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## Abstract

This dissertation is a scholarly biography covering the missionary career, leadership, thought, and influence of Alice Eveline Luce in England, India, Mexico, and the U.S. Luce was commissioned by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1896 as a missionary to India. She served with the *zenana*, dispensary, and educational ministries in northern India in and around Benares. As an educator, Luce served as the principal of the Queen Victoria High School for girls in Agra.

In 1910, Luce visited an orphanage in Allahabad where she received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Her exposure to this phenomenon was fostered by reading missionary reports about the outpouring of the Spirit in pockets across India. At Allahabad, she partnered with Minnie Abrams, who was associated with Pandita Ramabai of Poona. After a bout with malaria Luce returned to England to recuperate. There she met a medical doctor, Florence J. Murcutt, who became her close friend and colleague in ministry.

Reoccurring bouts of malaria and an acute heart attack contributed to Luce resigning from the CMS in 1914. After praying for supernatural healing, she gave another forty years of ministry to the Hispanics of North America as an ordained minister with the Assemblies of God. Over those four decades, Luce developed a number of indigenous church principles and strategies. She was instrumental in seeing her denomination adopt several of them in 1921. Luce's contribution to missions included evangelizing and church planting, founding two Bible schools, developing Bible school curricula, and producing missionary literature in English and Spanish (including twelve books, hundreds of articles and tracts, and Sunday school literature).

Luce trained hundreds of American, British, and Hispanic pastors, evangelists, and missionaries—including Francisco Olazábal, Henry C. Ball, Ralph and Richard Williams, and Jovita

Bonilla—for service around the world. She personally led many to become disciples of Jesus Christ and experience the baptism of the Spirit. Her approach was always holistic, focusing on physical, psychological, and spiritual needs. Though the term “missiologist” did not exist in Luce’s day, her life and ministry demonstrate that she was one. The methods, indigenous principles, and cross-cultural communication and educational skills she brought to her ministries underscore her legacy as a missiological innovator and practitioner.



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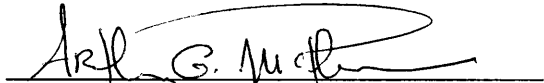
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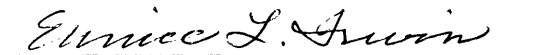
Mikeuel Eugene Peterson

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Missiology

has been read and approved by the undersigned members of  
the Faculty of  
Asbury Theological Seminary

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Arthur G. McPhee", written over a horizontal line.

Dr. Arthur G. McPhee, Mentor

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Eunice L. Irwin", written over a horizontal line.

Dr. Eunice L. Irwin, Reader

Dr. Gary B. McGee, Reader (deceased)

April 2009

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A Dissertation

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In Partial Fulfillment of the  
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Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Arthur G. McPhee, Mentor

Dr. Eunice L. Irwin, Reader

Dr. Gary B. McGee, Reader\*

By

Mikeuel Eugene Peterson

April, 2009

\*Dr. McGee passed away on December 10, 2008 and served as the second reader.

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## **Abbreviations**

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for foreign Missions
ACC	Allahabad Correspondence Committee
AG	General Council of the Assemblies of God
AV	Authorized Version of the Bible (KJV)
BBI	Berean Bible Institute
CEZMS	Church of England Zenana Missionary Society
CIM	China Inland Mission
CIMIC	Concilio Interdenominacional Mexicano de Iglesias Cristianas
CLC	Cheltenham Ladies' College
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CoC	Committee of Correspondence
CSMV	Community of St. Mary the Virgin
GTBI	Glad Tidings Bible Institute
HCSB	Holman Christian Standard Bible
ICP (ICPs)	Indigenous Church Principle(s)
LABI	Latin American Bible Institute
MEC	Methodist Episcopal Church
MEMB	Methodist Episcopal Mission Board
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
WFMS	Woman's Foreign Missionary Society
WUMS	Woman's Union Missionary Society
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
ZBMM	Zenana Bible and Medical Mission
ZBMS	Zenana Bible and Medical Society

## **Acknowledgments**

My first contact with Alice E. Luce came through my master of divinity studies at the Assemblies of God Theological Seminary where Professor Gary B. McGee ushered his students into the AG archives to do research for various classes. While digging for facts, I began to develop a deep sense of respect for this pioneer missionary who labored tirelessly on two continents. My first interest in Luce's life was tied to the idea of her pioneering the Hispanic work in Southern California and Northern Mexico. At the time of my master of divinity studies, I served as a missionary to Mexico. Thus, the spiritual road map of Pentecostal Hispanic ministry intrigued my research. I owe a great debt to Gary McGee who served as a mentor and a model for what it means to do investigative research and to follow your dreams.

To accomplish the research for this dissertation required the assistance of numerous people. I wish to express my appreciation to the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center for their readiness to help me locate various documents. Special thanks goes to Joyce Lee and Glenn Gohr for their computer like minds and insights. Also to Gloria Robinett in the Assemblies of God World Missions department in locating information on missionaries.

The Latin American Bible Institute in La Puente, California helped supply information and interviews that proved to be priceless. Also, thanks goes to the University of Birmingham, England for allowing my wife and I access to the Church Missionary Society archives that yielded documents otherwise not available.

Finally, I thank the Lord for my wife, Charlene, who believed in me, encouraged me, and helped me during the research of this dissertation. Her presence was a special blessing.

## Introduction

<sup>1</sup> And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. <sup>2</sup> And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. <sup>3</sup> And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. <sup>4</sup> And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance (Acts 2:1-4 KJV).

After the Apostle Peter made this declaration, he stated in the same chapter and context, "For the promise [of the Holy Spirit] is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call" (Acts 2:39).

Hearing these words spoken in a meeting at the orphanage of Shorat Chuckerbutty in Allahabad, India in 1910, Alice Eveline Luce received the gift of the Holy Spirit "according to Acts 2:4."<sup>1</sup> She received this gift when several Indian women placed their hands on and prayed for her (A. Hill 1913, 11; Alice E. Luce 1916a, 13; 1917i, 6; 1920c, 3; 1921a, 6). Her experience led to a shift from her traditional, Anglican past to apostolic, missions-oriented ministry, emphasizing "signs and wonders"<sup>2</sup> (Acts 2:19, 43; 4:22). Luce's ministry then extended most notably to Hispanics in the Mexican borderlands region of the USA (Alice E. Luce 1921a, 6; Reiff 1922, 17).

Luce's experience coincided with the beginnings of a new, broad-based emphasis: the centrality of the Holy Spirit in the mission of the church. Since the

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<sup>1</sup>See Victor De Leon (1979, 20); Agnes Hill (1913, 11); "Minnie Abrams (1859-1912)" in chapter 4 for details on Luce's experience.

<sup>2</sup>Signs and wonders, as referred to in both the Old Testament and New Testament, point to supernatural activity that is beyond human ability. Luke's account in Acts 3 focuses on a man cripple from birth. Daily he begged at the temple gate to sustain daily life. When he asked Peter and John for money, they replied they didn't have any, but had something else. Peter told the man to get up and walk in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth. That's exactly what the cripple did: walked and leaped and shouted. The people recognized him as having been crippled, but now walking and praising God for the miraculous event. Healing is a "sign and wonder" that ministers to both the recipient and the observer. Miracles function to meet both physical and spiritual needs. Often people will become Christians because of a sign and or wonder. While the apostle Paul was in Ephesus, many believed, in part at least, because of the signs and wonders. They witnessed and heard about these events that occurred in the Christian community and even destroyed their own sorcery paraphernalia. This is a clear sign that they recognized power beyond their sorcery or witchcraft practices (Acts 19).

beginning of the twentieth century, increased emphasis has been placed on the role of the Holy Spirit in the mission of the church. After its early centuries, much of the church de-emphasized or neglected the life and work of the third person of the Trinity (Boer 1961, 12; Bosch 1980, 241-242). It was the newest in a succession of renewal movements in Western Christianity—movements that gave rise to the Waldensians, Anabaptists, Moravians, Methodists, Irvingites, and in Luce's era, Keswickians and Azusa Street Mission enthusiasts. Western Christianity became a “popular” religion during the fourth century (under the first Christian Roman Emperor Constantine) and for about one thousand two hundred years experienced victories and defeats until the Protestant Reformation. Through spiritual renewals involving groups such as the Waldensians, the Moravians, the Methodists, the Irvingites, the Keswickians, and the Azusa Street Mission, significant groups and denominations of the church have experienced numerical and spiritual growth, and revitalization (Snyder 1996, 125-142, 125, 141; Price and Randall 2000, 14-15).

The role of the Holy Spirit was a dominant motif throughout Alice Luce's long ministry among the North American Hispanics. At the Latin American Bible Institute in California, she stressed the need for every student to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit (Monrada 2003, Interview). Whether she was planting a church, training leaders, or discipling students, she developed a dependence on the power of the Holy Spirit to minister to the current needs of people and circumstances. Even when Luce bought an automobile for her ministry, she depended on the Holy Spirit alone to guide her selection of the make and model. She would walk onto a car lot, place her hands on the car and ask in prayer if that car were the one. When she had the understanding in her heart that a particular car was “the one,” she signed the contract.<sup>3</sup> She never drove the car though.

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<sup>3</sup>The one car that Alice Luce purchased was a “Woody” and, according to Canales, it lasted for years (Canales 2003, Interview).

Her chauffeur, Miguel N. Canales,<sup>4</sup> drove her wherever ministry took her (Canales 2003, Interview). This story is one of many that represent the Spirit-led life of Alice E. Luce as a missionary in the borderlands of Mexico and the United States. Her Pentecostal experience paved the way for her missiological development that influenced thousands of missionaries, evangelists, and pastors in North America.

There are many missiological reasons to examine Alice Luce's influence on the Pentecostal Hispanic ministry of the Assemblies of God. They include her advocacy of indigenous church principles, her development of Hispanic ministers and missionaries, her work as an agent of change among Hispanics, and her founding of two Bible Institutes, one in California and one in Mexico. As a Pentecostal missionary, she strongly influenced the Pentecostal mission theory and practice, yet little has been written about her.

In this dissertation, through the lens of historiography—with missiological analysis and evaluation—the methods, philosophy of ministry, and influence of Alice Eveline Luce, missionary to India, the United States of America, and Mexico, will be examined. I will focus on her adoption and articulation of indigenous church principles and the influence this had on developing Assemblies of God Hispanic ministry in the United States of America. The dissertation will cover religious, cultural, and family influences on Luce's early development; educational formation; praxis in ministering to women and children in India; and service among Hispanics in the US and Mexico as a church planter, educator, and writer.

In Part 1, United Kingdom (1873-1896), I will introduce Alice E. Luce's family heritage, her educational process, and several influential personalities from the Keswick Convention. Sensing the call of God on her life, she affiliated with the Church Missionary

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<sup>4</sup>Miguel N. Canales was the father of Isaac Canales who served as president of LABI from 2000-2004.

Society (CMS) and sailed in 1896 to serve the women and children of India in *zenana*<sup>5</sup> ministry. In Part 2, The Indian Subcontinent (1896-1914), I will explore the culture, language, religion, *zenana* ministry, and the Pentecostal revivals that occurred in the India Luce knew. In Part 3, The United States and Mexico (1914-1955), I will focus on how Luce developed a Hispanic ministry that incorporated church planting, indigenous church principles, and mentoring and educating leaders.

The following dissertation is the first full account of Alice Eveline Luce's ministry in India, the United States, and Mexico. It details her change of religious worldview from traditional Anglicanism to Pentecostalism, and her influence in spreading the tenets of Pentecostalism through church planting, Bible school teaching, and writing. It shows how the Pentecostal faith of one woman influenced the lives of people and the theological and missiological perspectives of part of the Christian church.

