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Allan Heaton Anderson
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

UNDERSTANDING TERMS

The Pentecostal and Charismatic movements in all their multifaceted variety probably constitute the fastest growing churches within Christianity today. According to often-quoted, controversial and undoubtedly inflated estimates, there were over 600 million adherents worldwide in 2010 found in almost every country in the world. Nobody can be sure about numbers of religious adherents, but at most they give an indication that something significant is happening in the demography of world Christianity. Even if these figures are inflated wild guesses, they indicate that within a century, Pentecostal, Charismatic and associated movements have become a numerical force in world Christianity and may represent up to a quarter of all Christians. But this figure overlaps with membership of older churches and is by no means exclusive, as the numbers include at least a hundred million Catholics in the Charismatic renewal and millions in independent churches in Africa and Asia.[1] Nevertheless, Pentecostalism continues to expand into the twenty-first century. Although the term 'Pentecostalism' is used here in an all-embracing way to include the Charismatic movement and new churches of many different descriptions, the subtitle of this book includes 'Charismatic Christianity' because we must sometimes distinguish between denominational or 'classical' Pentecostalism and those other movements within older churches, autochthonous prophetic churches in the Majority World and the Charismatic independent churches.

In the study of global 'Pentecostal' and 'Charismatic' Christianity, it is very important to understand what we mean by these terms. There are several common features to the family of Pentecostalism, but there are many differences too. Most varieties demonstrate in their worship

[1] Johnson, Barrett and Crossing, 'Christianity 2010', p. 36; Anderson, 'Varieties, Taxonomies', pp. 13–14.

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services what Suurmond has called 'the Word and Spirit at play', where everyone has a contribution to make to the service, much like the creative combination of spontaneity and order in a jazz performance.[2] All would acknowledge the immediate presence of God in the service, all would expect some sign of miraculous intervention (often called 'gifts of the Spirit'), and most would encourage congregational participation, especially in prayer and worship. There is usually a leading preacher and a public appeal for a response. But these similarities are only the tip of the iceberg. There are as many different types of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches as there are thousands of organizations. Although an oral liturgy is still part of most Pentecostal and Charismatic services, in the larger celebrations a written or at least an understood order of service has become necessary, which limits the spontaneity and participation of all in the liturgy. In some churches this is offset by opportunities given to members to pray simultaneously, to dance and sing during the 'praise and worship', to exercise gifts of the Spirit, to respond to the 'altar call', and to call out their approval of the preaching with expletives like 'Amen!' and 'Hallelujah!' and with applause and laughter.

But because of the great diversity within Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, it is very difficult to find some common unifying features or distinctiveness by which they might be defined. It is an extremely precarious task in the first place, as it gives the one who attempts it the responsibility to see that justice is done to those who might not fit precisely into this definition. Pentecostals have defined themselves by so many paradigms that diversity itself has become a primary defining characteristic of their identity. Some have written of the need to describe a whole 'range of Pentecostalisms'.[3] Scholars have attempted various and divergent ways of defining Pentecostalism, some of which are ambiguous and of little use, while others attempt to demonstrate 'distinctiveness' and create unnecessarily strained relationships with other Christians as a result. These typically argue for the 'purity' of the term 'Pentecostal' and adopt a particular theological position over against others, implicitly linking the term to the doctrines of 'subsequence' and 'initial evidence'. These doctrines, which will be discussed in more detail later, originated in the USA at the beginning of the twentieth century and refer to the experience of the baptism with (or in) the Holy Spirit. This is a primary defining characteristic of US denominational Pentecostalism, where it is believed that those who

[2] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit*, pp. 22–3, 85.
[3] Robeck, 'Making Sense of Pentecostalism', p. 18.

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have this post-conversion experience will speak in strange tongues as 'initial physical evidence'. Although this reflects the doctrinal position of most 'classical' Pentecostals (but by no means all), this way of defining Pentecostalism is limited to 'classical' Pentecostals of the North American type, or those who speak in tongues. A limited definition like this cannot be supported from a global perspective, as this excludes those multitudes of Christians whose equally authentic experience of the Spirit is often different from those who might have spoken in tongues. Even Donald Dayton's well-known exposition of a 'common four-fold pattern' to distinguish what 'Pentecostalism' is,[4] although broader, can only neatly be applied to 'classical Pentecostalism' in the USA. In this book I will adopt an inclusive definition to avoid excluding those who do not agree with a particular understanding of the Bible and the triumphalism of those who boast about the growth of their own movement.

