ROOTS, TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS OF NEW FORMS AND EXPRESSIONS OF CHRISTIANITY

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The most important descriptive terms are explained below in some detail, placed in historical context as they carry a mixture of theological and historical meaning of which one needs to be aware in order to understand the recent trends and developments in Christianity that are at the core of this book. The Pentecostal/charismatic renewal of the 20th century took place over a period of 100 years and arrived in three distinct waves: first the Pentecostal renewal, followed by the charismatic renewal, and then a third wave that was non-Pentecostal and non-charismatic and is termed the neo-charismatic renewal (Barrett 2001: 381–91). Following the usual convention the term ‘Pentecostal’ is capitalized while ‘charismatic’ is in lower case. The section then moves on to a discussion of evangelical and fundamentalist movements.

THE PENTECOSTAL RENEWAL

Pentecostalism in its current form derives from the United States of America, but its basic theology is rooted in earlier British perfectionistic and charismatic movements such as the Methodist Holiness movement and the Catholic Apostolic Movement of Edward Irving (Synan 2001: 2). To understand the development of Pentecostalism it needs to be acknowledged that there had been precursors prior to the emergence of Pentecostalism in 1901 in the USA. The conversion experience of John Wesley (1703–91) at Aldersgate Street in London in 1738 can be seen as the beginning of the most important direct forerunner of the Pentecostal movement in the USA, with Wesley’s Methodism giving rise to a widespread Holiness movement during the 19th century. John Wesley is seen as the theological father of all Holiness and Pentecostal movements. According to Synan it was Wesley’s colleague John Fletcher who was the first to call the conversion experience ‘Baptism in the Holy Spirit’ — an expression describing the experience that brings spiritual power and inner cleansing to the recipient (Synan 2001: 2).

Most authors (Martin 1990:29; Waldo 2000:5; Hollenweger 1972; Dayton 1987) mention the Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, as the place of origin for denominational Pentecostalism in 1901. The Bethel Bible School was founded by Charles Fox Parham (1873–1929), who grew up in the Methodist tradition and at the age of 22 started an independent ministry. Parham is usually recognized as the first to give classical Pentecostalism a definable theological shape as he formulated the doctrine that speaking in tongues was the evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit (Synan 2001: 3). Since that time the characteristics of Pentecostalism worldwide have been an emphasis on mission and evangelization, an evangelical style of conversion, sanctification, divine healing, premillennialism, and glossolalia (speaking
Glossolalia  From the Greek words glossa (tongue) and lao (to speak). The utterance of what appears to the casual listener to be either an unknown foreign language, or simply nonsensical syllables. From a linguistic point of view, the syllables that make up instances of glossolalia typically appear to be un-patterned reorganization of phonemes from the primary language of the person uttering the syllables. Linguists generally regard most glossolalia as lacking any identifiable semantics, syntax, or morphology—i.e. as nonsense and not as language at all (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glossolalia).

In Pentecostal and charismatic Christian communities glossolalia is sacred and referred to as “speaking in tongues” or having “the gift of tongues.” In the Acts of the Apostles, tongues of fire are described as alighting on the Apostles, filling them with the Holy Spirit. Allegedly, this allowed the Apostles to speak in their own language but be understood by foreigners from several nations.

People who speak in tongues behave in various ways, depending upon the social expectations of their community. Some go into convulsions or lose consciousness; others are less dramatic. Some seem to go into a trance; some claim to have no memory of their speaking in tongues. All believe they are possessed by the Holy Spirit and what they utter is meaningful. Only those with faith and the gift of interpretation, however, are believed to be capable of figuring out the meaning of the utterances. Of course, this belief gives the interpreter unchecked flexibility in “translating” what is uttered. Typically, the interpretation supports the central doctrines of the religious community (Spanos 1996: 147).

Uttering incomprehensible syllables that are interpreted as profound mystical insight by holy men is an ancient practice. In Greece, even the priest of Apollo, god of light, engaged in prophetic babbling. So did the ancient Israelites, and later the Jansenists, the Quakers, and the Methodists.

in tongues), the latter being seen as the eschatological return of the power of the Holy Spirit. Parham taught that glossolalia was a supernatural importation of human languages for the purpose of evangelization (Goff 2002:955). Subsequently, he argued that there was no need to study foreign languages, since Pentecostal evangelists and missionaries would be able to preach in tongues all over the world.

With the identification of speaking in tongues as the evidence of ‘baptism in the Holy Spirit’, Parham and his early followers made a crucial theological correlation that is essential to the Pentecostal movement by advocating that “the gifts of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor.12), understood by most denominations as having ceased at the end of the first century, had been restored” (Burgess and van der Maas 2002: xviii). This was a major break with the ‘cessation theory’ of Augustine and the view that was held through the centuries by Roman Catholics and Protestants: that the dramatic supernatural gifts of the Spirit had ended with the early Church — and that with the completion of the inspired canon of Scripture “they would never be needed again” (Synan 2001: 20–21).