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<sup>5</sup>*Zenana* means to live a life of seclusion. Upper caste women of India, especially, are forced to live life as a prisoner in solitude and confinement. There she serves basically as a slave to her husband and family, often without any furnishings in her part of the home. She may even be ill-treated by her husband, yet without recourse. "The Zenana system, with its rigid seclusion, hides a terrible amount of neglected disease and unrelieved suffering. The inexorable laws of caste and custom doom their miserable victims to die, rather than visit a hospital ... or to admit a medical man within the precincts of the guarded seclusion" (Gracey, 1888, 18-19) Life in a *zenana* limits her mental development. These are the kinds of conditions whereby foreign missionary women entered with the idea of offering hope where hope didn't exist (Armstrong-Hopkins 1898, 90-96).



**PART I**

**IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (1873-1896)**

## Chapter 1

### Preparation for a Lifetime of Ministry

The late nineteenth century was an era of tremendous foment and progress in the Christian world mission. In the second half of the century, a new missiology emerged known as “Woman’s Work for Woman,” which sought “to evangelize women and so to bring them to salvation” (Robert 1997, 130).<sup>6</sup> By the 1870s, this had led to the development of various missionary-sending societies formed specifically to send out single women missionaries. These visionary women quickly moved to the forefront of holistic ministry<sup>7</sup> around the world.

In another important development, much as had occurred in the era of John Wesley a century and a half earlier, the evangelicals of late nineteenth century England began to realize their need for revival. One outgrowth of the awakening which eventually came was a movement known as Keswick, which began in 1875.<sup>8</sup> The Keswick movement had its roots in the wider Holiness Movement<sup>9</sup> which emerged in the United

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<sup>6</sup>See “Women Missionaries” in chapter 2, “The Influential Renewals”.

<sup>7</sup>Holistic ministry attends to humanities spiritual and social needs. This ministry is framed by evangelism and social responsibility, which, according to the patterns of Jesus’ earthly ministry, are inseparable. Thus, holistic ministry presents the whole gospel to the whole person.

<sup>8</sup>Keswick became a movement, and later a convention, which promoted living a life of holiness. A. T. Pierson describes the teachings of this movement in terms of “seven stages” through which the believer must pass: (1) abandon every known sin and hindrance to holy living; (2) surrender to Jesus Christ as Savior, Master, and Lord; (3) appropriation by faith of God’s promise and power for holy living; (4) voluntary renunciation and mortification of the self-life that centers in self-indulgence ... that God may be all in all; (5) gracious renewal or transformation of the inmost temper and disposition; (6) separation unto God for sanctification, consecration and service; and (7) enduement with power and infilling with the Holy Spirit (1900, 32-33).

<sup>9</sup>The Holiness movement began in the eighteenth century with the rise of Methodism. From these beginnings, nineteenth century England and America witnessed a resurgence of belief in salvation by grace through faith; the need for “a second definite work of grace” in the heart of the believer; the belief in the witness of the Holy Spirit to both works of grace; and the

States in the mid nineteenth century. According to church historian Vinson Synan, "The Keswick movement was inspired by the 1873 visit of American luminaries W. E. Boardman, Robert Pearsall Smith, and his wife Hannah Whittall Smith" (Robert 1997, 144). Keswick promoted the revival of the individual believer through an experience of God's deeper work in the heart.<sup>10</sup> Significantly, Keswick brought together Christians from a broad range of denominational backgrounds: Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents, Methodist, and Baptists, among others. In this ecumenical<sup>11</sup> setting, evangelical Christians saw themselves as "all one in Christ Jesus." This phrase, based on Galatians 3:28, served as the motto of the Keswick movement (Price and Randall 2000, 31).

The Keswick Convention was not without its detractors. Many, both laypersons and clergy, were displeased with what they saw as the needless idea of revivalism. They viewed the revivalists as marginalized and promoters of division. However, from the revivalist milieu of spiritual liberty came well-known voices from various denominations, including John James Luce and his family. It was in this era and environment that Alice Eveline Luce (1873-1955) prepared for a lifetime of missionary ministry to England, India, Mexico, and the United States.

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conviction that the believer must live a holy life. Regarding the issues of free will and the extent of the atonement, proponents of the holiness movement were Armenian in their theology.

<sup>10</sup>Some of the movement's leadership referred to this experience as the "second blessing," while others called it the "filling of the Spirit." This nineteenth-century, pre-Pentecostal usage of the term "filling of the Spirit" should not be confused with the "initial evidence" of the infilling of the Holy Spirit as demonstrated by "speaking in tongues," espoused by classical Pentecostals (Acts 2:4; 10:44; 19:6). Keswickian understanding of the experience denoted by the "filling of the Spirit" was that it resulted in believers' living a "life of holiness" and bearing the "fruit of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:22), rather than enabling the display of the power and/or any particular gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor. 12:8-10, 28; Rom. 12:6-8, Alice E. Luce 1918g, 2-3).

<sup>11</sup>The term "ecumenical" here suggests that the multiple denominations worked together and demonstrated unity in the Christian community. "The modern ecumenical movement can be dated from the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, though this owed much to earlier developments" (Livingstone 1977, 167).

## Family Influences

Alice Eveline Luce was born to John James (J. J.) Luce and Alice Charles Stubbs Luce on January 23, 1873 in the spa and health resort city of Cheltenham, county of Gloucestershire, in the Cotswold hill country of western England. Her infant baptism was solemnized on March 7, 1873 by her father at St. John's Church in Cheltenham where he served as curate<sup>12</sup> for five years (*Gloucester County Records* 1873, 30). Figure 1 shows the location of these cities.

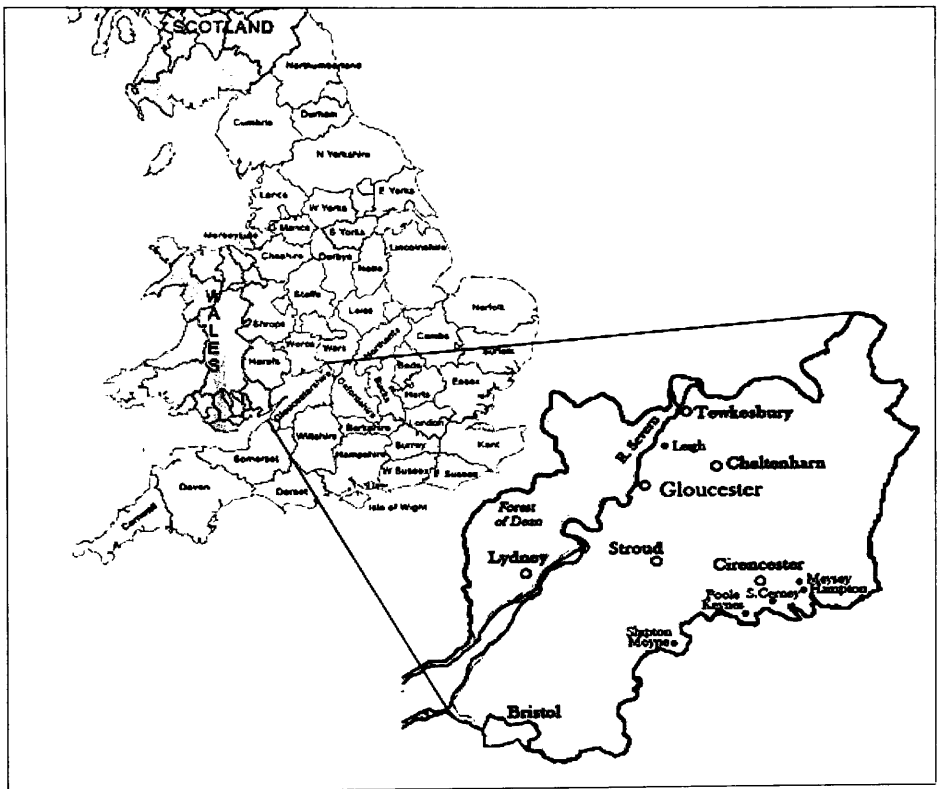


Figure 1. County of Gloucestershire, England with major cities.

<sup>12</sup>Assistant to the vicar.

Preparation for Alice E. Luce's lifetime of missionary ministry included her spiritual heritage in the Church of England, the influence of the Keswick Convention, and her rich spiritual and intellectual home life. The home of J. J. and Alice C. Luce served as the crucible in which these heritages and influences melded together. One powerful influence on Alice was her father's introducing her to world missionaries such as J. Hudson Taylor, C. T. Studd, John R. Mott, Isabella Hopkins, and Amy Carmichael. As Luce's life unfolded, her father, mother, and siblings each contributed to her eventual success as an influential leader in missionary ministry on two continents: Asia, where she disciplined Indians; and North America, where she disciplined Hispanics.

### **John James (J. J.) Luce (1847-1923)**

J. J. Luce was born on June 6, 1847, in St. Helier, the capital of Jersey, Channel Islands (GENUKI 2001), where he spent his formative years. He began his scholastic career at Victoria College. According to his grandson John V. Luce,<sup>13</sup> during his adolescent years, J. J. Luce developed a heartfelt wish to become a minister of the gospel (John V. Luce 2003a). After spending time in France, he matriculated at Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland "where he was 'Divinity Prizeman,'<sup>14</sup> second class honors final." He earned his Bachelor of Arts degree four years later (John V. Luce 2003a).

Until age twenty J. J. Luce lived on the Isle of Jersey and in France. When an economic downturn hit the islands in the latter half of the nineteenth century, many of the islanders search elsewhere for employment. Apparently, this search motivated J. J. Luce to immigrate to London (Williams and Williams 1910, 58). There, he enrolled at St. John's Hall in Highbury, London, where he did his divinity studies (Williams and

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<sup>13</sup>John V. Luce is a retired professor at Trinity College, Dublin. "Trinity College was founded in 1592 by Queen Elizabeth I, making it the oldest university in Ireland and one of the oldest in Europe" (Trinity College Dublin 2003).

<sup>14</sup>"Divinity Prizeman" meant that he scored high on a certain examination and received a prize, not a scholarship (John V. Luce 2003b).

Williams, 58). Upon graduation, J. J. Luce was ordained a deacon, the lowest of the three clerical orders<sup>15</sup> of the Church of England. In 1870, Luce accepted the position of curate<sup>16</sup> at St. Stephen's in Spitalfields, a suburb of London. Later, Bishop Jackson ordained Luce to the priesthood (Williams and Williams, 58; Harrison 2003).

In 1872, J. J. Luce wed Alice Charles Stubbs in Islington, London, and that same year they moved to Cheltenham where J. J. accepted the curacy of St. John's Church. Originally a small country town, Cheltenham had grown since the turn of the eighteenth century. Eventually, many of the more well-to-do townspeople began clamoring for a good education for their children, so in 1841 community leaders opened Cheltenham College, a public school for boys (Clarke 1979, 19). In that era, it was generally considered that girls needed little schooling, but some parents in Cheltenham wanted their daughters to be well-educated. So, in 1854, Cheltenham Ladies' College (CLC), opened its doors to over eighty pupils. Alice E. Luce would later attend this college.<sup>17</sup>

As a man of prayer and faith, J. J. Luce participated in the founding meeting of the Keswick Convention on June 28, 1875 (Pollock 1964, 38). He served as a platform speaker for the convention, and attended most of its subsequent annual meetings. About that founding meeting, he said, "We went to Keswick more or less with the feeling that we were losing our reputation in doing so. ... We were associated with those who were looked down upon, and frowned upon, to a considerable extent, and our doctrines were much criticized as well as ourselves" (Pollock, 49). Everywhere he ministered, J. J. Luce espoused the Keswick movement's principles — in St. Nicholas parish, across England, and in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

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<sup>15</sup>The three clerical orders in the Anglican Church are deacon, priest, and bishop.

<sup>16</sup>An assistant parish priest.

<sup>17</sup>Information gleaned from the CLC Pupils' Account Book, Spring 1891, page 28, Summer 1891, page 11, and Fall 1891, page 11. Photocopies were sent to the author from CLC's assistant archivist, Kath Boothman. See also Everett A. Wilson and Ruth M. Wilson (2002).