A look at some statistics may help us understand the diversity of this phenomenon and the controversy surrounding definitions. The numbers of Pentecostals and Charismatics in the world, as with any global statistics, are not easily arrived at. The late David Barrett's annual statistics (now produced by his colleague Todd Johnson) on world Christianity are well known, widely quoted and broadly accepted. They are quoted at the beginning of many scholarly works on Pentecostalism, particularly to underline the strength of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements, and were produced with considerable effort and research. These suggested that there were over 612 million 'Pentecostal/Charismatics' in the world in 2012. Other estimates are more conservative. Jason Mandryk placed the number of 'Renewalists' (including 178 million 'Pentecostals') at a total of 426 million in 2010, and in a separate, overlapping category there were 257 million 'Independent' churches. Included in Johnson's category of 'Pentecostals/Charismatics/Neocharismatics' are a large number of independent churches called 'Neocharismatics', which in previous statistics have amounted to about three quarters of the total. These are clearly distinguished from (classical) 'Pentecostals', but share with them an emphasis on the power of the Spirit. The writers say that one of the hallmarks of this movement is the emphasis on 'gifts of the Spirit' and 'a desire to receive more of God's empowering for the Christian life'. They explain that this new 'megabloc' includes the 'non-white indigenous' category in their earlier statistics. Unpacking this terminology even further reveals that among many other groups, the majority of these

[4] Dayton, *Theological Roots*, p. 21.

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'Neocharismatics' are Han Chinese independent churches with an estimated 80 million members, and the African Independent Churches (AICs) with 55 million members. Another reason for the discrepancies between the statistics lies in the more cautious approach of some scholars who see 'Charismatics' as those within older denominations who have had a charismatic experience, whereas 'Pentecostals' are those affiliated to specifically Pentecostal denominations committed to a theology usually including a post-conversion experience of a baptism in the Spirit. Classical Pentecostals cannot be universally classified on the basis of the 'initial evidence' teaching, which is not in the official doctrines of some of the oldest Pentecostal denominations in Europe and South America; and even where it is, classical Pentecostals are by no means unanimous about its interpretation or practice.[5]

The obvious difficulty with a broad classification of 'Pentecostals/Charismatics/Neocharismatics' greatly affects our understanding of the terms. Any estimates of the size of 'Han Chinese churches' and 'African Independent Churches' can only be speculative and probably not very accurate. The global statistics are conditioned by the authors' interpretations of the meaning of their own categories and cannot be taken as the final word. But as these statistics are all we have, they have to be taken into consideration, and how 'Pentecostal/Charismatic' is defined is crucial to understanding them. As sociologist David Martin has recently observed, 'How you estimate the overall numbers involved depends on the criteria you apply.'[6] Many classical Pentecostals do not feel comfortable with a broad classification, especially those who would see themselves more squarely as 'evangelicals'.[7] Unfortunately, a widespread and uncritical use of statistical speculations for drawing conclusions about the rapid progress of Pentecostalism promotes triumphalism and ignores crucial issues affecting our understanding of these phenomena. In spite of these dangers, many who want to demonstrate the global strength of the movement have adopted the inclusive definition and quote these massive statistics in support without always recognizing its wide diversity. Scholars of Pentecostalism both within and without the movement use these figures with abandon to claim that Pentecostalism is the second largest force in world Christianity after Catholicism. They do not always point out that most of the 600 million people are not classical Pentecostals and are

[5] Johnson, Barrett and Crossing, 'Status of Global Mission', p. 29; Mandryk, *Operation World*, p. 3.
[6] Martin, *Pentecostalism*, p. 1.
[7] McGee, 'Pentecostal Missiology', pp. 276–7.

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predominantly Africans, Latin Americans and Asians. It is in these three continents where the greatest expansion has occurred, despite the obvious and continuing significance of Pentecostalism in North America and in parts of Europe. It is also important to remember that Christianity itself has not changed significantly in terms of proportion of the world's population, approximately a third, since 1900.[8] The statistics appear indiscriminately in many theses, books and other academic works on Pentecostalism written in the past decade. Such grandiose conclusions would not be such a problem if there were an adequate recognition of the diversity of the forms of 'Pentecostalisms', and if this did not refer to a single movement like 'classical Pentecostalism', which is only a fraction of the total.