In 1905, William J. Seymour (1870–1922), a black Holiness preacher who had heard Parham speaking and believed in the truth of his teachings on Spirit Baptism, rented a former African Methodist Episcopal Church at 312 Azusa Street in Los Angeles and established the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission (Synan 2001: 4). It was in that building that something extraordinary and significant in the history of Christianity in the US context happened in 1906. As people of different ethnic backgrounds (black, Hispanic, white) worshipped together, the usual barriers between clergy and laity vanished, and men and women shared leadership responsibilities. Synan (2001: 4–5) describes the Azusa Street meetings as a merger of white American Holiness religion and worship styles derived from the African-American Christian tradition. The latter had developed since the days of slavery and was a new expression of Christian faith that became obviously attractive to dispossessed and deprived people in the USA.
With this background, in summary, Pentecostals emphasize radical conversion, a holy life of separation from the world after conversion, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit marked by speaking in tongues. Pentecostals believe that following this experience other gifts of the Spirit will be experienced in the life of the church, such as divine healing in answer to prayer, and the second coming of Christ, called the ‘rapture’ of the church. Since the emergence of Pentecostalism at the beginning of the 20th century, gatherings that appear at first glance to be emotional and noisy became characteristic of Pentecostal worship. They usually include one or the other or all of several characteristics such as the upraising of hands, loud praise, messages in tongues, interpretations of tongues, prophecies, prayers for the sick, and the occasional casting out of demons.

Doctrinal variations led to the establishment of different Pentecostal denominations. One stream of the Pentecostal movement, for example, was formed by about 200 Holiness Pentecostal Churches using variations of the name ‘Church of God’. The largest in this category is the Church of God in Christ. The Holiness Churches formed the first wave of Pentecostalism in the world and most of the founders of the Pentecostal movement were part of this stream. The so called ‘fivefold gospel’ of these churches, namely — 1) Justification by faith; 2) Sanctification as a second, definite, perfecting work of grace; 3) Baptism in the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in tongues; 4) Divine healing as in the atonement; 5) The pre-millennial Second Coming of Christ — became the first theological manifesto of the Pentecostalism (McGee 2001: 121).

While the Church of God in Christ is the largest Pentecostal denomination in the USA, the Assemblies of God (AOG) is the largest and best known Pentecostal fellowship in the world. A crucial variation from the teachings of Holiness Churches can be traced back to William H. Durham (1873-1912), who can be seen as the theological father of the AOG: his denial of the necessity of a second blessing experience prior to speaking in tongues caused the first major theological rift, resulting in the establishment of the Assemblies of God in 1914 (Synan 2001: 124).

A third major stream of US Pentecostalism is to be seen in the non-trinitarian ‘oneness movement’ of which the United Pentecostal Church International, founded in 1914, is the largest denomination in the USA and worldwide. Oneness Pentecostals believe in a ‘one blessing’ approach in which everything (salvation, sanctification, and baptism in the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues) is received in the waters of baptism by immersion in the ‘name of Jesus’ (Synan 2001: 141). Accordingly, for Oneness Pentecostals only baptism in the name of Jesus is valid, not baptism in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Synan points out that the latter is seen by Oneness Pentecostals as a Roman Catholic error that was forced into the Nicene Creed in A.D. 325 (Synan 2001:141).

It was from Azusa Street and Los Angeles that Pentecostalism spread across the USA and around the world, by word of mouth or by printed reports and materials from the new movement. Within a few years Pentecostal revivals took place in Europe, Canada, Asia, Africa, Australia and South America. However, the harmony of the early revival at Azusa Street was short-lived, as theological and racial issues crept in and began to divide the movement — as briefly outlined above — leading to the development of a huge variety of Pentecostal denominations, mission agencies, and fellowships. With its strong emphasis on the need for mission and evangelization, the Pentecostal movement was globally oriented, grew constantly until the middle of the 20th century, and experienced phenomenal growth rates especially in the southern hemisphere from the 1970s to the present time.
**The Charismatic Renewal**

A second wave of renewal began with the penetration of Pentecostalism into the mainline Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. The new movement aimed to renew the historic mainline churches from within. With historical roots similar to the Pentecostal movement, the charismatic renewal started off in the USA (Synan 2001: 149–76). While it is difficult to identify a certain date or even year that gave birth to the new movement, it is clearly related to the work and ministry of Dennis Bennett (1917–1991), an Episcopal rector in Van Nuys, California. With regard to the origins, reference is usually made to the ministries of Oral Roberts, David J. du Plessis, and Demos Shakarian, founder of the Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship International (Synan 2001: 152). It was Bennett and members of his congregation who claimed to have been baptized with the Holy Spirit and to have spoken in tongues in 1959. In 1960 Bennett moved to Seattle to become vicar of St. Luke’s Episcopal Church, which within 12 years became one of the strongest in the northwest of the US and the major centre from which the idea and experience of Baptism in the Holy Spirit spread worldwide. Bennett became a role model for many of his charismatic successors as he ministered throughout the USA and overseas, lectured at many universities and theological schools worldwide and later pursued a ministry of writing, speaking, travelling and conducting seminars together with his wife Rita (Christenson 2002: 369–70).