J. J. Luce served as curate of St. John's Church, Cheltenham from 1872 to 1877. When the opportunity came to become vicar of the St. Nicholas parish in neighboring Gloucester in 1877, he quickly accepted it and devoted himself to his new parish. According to his peers and parishioners, J. J. Luce was a "strong advocate of evangelical principles all his lifetime" (58). His heartfelt compassion for the poor, coupled with his deep involvement in Keswick, formed the basis for his holistic view of ministry. In a concrete example of this passion, in 1879, he opened a "mission room" in the Port of Gloucester, in the area known as "the Island" (Elrington 1988, 210) a few blocks from St. Nicholas Church. At the mission room merchants and sailors could find solace from life's struggles and comfort for their sin-laden souls.

In time, the Luce family grew to thirteen children. The numbers in their home were often swelled even further by numerous boarders and the necessary complement of servants.<sup>18</sup> Since members of their extended family lived close by, the Luce children often visited with relatives, which gave their mother some much-needed rest.

Like John Wesley before him, J. J. Luce "claimed the world for his parish and sought and found his brethren in all lands and amongst men of various communions. In this way Rev. Luce proved himself a practical worker in the reunion of the churches long before the ideal of Christian unity received the larger measure of official recognition secured for it today" (*Gloucester Journal* 1923, microfilm).

J. J. Luce died in August of 1923. On the day of his funeral, August 20, 1923, "the shutters were up," i.e., the places of business in Gloucester were closed, a solemn gesture that signaled the deep respect in which he was held by the community. Alice E. Luce was probably at her beloved father's funeral, because she and her companion, Dr.

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<sup>18</sup>Servants were hired to help run the Luce household, and rooms were rented out to boarders to augment the family income and to help finance the hired help.

Florence J. Murcutt,<sup>19</sup> were in England for a time of rest during the summer of 1923; and spoke at the Whitsuntide Pentecostal Convention<sup>20</sup> at Crosskeys, Monmouthshire (Thomas 1924, 10).

The Scriptures teach Christians to give “honor to those you owe honor” (Rom. 13:7; 12:10, 17 HCSB). Respected by all who met him, J. J. Luce was, in particular, a friend to nonbelievers. His years of ministry at St. Nicholas, his bringing the Keswick teaching and atmosphere to Gloucester, and his establishing the mission room near the waterfront so impressed the community that the “Rev. J. J. Luce Memorial Hall Fund” was established shortly after his death to underwrite the continuing ministry of the mission room. The ministry continued to operate for nearly three decades, until it was sold by the trustees of the fund in 1952 (*Gloucester County Records* 1952, 154).

#### **Alice Charles Stubbs Luce (1848-1925)**

Alice Charles Stubbs was born to the Charles Stewart Stubbs and Jane Hirst Stubbs on March 30, 1848 the youngest of their three children. She never knew her father, who had died on January 31, 1848, about two and one-half months before her birth (Family Search 2003). The Stubbs were a distinguished Yorkshire family whose ancestral lineage dated back at least to the seventeenth century (John V. Luce 2003b).

Alice C. Stubbs’ spiritual life had been one of discipline and devotion. When she married and began raising her family, she sought to develop this quality in her first daughter, Alice Eveline Luce. Alice C. Luce’s practice of taking at least half an hour early each morning to read God’s Word and commune in prayer with her Creator contributed greatly to the spiritual formation of her family (John V. Luce 2003a). She instilled biblical

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<sup>19</sup>See chapter 5 for details on Florence J. Murcutt’s life.

<sup>20</sup>In the United Kingdom, the Day of Pentecost, fifty days after Easter, is called Whitsun, and the week of Pentecost that begins on Whit Sunday is known as Whitsuntide. Conferences took place during that week to celebrate the Holy Spirit’s coming on the Day of Pentecost.



principles in her children, and hearing their mother's early-morning prayers fostered their faith. Alice C. and J. J. Luce were one in faith, as well as being in agreement in nearly every other aspect of their lives as wife and husband, parents, and ministers.

On August 5, 1925, just two weeks short of two years after her husband's death, Alice Charles Luce died peacefully. She was interred beside her husband.<sup>21</sup>

### **Alice E. Luce's Siblings**

In the pious, Bible-reading, low-church vicarage of St. Nicholas in Gloucester, John James and Alice Charles Luce raised thirteen children. All of them showed such love, care, devotion, and honor as would bring any parents great joy. Alice Eveline Luce was the firstborn. Her siblings, in their order of birth, were: Dora, John Armitage, Frank Mowbray, Kathleen, Arthur Aston, Douglas, Grace Christene, Helen Marie, Ethel Marjorie, Charles Etienne, Gordon Hannington, and Reginald Stewart. Several of Alice E. Luce's siblings also entered the Christian ministry or were particularly known to have lived lives of faith like their parents. Some of them may have greatly influenced Alice.

Like her mother, the second-born, Dora (1875-1962), treasured her Christian life. Besides reading her Bible through two or three times every year (John V. Luce 2003a), she was known for strictly keeping the Sabbath. She believed that everything done on Sunday should reflect God's glory and give honor to Him.

Third in line, John Armitage Luce (1876-1915) found his first employment as an instructor at his old college, Lindley Lodge. He served as the first chaplain of the Dean Close School in Cheltenham. Later, the Bishop of Gloucester ordained him in the Cathedral (2003a). John was recognized as a living witness for Christ wherever he went.

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<sup>21</sup>Buried in the same family plot are J. J. Luce, Helen Marie Luce (a twin to Grace Christene Luce), Reginald Stewart Luce, and John Armitage Luce.

When he died of a concussion in 1915,<sup>22</sup> more than 400 letters from colleagues, classmates, and students reflected on the rich friendship they enjoyed with such a lively, humble man of God.

According to the *Crockford Clerical Directory* (1939), Arthur Aston, the sixth Luce child, had intended to become a minister like his father. But during his finals in 1905, he caught the eye of a don at Trinity College, Dublin, and was influenced to enter academic life instead. A. A. Luce eventually became a distinguished professor of philosophy and a world-renown Berkeley scholar. From 1936 to his retirement he served as Chancellor at Trinity College, Dublin (Crockford 1939, 842). Though he was not as strict as his sister Dora, A. A. Luce also reflected the spiritual influence of his parents.

The eleventh Luce child, Charles Etienne (1888-1927), studied at Lindley Lodge, as did his father, and later earned a Bachelor of Divinity at the University of Toronto. Charles became a deacon in the Church of England in 1912, was ordained to the priesthood in 1913, and became a vicar at the age of twenty-five, just as did his father (*Gloucester Diocesan Kalendar* 1923). Subsequently, Charles held his father's old ministerial post, serving as the vicar of St. Nicholas' Church from 1923 to 1927

After Alice E. Luce left England at the age of twenty-three to serve as a missionary to India, she relied on letters to keep her abreast of family events. As her siblings completed their education and entered their professions, their achievements influenced and encouraged her.

### **The Equipping Process**

At the age of ten, Alice E. Luce made her profession of faith and was confirmed, which launched her on a lifelong journey "training ... the saints in the work of ministry"

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<sup>22</sup>John Armitage Luce had dressed for the day and somehow fell, striking his head on his iron bedstead. His death was caused by a concussion (John J. Luce 1915, 1).

(Eph. 4:12 HCSB; cf. Alice E. Luce 1916a, 13; De Leon 1979, 20). As a well-educated and successful vicar, J. J. Luce taught his eldest daughter both biblical Hebrew and Greek, facilitated her intellectual and spiritual development, and helped to prepare her for a lifetime of teaching (Wilson and Wilson 2002, 159). In the period from 1891 to 1896, Alice E. Luce received a well-rounded education, studying at Cheltenham Ladies' College, London Bible School,<sup>23</sup> the Deaconess Movement, and The Olives Missionary Training Home.

### **Cheltenham Ladies' College**

Cheltenham Ladies' College (CLC), commonly referred to as "the College," was originally established in 1853 to "provide a sound academic education for girls" (CLC 2001, 1). Its second principal, Dorothea Beale (1831–1906), developed CLC into a prestigious school for the education of young ladies. The library was filled with the latest books and periodicals, which contributed to an excellent learning environment. CLC's emphasis on academic excellence challenged the students mentally, and extracurricular activities such as fencing, field hockey, and lawn tennis aided in their physical development. During Alice E. Luce's course of studies at the College, she would have been involved in these sports, as well as studying music and art.

By the time Luce enrolled at the College at the age of eighteen, the role of women in ministry, especially in missions, had greatly increased, both in the United Kingdom and the United States of America.<sup>24</sup> Though the College didn't specifically prepare its students for ministry, it did offer young women the best secular education of the day (its academic excellence was recognized throughout the British Empire), which

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<sup>23</sup>See discussion below as to the identification of this institution.

<sup>24</sup>Some recent authors have stated that Alice E. Luce was a graduate of the College, but in fact, according to written records and verbal information given to this author by the College archivist, Luce only attended the spring, summer, and fall semesters in 1891 (CLC 1891).

was further enriched with chapel services and small prayer groups. By the turn of the twentieth century, the College enrolled about one thousand students. Now over 150 years old, Cheltenham Ladies' College enjoys a level of prestige similar to that of an Ivy League school.

Under the principalship of Dorothea Beale, the College developed a teacher-training degree. "[B]y the end of her life most of her staff were her own ex-pupils, as were no fewer than 40 head teachers of girls' schools in Britain and around the world" (CLC 2001, 2). Miss Beale's philosophy of education was simple: "She saw it as a limitless process of receiving and giving, the receiving of light and the giving-out in service" (Clarke, 63). This outlook and level of academic excellence and service helped prepare Alice E. Luce for her ministry in India, the United States, and Mexico.

An important influence on Luce during this period came through her relationship with Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922), to whom she was introduced by Minnie Abrams, a mutual friend who ministered with Ramabai at the Mukti Sadan ("House of Salvation") in Poona, India (Alice E. Luce 1916a, 13; McGee 2002b). Ramabai traveled to England with her daughter, Mano, and came to teach Sanskrit at CLC in 1884 (Clarke, 73). Before Ramabai's arrival, Dorothea Beale had set up a "Missionary Study Circle" to acquaint the students with the Church of England's missionary work abroad. Ramabai became an active member of the Circle and later modeled her work in India on that of the College. She often mentioned her respect for Dorothea Beale in correspondence with missionaries. Today, Ramabai is remembered among the people of India as an amazing woman: A Hindu who found eternal hope in Jesus Christ; a social worker who compassionately rescued her own people; an administrator par excellence; a learned scholar; and a pioneer of the modern-day Pentecostal revival.<sup>25</sup> (For more about Pandita

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<sup>25</sup>The Pentecostal revival was an outgrowth of a deep passion for souls to be saved and spirit-filled. On the "Day of Pentecost," according to Acts 2, Jesus' disciples received the

Ramabai, see chapter 4, “The Mukti Mission”).

## **London Bible School**

After completing her studies at CLC, between 1891 and 1896 Alice E. Luce served for a time as a deaconess<sup>26</sup> in Liverpool, situated on the Merseyside in northwest England. She also worked as a secretary at the YWCA in Winchester, England's ancient capital (CMS 1902a, 437). According to De Leon, Luce trained English youth for ministry and “taught courses in preaching and evangelism” (De Leon, 20).

Luce must have received theological, missiological, and medical training for these ministries, but where she took this training is unclear. De Leon and Wilson state that Luce attended the London Bible School.<sup>27</sup> Luce's involvement in the deaconess movement in England may afford us some insight. In order for Alice E. Luce to have served as a deaconess in the Church of England, she must have received training somewhere in England, probably in London.

## **The Deaconess Movement**

Church history tells us that in the fourth century, deaconesses cared for the sick and the poor, helped to train women, and aided with the baptism of women (Dennis 1979, 995; Jurisson 2006, 821). The nineteenth century saw a revival of the ministry of

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promised gift of the Holy Spirit and took the gospel to the streets of Jerusalem. The disciples didn't stay within the confines of a building because people needed salvation then as today. Pentecostal revival renews people's spiritual lives and allows God's Spirit to work through them to minister effectively to their spiritual needs (through signs and wonders—see 1 Cor. 12:8-10, 28-29; 14; Rom. 12:6-8). A modern day example is the Azusa Street Mission revival from 1906 to 1909 in Los Angeles, California (See Cecil Robeck's *Azusa Street Mission and Revival*, 2006).