Nevertheless, Johnson's categories do illustrate that Pentecostal and Charismatic movements have many different shapes and sizes all over the world. But we cannot use these figures without also accepting their inclusive definition. Walter Hollenweger, founding father of academic research into Pentecostalism, is one who does this. He mentions 'the stupendous growth of Pentecostalism/Charismatism/Independentism from zero to almost 500 million in less than a century' and sees 'Pentecostalism' as having three distinct forms in the global context: (1) Classical Pentecostals; (2) the Charismatic renewal movement; and (3) Pentecostal or 'Pentecostal-like' independent churches in the majority world.[9] Although there is some danger of reductionism in this threefold classification, it is a useful starting-point. Without minimizing the numerical strength of the first two categories and remembering that the majority in the second category are Catholic Charismatics, it is the third category that is particularly significant in the global statistics. In many parts of the world, Pentecostalism has taken distinct forms. For example, the largest Pentecostal denomination in Chile, the Methodist Pentecostal Church, practises infant baptism and uses Methodist liturgy. Many Pentecostal groups, including some churches in Europe and Latin America and most of the Charismatics, do not have a doctrine of the 'initial evidence' of tongues. In Africa and Asia even greater divergences are to be found. Some churches, like the Pentecostal-type, 'Spirit' or so-called 'prophet-healing' AICs, use more ritual symbolism in their liturgy than other Pentecostals do, including the use of holy water, oil and

[8] Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, pp. ix–x, 281, 296; Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith*, pp. 42, 45–6.

[9] Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, p. 1; see Anderson, 'Varieties, Taxonomies', pp. 13–29; Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth*, pp. 4–9.

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other symbols in healing services. Chinese grassroots churches, perhaps the majority of Christians in China, are mainly of a Pentecostal orientation, but most of them would not describe themselves as 'Pentecostal'. The largest of these, the True Jesus Church, espouses Oneness theology and practises Sabbath observance on Saturday as essential for salvation.[10] Since the mid-1970s, large independent congregations have sprung up all over the world. These new churches often form loose associations for co-operation and networking, sometimes internationally. By 1988, there were an estimated one hundred thousand 'White-led independent Charismatic churches', most of which were in North America.[11]

I think that the term 'Pentecostalism' is appropriate for describing all churches and movements globally that emphasize the working of the gifts of the Spirit, both on phenomenological and theological grounds – although not without qualification. A broader definition should emphasize Pentecostalism's ability to 'incarnate' the gospel in different cultural forms. This broad use of 'Pentecostal' will often include the terms 'Charismatic' and 'Neocharismatic'; but there will be times when 'Charismatic' will refer more narrowly to Pentecostal experience in 'mainline' churches. However, even here there are difficulties, as there are several examples of 'Charismatics' who preceded the 'Charismatic movement' in the western world by several decades. The debate about the meaning of 'Pentecostal' and 'Pentecostalism' must conclude that it is a definition that cannot be prescribed. Perhaps it is appropriate to follow Robert Anderson, who observes that whereas western classical Pentecostals usually define themselves in terms of the *doctrine* of 'initial evidence', Pentecostalism is more correctly seen in a much broader context as a movement concerned primarily with the *experience* of the working of the Holy Spirit and the *practice* of spiritual gifts.[12] Because Pentecostalism has its emphasis in experience and spirituality rather than in formal theology or doctrine, any definition based on the latter will be inadequate. In this book I will usually use the terms 'Pentecostal' and 'Pentecostalism' in this broad sense to include all the different forms of 'spiritual gifts' movements; often I will refer to them as 'Pentecostal and Charismatic' movements; and on occasions I will use the terms 'classical Pentecostal' and 'Charismatic' when a narrower definition is required.

10 Anderson and Tang, *Asian and Pentecostal*, pp. 372–81.
11 Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, pp. 275–8.
12 Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, p. 4.

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A word about my use of other terms in this book. The central idea of classical Pentecostalism, 'baptism with (or in) the Holy Spirit', I have usually termed 'Spirit baptism' for brevity's sake and not for any other reason. I have retained the word 'western' and 'the West' but have avoided the ideological use of terms like 'Third World' or 'Two-Thirds World', and instead have opted for the term 'Majority World' or 'developing world' to describe Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific. I have avoided the use of 'indigenous' whenever possible and have substituted 'autochthonous', 'national' or 'inculturated' (depending on the context), and have also tried to use local terms when appropriate.