Different authors (Hocken 1991:145–49; Synan 1971) have pointed out the deep roots of the charismatic renewal in the Pentecostal movement. The name given at first to the new movement was ‘Neo-Pentecostals’, but this was later replaced by ‘charismatic renewal’ (Synan 2001: 157). The rapid growth of the charismatic movement in the USA and worldwide has also been explained with reference to a vacuum within the historic mainline denominations and a longing to return to the essence of New Testament Christianity (Ernst 1994: 263). Synan (2001: 153) quotes a feature article in *Time Magazine* that described the US Episcopalians as “God’s Frozen People”. The movement spread to all 150 mainline Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic Church worldwide and embraced 175 million people in 2000 (Barrett 2001: 382).

How can one differentiate between Pentecostals and charismatics apart from the fact that the charismatic renewal began almost 50 years after the Pentecostal movement started? A common way is to look first at the theological and ecclesiastical differences. Theologically, the major difference is that most Pentecostals are devoted to a work of grace following conversion, in which Spirit baptism is evidenced by the ability to speak in tongues. Charismatics, on the other hand, do not all advocate the necessity of a ‘second work of grace’ after conversion with the ability to speak in tongues (Spirit baptism), which simply means one can be ‘born again’ and saved without necessarily the experience or ability to speak in tongues. Another major differentiation is denominational affiliation. Pentecostals are members of 20th century denominations such as the Assemblies of God, the Church of God in Christ, the United Pentecostal Church International, or the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. In contrast, charismatics do not join these classical Pentecostal denominations but remain as members of one or other of the older mainline denominations.

Synan (2001: 177–208) provides an excellent overview of the charismatic renewal in the worldwide Anglican community and the Lutheran, Presbyterian, Reformed, Methodist, Baptist, Mennonite and Orthodox churches. Peter Hocken provides a superb overview of the renewal within the Roman Catholic Church, describing how a group of 25 students
and faculty of Duquesne University in Pittsburgh gave birth to a worldwide movement in their church (Hocken 2001: 211). One significant aspect of the Catholic charismatic renewal is that it is the first time a movement of mainly Protestant origin has entered the Roman Catholic Church and been officially received and accepted.

From a sociological perspective it has been pointed out that early Pentecostalism was often associated with the lower socioeconomic stratum of societies, while the desire for charismatic renewal with spiritual gifts, prophecies and physical healing emerged in the generally more affluent membership of the historic mainline churches. None of these attempts at differentiation is completely satisfying, however, as the distinguishing lines are sometimes hard to detect and are permeable from both sides.

**THE NEO-CHARISMATIC RENEWAL**

As outlined above, the emergence of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity in the 20th century resulted in deep changes with regard to worship patterns, ecclesiastical structures, cultural attitudes, and methods of evangelism and mission work. Another addition to the often confusing tapestry of Christian denominationalism, posing a new challenge to the sometimes petrified structures of the church, is to be seen in what is commonly called the neo-charismatic movement or third wave of Pentecostal-charismatic renewal. This term describes a new wave of renewal that gathered momentum in the 1960s and continued to the present with no direct affiliation either to Pentecostalism or to the charismatic renewal (Barrett 2001: 403). The term ‘third wave of renewal’ originated, according to Synan (2001: 359), at Fuller Theological Seminary in California, where in 1981 Peter Wagner, Professor of Church Growth, proposed that it was now in existence. This third wave basically comprised mainline evangelicals who experienced ‘signs and wonders’ but refused to be labelled as Pentecostals or charismatics. Wagner saw the 1980s as a time of opening among evangelicals and other Christians “to the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit that the Pentecostals and charismatics have experienced, but without becoming charismatic or Pentecostal” (Synan 2001: 359).

By the year 2000, under the label of neo-charismatic, there were about 20,000 independent, indigenous, post denominational groups and organizations, and Barrett (2001: 388) attributes a worldwide membership of 295 million third wave neo-charismatics to the movement. The boundaries between the neo-charismatic renewal and the earlier charismatics and Pentecostals are sometimes unclear. Because they share with the charismatics a general emphasis on spiritual gifts and Pentecostal-like experiences such as ‘signs and wonders’ and encounters with evil forces, thousands of pastors and congregations in the USA are classified as neo-charismatic. The grouping together, however, of these Third Wave charismatics with African Independent Churches and a huge variety of indigenous Pentecostals and/or charismatics from countries like the Philippines, India, China, Korea and Brazil, as has been done by Barrett (2001: 390), is highly questionable.

For differentiation it can be said that neo-charismatic Christians in the non-Western world usually do not have a firm institutional structure and organization with paid clergy, departments and hierarchies. Their churches are often founded by and centred on a charismatic leader-figure who claims to or is believed to receive direct visions and messages from God in dreams. While spiritual experiences among these independent churches are Pentecostal in nature, their theology varies greatly from group to group, from church to
church and from country to country, as they often carry a good deal of local cosmology. On the African continent independent churches were observed as early as the 19th century, and some of them developed into neo-charismatic churches as they generally accepted and practised faith healing, prophetic visions, passionate and euphoric prayers, and speaking in tongues (Pobee 1991: 10–12). Otherwise neo-charismatic churches are seen as a fairly recent phenomenon, appearing from the time of decolonization until now. The African versions of neo-charismatic churches are quite often criticized by classical Pentecostals and charismatic churches as heralds of the demons and evil spirits that are part of traditional African cosmology, which includes the world of ancestors and the practice of witchcraft.