<sup>26</sup>The term “deaconess” is discussed below.

<sup>27</sup>This information has been cited in the following publications without any references: Victor De Leon (1979, 20) and Everett Wilson and Ruth Wilson (2002, 160). However the London Bible School (now the London School of Theology) was not founded until 1943. What this author believes happened is during conversations with various AG leaders, Luce probably stated that she had attended a Bible school in London, and they assumed, either then or later, that she attended the London Bible School. However, it is also possible that there was a training institution for deaconesses which was also called “London Bible School.”

deaconesses. In 1836, Lutheran pastor Theodor Fliedner (1800-64) initiated the modern-day deaconess movement by forming the "Protestant Association of Christian Nursing," and opened a training facility at Kaiserwerth, Germany. Its purpose was to train physicians' assistants for work in a hospital setting. Before Fliedner's death, the deaconess ministry had expanded to include schools for teachers, asylums for orphans, dispensaries, asylums for the insane, manual labor schools, publishing houses, and more. The movement spread rapidly to France, Britain, and the U.S. and by 1864 over seven thousand deaconesses labored in the field (Kern 1910, 196).

In the nineteenth century, the Anglican Church developed two types of sodalities for women: *sisterhoods*, founded in 1847 by Dr. Edward Pusey; and communities of *deaconesses*, of which William Pennefather founded the first at Barnet, England in 1867. According to Jane Bancroft, "Sisterhoods exist primarily for the sake of forming a religious community, but deaconesses live together for the sake of the work itself, attracted to deaconess work by the want which in most populous towns is called loudly for assistance" (1890, 151). In *The Church of England Year Book* for 1889 lists twenty-three sisterhoods and seven deaconess establishments (CMS 1889, 159-164, 168-170).

Guidelines were established for the office of deaconess. Schaff (1963, 378) explains that, "The first principle establishes 'that a deaconess is a woman set apart by the bishop under that title for service in the Church.'" The candidate had to be a single woman or a widow of a "suitable age," with Christian character and a strong constitution; and she had to be willing to dedicate herself for at least five years to the work of a deaconess (Schaff 376). Although "deaconess" is not one of the orders of ministry of the Anglican Church, deaconesses were consecrated to the office by the laying on of the episcopal hands, and this conferred on them a lifelong status (Davies 1983, 145).

Before they could serve, deaconesses had to be trained. As mentioned above, German Lutherans were the first to begin modern-day deaconess training. In the Church

of England the first deaconess training facility was established by William Pennefather. Three years later, Pennefather relocated his institution to Mildmay, London. Its “deaconess’ department had three branches: medical work, parish work, and foreign missions work” (Schaff 378). Following the Kaiserwerth model, instruction was given in caring for the sick, teaching, and aiding in parish work.

According to the CMS’s Register of Missionaries, Alice E. Luce served as a deaconess in Liverpool, England sometime between late 1891 and early 1896 (CMS 1905a, 437; CLC 1891). This agrees with what is known about the timing of the end of Luce’s studies at CLC in 1891 and her offering herself as a CMS missionary in 1896. In the middle of that same year, she began her final preparation for missionary service at The Olives Missionary Training Home in London.

### **The Olives Missionary Training Home**

While many men were still puzzling over whether and under what circumstances single women should serve as missionaries, courageous women “nickel-and-dimed” themselves around the world to setup successful ministries of evangelism, education, and medicine (Robert 1997, 129). In India, one movement influenced by “Woman’s Work for Woman”<sup>28</sup> came to be known as the *zenana* ministry.<sup>29</sup> Female foreign missionaries came alongside local women to teach them how to read, sew, and improve hygiene, among other tasks. Culturally, this ministry was one that male missionaries could not undertake. But in India, British women could enter a Hindu or Muslim home and minister to the wife with few, if any, limitations. When the overwhelming success of *zenana* ministry was more fully realized, the training of women for ministry became a priority for

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<sup>28</sup>“Woman’s Work for Woman” emerged in the last half of the nineteenth century out of Christian women establishing their own “journals to disseminate missionary intelligence to their constituencies.” The goal of this enterprise was the same as that of nineteenth-century missionary wives: “to evangelize women and so to bring them to salvation” (Robert 1997, 130).

<sup>29</sup>See “Introduction,” note 5 for an explanation of this term.

the leadership of the Keswick Convention and of the CMS.

In the U.S. women had to develop their own organized foreign missionary societies<sup>30</sup> in order to have a place of ministry.<sup>31</sup> In the Keswick movement of England women did not have to struggle to force their way into ministry. On the contrary, the key women of this movement formed an influential subcommittee for the promotion of world missions. They were mainly upper-middle-class women, who knew how to handle power for the glory of God (Price and Randall, 152).

To accommodate the influx of British women volunteering as missionaries, and specifically at the request of the parents of girls offering to become missionaries with the CMS (CMS n.d., GATw1), Charles A. Fox and this women subcommittee set out to establish additional training facilities for women missionaries. Two of these were founded directly by the Keswick movement: The Willows,<sup>32</sup> at Paradise Row, Stoke Newington; and The Olives, at Lyndhurst Gardens, South Hampstead, where Alice E. Luce attended. A third was established by the CMS: the Society's Highbury Training Home at 65 Highbury Hill in London (CMS 1902a, 604; Stock 1916, 471).

According to Sophia M. Nugent, a member of the Keswick Ladies' Subcommittee for Missions, "It was the conviction of the [m]issionary call heard at Keswick, following on the inspiring ministry of the Rev. Charles A. Fox, which led to 'The Olives' being opened ... from which some two hundred have gone forth to the '[r]egions beyond,' to all of

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<sup>30</sup>Missionary societies emerged during the colonial era as a means for European and American congregations to recruit, send, and support missionaries around the world. Some societies were denominational while others were ecumenical. Missionaries' roles included evangelism, Bible translation, education, and work with orphans.

<sup>31</sup>For a comprehensive overview see Dana Robert's *American Women in Mission* (1997).

<sup>32</sup>The Willows, the first to be established, was under the leadership of Mrs. William Pennefather, whose husband, William Pennefather directed the deaconess movement.



whom the teaching of Keswick has been a penetrating influence<sup>33</sup> (Harford 1907(?), 201; Nugent 1901(?), 233). The Olives was housed in an attractive brick home with a garden. Its founder and principal, Blanche Bannister, with vice-principal Miss Stevenson, attended to the thirty to thirty-six students. Two-thirds of these future missionaries were attached to the CMS, as was Luce, and the balance were with the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) and others (CMS n.d., GATw1).

Preparation for missionary ministry lasted for about three months, during which students studied the Bible, heard lectures on sundry subjects from missionary fields, and one term of required medical training at the Bermondsey Medical Mission. There, missionary candidates received training in basic medical skills such as taking vital signs, how to diagnose and treat diarrhea and fevers, how to clean and bandage a wound, and how to aid in personal hygiene (CMS n.d., GATw1; De Leon, 20). In addition, students were taught to prepare certain foods for the ill, such as soups and curries, and a recipe book was developed for those suffering from specific illnesses (CMS n.d., GATw1).

As will become apparent, the training Luce received at The Olives made a significant impact on her, and prepared her well for her work discipling the people of India, and Hispanics in the United States and Mexico.

### **The Church Missionary Society (CMS)**

As a member of the CMS, Alice E. Luce worked with the various mission strategies of her day. One of her outstanding accomplishments was her developing of a distinctively Pentecostal application of the Indigenous Church Principles (ICPs).<sup>34</sup>

Henry Venn (1796–1873), the honorary secretary of the CMS from 1841 until his

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<sup>33</sup>Charles A. Fox, pastor at Eaton Chapel, preached a sermon at Keswick titled “Except a Corn of Wheat ... Die” which is tied directly to this training home, in that this message is viewed as a foundational principle for the preparation of future missionaries (Fox 1959, 274-280).

<sup>34</sup>For a full treatment of the Indigenous Church Principles (ICPs) see chapter 7.

death, searched to understand and explain the mission of the church through one question: “What gives a church integrity?” Venn spent some twenty years developing what eventually became known as the ICP, namely, that a truly indigenous church should be *self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating*. His research also led him to propose two key missionary principles: (1) The “develop[ment of] native pastors under European superintendence ... ‘eventually to leave the work in their hands’”; and (2) The “‘euthanasia’ of ‘missionary operations’” (Ward and Stanley 2000, 153).

Venn’s ideas had their counterpart in the U.S. in the thinking of Rufus Anderson (1796–1880), of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). But although it was Venn and Anderson who popularized the ICPs in the late nineteenth century, this modern missionary strategy had its origins in the work of William Carey, missionary to India with the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS).<sup>35</sup> Carey based his understanding of missions on St. Paul’s letters.<sup>36</sup> Carey’s “Serampore Trio”—Joshua Marshman, William Ward, and Carey himself—developed a five-pronged missionary strategy: (1) Preach the gospel everywhere; (2) Provide the Bible in the language of the people; (3) Establish a local church; (4) Study the local people (culture, language, and religion); and (5) Develop indigenous leaders (Neill 1986, 224-225). To accomplish this last goal, in 1819 Carey founded the Serampore College. Carey’s thinking influenced not only the BMS, but other societies in India as well, including the CMS.

The ideas of Henry Venn, Rufus Anderson, and William Carey have impacted the missionary enterprise around the world. Alice E. Luce was first introduced to these strategies during her studies at The Olives. But during her sixteen years of service in India, she came face-to-face with the realities out of which they emerged.

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<sup>35</sup>The BMS was originally known as “The Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,” was founded in 1792 in Kettering, Northamptonshire, England. William Carey and John Thomas served as the society’s first missionaries (Stanley 2000, 110).

<sup>36</sup>See Stephen Neill (1986, 224–225) for the Serampore Trio’s missionary strategy.

## **Chapter 2**

### **The Influential Renewals**

#### **Early Renewal Movements**

When Martin Luther nailed his Ninety-five Theses to the door of the church in Wittenberg, Germany, little did he know that this would cause a schism within the Roman Catholic Church. By Luther's "courageous and public opposition to Papal indulgences, his insistence that salvation was by faith alone and that the Bible was the sole source of spiritual authority, and his determination that the Bible should be available in the everyday language of the people, he initiated the movement which is known as the Protestant Reformation" (Gray 2003, 1).

About two centuries later, another renewal movement arose, this time in England: Methodism. Its founder, John Wesley, saw that the Church of England had stagnated and sought to bring spiritual renewal to his compatriots by preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ. Wesley "was out to make disciples—disciples who would renew the whole church" (Snyder 1996, 64). Besides preaching, Wesley worked to empower the impoverished majority of English society. In time, he impacted over half of the population of England in some way, and by the end of the eighteenth century, "about one in every thirty adult Englishmen had become Methodists" (Bebb 1950, 121-122).

As various spiritual renewals or revivals of the nineteenth century arose and subsided, toward the end of the century a new movement emerged, called Keswick. Keswick placed special emphasis on the necessity of each believer's making a personal surrender to Jesus Christ, leading to the experience of the "fullness of the Holy Spirit" or

“baptism with the Holy Ghost.”<sup>37</sup> Among other benefits, this produced in the believer a renewed sense of spiritual responsibility, which led to a heartfelt investment in missions both at home and abroad. Alice E. Luce’s life, too, was impacted by her association with the Keswick Convention.