UNDERSTANDING PENTECOSTAL HISTORY

Historians of Pentecostalism have often reflected a bias interpreting history from a predominantly white American perspective, neglecting (if not completely ignoring) the vital and often more significant work of Asian, African, African American and Latino/a Pentecostal pioneers. Some of their histories add the biases of denomination and race, and most of the earlier ones tended to be hagiographies. In order to understand the importance of and need for rewriting Pentecostal history, we must first critically examine the presuppositions of existing histories. Some of the first academic histories were written by outsiders: Lutheran theologian Nils Bloch-Hoell (whose work first appeared in Norwegian in 1956), British sociologist Malcolm Calley on African Caribbean Pentecostals in Britain (1965), Swiss sociologist Christian Lalive d'Epinay on Chilean movements (1969), a global study by Swiss theologian Walter Hollenweger (1965, 1972), and those of several Americans, including the seminal study by social historian Robert Mapes Anderson (1979). To these can be added the widely acclaimed study of theological roots by historian Donald Dayton (1987), that of Harvard theologian and one-time secularization theorist Harvey Cox (1995), those of historians Edith Blumhofer (1993), William Faupel (1996) and Grant Wacker (2001), and the sociological study of Donald Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori (2007). Hollenweger, Blumhofer, Faupel and Wacker, all former Pentecostals, have written sympathetic studies; Dayton, Cox and Miller and Yamamori also have largely positive appraisals. From within North American Pentecostalism has come a string of noteworthy histories, from the earliest ones by Frank Bartleman, chronicler of the Asuza Street Revival (1925), and Stanley Frodsham, an early

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Assemblies of God historian (1946), to include works by McGee, Conn, Robeck and Synan, among many others.[13]

This list of historians of Pentecostalism is by no means exhaustive. The earlier histories tended to see Pentecostalism as emerging in the USA 'suddenly from heaven' and took what has been described as a 'providential' view of history, tending to discount or ignore 'natural' causes for the rise of the movement.[14] In a provocative article, historian Joe Creech suggests that Bartleman's account in particular created the 'central myth of origin' of Azusa Street that has persisted to the present and that this 'myth' was based on theological and historical paradigms that overlooked other points of origin.[15] Bearing in mind that some studies are intentionally American in focus, and at the risk of oversimplification, many histories declare or imply that Pentecostalism, fanning out from the western world and in particular from the USA, grew and expanded in Asia, Africa, the Pacific and Latin America because of the work of a number of white 'missionaries' who carried the 'full gospel' to the ends of the earth. In these histories, the various presuppositions of the writers are often transparent. Bloch-Hoell's study abounds with innuendos showing that he thought that all Pentecostals were psychologically unstable and neurotic. This deprivation theory is repeated in a more subtle form by Lalive d'Epinay and Robert Anderson, who saw Pentecostalism as a refuge for the socially marginalized and underprivileged poor, the 'vision of the disinherited' as Anderson put it, where 'ecstatic religious experience' was 'a surrogate for success in the social struggle'. In contrast, Wacker sees early American Pentecostals as representing the entire spectrum of society, including the wealthy middle class.[16] At least as far as the origins of Pentecostalism are concerned, the heroes and heroines are westerners regarded as the main role players responsible for the global expansion of Pentecostalism.

The commencement of the movement is always situated in the USA, whether in Cherokee County, North Carolina in the 1890s (according to some Church of God historians), Charles Parham's movement in Topeka, Kansas in 1901 (where many historians start) or the Azusa Street revival led by William Seymour in Los Angeles, 1906 (which most agree was the driving force behind the rapid spread of the movement). The latter case has been made most convincingly by Robeck's 2006 publication.

[13] The references to these histories are in the Bibliography.
[14] Cerillo, 'The Beginnings of American Pentecostalism', p. 229.
[15] Creech, 'Visions of Glory', pp. 406, 408.
[16] Bloch-Hoell, *Pentecostal Movement*, pp. 21, 32; Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, p. 152; Wacker, *Heaven Below*, p. 216.

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Although the exact place of origin is disputed, the primacy of Azusa Street as the heart or 'cradle' of Pentecostalism was affirmed in the 1970s, largely through the influence of Walter Hollenweger and his researchers at Birmingham. Writers began to assert the important role of this predominantly African American church as the generator of Pentecostal churches all over the world. Wacker pointed out that the early histories of the movement suffered from what he called a 'ritualization of Pentecostal history' which included a 'white racial bias' which ignored the central influence of black culture on Pentecostal worship and theology, and in his view, the 'more serious distortion' of a 'persistent gender bias' in which the leading role of women was overlooked.[17]

These race and gender distortions are indeed serious problems to overcome, but there may be even graver issues that face Pentecostal historiography. All these interpretations, some of which indeed attempted to correct errors of the past, nevertheless ignored, overlooked or minimized the vital role of thousands of national workers in the early Pentecostal movement, particularly in Asia and Africa. This is partly because in early Pentecostal periodicals carrying reports of missionaries, if national workers are mentioned at all it is usually as anonymous 'native workers' or at best they are mentioned by a single name, often misspelled. This serious omission arises from the environment in which Pentecostal missionaries carried out their work, to which writers of its history often do not given enough consideration. We cannot separate the spiritual experiences of Pentecostals and Charismatics throughout the world from the wider context of political and social power. The beginning of the twentieth century was the heyday of colonialism, when western nations governed and exploited the majority of people on earth. This rampant colonialization was often transferred into the ecclesiastical realm and was reflected in the attitudes of missionaries, who so often moved in the shadows of colonizers. In the late nineteenth century there was an almost universal belief in the superiority of western culture and civilization. This was the ideology that fired colonialists and missionaries alike, and the belief lingered long into the twentieth century. This affected Pentecostal missionaries too, who were impassioned with ideas of 'global spiritual conquest', an expansionist conviction influenced by premillennial eschatological expectations that the nations of the world had to be 'possessed' for Christ before his imminent coming to rule the earth. This was a long tradition rooted in the nineteenth-century Evangelical Awakenings. Undoubtedly, the 'manifest

[17] Wacker, 'Are the Golden Oldies Still Worth Playing?', p. 95.

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destiny' of the USA influenced Pentecostal missions used to thinking in expansionist terms. Coupled with a belief in the superiority of forms of Christianity 'made-in-America' is a conviction in the superiority of the political and social system found in the USA. This neo-imperialism has often alienated US missionaries from local national leaders, and certainly the perceived hegemony bolstered by US economic and military muscle has not helped the negative image.

In recent years, the southward swing of the Christian centre of gravity that has made Pentecostalism more African and Asian than western heightens the urgency of this debate. Most Pentecostals now live in Asia, Africa and Latin America. India, South Korea, Brazil and Nigeria have become the leading Protestant missionary-sending nations. The largest congregations in London, England and in Kiev, Ukraine, each with several thousand members, are led by African Pentecostal pastors. In Africa itself, very large numbers of Christians who are of a Pentecostal orientation can only be understood within that context. In Asia, where probably the largest number of evangelical Christians in any continent of the world live, most are of a Charismatic type; and Latin America has the largest number of Pentecostals of any continent. Johnson's annual statistics give dramatic evidence of how rapidly the western share of world Christianity has decreased. In 1900, 77 per cent of the world's Christian population was in Europe and North America, but by 2000, only 37 per cent of the two billion Christians in the world were from these two continents, projected to fall to 29 per cent by 2025. Furthermore, 26 per cent of the world's Christians were 'Pentecostal/Charismatics' in 2000. The 'southward swing' is more evident in Pentecostalism than in most other forms of Christianity. Much of the dramatic church growth in Asia, Africa and Latin America has taken place in Pentecostal and Charismatic and independent Pentecostal-like churches, and perhaps three-quarters of Pentecostalism today is found in these continents. Classical Pentecostal churches with roots in the USA and Canada have probably less than a tenth of their world associate membership in these countries, with at least 80 per cent in the majority world.[18]

The historical processes leading to the fundamental changes in global Pentecostal demographics must be charted accurately. Hopefully, however, it is not too late to correct past distortions, but in much of the writing of Pentecostal history until the present day the 'objects' of western

[18] Barrett and Johnson, 'Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 2001', p. 25; Wilson, *Strategy of the Spirit*, pp. 3, 107, 183.

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