**EVANGELICALISM**

Compared to the Pentecostal-charismatic movement, which emerged only in the 20th century, evangelicalism has a much longer history. Deriving from the New Testament Greek word *evangelion* (good news) the term ‘evangelical’ first came into use in the 16th century when the terms *evangelisch* (German) and *évangélique* (French) were introduced in the writings of the early Reformers (McGrath 1998: 249). Today the term is used widely with reference to a movement in English-language theology that places special emphasis upon certain trans-denominational trends in theology and spirituality, accentuating the supreme authority of Scripture and the atoning death of Christ as central in the life of Christians. In its primary meaning the term refers to the central message of salvation. In a wider sense it is used to refer to the evangelical movement and its members (evangelicals) within Christianity.

It was the German reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) who first used the term to define Christians who used the Bible as final authority, stressed justification, and laid emphasis on the universal priesthood of believers. This led to the labelling of Luther and his followers as ‘evangelicals’ by spokesmen for the Roman Catholic theology he was criticizing (Synan 2002: 613). The followers of the French reformer John Calvin (1509–1564), who were also called ‘evangelicals’, added the necessity of a conscious conversion experience to the agreed principles they shared with Luther. This led to the use of the words ‘evangelize’ and ‘evangelization’ to describe methods for bringing individuals to an understanding and accepting of their election to eternal salvation. In the following century, the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) marked the end of religious wars and pointed to a fundamental reshaping of Christianity in Europe: there was now a division between Roman Catholics — who were dominant in parts of Germany and Switzerland as well as in Austria, Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Poland and some other countries — and evangelical or Protestant churches, which were dominant in the remaining parts of Germany and Switzerland as well as in the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, England and Scotland. The usage was further entrenched in 1817, when the state in Germany referred to the union between Lutherans and Reformed in Prussia as Evangelical, as was also the case later with the federation of German territorial churches, known as the Evangelical Church in Germany/Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland.

In Europe as a whole the Protestant churches and their theology continued to evolve, but the notion of the necessity of an evangelical conversion experience became an article of faith amongst the Puritans in Protestant England. The leaders of the Puritan settlers of the 17th century English colony in New England, in America, founded colleges at Harvard and Yale as ministerial training centres for preparing evangelical pastors and church leaders
(Ludwig and Bliese 2004: 182). These colleges developed over time and became widely known as first class universities. The emphasis on a conversion experience became part of American religious folklore and an essential element in the various awakenings and revivals that swept over the North American continent, especially during the 18th and 19th centuries. Vivid and often emotional conversion experiences were seen as necessary to salvation, despite the various understandings of the churches regarding water baptism and the other sacraments and ordinances.

In Europe and especially in Britain the Evangelical Revival of the 18th century strongly promoted the distinctive ‘evangelical’ emphases in the Protestant churches, as well as producing a number of new forms of Protestantism — most notably the Methodism of John Wesley. Later there was a further defining of the word ‘evangelical’. Crucial in this regard was the forming in 1846 in London of the Evangelical Alliance, from which emerged a doctrinal statement with nine affirmations “that placed the evangelical movement squarely in the mainstream of traditional Protestant orthodoxy” (Synan 2002:614). The nine statements affirmed: (1) the inspiration of the Bible; (2) the Trinity; (3) the depravity of man; (4) the mediation; (5) justification; (6) conversion and sanctification by the Holy Spirit; (7) the return of Jesus; (8) the sacraments of baptism, and (9) the Lord’s Supper. It can be said that with the formation of the Evangelical Alliance the evangelical cause was carried into the 20th century and ‘evangelicalism’ in its present meaning derives from the revival movements in Britain and America in the 18th century. Less theologically conservative members of the Alliance who felt uncomfortable with the nine statements gradually left and followed their own agendas, resulting in the establishment of the liberal Federal Council of Churches in America in 1908, and, subsequently, the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1948 (Lossky et al. 1991:418). Membership of the WCC, however, overlaps with that of organizations descended from the Evangelical Alliance.