### The Keswick Convention

The Keswick Convention of England was founded over a century after the advent of Methodism. During this interim many Anglicans had been searching for a “higher life”<sup>38</sup> in Christ Jesus. Keswick received its impetus from American revivalism that crossed the Atlantic Ocean through the ministries of Robert Pearsall and Hannah Whitall Smith, Arthur T. Robertson, D. L. Moody, and Ira Sankey, among others. Keswick’s founders and leaders on the English side included Thomas D. Harford-Battersby, Robert Wilson, Evan Hopkins, Hanmer W. Webb-Peploe, and others. Partly a transatlantic import, partly a native English development, from its inception Keswick was Christ-centered, Bible-based, Holy Spirit-enabled, practical in application, and mission-oriented (Price and Randall 2000, 35-36).

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<sup>37</sup>The “fullness of the Holy Spirit” or “baptism in the Holy Ghost” or the “second blessing” were terms John Wesley had used to describe this experience. The Keswick convention referred to the experience in like manner, emphasizing especially the power for holy living, witness and service the experience produced in the believer.

<sup>38</sup>The phrase “higher life” came from the pen of Presbyterian minister William E. Boardman. In his work, *The Higher Christian Life*, he explains that when a person is born-again, the Spirit of God makes known to him that Jesus is present in him, giving life and strength. Thus, why should any believer fear what any human could do to him? (Heb. 13:6).

Hannah Whitall Smith wrote:

[T]his new life I had entered upon has been called by several different names. The Methodists called it “The Second Blessing,” or “The Blessing of Sanctification;” the Presbyterians called it “The Higher Life,” or “The Life of Faith;” the Friends called it “The Life hid with Christ in God.” But by whatever name it may be called, the truth at the bottom of each name is the same, and can be expressed in four little words, “Not I, but Christ.” In every case it means that we abandon ourselves to the Lord for Him to work in us, both to will and to do of His good pleasure, that we take Him to be our Saviour from the power of sin as well as from its punishment, and that we trust Him to give us, according to His promise, grace to help in every time of need.

Personally I prefer to call it “The life of faith,” as being more simple. (H. Smith 1903, 261)

According to the formative theologian of Keswick, Evan Hopkins (1837-1918),<sup>39</sup> “the correct biblical view ... was that through consecration and the Holy Spirit’s work there was the possibility of perpetual ‘counteraction’ of sin, although never the destruction of the sinful nature” (Price and Randall, 39).<sup>40</sup> And Handley Moule (1841-1920),<sup>41</sup> one of the Convention’s founding members, stated that one of “the distinctive feature[s] of the Keswick teaching was the discovery ‘of the power of faith, of personal reliance, in the matter of purity and liberty within’” (Price and Randall, 47).

The role of the Holy Spirit, who enabled believers to lead a life of holiness, was a unifying motif for Keswickians. The Keswick Convention had an itinerate minister, “who spoke of the importance of the baptism of the Holy Spirit—which he claimed was an experience to be had for the asking” (Price and Randall, 51). In reference to this pre-modern-day<sup>42</sup> Pentecostal experience, F. B. Meyer (1847-1929),<sup>43</sup> a Baptist minister and platform speaker at Keswick, “assured his Keswick audience that they could receive ‘a mighty baptism of the Holy Ghost’ like ‘another Pentecost’” (53). The implication was that still today the believer could experience the marvels of Pentecost, the results of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit (e.g., healing, prophecy, and miracles).

As noted in the Introduction, Alice E. Luce experienced this baptism in the Holy Spirit in India in 1910 (cf. Acts 2:4).<sup>44</sup> This “endowment of power” flowed through her life

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<sup>39</sup>Evan Hopkins was vicar at Holy Trinity in Richmond, England, and was one of the most quoted spokesmen among Keswickians.

<sup>40</sup>This view ran counter to Wesleyan teachings regarding Christian perfection as the complete eradication of sin from the heart. This difference in understanding caused tension between the Wesleyan and Keswickian holiness camps.

<sup>41</sup>Handley Moule was an Anglican Bishop of Durham (1901) and participated in the founding of the Keswick Convention in 1875.

<sup>42</sup>This phrase refers to the time before the 1901 and 1906 outpourings of the Holy Spirit.

<sup>43</sup>For additional insight to Meyer’s position on the filling of the Holy Spirit, see Cornelius Zylstra (1984, 37-48).

<sup>44</sup>See “Minnie Abrams (1859-1912)” in chapter 4 for the details of Luce’s experience. What Luce experienced in India was not in line with the teachings of Keswick, but her

as she gave herself in service to the Hispanic population in the United States of America and Mexico until her death in 1955.

### **The Keswick Missionary Fund**

Missions ministry did not originally form a part of the Keswick Convention's *raison d'être*. However, world missions did eventually become an emphasis of Keswick. As the conventioners focused on living a life of practical holiness under the leading of the Holy Spirit, their hearts were filled with compassion for the lost and needy of the world. Missionaries with years of experience helped to broaden the Convention's narrow focus and to spread its teachings and spirit of service around the world. A subcommittee for missions was set up, and funds were raised and disbursed. Many who identified with the message of Keswick, both men and women, became members of recognized mission societies and received their financial support through the Keswick Missionary Fund. For the sixteen years Alice E. Luce served with the CMS in India, she received her financial support through this fund (Sloan 1935, 48).

### **Missions comes to Keswick**

During the first decade of the Keswick Convention (1875-1885), its leadership placed no emphasis on world missions. Rather, the focus was on what they considered their purpose: Scriptural holiness. One of Keswick's founders, Henry F. Bowker (1810-1892?), had received repeated inquiries during the mid-1880s asking for a missionary meeting to be conducted. He had always replied, "No, we come here to meet with God and to receive His word; and this must not be mixed up with such earthly things as

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understanding of this phenomenon was sparked by her having attended their meetings. Her position on the initial evidence of speaking in tongues shifted from "occasionally" speaking in tongues to "frequently" speaking in tongues before she affiliated with the Assemblies of God in 1915. In that same year she received ordination in the AG, which supported the initial physical evidence doctrine.

missionary collections” (Stock 1899c, 289). However, the Keswick movement was soon to be turned upside down by the creation of a missionary service with a global outreach.

J. Hudson Taylor (1832-1905), founder of the China Inland Mission (CIM) and a pioneer of “faith missions,”<sup>45</sup> played an instrumental role in bringing world missions to the Keswick Convention. His personal example of living by faith demonstrated to the conventioners how consecration led naturally to mission. Although Taylor did not become a platform speaker at Keswick until 1893, his presence at the conventions stirred the hearts of the attendees regarding the lost of the world.

However, “it was Reginald Radcliffe who was the initiator of the Missionary Movement at Keswick” (Stock 1899c, 288). To him, the Great Commission was clear: The lost world needed salvation through Christ Jesus. Plainly led by the Holy Spirit, in 1886 he invited several friends to his lodging at Keswick for daily prayer for missions. When Radcliffe raised the question about making room for a missionary emphasis at that year’s annual Keswick Convention, Henry Bowker still declared, “No! Missions meant secretaries quarrelling for collections. It would spoil Keswick” (Pollock, 80; Harford 1907, 135; Price and Randall, 105).

But in 1887, the prayers of Radcliffe and his friends were answered. The Holy Spirit led Keswick’s conventioners to do what had previously been unthinkable: They held a missionary meeting at the close of that year’s convention. Radcliffe chaired the meeting, and Taylor was the first speaker to address the group (Price and Randall, 108). In response to Taylor’s message, more than thirty people responded to God’s call to serve somewhere around the world as missionaries.

It is significant that prior to this meeting, the CMS had turned down candidates

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<sup>45</sup>A “faith mission” is a missionary sending agency that provides its missionaries with no fixed salary, but instead requires them to “trust in God to provide the necessary resources” for their work. These “resources” may be provided by individual donors, sponsoring local churches, or funds such as the Keswick Missionary Fund.

for missionary service because they lacked financial support. However, later that same year Hanmer Webb-Peploe and James Johnson, a West African clergyman, met with the CMS missions committee, which made a faith-based decision: “To refuse no suitable candidate, to keep back no missionary ready to sail, on financial grounds alone” (Pollock, 83).

This venture of faith set up an answer to prayer for the next Keswick Convention in 1888. Chairman Henry Bowker communicated with Eugene Stock (1836-1928) stating “a new thought has been given me: Consecration and the Evangelization of the world ought to go together” (Stock 1899b, 289; Pollock, 83; Price and Randall, 108). At Bowker’s suggestion, plans were made for the 1888 convention to include a missions emphasis for the first time since Keswick’s birth in 1875.

Stock led the historical event, which unfolded as several twenty to thirty-minute missions emphases jammed between the main events of the convention. Instead of preaching a sermon, Stock invite missionaries home on furlough and those prepared to leave for “parts unknown” to give a brief “window view” of their experience or the burden of their soul. On this memorable occasion, missionaries to India, China, and Persia with the CMS, the Church of England Zenana Mission Society, the China Inland Mission, and others gave stirring accounts that moved conventioners to action (Sloan, 35).

### **Gifts of Thanks and Obedience**

In response to these accounts, something amazing began to occur. In an inconspicuous manner, an envelope was sent to Dr. Bowker on the platform. Inside it was a banknote, and a message which stated: “This £10 [ten pound note], my savings for the year, I was going to put into the savings bank, but feeling the Lord wants it I hand it in as a thank offering for blessing received in the Convention, to be used, if others will join, to send out a ‘Keswick [m]issionary” (Pollock, 84; Harford, 136-137; Sloan, 35). The



amazing thing was not the amount given (though \$100 was a not-insignificant sum), but that it represented the obedience of a young college student!

As Vicar Charles Fox gave the closing address of the meeting, scores of obedient and willing individuals stood to their feet signifying their commitment to serve wherever God would send them. As they responded, more notes reached Bowker where he sat. “Another ten! ... another ten!’ ‘25 pounds, 100 pounds!’ ‘Praise God from whom all blessings flow,’ and the whole [t]ent sang the doxology” (Pollock, 85). Before the meeting ended, the response amounted to £860, about \$86,000 in today’s U.S. purchasing power. By the year-end around £1,060 (\$106,000) had been given to what became known as the Keswick Missionary Fund (Pollock, 85; Harford, 137; Price and Randall, 109).

### **Putting the Funds to Work**

But now, what to do with the money? The management of missionary funding is a difficult task. To avoid the pitfalls of mismanagement, the cofounder of Keswick Robert Wilson (1825-1905)<sup>46</sup> and his committee developed a plan of action. They determined that the Keswick Missionary Fund would be used for two distinct purposes: (1) Sending out *missioners*<sup>47</sup> to stir up Christians to lives of practical holiness; and (2) Providing financial support for *missionaries* who were members of existing missionary societies and who believed in the Keswick message. These missionary candidates were chosen and sent out via a three-step process. First, a subcommittee was formed to review the missionaries’ applications and determine their readiness and suitability for missionary

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<sup>46</sup>Robert Wilson, of Broughton Grange, Cockermouth, was a member of the Society of Friends (Sloan, 21). He participated in the founding of the Keswick Convention, served as a chairman of Keswick, and handled the financial affairs of Keswick.

<sup>47</sup>A *missioner's* responsibility was to encourage *Christians* in practical holiness by taking the Keswick message to the colonies and to the mission field. The *missioner's* portfolio did not include reaching lost souls (Harford, 137). That was the job of the *missionary*.

service. Second, after approval, the subcommittee determined with which missionary society the various candidates would affiliate. Third, the candidates were proposed to the societies for acceptance, with the understanding that their financial support would come from the Keswick Missionary Fund (Harford, 146-147). Keswick-funded missionaries became known as “honorary members” of the societies. According to CMS and Keswick records, Alice E. Luce was such a member of the CMS (Harford, 155).

### **Far-reaching Influence**

The Keswick Convention had a powerful influence on missionary ministry in at least three ways: (1) By sending out missionaries, and helping other mission societies to send out missionaries; (2) by supplying missionary candidates to serve with other societies; and (3) by influencing and encouraging missionaries while they were on furlough (Harford, 139-140). As an example of how other societies benefited, J. Hudson Taylor stated that “two-thirds of those of the China Inland Mission were ‘among the heathen’ as the result of Keswick” (Harford, 201).

One other influence on missions ministry needs to be considered: the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM).<sup>48</sup> As noted above, students attending Keswick had a significant impact on its annual meetings. Donald Fraser, a Scotsman and an attendee of Keswick, commented that, “It is not easy to trace spiritual origins or growths. But my impression is the Convention at Keswick created in our colleges the atmosphere which made the Student Movement possible” (Sloan, 38). The SVM held its first national meeting, with 140 students present, just before the 1893 meeting of the Keswick Convention (Pollock 1964, 114; Price and Randall, 117). With the visionary motto of “the

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<sup>48</sup> The Student Volunteer Movement Union (SVMU) was founded in 1886 at Northfield, Massachusetts by college and university students who pledged to volunteer as missionaries to the world. In 1892, an SVMU of Great Britain had been established under the direct influence of Robert Wilder of the SVMU of the U.S.A. (Pollock 1964, 112-114; Stanley 1990, 76).

evangelization of the world in this generation,” the SVM set thousands of young men and women on the path of service as world missionaries.

In her formative years, Alice E. Luce was greatly influenced by the speakers at Keswick— such as C. T. Studd, Robert Speer, J. Hudson Taylor, Reginald Radcliffe, John R. Mott, F. B. Myer, C. A. Fox, Samuel Zwemer, Isabella Hopkins, Blanche Bannister, Sophia Nugent, Grace Hatt-Noble, and Amy Carmichael.

### **Women Missionaries**

The women of the Keswick movement had been preparing to serve in world missions since the Convention's founding meeting. Phoebe Palmer and Hannah Whitall Smith, along with others like them, pioneered the way for British women to participate in missions ministry. In 1885, Smith's publication of *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* further contributed to the acceptance of women in ministry, especially in the holiness movement. At the same time, women missionaries in the United States of America began to be recognized as full partners in missionary ministry, both at home and abroad.

It is noteworthy that J. Hudson Taylor sought to equip *both* men and women to evangelize China. He expected women to learn the language and develop their gifting in various areas of labor, including discipleship and holistic ministry, just like the men. Sometimes, women missionaries pioneered the work in various areas of China by themselves. Thus, influenced by Taylor, Keswick promoted an atmosphere in which women in missionary leadership were more widely accepted.

### **Missiological Development**

For many years, male missionaries had understood the need to employ their wives in ministering effectively to women and children, especially in education. Because segregations of the sexes was so much a part of many non-Western societies, unless Christian women did worked among them, non-Christian women could not be reached

effectively with the gospel of Jesus Christ. Out of this realization, a new missiological paradigm emerged which became known as “Woman’s Work for Woman.” The women missionaries’ chief roles were in education, evangelization, and medicine; they saw themselves as practitioners of holistic ministry. However, what these precious women saints practiced abroad was all too often frowned on back home in England.

Not until 1820 was the first single woman missionary appointed by the CMS—to serve in Sierra Leone, Africa (Church Missionary Society 1902a, 650). By the mid-1860s in the CMS the ratio of male to female missionaries was still about eleven to one. By 1895, however, this ratio had decreased to fewer than two to one (Ward and Stanley 2000, 88). Of the burgeoning number of single women offering themselves for missionary service, according to CMS records Alice E. Luce was number 393 (Church Missionary Society, 659). From the mid-1860s to the mid-1890s, the CMS reported a growth rate of 1,138 percent in the number of single women missionaries.<sup>49</sup> By its centenary in 1899, the CMS had 1,134 member missionaries, of which fifty-three percent were women serving abroad (Ward and Stanley, 89).

The overwhelming growth in the number of women missionaries led to a shift in how missionary ministry was done. As the theology and praxis of nineteenth-century missions was brought into question, women missionaries led the way in developing new methodologies, two of which were the *zenana* ministry and “Bible women,” which will be discussed fully in Part II. Alice Luce was familiar with the phrases “woman’s work for woman,” “*zenana* ministry,” and “Bible women,” and used these terms freely in letters to CMS leadership (Alice E. Luce 1897a; 1897b; Gill 1900).

### **The Keswick Ladies’ Subcommittee**

The Ladies’ Subcommittee for Missions had oversight of all women missionaries

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<sup>49</sup>Percentage increase calculation is based on information provided by Ward and Stanley (2000, 89).

sponsored by the Keswick Convention, including their funding and matters of discipline. "All women missionaries funded through Keswick were supervised by the committee and this supervisory role was taken very seriously" (Price and Randall, 152). The committee also interviewed women candidates and promoted their attachment to a mission society for ministry abroad (Sloan, 45). An important part of the interview for candidates pertained to their practice and promotion of the Keswick doctrine of the transformed life.

As stated above, Alice Luce was as an honorary member of the CMS who received her financial support from the Keswick Missionary Fund. Luce's Keswick funding came from family and from other individuals. Among these were General William and Grace Hatt-Noble, who supported her ministry while she served in India (Price and Randall, 158). The Hatt-Nobles served the Convention in various leadership posts. The General was a "Trustee *ex-officio*" and served as the chairman of the Keswick Mission Fund (Sloan, 45). Grace Hatt-Noble served as a member of the Keswick Mission Fund and the Ladies' Subcommittee (Price and Randall, 152; Sloan, 45).

In 1913, the Ladies' Subcommittee reprimanded Alice Luce for the practice of "speaking in tongues."<sup>50</sup> The committee spent a considerable amount of time wrestling with this "tongues" issue, and apparently involved the Convention's male leadership in considering a solution (158). According to Charles Price and Ian Randall, Alice Luce told the committee that "she did not consider tongues an essential gift and she would not teach about the subject, but she had found spiritual blessing through occasionally

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<sup>50</sup>"Speaking in tongues" is to classical Pentecostals the initial physical evidence that a Christian has received from God the Father the promised gift of the Holy Spirit, as mentioned in Acts 1:4; 2:4, 38-39, and in other scriptural passages. Also, the gift or manifestation of speaking in tongues is understood to be one of the multiple manifestations stated in various scripture passages regarding the gifts of the Holy Spirit (e.g., Acts 2:4; 1 Cor. 12:7-11, 28-29; 14, among others). For a more complete treatment of this subject see Gary McGee's article, "Initial Evidence," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, rev. and expanded ed., Stanley M. Burgess, ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 784-791.

receiving this gift in prayer" (158).<sup>51</sup> Later, however, the gifts of the Holy Spirit to the body of Christ became one of her primary motifs in missionary ministry among Hispanics in California, Texas, and Mexico (Alice E. Luce 1918g, 2-3; Monrada 2003, Interview).

### **Influential Personalities**

The women of Keswick rose through the thick froth of the Convention's male-dominated culture to places of prominence. These women displayed an uncanny ability to garner support for foreign missions, and many also served as world missionaries. By their leadership, spirituality, humility, and loving service, Keswick's pioneering women left their mark on the lives of both men and women who responded to the call of God into missionary ministry.

### **Ladies' Subcommittee Leaders**

Among the early women leaders of Keswick were Sophia Nugent, Grace Hatt-Noble, and Blanche Bannister. Grace Hatt-Noble and her husband, a general in the Royal Engineers service, gave financially to Keswick, and particularly to the missionary support of Alice Luce, as mentioned above. Grace also participated in the annual presentations of the Ladies' Committee, which met separately from the men's meeting. Often Hatt-Noble would lead in prayer or present a Scripture reading.

Nugent became the spokesperson for the Ladies' Meeting at the annual meeting of the full convention. She was instrumental in growth of the Ladies' Meeting to the point where it had to be moved from the Lecture Hall to the larger Pavilion (Sloan, 52). Nugent and Bannister were particular noteworthy for to their work with Charles A. Fox in

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<sup>51</sup>I am indebted to Gary B. McGee, distinguished professor of Church History and Pentecostal Studies at the Assemblies of God Theological Seminary in Springfield, Missouri, for locating this information about Alice E. Luce.

establishing The Olives<sup>52</sup> training center for missionaries at Eaton Chapel<sup>53</sup> in London. Alice Luce received part of her missionary training at the Olives (see chapter 1).

### **Ladies' Meeting Speakers**

Their experience of the power of the Holy Spirit enabled key women to push forward and engage in public ministry. The speakers at the Keswick's Ladies' Meetings were certainly distinguished; but they were often controversial too. Among them were Lilius Trotter, Pandita Ramabai, and Jessie Penn-Lewis.

As the founder of the Algiers Mission Band (today known as Arab World Ministries), Lilius Trotter (1853–1928) became a notable commentator on the Arab world. She was included in the network of contacts of Samuel Zwemer, a leading authority on Islam, who spoke often at Keswick. Trotter also spoke at the Ladies' Meetings at Keswick. She declared that what had been taught and experienced at the Lake District meetings had been put to the test in Algiers. Keswick's teachings all proved to be based on biblical principles, and they helped her and others face the difficulties of missionary ministry (Sloan, 68).

As Trotter ministered to the western region of Asia among the Arabs, so Pandita Ramabai ministered to the eastern region of Asia among the Indians. Sarasvati Mary (Pandita) Ramabai (1858–1922) served the people of India as a social reformer, scholar, educator, visionary, diplomat, and Pentecostal pioneer. Ramabai's Christian ministry impacted Indian society, culture, and religion with a message of freedom in Christ Jesus from *samsara*—the unending circle of death and rebirth which Hindus believe is the lot of all beings. Ramabai and her colleagues not only brought physical help and hope to widows and orphaned children; they also gave them the message of life eternal through

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<sup>52</sup>The Olives operated from 1896 until 1911. See chapter 1 for additional information.

<sup>53</sup>Fox served at Eaton Chapel as one of William Pannepfather's curates.

faith in the name of Jesus Christ. (Ramabai's role in the outpouring or renewal of the Holy Spirit in multiple locations throughout India will be addressed in Part II.)

At the close of the nineteenth century, as tensions continued to build in England over women's increasing involvement in ministry, Jessie Penn-Lewis emerged as an important voice. Prayer was the principle focus of her ministry, which also included preaching, teaching, speaking before a mixed audience, and exercising spiritual authority. Penn-Lewis had attended the Keswick Convention at least as early as 1892, and she had a profound influence on many conventioners. An example of this occurred at the 1896 convention. Grace Hatt-Noble asked Penn-Lewis to pray for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit,<sup>54</sup> (though Hatt-Noble later admitted that she had not expected any spiritual blessing to come from Penn-Lewis' teaching). In fact, a great spiritual breakthrough occurred (B. Jones 1997, 41). Penn-Lewis spoke on the "necessity to be imbued with the power of the Holy Spirit before going forth because it is He who emboldens for witness and sanctifies for service" (41). Though they were well-received by some, Penn-Lewis' messages sparked controversy within the Keswick movement, a fact which caused her great personal distress.

According to Price and Randall (2000, 155), Penn-Lewis "was the woman destined to make the most impression at Keswick." Her unorthodox views held in tension the broad variety of doctrines and practices presented by the platform speakers at the annual meetings. During the 1905 meeting, Penn-Lewis spoke about the "bringing of gifts to the altar, and the need of a cleansing of our inner relationships with one another" (Sloan, 60). Her teaching stirred the heart of Sister Eva from Friedenshort, Germany,

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<sup>54</sup>According to Penn-Lewis, an outpouring of the Holy Spirit or experience of the power of the Holy Spirit, would result in: believers' living a life of holiness, as they were led by the Spirit; their anticipation of a revival (heralded by signs and wonders—miracles) through which multitudes would be ushered into the Kingdom of God before the rapture of the Church; and their believing that the end of the age was near (See Jessie Penn-Lewis' *Awakening in Wales and Some of the Hidden Springs* and *War on the Saints* for more details).



and this eventually resulted in women laboring in missions in five countries (Sloan, 60).

Also at this same meeting was Alice Luce, home on furlough from India. Luce, along with Amy Carmichael, Mr. and Mrs. Cyril Green, and Dr. Whitfield Guinness, among others, reported to the attendees about the spiritual fruit of their labor in their respective fields of missionary service (Sloan, 60). It was probably at this meeting that Alice Luce first learned of the revival that was sweeping across Wales. Penn-Lewis was from Wales and had shared in the Welsh revival with Evan Roberts, so it is likely that Luce received firsthand information about the manifestations of Spirit occurring there—speaking in tongues, singing in the Spirit, and prophecy. Similar manifestations attended Luce's personal Pentecost in early 1910 at the home of Shorat Chuckerbutty of Allahabad, India.

## **Part II**

### **The Indian Subcontinent (1896-1914)**

## Chapter 3

### Encountering Cross-cultural Ministry

#### Introduction

Before looking at Alice E. Luce's entry into cross-cultural ministry, it will be helpful to consider the context in which she undertook this ministry. First, India at the time of William Carey will be considered, and then India under the British Raj.

#### Carey's India

Cobbler-turned-pastor, William Carey had become unreserved in his passion for world evangelization. In 1792, his convictions led him to pen his now famous *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*.<sup>55</sup> Also in 1792, in a sermon on Isaiah 54:2-3 preached in Nottingham, Carey stressed the principle that would become his missionary motto: "Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God" (Stock 1899, 60). In October of that year, Carey and his friends launched the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen—later known as the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS). The following June, with his family and other companions, Carey sailed for India, arriving five months later. This set in motion English-speaking Protestantism's worldwide missionary enterprise (Neill, 1986, 222-223).

Indian culture is dominated by two great religions: Hinduism and Islam.

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<sup>55</sup>Carey's small book contained five parts: (1) a theological justification of missions, based on Matthew 28:18-20; (2) a history of evangelization, commencing with the Early Church and concluding with John Wesley; (3) demographic information on most of the countries of the world; (4) answers to contemporary objections to sending missionaries, including personal risk and the rigors of language learning; and (5) a proposal for the formation and support of a missionary society (Carey [1792] 1942).

Hinduism, the ancient and predominant faith of India, espouses a variety of beliefs, from animism to Tantric occultism to polytheism to theism to impersonal monism (Lewis 2000, 435). Two major groups or sects of Hinduism are the Vishnuites and the Shivaite (also *Sivaite*).<sup>56</sup> Despite the variety of beliefs it contains, however, Hinduism is a powerful unifying force in Indian society (Canney 1970, 180).

Islam's presence in India began in the seventh century. It gradually gained adherents, especially in the northwest and northeast of the Subcontinent. But despite three centuries of Muslim rule of India by the Mughal emperors, Islam never became the dominant religion of India—perhaps because of the people's polytheistic affinity for idols.<sup>57</sup> At the close of the nineteenth century, Islam predominated in the northwest (modern-day Pakistan) and northeast (modern-day Bangladesh), but India remains chiefly Hindu, with only about twenty percent of its population having been Muslims at any given time in its history (Hebbar 2002).

So, Protestant missionaries from the West, who journeyed halfway around the world to India to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ, were confronted with two deeply entrenched belief systems, both of which were antithetical to Christianity. It is likely that Alice E. Luce worked both with Hindus of the Vishnuite sect and with Muslims as she engaged in *zenana* ministry and taught in schools.

At the time of Carey's arrival in India, the British East India Company functioned as a de facto colonial government. The Company employed Christian chaplains to minister to the spiritual needs of its employees. However, it did *not* want Christianity to

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<sup>56</sup>A Vishnuite follows or worships the Hindu god Vishnu. Vishnu is one of the principle deities of Hinduism, whose role is as a protector and preserver of worlds. A Shivaite (also Sivaite) follows or worships Shiva, the god of destruction. Interestingly, Shiva is also viewed as a creator god, symbolized by the phallic lingam. Vishnu and Shiva are part of the "trinity" of Hinduism, which is composed of Vishnu, Shiva, and Brahma (Oxtoby 2002, 4–45).

<sup>57</sup>However, Islam did eventually precipitate the division of the Subcontinent into three separate nations: India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

be spread to the people of India—it might interfere with the Company’s commercial ventures. When Carey stepped ashore in Calcutta, Company officials made sure he understood its position. Thus, for his own and his family’s protection, and to avoid possible deportation, Carey moved to the interior of India, where the Company had less influence, to continue his missionary work (Tucker 2004, 125).

### Missions under the British Raj

In the late 1850s, the British Parliament dissolved the British East India Company and transferred its assets and governmental powers to the British Crown, thus initiating the British Raj.<sup>58</sup> The demise of the Company removed the constraints it had placed on missionary work. Spurred on by a newly-awakened sense of spiritual responsibility for the people of India, missionary ministries began to thrive. The result was dramatic growth in the number of Indians becoming Christians. Julius Richter explains that this growth was due to four missionary movements in particular: the CMS, Methodist missions, Presbyterian missions, and missions to women (1908, 210). From 1851 to 1861 the number of Christians grew from 91,092 to 138,731—an increase of 51 percent. By 1881, Christian’s numbers had soared to 417,372 (219), an increase of 358 percent in just three decades. During this same period, the number of missionary societies at work in India doubled, from nineteen to thirty-eight (Richter, 228).

Until 1830, the principle missionary method used in India was *proclamation*, (oral and written). From 1830 until the Anglo-Indian War of 1857, missionaries learned that providing people with education could advance the Kingdom of God. After the war, yet another methodology emerged: the use of women missionaries. Women missionaries,

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<sup>58</sup>The British *Raj* (Hindi “reign” [*Merriam-Webster’s Third Unabridged Dictionary*, s.v. “raj”]) was the period of direct Crown rule over India, which lasted nearly 90 years, from the end of the Anglo-Indian War of 1857 until its independence in 1947. The end of British control in South Asia led to the formation of the modern states of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka.

mostly single, were responsible for a sharp increase in Indians becoming Christians. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, women missionaries introduced new methods for extending the Kingdom of God. A multitude of doors opened as these adventurous “sisters” carved out a place of ministry through *zenanas*, girls’ schools, and women’s hospitals (Richter, 230). In addition to these ministries came “medical missions, industrial missions, and homes and boarding schools for famine orphans” (230).

The operation of these newly-developed ministries required additional missionary personnel. By 1900 there were 976 foreign ordained missionaries in India, whereas in 1861 there had been only 479 (Richter, 220). And these numbers do not reflect the many lay workers, medical personnel, and especially, *women* missionaries. When these are considered, the numbers are even more impressive. For example, by 1899, its centenary year, the CMS had 1,134 missionaries, fifty-three percent of whom were women. Of these, forty-six percent were unmarried (Ward and Stanley 2000, 89). During the last fifteen years of this century, women missionaries began to outnumber men.

In much of nineteenth-century India, local custom required the seclusion of women, although the practice was most prevalent in northern India. Women in *zenana* (seclusion) were allowed little or no contact with anyone except their families, and no contact whatsoever with men who were not close relatives. Richter explains that, “it has been computed that of the 150 million women and girls of India, 40 millions reside in the *zenanas*” (1908, 329). Male missionaries could not reach or minister to these women.<sup>59</sup> So, a *zenana* ministry undertaken by women “was the only means of taking ‘Christianity into the innermost recesses of their homes’” (Singh 2000, 118).

This was the challenge facing Alice E. Luce and her colleagues, Emily F. Bazeley, Emily M. F. Major, and Jessie E. Puckle, as they disembarked from the SS

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<sup>59</sup>Exceptions to this were young girls up to ten or twelve years in age, and women of the lowest castes (Richter, 329).

*Caledonia*<sup>60</sup> in Bombay on November 6, 1896 (CMS 1897a, lvi-lvii).

### Reaching the Field

After a three-week steamship voyage from London to Bombay, anyone would be ecstatic at stepping onto dry land. Bombay (see Figure 2) was an “island city” connected to the mainland by a causeway and was the second-largest city and seaport in India. Its size was due to its large cotton industry and the railroad developed by the British. Any visitor would be impressed by the massive docking area, the cotton and textile mills, and the fortress with its armament. Bombay’s skyline boasted four-story buildings in the Gothic style, the well-known Taj Mahal Hotel, and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway terminal with its Indo-Gothic façade. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1910, 184).

Though their missionary friends back home would have tried to prepare them, as Alice Luce and her colleagues disembarked on that cool-season day in November, the shock must have been nearly overwhelming. Their senses would have been bombarded by a thousand strange sights, sounds, and smells. On virtually every street corner were Hindu shrines, with idols having human bodies, four arms, the head of an elephant or monkey, colored blue or black, and standing on a lotus blossom. The sight of these temples, with their priests and devotees offering to the idols gifts of flowers, food, and clothing, would have shocked the new missionaries as little else could have.

By this time, Bombay’s bustling population numbered some 821,000—mainly Hindus, Mahommedans (Muslims), Parsees, Jains, and Christians (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1910, 184).<sup>61</sup> Bombay, however, was not the final destination of Luce and her

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<sup>60</sup>A letter from Emily Bazeley

to a Mr. Carr states she sailed on the SS *Caledonia* in October 1896. Luce sailed with the same group to India. See Bazeley letters (1896a, 1896b).

<sup>61</sup>Interestingly enough, though the Parsees were the smallest religious group, they owned the most prosperous businesses, and many were millionaires (184).



Figure 2. Locations of cities where Luce, Abrams, and Ramabai ministered

companions. Their goal was the United Provinces,<sup>62</sup> today known as Uttar Pradesh, in north-central India (see Figure 2). The chief means of transportation from one major area to another was by rail, which the British Empire had begun developing in the mid-

<sup>62</sup>In 1902, the kingdom of Oudh and the Northwest Provinces were united to form the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The CMS mission changed its name that same year.



1850s. Two different gauges of railroad lines linked the major cities of India, transporting cargo, passengers, troops to safeguard the country, and relief for famine-stricken areas (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1894, 755).

As their train *clickety-clacked* its way across the plains and mountains of India, to Luce and her colleagues the newness and strangeness must have seemed far greater than their cross-cultural training had provided. At this point they were probably still in the “honeymoon” stage of cultural adjustment (the period in which everything in the new culture seems exotic and exciting); but the onset of real culture shock was not far away.

### **Language Study**

Alice Luce and her colleagues traveled by rail from Bombay to Allahabad. At Allahabad the cohort divided and went in two directions. One group went northwest to Muttra, and the other went eastward to Benares<sup>63</sup> (CMS 1904a, 437; 1898, 120). Luce went to Benares, where she studied Urdu and Hindi (1898, 120), the two principal languages spoken in northern India, as required by CMS policy. During the first year of Urdu study, Luce and a colleague, Jessie Puckle, roomed together in Benares.

Language was only one of the subjects the new missionaries were required to learn. The comparative study of Hinduism and Mohammedanism (Islam) helped prepare them to understand cultural and religious differences (CMS 1904e, 11), and gave them an opportunity to compare Christian doctrines with Hindu and Islamic beliefs. However, when Luce filed her report with the CMS for her first year in India, she still described her activities in two words: “Language study” (CMS 1898, 120). Luce did have some prior experience of language learning. Her father, J. J. Luce, spoke Norman French and taught it to his family. According to John V. Luce, J. J. Luce and one or two of his sisters who lived with him would speak in French when they didn’t want the children to know

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<sup>63</sup>Modern-day Varanasi. See Figure 2 for the location of these cities.

what was going on in the family (John V. Luce 2003c). With an ear for music, and being already bilingual, Alice Luce would have been a natural at becoming multilingual.

### **In Benares**

Benares, from time immemorial the center of education, religion, art, and culture in India, is known as the “city of spiritual light.” Steeped in Hindu mythology, it is believed to be the place where Shiva and his consort, Parvati, stood when time began. Benares is located on the banks of the “Mother Ganga”—the Ganges, India’s holiest river. To the Hindu, the Ganges is a river of faith, the embodiment of the goddess Ganga. Its fetid waters are toxic and disease-carrying, polluted with raw sewage and charred, decaying human and animal remains. Yet Mother Ganga serves as a stage for important Hindu traditions. Pilgrims come to chant their hymns, to bathe, and even to drink its waters.

In Luce’s era, along the banks of the Ganges around Benares were many *ghats*—steps that led down to the river’s edge, from which the worshippers dutifully carried out their ritual bathing. Men wrapped in loincloths performed their *pūjā* (worship ritual), while others twisted their bodies in the forms of Yoga. Women, draped in colorful saris, went through the motions of bathing, but without removing their outer garment. And then there were the *zenanas*. Since she lived in total seclusion, a *zenana* had to perform her ritual bathing without any public contact, especially with men. To accomplish this, she was carried down to the river in a *palki*, a type of rectangular wooden box with a cane floor, curtains, and cushions. The carriers would set the *palki* inside the *zenana*’s home and then withdraw so that she could enter. Once she was inside with the curtains closed, the carriers lifted the *palki* on long poles and carried it to the river. There, they lowered it into the water which flowed up through the floor, allowing the *zenana* to perform her ritual bathing. She was then carried back home in the *palki*, from which she exited as she had entered (Barnes 1897, 45).

## Culture Shock

With hard-to-pronounce new sounds, unfamiliar alphabets (which may be written from right to left),<sup>64</sup> and endless hours of study, the task of learning two new languages must sometimes have seemed overwhelming. The stress would have been exacerbated by the challenges of learning about strange cultural traditions, understanding the meanings of Indian religious practices, and disorientation from navigating the unfamiliar environs. All this must have combined to dampen Luce's early enthusiasm for her new home and its people. Once the honeymoon stage of cultural adjustment was over, Luce probably experienced at least some degree of *culture shock*.

According to Canadian anthropologist Kalervo Oberg, culture shock is the "anxiety that results from losing all the familiar signs and symbols that help us understand a situation" (1960, 177). Culture shock may produce a sense of confusion, disgust, feelings of being rejected, or self-doubt. Symptoms may include home sickness, withdrawal, irritability, diminished mental ability, and assorted physical ailments (Foyle 2001, 70). Not everyone who moves to a new culture experiences culture shock, and among those who do, it is worse for some than for others.

## Urdu and Hindi Examinations

A 15-page booklet titled *Laws and Regulations for the Language Examinations* mandated that new CMS missionaries take two language examinations in Urdu and two in Hindi. These were referred to as the First and Second Standards. The first examination came at the end of one year of study, the second, within the first two years of residence in India (CMS 1904b, 3). Certificates were awarded for passing scores.

The exams were quite rigorous, with both written and oral or "*viva voce*" sections

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<sup>64</sup>Hindi, which uses the Devanagari script, is written left-to-right. Urdu, on the other hand, uses a modified Arabic script, and is written from right to left. Presumably, Luce would have had to learn both scripts!

(CMS 1904b, 5). They included: translating written Urdu or Hindi texts into English, and vice versa; reading and translating aloud from the gospels, the prayer book, and selected Hindi or Urdu texts; a dictation section; a “memoriter” or Bible memorization section; a 10-minute conversation with a person unacquainted with English; and reading and translating a letter written in Urdu or Hindi (CMS 1904b, 9–11). To pass the First Standard, the student had to “obtain 40 percent of the total for each subject” and “50 percent on the whole.” A passing score for the Second Standard was “50 percent of the total for each subject” and “60 percent on the whole” (6–7).

Alice Luce and her colleagues traveled from Benares to Allahabad to take their language exams (CMS 1897b; 1899a; 1904b). Some tense days followed, while they awaited their results. Luce earned a final score of 87 on her First Standard examination in Urdu (compared with an average of 72 for eight other missionaries) and on April 6, 1897 she and her colleagues received their certificates (1897b). Instead of going directly on to second level Urdu, Luce switched to Hindi. She passed the First Standard examination in Hindi, with a score of 90 percent, and received her certificate in Lucknow on October 25, 1897 (1897c).<sup>65</sup> Returning to Urdu study, before the end of her second year in India Luce sat for her Second Standard exam in Urdu on April 13, 1899. She earned a final grade of 88 and received her certificate (CMS 1899a).

During their language study, missionaries would practice their language skills by conversing with local people and ministering to their needs, both through education and the giving of medical attention. Needy people were everywhere, so decisions as to who to help were based on where the door of opportunity was open. If women of the local *zenanas* were willing to receive visitors, the missionaries would set up schedules to visit them and offer physical help and spiritual hope. Besides enabling her to communicate

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<sup>65</sup>Records for Luce’s Second Standard Hindi examination are not available.

with the local people, language study gave Luce the opportunity to learn more about Hindu and Mohammedan religions and cultures. She gained further cultural insights by visiting the *zenanas*, founding schools, and sharing a home with Indian Christians.

By the time Luce had finished her first standard in Urdu, she and Anna M. Tottenham were ministering to about twenty heathen women, and some of the Mohammedan women were interested in hearing the missionaries' stories (CMS 1898, 120). Many of their friends in England had been praying for them and their ministry in Azamgarh. Their teaching responsibilities had touched fifteen *zenanas*, and they kept two days a week open for visiting nearby villages. Ministering along with them were "Hindustani fellow-laborers" whose presence with them opened the way for them to enter more *zenanas* (120). This was another example of how the Lord gave them opportunities to share the gospel.

After two years of language studies and exposure to the Indian culture, Luce and her colleagues were ready for ministry. By the end of 1898, Luce and Tottenham were ministering in Azamgarh, Northwest Provinces without the help of any married missionary couple, though they had prayed for a resident missionary (Alice E. Luce 1898b). They were ministering "to 60 *zenanas*, visiting each home weekly, and ha[d] opened two new Hindi schools for girls: one in their compound for the servants' girls and one in Sidahri village, where children of higher castes attend[ed]. Each school ha[d] an attendance of 15 to 20 girls" (1898b).<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Merriam-Webster defines *caste* as "one of the hereditary social classes in Hinduism that restrict the occupation of their members and their association with the members of other castes." The *caste system*, then, is "a system of rigid social stratification characterized by hereditary status, endogamy, and social barriers sanctioned by custom, law, or religion" (*Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed.).

The caste system has its roots in both the *Rig Veda* and the *Bhagavad Gita* of the Hindu religion. According to these texts, people are divided into five main social classes: Priests (*brahmin*), warrior-noble (*kshatriya*), merchant (*vaishya*), peasant (*shudra*), untouchable (*dalit*). These are further divided into hundreds of subcastes.

## Zenana Ministry

Among Hindus, the practice of *zenana* (the secluding of women) was originally adopted as a way for Hindu men to protect their wives and daughters from being kidnapped by Muslim invaders. Gradually this system of protection became a standard of respectability for high-caste homes, especially in northern India (Barnes 1897, 41; Renick 2004, 178). The rules of *zenana* required that a house be divided into front and back parts, typically by a veil or screen called a *pardah*. The women of the household lived in the rear portion of the house. Guests, especially men, seldom had any contact with the women of the house, unless they were close relatives. Luce describes the effect on the women of northern India of living as *zenanas*: "Some of the village women seem so closed-minded because of their being secluded from society, *zenanas*, to the point that it is difficult to get them to understand there is anything in this life beyond doing your daily work, eating, and sleeping" (CMS 1898, 120).

Among the first to recognize the need for a ministry which specifically targeted the *zenanas* were "concerned Christian women among the families of British civilians and army officers in India, and it was in fact through them that the so-called *zenana* work was begun" (Ward and Stanley 2000, 77). The first *zenana* ministry was started in 1854 by Scottish missionary John Fordyce and his wife, along with a Eurasian woman named Miss Toogood, and her Bible woman, Rebecca (Richter 1908, 338). As Miss Toogood and Rebecca walked to their first *zenana* visit, Fordyce exclaimed to his wife, "This is the beginning of a new era for the daughters of India" (Richter, 338)!

A glimpse "behind the *pardah*" will provide insight into the conditions Alice Luce and her colleagues faced in the *zenana* ministry. What they saw caused them to invest their lives in helping these women who, though they were marginalized and oppressed, were nonetheless persons made in the image of God.

## Behind the Pardah

In northern India, Hindus and Muslims kept women secluded behind the *pardah* within their homes. There, these *zenanas* were virtual prisoners. They had little or no contact with anyone except their own family; they received little or no news from the outside world. Deprived of conversation with others in the community, and without books, amusements, or knowledge of the outside world or even of nature itself, these women led dismal, tedious lives (Barnes, 51). Their seclusion was so complete that their intellectual and social development was stunted. A *zenana* could be twenty or thirty years old, but her intellectual development might well be equivalent to what would expect of an eight-to-twelve-year old girl. Hindu women were taught a law about themselves that said, "We [women] are like animals; we can eat and work and die, but we cannot think" (Barnes, 44).

However, even in the demoralizing environment of the *zenana*, an India woman had significant influence in the home. Indeed, upon her son's marriage, a mother became the "queen of the son's household." As such, she wielded "immense power," and was "generally obeyed as head of the family by her sons and by her daughters-in-law" (Barnes, 52). If a son were to die, his widow would become virtually a slave to his family. If she wanted to remarry, she might be removed from the area, or perhaps deliberately crippled, so that she would be unmarriageable. Thus, she would remain a slave of her mother-in-law for the rest of her life. To escape this fate, some women would run away, and many were forced to turn to prostitution to support themselves.

Despite — or perhaps because of — the deplorable conditions under which they lived, the *zenanas* clung tenaciously to their religion. As the true "rulers" of India, mothers wielded their power most tellingly as they inculcated into their children a reverence for the idols, and encouraged in them "faith in ten thousand superstitions" that plagued them from one life cycle to the next. "The family *pūjās* (worship) and all the

religious ceremonies are mainly under her control” (Barnes, 52). Irene Barnes argued convincingly that, so long as a mother teaches her child “to worship a god more evil than the worst of men, and ministers to its dawning intellect a succession of ‘sacred stories’ outrivaling each other in loathsome details, so long will the men of India remain in the fetters of superstition or infidelity” (52–53).

### **Child-widows**

Behind the *pardah*, perhaps the most depressing and mournful sight was the child-widow. “Widowhood [was] regarded as the punishment for some horrible crime committed by the woman in her former existence upon earth.” And “it is the child-widow and the childless young widow who have to encounter for life the curse of the community, in recognition that they are the greatest criminals upon whom Heaven’s judgment has fallen” (Barnes, 159). At the death of her husband, the child-widow’s head was shaved, her regular clothing exchanged for a coarse garment, and her jewelry removed. During a year-long period of mourning, she could eat only one meal per day, and she must fast twice monthly (*ekádoshee*), as well as engaging in other types of fasts (160). A child-widow was hated and shunned and viewed as the scum of the earth by the household residents. Living in her mother-in-law’s home was a constant reminder to the widow that she had been cursed by the gods.

The Christian community looked on the child-widow’s world of constant suffering and was moved to intervene in the name of their Savior and Healer, Jesus Christ. Their purpose was, after all, to offer hope where hope had not existed before. Some CMS missionaries ministering in the *zenanas* encountered one woman who commented, “Your Jesus is the only One who can help us when we are in trouble. All our gods did everything for their own glory, and never did they say anything like what is written in your book, ‘Come unto Me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden’” (CMS 1906, 166).



As Alice Luce compared the life of Indian women living behind the *pardah*, to a life lived according to biblical principles, she became convinced that *zenana* ministry was absolutely necessary. But in a letter describing the nearly impossible task, Luce quoted from Luke 18:27: “The things that are impossible with men are possible with God.”

### **Ministry behind the Pardah**

According to the 1901 census, of the 150 million women and girls in India, some forty million lived in *zenanas* (Richter 1908, 330). These girls and women could not be reached with the gospel of Jesus Christ by anyone, whether missionary or native preacher. But, a simple invitation from a Hindu or Muslim woman’s husband could give a female missionary an open door into the *zenana*. Of course, the husband’s purpose was not to have his wives and daughters become Christians. