highlighted Terry’s teaching gift as the key to opening doors for NFI, citing specifically his ministry at John Wimber’s conferences (see 16) and the “Enjoying God’s Grace” tour around UK cities in the early 1990s. See also “NWWP”, 104, 127-8.
8. A. Walker, Restoring the Kingdom, 39-42 and chs. 5, 6, 15, 16.
plagued the Restoration leadership in the early 1970s, Virgo’s decision to align with the “R1” grouping of Arthur Wallis and Bryn Jones was of huge significance for the future of NFI. In so doing, he benefited from the greater clarity and cohesion that characterised Jones’ operation. But Virgo was never actually part of Bryn Jones’ team and their natural moving apart in the 1980s, enabled Virgo to avoid some of the controversy that surrounded CMI.

The issue of “medium-level strictness” can be seen in the way that existing churches become a part of NFI. If a leader or church expresses a desire to join, there is a clear “courting period” of a year or so, to test out whether they are to become part of the same family, thus helping to screen out those simply wanting to join the successful “bandwagon”.

In direct contrast to CMI, for example, NFI does allow the “adoption” of churches, a crucial factor, given that 99 of the current 152 NFI churches were previously part of another denomination or stream. Many of these were ex-Baptists, whereas others are still in the Baptist union. The weakness and/or flexibility of the Union in allowing this is significant, as is Virgo’s willingness to allow this situation. CMI, for example, would not have permitted such potential duplicity!

What are the expectations placed on churches that join NFI? In contrast to CMI, where the emphasis would be upon the local church belonging to and serving the apostle, NFI would hold strongly to the autonomy of the local assembly. This distinction will appeal to more “independent” evangelical churches, which want autonomy, but also want the benefits of belonging to a broader movement. When such churches “sign up” there are expectations of leadership involvement at regular gatherings, of congregations coming “en masse” to corporate events like Stoneleigh, and of local fellowships serving the apostle, NFI would hold strongly to the autonomy of the local assembly. This distinction will appeal to more “independent” evangelical churches, which want autonomy, but also want the benefits of belonging to a broader movement. When such churches “sign up” there are expectations of leadership involvement at regular gatherings, of congregations coming “en masse” to corporate events like Stoneleigh, and of local fellowships

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4. John Wimber
NFI has also benefited from Virgo’s willingness to receive from others in the wider body of Christ, without sacrificing the movement’s distinctiveness as a reformed, restoration stream. The most important of these outside links was with John Wimber. As the Restoration movement grew in the late 70s and early 80s so too did its unpopularity amongst many in the mainstream churches, not least because of its apparent links with the American Shepherding Movement. While Virgo is adamant that his own churches were free from the excesses of authoritarianism (perhaps helped by the “grace” emphasis of his doctrine and leadership), he clearly suffered from “guilt by association” and NFI were effectively left “out in the cold” by mainstream evangelicals. But through his friendship with John Wimber, all of this was to change.

Wimber arrived in the UK at a time when the mainstream Renewal had begun to wane. With his “laid-back”, avuncular style, totally devoid of “hype”, he appealed to a wide spectrum of British evangelicals, especially Anglicans, who struggled with the Pentecostal teaching on the second blessing. However, they were prepared to embrace his emphasis on subsequent fillings of the Spirit, and were impacted by his ministry of “Signs and Wonders”. Wimber’s friendship with Terry Virgo not only resulted in a new openness within NFI to the Spirit’s moving, but also had a dramatic effect in changing the perceptions of many mainstream evangelicals. As hosts to Wimber’s major conferences in the early 1980s, with Virgo himself a speaker, NFI gained a profile and acceptability, that led to Virgo being invited to speak at Spring

1 Interview with Terry Virgo.
2 Kay, “Review of Walker”.
3 Interview with Nigel Ring, Although Ralph Turner (May 9, 2001) recalls how when NFI was first formed, Terry embraced adoptions too quickly, and thereby lost some churches who were not of the same ethos.
4 NFI Office, 9 March, 2001. The 99 “adoptions” includes those churches that were around in the early days of the movement.
5 Both Terry Virgo and Dave Holden are also ex-Baptists.
7 Although two of the Salt and Light leaders (a team led by Barney Coombs and Steve Thomas), have maintained their links with the Baptist Union, see N. Wright, “The Nature and Variety of Restorationism”, 68, 76.
8 Ibid., 103-4 details the change of antides.
Harvest, London Bible College, Spurgeon’s College, the Elim Conference at Bognor, and to write articles in denominational magazines.\(^1\)

If Wimber helped bring a “Third Wave” in the 1980s, the Toronto Airport Vineyard was instrumental in bringing a “Refreshing” to the UK renewal in the 1990s. Virgo and Dave Holden first encountered this fresh wave in the USA under the ministry of Rodney Howard Browne, and were soon proactive in encouraging the UK churches to experience the “blessing”. Again, the openness of this Reformed grouping to such a controversial movement is striking, as is the fact that they were able to safely guide NFI through these potentially troubled waters. They clearly avoided many of the manifestations that eventually led to a split between the Toronto leadership and John Wimber.\(^5\) The 1994 Stoneleigh gathering, was, like many other events around the nation, characterised by a significant experience of this fresh outpouring.\(^5\)

Virgo’s response to the renewal of the 1960s, Wimber in the 1980s and the “Toronto Blessing”, in the 1990s is evidence of a great openness to the Spirit’s moving, but also to his ability to embrace those with a different perspective without losing his or the movement’s distinctiveness.

5. Prophetic Direction
This openness to the Spirit speaking through others is most clearly seen in the extent to which prophecy has helped shape the growth and development of NFI. This may at first seem strange given Stark’s point that, in contrast to magic, a religion’s non-empirical doctrines are a key to its growth and success.\(^3\) But on closer examination, the nature of the prophecies which have been so influential to NFI have tended to be either motivational or directional rather than “predictive”.\(^5\)

One of the first significant “words” was in c. 1982-83 given by John Groves, now leader of an NFI church in Hastings. It described a herd of elephants crashing through the jungle and began with the words: “there are no well worn paths ahead of you,” and continued “together you can accomplish more than you could ever accomplish alone.” At the time, Virgo’s organisation was run under the umbrella name of “Coastlands”, with the different churches only related in the sense that he personally served each one. Having received this prophecy and after further “days of reflection, prayer and discussion,” at a gathering of leaders, Virgo told the assembled pastors that he “believed that God was inviting us to form a new kind of relationship together” with a different name, “New Frontiers”.\(^1\) Virgo left each free to decide but: “all embraced it as an authentic word from God that was to be obeyed” (my italics). He concluded: “we thus moved into a new phase…a common identity based on a sense of mission was established.” This whole prophecy and how it was handled is very illuminating: i) it came while Virgo was “in prayer” with several other leaders; ii) it was delivered by an NFI leader demonstrating an expectation of hearing God from within their own ranks, whilst respecting the prophetic ministry of others in the body of Christ (many of the later prophesies were given by outsiders); iii) the seriousness with which this prophecy was viewed, and a willingness to allow it to shape the whole future direction of the movement; iv) the determined way in which the prophecy was weighed, with application coming from Virgo himself; v) the careful “non-heavy delivery” of the word leaving people “totally free to get off the bus”\(^5\) and vi) how prophecy rather than a humanly-devised managerial directive was used to galvanise support.\(^6\)

6. Church Planting
The openness to the prophetic has helped to give the movement a high commitment to geographical mobility and church planting. NFI would certainly meet Stark’s criterion for being able to “generate a highly motivated, volunteer, religious labour force, including many willing to proselytise”? Although only 53 of the current 152 NFI churches were actual plants, another 15 plants are now underway, plus of the many

\(^{1}\) Creativity in naming new churches see P. Wagner, The New Apostolic Churches, 19-20.
\(^{2}\) “NWWP”, 95-96.
\(^{3}\) The pattern of Virgo fasting with his fellow leaders during extended times of seeking God, was oft cited as a key to their ongoing growth, providing cohesion, fellowship and an opportunity to hear God together: interviews with Nigel Ring, Terry Virgo and Dave Holden.
\(^{4}\) Nigel Ring commented on the seriousness with which prophecy is weighed. One example of this was the prophecy relating to the death of Diana, Princess of Wales in August 1997. A lady with a prophetic gift in an NFI church in Sheffield prophesied some time before the event about flowers being laid in cities and included implications of Revival. Other key non-NFI New Church leaders seized upon this as a sign of Revival coming in a particular time frame. But the NFI leadership were themselves more circumspect; Dave Holden, at the 1997 Plumbline Leaders Conference, was clearly somewhat perplexed at the way others had seemingly wrongly interpreted the prophecy in a predictive manner.
\(^{5}\) “NWWP”, 96.
\(^{6}\) Dave Devenish summarised at least 7 key prophecies that have profoundly affected the development of the movement.
"adopted" churches, a number would have had leaders or key people move geographically to help strengthen the NFI identity and the overall health of the work. It is certainly striking in talking to the key leaders, just how high on the agenda the commitment to church planting is. A number of factors have been influential in this regard.

In the early years, existing churches such as at Hove or Sidcup planted out into surrounding areas in the South East. But the more aggressive move to planting and moving people across the nation seems to have been sparked by a connection with Kriengsak Chareonwongsak. His passion to plant churches all across Thailand and the nations clearly had a major personal effect on Virgo. This, in turn, overflowed to the whole movement at a leadership conference in Brighton during the early 90s. At a particular altar call for those willing to go and plant churches "scores of people" responded. It seems that "at that moment" many not only "expressed willingness to move house and to help plant a church, but were explicitly told where they would go". At a time when church planting within NFI (and many of the other streams) had begun to plateau, Kriengsak’s influence was crucial.

So, too, was a vision that Virgo himself received of a bow and arrow, superimposed across southern England, pointing to the south, but being stretched across the heart of the nation. The interpretation was as follows: "We needed to pull back the bowstring by planting more churches in our own nation in order to reach out across the frontiers of other nations. This was a new strategy! We were no longer to confine ourselves to the southeast."

Socio-economic factors aided the fulfilment of this divine strategy. An economic downturn in the early 90s, particularly within the South East, resulted in many losing their jobs and relocating to other areas of the UK. Following Kriengsak’s example, research was carried out, and it was discovered that many NFI church members were finding work in Manchester. The result was that Colin Barron from Swanley in Kent led a team to plant in the Greater Manchester area, resulting in subsequent

David Smith: An account for the sustained rise of New Frontiers International within the United Kingdom

plants in Bolton, Blackburn, Blackpool, Macclesfield, Burnage, Salford, Oldham, Warrington and Tameside, and on to Liverpool. Others have moved from the South East to plant into Sheffield, Leeds and Teesside. Such mobility was clearly prophetically inspired, but is also evidence of the high numbers of professional people able to move from the relative prosperity of the NFI bases in the South East to the Midlands and the North.

A similar “Midlands Initiative” was launched in 1995-96 under the leadership of Dave Devenish in Bedford, with churches being established in Birmingham, Coventry, Leicester, Stafford and many smaller locations. There are also plans to multiply the existing number of 22 NFI congregations in the London area. But whereas previously NFI would normally plant a nucleus of 30-40 people, now the aim is to start with planting small cell groups, with the hope that they will multiply and grow into authentic churches.

The determination to church plant is reflected in the setting up of training weekends, particularly targeting potential leaders and planters in their 20s. Dave Holden confidently spoke of the “massive mobility in our ranks”, and of how people are increasingly aware that they might be where they are only for a season. Such mobility continues to be prophetically inspired, with an exhortation at Stoneleigh 1999 to believe God for 1000 churches to be planted through the UK. An A4 pamphlet was published and circulated, with an extract of the prophecy on the front, with leadership explanation and exhortation on the inside together with news of current church plants, testimonies and details on a “church planting course”. It concluded with an exhortation not only to plant “more churches” but to establish those which would grow “into thousands.”

Churches of 1000s?
Curiously, however, this is an area where the movement has perhaps been least successful. Of the 152 NFI churches in the UK, currently only 8 have a membership of over 350. Only the Church of Christ the King in Brighton has an attendance approaching 1000, the same number as

2 E.g. Stamford Community Church.
3 Terry Virgo interview.
4 Leader of the Hope of Bangkok church network.
5 "NWWP", 129.
6 Dave Holden interview.
7 "NWWP", 131; Dave Devenish interview.
8 "NWWP", 132.
began to be recognised, with currently eight regional teams in operation and with plans for the number to expand to fifteen by the end of 2001. This decentralised approach has helped to steer the movement away from a “headquarters mentality” – a clear difference to CMI, with the latter’s move to centralise in the Midlands.

NFI have also benefited from a high level of administrative expertise, particularly under the calm, gracious leadership expertise of Nigel Ring. “Good communication” cited as one of the keys to their growth, has recently been enhanced through the publication of the “Connect Magazine”.

9. Finance

Similarly, such a vast and growing international movement cannot be run without sufficient funding. Dave Holden freely acknowledged that the movement benefited from financial resources that other New Church teams simply couldn’t match. With members encouraged to tithe locally, and churches to tithe to NFI centrally, the resource base is clearly considerable. With £1 million plus being raised at recent Stoneleigh offerings, much of which is available for church planting, it is clear that “people’s generosity” plays a big factor in the growth of the movement. The expectation of tithing combined with an emphasis upon “hilarious giving” has clearly had an effect. One might add, no doubt aided by the strength of the movement in the relatively prosperous South East!

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1. Terry Virgo interview; “God’s Call to Build Big Churches”, Restoration (Jan-Feb, 1987), 28.
2. To help a church in St. Louis, Missouri, “NWWP”, ch. 20.
4. See Peter Wagner, Churchquake, ch. 4, “The Pastor Leads the Church”.
5. Terry Virgo mentioned (March 2001) churches at Eastbourne, Hastings, Winchester, Norwich and Newcastle.
7. Peter Wagner, Churchquake, 141-42.
8. Ibid., 143.
10. High profile events

The Bible Weeks and other such high profile events have been a key source of generating not only funds but cohesion and support. The initial model was Bryn Jones' Dales Bible week, which at its peak drew over 8,000 people. Not only did Dales help to strengthen and consolidate the R1 movement, especially the churches associated with Bryn, but it acted as a "shop window" for Restorationism. It also helped give Virgo, a leading worship leader and speaker, a profile outside of the South East. Moreover, under Jones' encouragement, and with the able administrative help of Nigel Ring, Virgo set up a similar Downs Bible week at the Plumpton racecourse. Jones and his team provided the early outside ministry, but as the Downs grew in its own right, to a total of over 8,000 spread across two weeks, it helped establish Virgo's ministry, not just within his own small network of churches in the South-East but far wider.

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<th>TABLE 4</th>
<th>“NFI Bible Weeks”</th>
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<td>Downs Attendance</td>
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Jones' decision to close the Dales Bible Week in 1984 has been viewed as a key to his movement's loss of momentum. Virgo's closure of the Downs Week in 1988, only served as a breathing space for the strategically more important move to the Stoneleigh Showground 1991. The impact of Stoneleigh Bible Week (the single biggest Christian event in Europe) on the growth and progress of NFI has been particularly significant, giving the movement a sense of cohesion and purpose, while acting as a "shop window" to those outside and looking in. With over 30% of non-NFI attenders, and with a worship CD which regularly tops the best seller lists in the huge Christian music market, it is clear that Stoneleigh has, in some ways, become bigger than NFI itself. Although there has not been any seemingly direct connection between Stoneleigh and churches wanting to immediately join NFI, ultimately the heightened profile has had a significant bearing on people wanting to be part of such a large and successful movement. Hence, the loss of Stoneleigh after 2001 has huge potential repercussions for the future, not least from a financial viewpoint. The decision, initially prompted by obstacles to re-leasing the premises, was due to a sense that God was speaking prophetically for them to release more time and resources into evangelising the nation.

Conclusion

NFI have displayed many of the characteristics of successful new religious movements. They have grown at a time of general denomination decline, by “adopting” many that are doctrinally similar, by a careful use of prophecy, by operating and maintaining a medium level of strictness, by exercising an understated charismatic authority, by mobilising their labour force and by maintaining an openness and cohesion. But there have also been two strategic factors in the movement's history which have given them a credibility and profile far beyond their own ranks: Terry Virgo's association with John Wimber, and the success of the Stoneleigh Bible Weeks. As a result, NFI have experienced sustained growth as remarkable as any in recent British history, and deserving of greater scholarly attention.

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1 Nigel Ring interview.
2 Nigel Ring interview. Dave Holden also commented that his mailbag was no bigger after Stoneleigh than before.
3 TV MS
4 Stark, “New Religious Movements” also includes “adequate fertility” less vital for a relatively young movement. The youth ministry led by Matt Hooier (Sidcup) and vibrant gatherings for young people at Stoneleigh can only have helped in the “effective socialisation of youth” (144). Time and space have not permitted a further expansion of this point.
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BOOK REVIEWS


Right at the beginning, Kärkkäinen defines his presupposition: Any talk about the Holy Spirit in our contemporary world needs to be ecumenical and contextual (culture specific), since no church nor any one culture can claim a monopoly on the Holy Spirit. The outline of the book is as follows: After a brief introduction to Pneumatology as a theological discipline, Kärkkäinen unfolds the rich tradition and the great diversity of perspectives on the Holy Spirit, beginning with Biblical perspectives and then discussing:

The historical unfolding of the Experience of the Spirit
Ecclesiastical perspectives on the Spirit (Eastern Orthodox; Roman Catholic; Lutheran; Pentecostal/Charismatic movements; Ecumenical Movement’s theologies)
Leading contemporary theologians on the Spirit (John Zizioulas; Karl Rahner; Wolfhart Pannenberg; Jürgen Moltmann; Michael Welker; Clark Pinnock)
Contextual pneumatologies (process pneumatology; liberation pneumatology; ecological pneumatology; feminist pneumatology; African pneumatologies)

In all his discussions, Kärkkäinen is always careful to accentuate not only “pneumatology proper” but also the dimension of a pneumatic spirituality, since the study of pneumatology cannot be limited to abstract definitions but must include the wide range of expressions of Spirit experiences reflected in the writings of church fathers and contemporary theologians.

The book is defined as a “text book” and rightly so. Kärkkäinen’s main interest is not in developing his own approach to pneumatology but to provide the reader with a broad survey and introduction to the topic in its entire breadth. One could almost say that he discusses “the fullness of the Spirit”. Thus, the book is especially helpful for Pentecostal/Charismatic teachers/students to get in touch with some aspects of this “fullness” that are quite often not reflected in our own tradition. That Kärkkäinen is not a biblical scholar, and thus the literature discussed on “biblical perspectives”, is not that “up to date” does not really harm the book. A bit more surprising is the neglect of Pöhlmann’s Heiliger Geist – Gottesgeist, Zeitgeist oder Weltgeist?. However, the book will be a great help for any course on pneumatology and help the students to get exposed to that which ultimately cannot be defined and has chosen to blow wherever it pleases — also outside the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement.

Matthias Wenk


Yes, another book on Lukan pneumatology! However, the approach chosen is somewhat different and worth pursuing. Woods, who originally presented his work as a D Litt. and D Phil thesis in Biblical Studies with the University of South Africa, does not begin with the “classical” pneumatological texts but rather focuses on Luke 11:20, the passage referring to the “finger of God”. Without lengthy introduction he sets out to place Luke 11:20 in its historical and literary context. Thus, the reader is not given a chance to situate the work in the current discussion on Lukan pneumatology, nor is the main thesis, in contrast to other books on the topic, outlined at the beginning.

Wood’s initial emphasis falls on the “New Exodus motif” in Luke’s central section (9:51-19:28). After having (re)established this motif, his second step comes quite logical: he develops the background to the expression “the finger of God” and argues that it is unique to Egypt and otherwise unknown to the people of Palestine and the middle East. The fact that “Finger of God” seems to be an Egyptianism and is linked with the Exodus (Ex. 8:15; Deut. 9:10) provides a first clue to why Luke referred in 11:20 to the “Finger of God” rather than to ‘the Spirit of God’ (Mt. 12:28): In Jesus’ ministry and exorcism, God’s “direct and immediate Exodus power” has been manifested; the new Exodus.

In his next chapter, Wood presents an exegetical examination of Luke 11:14-26. Much detailed and often very valuable information is given, but at times one wonders how all of this contributes to his major thesis. This is his longest chapter and as a reader, one is at times at loss, not knowing where the argument is leading. It is only in his conclusion of the chapter that one finds the line of the argument again: “within this chapter several arguments have been made in support of the ‘finger of God’ expression in Lk. 11:20 representing the direct and immediate action of God the Father himself, acting through Jesus his Spirit-anointed agent and Son” (213). While agreeing with Wood on this conclusion, I wonder whether it would not have been possible to present the argument in a more “direct and immediate” way. It comes also with some surprise that he hardly touches on Luke 4:16-30, a programmatic passage defining both Jesus as the Spirit-anointed agent of the Father and his mission. More straight to the point is
his statement that the ‘finger of God’ references in Exodus 8:19, Deuteronomy 9:120 and Luke 11:20 all speak of God’s delivering power, leading to a (New) Sinai. Thus, ‘the finger of God’ does not describe either a revelatory act, or serve as an expression of power only, but comprises both aspects. His last chapter serves the purpose of providing further exegetical arguments from Luke-Acts to support his thesis. Again, Wood discusses many passages and provides excellent information, this time more focused on his thesis.

In his conclusion, he summarises his findings and argues once more for the ‘finger of God’ referring to God’s ‘deliverance power’ (Ex. 8:19) and ‘covenental revelation’ (Deut. 9:10): it is the expression of God’s active participation in his plan of salvation for Jew and Gentile. One implication is that Jesus’ teaching and miracle working in Luke-Acts are closely linked with each other. It is only now, in an appendix, that Wood refers to the ‘Turner – Menzies debate’ on whether the Spirit is in Luke-Acts associated with miracles and healing or not. However, it is quite surprising that nowhere does Wood refer to Turner’s main book on Lukan pneumatology: Power from on High. Wood calls for a middle ground. He is critical of Menzies’ assessment that Luke opted for ‘finger of God’ due to his pneumatology in which the Spirit is exclusively the “Spirit of prophecy” and not of healing. Wood argues that Luke’s motivation of ‘finger of God’ rather than ‘Spirit of God’ is more to be found in the New Exodus motif.

A strength of Wood’s work is that he does not separate the Spirit-inspired word from the affects of it (239:...the inspired word is causatively related to the working of miracles). However, referring to Speech-act theory would have further strengthened his argument. Also, the book tends at times to be a bit long winded and one wonders if that much attention was needed to be given to (re)establish the New Exodus motif and some of the other issues. Also, his literary parallels tend at times to be far-fetched, or, needed to be given to (re)establish the New Exodus motif and some of the issues. Nevertheless, the work is stimulating and contributes a new aspect to the “Menzies-Turner debate” on Luke’s view of the Spirit’ in healing and miracles.

Matthias Wenk


Hur’s book, originally presented as a PhD thesis at the University of Sheffield, claims to present a different methodology or hermeneutical perspective on the Spirit in Luke-Acts than all the previous studies referred to in his work. He remarks at the very beginning that most studies on the issue so far have reflected the historical-critical method and are thus one-sided. In contrast, Hur’s project builds upon insights of narrative criticism in general, and on character building in particular. The leading concerns for his study are: 1) the overall and specific plot of Luke-Acts, 2) the narrative function of the Holy Spirit in terms of the plot, 3) and the immediate narrative effect of the Spirit in relation to the reader (p. 31).

In a first step, Hur establishes the extra-text (the repertoire) of the first century reader in exploring the usage of Ruia in the Hebrew Old Testament and in the Septuagint. Giving a broad overview on the Spirit in the Old Testament, he concludes that the effects of the Spirit in the Jewish Bible are mainly 1) prophecy, 2) miraculous/extraordinary powers, 3) esoteric wisdom, and 4) religio-ethical sustaining power. One wonders where the Spiritus Creator is.

After an excursus on the Spirit in the Qumran writings, Hur’s next two chapters serve primarily to define his methodology. He discusses issues like narrator, point of view, theory of character and characterization, but all with regard to the role of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts. He concludes that the Spirit is presented 1) as the Spirit promised by God in the Jewish Bible and 2) is in close association with the “Messiah and Lord” Jesus and his witness (p. 179). But “most importantly, the Spirit is said to speak or act (at decisive moments) in directing or guiding Jesus’ witnesses to testify about Jesus particularly to non-Jews and is thus characterized not only as God’s reliable mission commentator, but also as a mission director witnessing to Jesus” (p. 179, his italics). One might wonder whether the heavy dosage in methodology was needed to reach this conclusion. Further, Hur’s neglect of the Spiritus Creator in the Old Testament is reflected by his minimal discussion of Luke 1:35 and the Spirit’s role in the conception of Jesus. And if Luke’s presentation of the Spirit builds, as Hur claims, on the Old Testament repertoire, what has Luke done with it? What happened with the Spirit’s effects in terms of esoteric wisdom and religio-ethical sustaining power? Hur does not address these issues.

In chapter five, Hur discusses plot, function and the Holy Spirit. He now follows the narrative outline of Luke-Acts, sometimes applying Greimas’ actant model for defining the role of the Spirit in the narrative. However, one might argue, at times, with how the model is applied. Having analysed all of Luke-Acts (pp. 181-278), Hur concludes that 1) “the most discernible function of the Spirit is to empower and guide some individual (named) characters as leading witnesses, making them responsible, powerful ad reliable human agents of God and Jesus in carrying out God’s
plan/will successfully “ (p. 275, his italics), 2) “the Spirit also begins to function as verifying certain group-characters (unnamed) as incorporated into God’s (eschatological community)” (p. 276, his italics), and 3) “the Spirit also functions as supervising the believing community…or as acting to provide community leaders” (p. 277).

Some implications and concluding remarks in chapter six as well as an appendix bring his study to a close. All in all, Hur provides us with a broad ranging reading of the Spirit in Luke-Acts, slightly neglecting the role of the Spiritus Creator as well as the proximity of the Spirit to the kingdom (Lk. 11.13), two topics that are important in the repertoire as established in the Old Testament.

Matthias Wenk


What in the world is a “theology out of place”? Is it a theology that is misplaced in terms of its relevance? Or could it be that such a theology does not meet expected methodological criteria? The answer is that neither responses are accurate. Dr. Lynne Price has written a theological biography on Walter J. Hollenweger and called his contribution “out of place”, because she has clearly recognized that he is a theologian that constantly moves across borders. These borders may be cultural, social, theological or touching other fields of academic research and scientific exploration. In other words, the theological contributions of Hollenweger are so diverse that they cannot be appreciated from a single point of view. Consequently, Price divides her book into the six sections in order to justice to the task of reviewing Hollenweger’s life and world of thoughts.

At the beginning, we meet Hollenweger by means of a biographical sketch. We encounter him as a Pentecostal pastor and scholar, as an administrator for evangelism at the World Council of Churches, as a missiologist in Birmingham and as a writer of dramas. This well-written and enjoyable introduction sets the stage for understanding the issues discussed later in the book. At times I felt as if Hollenweger was personally speaking through Price’s writing. She has told his story well.

The first theological issue Price tackles is Hollenweger’s methodology. He does not fit the common perception of a Western academic theologian that has specialized in a field and communicates mostly through publications in academic journals and scholarly debates. He feels more at home in the vicinity of the Reformer Huldrych Zwingli, the father of Neo-Orthodoxy Karl Barth or the Catholic theologian David Tracy, people who intentionally kept different horizons in focus. Of course, theology must relate to the academy, but at the same time it needs to be grounded in society and the church. Hence, Hollenweger keeps these three areas always in focus when theological issues are under discussion. Here Lynne Price makes it clear that he does not claim that his theological reflections are relevant because he is working with clear intellectual delimitations; rather, he wants to be relevant because he crosses common conceptual boundaries. His approach is dialogical by definition. He endorses oral and literary reflections of God, welcomes the world and the church, cogitates on contributions from the West and the South, interprets the Bible and muses on news reports. To put it in his own words, “The body of Christ can only come to its full maturity when all the gifts of all its members reach full interplay with each other” (37).

Growing up as a Pentecostal, Hollenweger came to love the Bible. In everything he does, he takes biblical scholarship very seriously. But he “is not interested in providing authoritative statements on hermeneutics…, he is concerned that the whole church – and interested others – participate in the ongoing process of the search for truth and articulation of faith,” emphasizes Price (45). This section focuses on Hollenweger’s narrative exegesis and presents his approach as a viable way to be theological and at the same time relevant. It makes theological interaction between different languages and different worlds possible. Price illustrates this approach by discussing many of Hollenweger’s plays and concludes by saying, “He is conservative with regard to the centrality of the Bible, but radical with regard to its interpreters and interpretations” (63).

The next section is entitled “Intercultural Theology: Escaping the Ghetto”. Escaping the ghetto refers to the Western religious and academic boundaries. Hollenweger shaped his intercultural theology at a time when it became apparent that ecumenical unity was to take into account the plurality among the churches worldwide. As the significance of the local church increased in the 1970’s, Hollenweger was Professor of Mission in Birmingham and replaced traditional mission studies with intercultural theology. He wanted to allow a particular context to be relevant to theologising. Price quotes, “The theology of women is important for the theology of men. It is not simply a side-theme of mainline theology. The theology of Blacks is important for Whites. It is not simply underdeveloped theology. Oral theology is important for literary theologians. It is not simply theology which cannot yet think abstractly. All cultures have something to bring to the church and theology… We must therefore
Price illustrates how Hollenweger understands intercultural theology by analysing his “midrash” on Bonhoeffer’s visit to a black church service in New York, shortly before he decided to return to Germany in 1939. She also focuses on Hollenweger’s Mr Chips’ experiences in Bangkok and Switzerland. At the end of that chapter, she addresses the issue of syncretism, thus adding an important issue to discussions on intercultural theology.

In the fifth chapter, Price focuses on Hollenweger’s understanding of mission. Two notions are essential. First, the church is only relevant to the world if it is a “church for others”. Price shows how Bonhoeffer, J.C. Hoekendijk and H.J. Margull influenced Hollenweger, especially in his work as Executive Secretary of the Department of Studies in Evangelism at the World Council of Churches. The second notion important to Hollenweger is “non-colonial Evangelism”, an approach which stresses that the gospel stands over against both the evangelist and the evangelised. The story of Peter’s encounter with Cornelius is probably the most illuminating example of evangelism that converts both parties. The critical question is not whether or not Christians should share their experience of Christ with others. Of course they should. However, the pivotal question is, how should this sharing take place (114)? It is in this context that Hollenweger’s dramas are again discussed.

In the last chapter, Price discusses Hollenweger’s approach to pneumatology. He criticises the fact that not much new has come either from 20th century Pentecostal scholars or charismatic theologians of the mainline churches. It is not enough to repeat classic pneumatology and adding a chapter on charismatic gifts, he states. Hollenweger’s approach, on the other hand, starts with the Old Testament understanding of the Spirit as a “force vitale”. Furthermore, he emphasises the link between creation and the Spirit, that is between Spirit and matter. Here, Price summarizes Hollenweger’s “Geist und Materie”, the third book of his three volume Intercultural Theology, a work that unfortunately has not been translated into English in its entirety. Hollenweger’s third pneumatological emphasis relates to the dignity and freedom of the Holy Spirit. Real history is more important than ideology. Revitalized reflection on the Holy Spirit’s work is more important than a dogmatic controversy on “initial evidence”. Towards the end of her book, Price correctly draws the reader’s attention back to the fact that all aspects of Hollenweger’s theology are interconnected. His pneumatological explorations relate to his understanding of mission as participation, because “the Spirit has been poured on all flesh”.

Price, a Methodist scholar, has done an excellent job at presenting Hollenweger in his many faceted theological approach. Her book is the fruit of an intensive study that took her more than five years of dedicated work. She obviously had many conversations with Hollenweger, read his books (not just the English ones), studied his articles and correspondence, attended some of his seminars and participated in many of his plays. On several occasions, she has also read the reactions and comments of scholars that responded to his ideas. The result is a 154 page distillation of Hollenweger’s convictions and contributions, a journey of his development as a churchman, theologian and missiologist.

I would claim that Price is one of the few scholars that really knows whom she is talking about when she discusses Hollenweger, and as such, her work is a very important contribution to current discussions on intercultural theology, narrative exegesis, pneumatology and Pentecostalism. In all likelihood, there will not be another theological bibliography on Hollenweger, simply because Price has done such a fine job. However, if ever there is going to be another book attempting to elucidate Hollenweger’s thoughts, I hope it will be written by a Pentecostal scholar or a researcher from a non-white indigenous church.

Jean-Daniel Plüss
THE EUROPEAN PENTECOSTAL THEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

History
The European Pentecostal Theological Association was founded in 1979 as a Fellowship of those actively engaged in Pentecostal education or ministerial training in Europe. Membership is open both to individuals and institutions who agree with EPTA's purposes and share its convictions. Many of Europe's finest Bible Colleges are included in EPTA's membership.

Purposes of EPTA
1. To promote excellence and effectiveness in Pentecostal scholarship, ministerial education and theological literature.
2. To foster exchange, fellowship and co-operation between member institutions and individuals.
3. To foster exchange and fellowship between the Association and other associations with similar objectives and commitments.
4. To strengthen the testimony of Jesus Christ and His Church in Europe and to bring glory to God in all actions and concerns.

EPTA Conferences
Each year the Association holds its annual conference at a different venue, usually in the facilities of a member institution. These meetings, in addition to the necessary business, include papers, seminars and discussions that stimulate theological discussion and encourage an interchange of ideas and information.

Membership of EPTA
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