The further development of the evangelical movement in the first half of the 20th century was marked by a struggle between ‘modernists’ and ‘fundamentalists.’ In 1941 a new coalition called the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) was formed to bring all fundamentalists under one national umbrella as a countermovement to the ecumenical Federal Council of Churches. Many conservative evangelicals did not share the radical and sometimes extremist positions of the fundamentalists. Carl McIntire, one of the fundamentalist leaders of the ACCC, denounced all Pentecostals as apostates with whom he did not want to have fellowship, and, consequently, refused also to have fellowship with evangelicals who fellowshipped with Pentecostals. Evangelicals who accepted the Pentecostals broke with the militancy of the fundamentalists and formed the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in 1942. In 1948 Billy Graham, who became a role model for a new type of evangelist, held his first crusade and became without doubt the most influential evangelical leader of the 20th century. For this reason many consider the year 1948 as the beginning of a new era as Billy Graham began his worldwide preaching under the banner of evangelicalism rather than fundamentalism. The crusades Graham carried out between 1948 and 2005 all over the world (he held his last public preaching campaign in June 2005 in New York) were usually strongly supported by Pentecostals. It is quite common for evangelicals, Pentecostals and charismatic Christians to support each other, not only in public gatherings and crusades but also organizationally by forming alliances at national level, as will be shown in the country case studies in Part II of this book.
FUNDAMENTALISM

The roots of modern fundamentalism lie in the evangelical and millenarian movements of 19th century Britain and America. Early leaders of an emerging fundamentalist movement within Christianity were, for example, Edward Irving, a Scottish Presbyterian, and John Nelson Darby, the Irish founder of the Plymouth Brethren. Interpreting biblical prophecies, Irving and Darby related secular events such as the French Revolution to the Scriptures and prophesied the imminent rapture of the church and the Second Coming of Christ in their time. When glossolalia and prophecies erupted in Irving’s Presbyterian congregation in 1830, he was sure that the time of the Second Coming was near. He was expelled from the church for teaching heresy concerning the person of Christ, and is remembered as the founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Darby popularized early fundamentalist teachings during many preaching tours in England and especially the USA, where he attracted large crowds. Another popular preacher who taught the imminent return of Christ was William Miller, who predicted the Second Coming in or before the year 1843. Miller was able to attract large crowds and soon his followers were labelled ‘Millerites’. Despite the failure of Miller’s as well as Irving’s predictions the consequent disappointment of their followers was only temporary, as millenarian doctrines remained popular until present times and numerous individuals emerged from Miller’s flock to start their own denominations, amongst them the Seventh-day Adventist Church under the leadership of Ellen White (Abanes 1998: 227).

In the last quarter of the 19th century other preachers of biblical prophecy added doctrines to the movement. These included the literal and verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, and, over time, the belief in the inerrancy of the original manuscripts of Scripture moved to the core of fundamentalist teaching. The institutionalization of fundamentalism began after the turn of the century in the forming of the American Bible League (ABL) in 1902 and the World Fundamentals Association (WFA) in 1919.

Most authors emphasize the publication of a series of twelve pamphlets, entitled ‘The Fundamentals’, between 1910 and 1915, as giving birth to modern fundamentalism (Barr 1977:2). The aim was to produce intellectually sound and popularly accessible defences of the Christian faith. The contents of the 90 essays that were published in the series ranged from the defence of Scripture to doctrinal apologetics and personal testimonies and were, according to Ammerman (1991: 22), of high quality and surprisingly uncontroversial. The booklets were printed and distributed free of charge to three million ministers, lecturers at seminaries and YMCA workers throughout the country, as the whole project was founded by the Stewart brothers, two Californian oil millionaires who had helped found the fundamentalist Bible Institute of Los Angeles. These booklets also encompassed what is still today at the core of Christian fundamentalism, namely: (1) the verbal inerrancy of the Scriptures, (2) the deity and virgin birth of Christ, (3) the substitutionary atonement, (4) the physical resurrection of Christ, (5) Christ’s bodily return to earth (Longfield 1991: 430).

In addition to these fundamental teachings, an interpretation of history and prophecy, called dispensationalism, became popular at the time and was incorporated into fundamentalist theology. According to dispensational eschatology as developed by Darby, spiritual history is divided into seven periods (dispensations) according to the diverse methods of God’s dealing with humankind. The periods are named (1) innocence, (2) conscience, (3) human government, (4) promise, (5) law, (6) grace, and (7) Kingdom (Ernst 1994: 59–60). While evangelicals, Pentecostals, charismatics and even many mainline Christians do
not have any problem in subscribing to the five fundamentals, and while many evangelicals, Pentecostals and charismatics also subscribe to Darby’s elaborated forms of biblical prophecy, a certain dividing line is drawn by fundamentalists in strongly denying the occurrence of miracles, which they see as limited to biblical times only. Major dispensationalist leaders were A.C. Gaebelein and C.I. Scofield. In 1909 Scofield produced an annotated Bible that became the standard reference point for fundamentalists and widely publicized the dispensational scheme. It continued to enjoy heavy sales throughout the rest of the century and until the present time. Despite its anti-miracle teachings, many Pentecostals have joined the dispensational camp and taught the scheme in their Bible Colleges, with appropriate modifications to accommodate glossolalia and divine healing (Synan 2002:656–57).

**The Enlightenment and its Impact on Christianity**

The fundamentalist movement was significantly shaped by the controversy over the theory of evolution. To understand this it is necessary to refer back to the Enlightenment era. Probably the most important factor in the shattering of the link between Western society and religion and making the theology of the Christian churches problematic was the challenge posed by intellectual developments at that time. The challenge derived from newly developed sciences such as critical history, physics, biology, and sociology. The emergence of new democratic governments and the new science of sociology began to challenge the assumption that all social forms reflect and follow a divine order of reality, and this had a lasting impact on the Christian religion in the Western world. The Enlightenment brought a great challenge to the fundamentalists of later times, as it created a new climate in which more and more people were convinced that the scientific method was the way to understand the past and to create a better future.

In the world of natural sciences, for example, Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859) challenged the biblical version of creation. French philosopher Auguste Comte (1798–1857), one of the founding fathers of sociology, rejected most of religion as non-rational, but acknowledged that religion was a necessary part of human society as the glue that held it together (Comte 2000: 301–19). Comte predicted that religion in its traditional forms would soon disappear. Another founding father of sociology, Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), argued in a variety of publications that were based on sociological and anthropological study that the very deities a group worshipped were mere projections of humans’ own deeply felt sense of identity. Like Comte, Durkheim acknowledged certain useful functions of religion but argued that its nature was shaped by the social worlds created and moulded by humans (Durkheim 2000: 359–69). In the other new academic discipline, psychology, even the soul became the object of scrutiny by psychoanalysts such as Sigmund Freud, who put forward the idea that the battles in the subconscious were not fought between God and Satan but between id and superego. One of the new revelations was that human personalities were driven to action by unseen forces. Human personalities were not shaped by divine creation but rather by interactions and traumas in early childhood. In this view individuals are bundles of contradictory impulses, created and recreated by human effort (Freud 1911:107). These few examples show that in every area of life the scholars of the 19th century challenged basic premises that for centuries — back to the beginning of Christianity — had been at the core of Christian orthodoxy (Ammerman 1991: 11). In the resulting new scientific worldview only humankind itself was left to be blamed for its destiny.
In the humanities, historicism, which denied the idea of continual progress in history, became the counterpart of these new scientific views. The biggest challenge for Christians began when philosophers and theologians, mainly Germans such as Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860), Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770–1831), Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889), Adolf Harnack (1851–1930), Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965), and Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), challenged traditional viewpoints and reformulated thinking in every area of Western culture. No area was more affected by this than religious belief. Other religions that claimed miraculous evidences were subjected to equally sceptical criticism, but “Christianity happened to be singled out for particular comment on account of its religious domination of the cultural milieu in which the Enlightenment developed” (McGrath 1998: 224). The ‘Age of Reason’ (a commonly used alternative name for the era of the Enlightenment) marked the emancipation of culture from the dominance of Church and Christianity (Grenz & Olson 1992: 15–62).

In orthodox Protestant theology the Bible was treated as verbally inspired. This was now sharply criticized in the historical criticism that developed mainly in German theology. One of the first important theologians of this school, Johann Semler (1725–91), defined the three principles of differentiation: 1) differentiation of Scripture and the Word of God; 2) differentiation of religion and theology; and 3) differentiation of private and public religion (Press 2004). In this view ‘religion’ was seen as the practice of faith, while ‘theology’ was seen as the scientific study of religion. One result of this was that biblical scholars and theologians began in the middle of the 19th century to study the Bible with the same critical tools that were used to uncover the origins and meanings of other ancient texts. “According to this new school of biblical criticism, which came to be known as ‘neology’, the significance of the Christian story was increasingly seen as one poetic myth of moral excellence rather than of literal truth” (Hastings 1999: 488). The new method of interpretation, called historical criticism, was soon widely accepted, and by the end of the 19th century the terms ‘exegesis’ and ‘criticism’ were used interchangeably. The new message for the world of Christianity was that the Bible was neither the unique Word of God nor the historical document it seemed to be on the surface. For example, ideas reflected in Scripture were re-interpreted as part of a long history of ideas about the nature of the world and of the human relationship with the divine. Now it was also widely accepted that the Gospels were not written by contemporaries of Jesus but later as memories or biographies. The oldest gospel, Mark, was now identified as the source for Matthew and Luke. Scholars tried to re-write the life of Jesus. David F. Strauss, for example, in 1835 wrote the Life of Jesus, in which he not only entirely rejected apostolic authorship but also argued that the stories of Christ’s birth and resurrection were mythical and symbolic, not real events (Press 2004). The realization mounted that just as other cultures had also composed their own creation and flood narratives, written down in epics or orally transmitted from generation to generation, the biblical narrative was, to some, not a literally true and fully authoritative divine revelation to humankind. As a result religion was seen as an improper persistence of irrational ideas (McGrath 2002: 24).
The Scopes Trial

From the very beginning of the Enlightenment there had been Christians who strongly rejected all forms of liberal teachings and the use of modern scientific methods applied to the study of Scriptures to create questions, doubts and ultimately new insights. In the 20th century, the controversy between 'modernists' and 'fundamentalists' was not restricted to the USA but was most fiercely fought out in that country, where fundamentalists systematically tried to oust modernists from mainline denominations. The climax of the controversy was reached with the famous Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925. In this trial (which even became the subject of a Hollywood movie, starring Spencer Tracy and Katherine Hepburn), high school teacher John T. Scopes was charged for teaching the evolution theory according to Darwin, which was not allowed under a recently passed law in the state of Tennessee. The trial raised great interest among the general public, and the exchange of arguments was reported by the media all over the country and beyond, with many comments and discussions following. The trial ended with a pyrrhic victory for the fundamentalists — Scopes was fined 100 dollars and forbidden to teach evolution. But outside court the fundamentalists lost support, as they appeared to the public to be backward and anti-intellectual. After the trial the fundamentalists largely abandoned the universities and seminaries to the modernists and concentrated on establishing their own infrastructure, which would be unpolluted by liberal thinking and challenges. "As more seminaries came under the dominance of historical, critical methods, conservatives needed places they could trust for pastoral training. Bible institutes and Bible colleges filled that need" (Ammerman 1991:21). As another observer describes it, "these institutes became simply havens of fundamentalist theology" (Synan 2002:657). The Scopes trial and its aftermath clarified that the fundamentalists had lost the battle for the minds of mainstream American Protestant Christians. Gradually, the fundamentalists withdrew from the public sphere into a social and theological shell. In due course a spirit of contentiousness and condemnation took over the rhetoric of the movement, with leaders such as Bob Jones and Carl McIntire disapproving of those who had wandered from the straight and narrow way. Fundamentalism was far from finished, however.

The most prominent fundamentalist since the mid 1970s has been Jerry Falwell, who hosted a popular TV show, the 'Old Time Gospel Hour'. According to Ammerman (1991:1) the fundamentalists re-emerged with the formation of the 'Moral Majority' by independent pastor Jerry Falwell in 1979 when he declared that the majority of Americans were waiting to be mobilized to stop the moral decline of the nation. Over the following decade the 'Moral Majority' developed into a sort of civil social protest movement of conservative Christians across all denominations. Conservative voters were registered, and there were rallies and campaigns primarily focusing on moral-ethical issues such as abortion and gay rights. During the past two decades, Republican presidents of the USA discovered the potential of the movement and nurtured it by speaking at rallies, inviting its leaders to the White House, and promising to implement policies agreeable to the moral sentiments and worldviews of conservative Christians. As will be shown later in the detailed country case studies and the analytical final part of this book, there are interesting parallels here to developments in the Pacific, including the Solomon Islands and especially the Fiji Islands. Other examples of a similar symbiosis can easily be found in other parts of the world, including India, Islamic countries, and Guatemala in the 1980s.
Although the term fundamentalism was originally used only in the context of Christian theological debate at the beginning of the 20th century in the USA, it is nowadays used in a much broader way and has been applied to radical reformist movements in other world religions (Armstrong 2000: x). On the basis of an extensive worldwide research project that resulted in the publication of six volumes, known as ‘The Fundamentalist Project’, Marty and Appleby argue that all fundamentalisms follow a certain pattern:

- Fundamentalisms are besieged forms of spirituality and emerge as a response to a perceived crisis.
- They engage in conflicts with enemies whose secularist policies and beliefs appear to them as adverse to religion.
- The perception of the conflicts they engage in is that a cosmic war is being waged between the forces of good and evil.
- Fundamentalists fear extermination, and try to reinforce their besieged identity by means of a selective reclamation of certain doctrines and practices of the past.
- Fundamentalists often withdraw from mainstream society and create a counterculture to avoid contamination, though without becoming impractical dreamers because they have absorbed a pragmatic rationalization of modernity.
- Under the guidance of charismatic leaders, fundamentalists create an ideology that provides the followers with a clear plan of action (Marty and Appleby 1991: 814–42).

**A New Collective Movement**

Fundamentalism is understood here as a subdivision of the wider conservative set-up of American Christianity, as they share, for example, with other conservative Christians the five fundamentals outlined above. Ammerman (1991: 2) refers to Gallup reports of the 1980s that reveal that 72 per cent of all Americans say the Bible is the Word of God. Over half of these (39 per cent) say that it should be taken literally. Almost two-thirds are certain that Jesus rose from the dead and nearly three quarters believe in life after death. Forty-four per cent can be called ‘creationists’ since they believe that the world was created by God in its present form in the last 10,000 years. That does not mean that all these people are fundamentalists. James A. Reichley (1987: 72) has rightly pointed out that “all fundamentalists are evangelicals, but not all evangelicals are fundamentalists” because evangelicals can be fundamentalist or non-fundamentalist, charismatic or non-charismatic, Pentecostal or non-Pentecostal.

Fundamentalists, Pentecostals, and charismatic Christians have in common their roots in evangelicalism and share, despite all the differences that have been mentioned above, many common beliefs. For example the necessity of a life-changing individual decision to follow Jesus and achieve salvation, commonly known as a ‘born again’ experience, is acknowledged by all conservative Christians. It is this ‘born again’ experience that provides them with a sense of personal and intimate relationship with Jesus and often shapes their lives and worldly relationships in noticeable ways (Ammerman 1991: 2–3). Also shared by the different streams of conservative Christianity is the zeal to win souls for Christ by words and deeds, which has been expressed in an enormous revival of global mission work and evangelism. Pentecostals, charismatics, evangelicals and fundamentalists are almost always organized as sub-groupings of new expressions and new forms of Christianity that originate from and have swept over the USA. According to Barrett almost all fundamentalists today are ecclesiologically independent baptists and theologically dispensationalists. Socio-
psychologically they can be defined as militant, angry conservative individuals and groups of people who seek refuge in the perceived undeniable truths of the Bible (Barrett 2001: 427).

From the mid 1950 onwards charismatic and Pentecostal preachers such as Pat Robertson (Christian Broadcasting Network/CBN), Jim Bakker (Praise the Lord Network) and Paul Crouch (Trinity Broadcast Network/TBN) introduced television ministries as an alternative to secular TV. This not only generated a lot of income for the respective owners and the movement but also contributed to the exceptional growth of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity. It occurred first in the USA and later all over the world, since the development of technology means that programmes can easily be broadcast everywhere. In the Pacific Islands it is especially Trinity Broadcast Network that has in recent years established studios and started broadcasting in various islands (Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands).

With the continuing growth of the Pentecostal-charismatic-evangelical-fundamentalist movement in the USA, political engagement became inevitable because of the sheer number of voters involved. In 1979 a Gallup Poll, commissioned by the evangelical magazine Christianity Today, indicated that 29 million American adults considered themselves Pentecostal or charismatic (Synan 2001: 369). The political power of this group was highlighted first in the election of Jimmy Carter as US president in 1976, as a huge bloc of voters belonged to one or other part of the renewal movements. The election of Carter, a committed and publicly confessing evangelical member of the Southern Baptist Church, gave a boost to the new evangelical movement. Carter not only popularized the term ‘born again’ but introduced a new development by frequently using the political arena to share his personal faith as an evangelical ‘born again’ Christian. According to Synan there is little doubt that charismatics formed the core of the constituency that elected Ronald Reagan twice in 1980 and 1984. In the election and re-election of George W. Bush in 2000 and 2004 the Republicans successfully mobilized conservative Christians throughout the country, including fundamentalists and marginal Protestants such as the Mormons (Synan 2001: 370). In 1988 the ‘Religious Right’ had a difficult choice between a candidate of their own in Pat Robertson, and the Republican candidate, Reagan’s vice president George Bush Sr. As Bush also appealed to conservative Christians, Robertson’s campaign did not end in victory. In the years to follow, Robertson organized the so called ‘Christian Coalition’ as a mass movement of concerned citizens, who since then have supported the positions and candidates of the Religious Right. At the time of the election in 2000, Robertson and his Christian Coalition acted as a swing bloc that helped the younger George Bush to win the elections. Instead of becoming king himself, Robertson had become the kingmaker (Synan 2001:370). The late US president, Ronald Reagan, became known for using biblical terms in political discussions, for instance by talking about ‘evil powers’ in reference to the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Today’s President Bush has followed suit, except that the focus has changed slightly from communism to Islamic terrorism as the ‘evil power’. The spiritual advisers of Reagan as well as of Bush were chosen from the ranks of the evangelicals.

Finally, there are comments to be made about other denominations such as the Latter-day Saints (Mormons), Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah’s Witnesses, all of whom originate from the USA and the 19th century and experienced high growth rates, mainly in the second half of the 19th century. While conservative Christians usually denounce these groups, particularly the Jehovah’s Witnesses and Mormons, as ‘sects’ or ‘cults’, they share certain similarities with evangelicals, fundamentalists, Pentecostals and charismatic Christians,
especially in their admiration of Scripture, the preaching of a disciplined way of life centred around the family, and extensive evangelism. They all occupy a similar religio-political territory, as they (with the exception of Jehovah’s Witnesses, who do not vote in elections) formed part of the Moral Majority of the 1980s. At the same time, however, they are distinct from the other religious groups described here. This is particularly the case with the Mormons, with their adoption of the Book of Mormon as a unique sacred text alongside the Bible.

**SUMMARY**

With reference to the three waves analogy we have used above, it is clear that the three waves of the Pentecostal-charismatic movement are different but closely related phenomena. Barrett describes them as different manifestations of one overall single cohesive renewal movement “into which a vast proliferation of all kinds of individuals and communities and cultures and languages have been drawn in a whole range of different circumstances” (Barrett 2001: 383).

Most of the expanding evangelical and fundamentalist groups have US-American links, as do the ‘marginal Protestant’ groups. It is from the USA after World War II that the new movement began to conquer the world. It is significant here that by the end of the 20th century the USA was the only remaining military superpower and the main centre of Western capitalism.

All of the forms of Christianity described above can be found in the Pacific Islands. With undoubted differences between them, as explained, they nevertheless together form a new movement that has started to re-shape, renew and revive Christianity in the Pacific Islands.

**Notes**

1. The different meanings of the term in different languages can cause confusion for those not familiar with the history and development of, for example, the Evangelical Churches of Germany. The German language differentiates between evangelisch and evangelikal. It needs also to be mentioned that in the USA there is a small minority of ‘progressive evangelicals’, who advocate a politically radical interpretation of the Kingdom of God, e.g. in the Sojourners movement (www.sojo.net).

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Websites

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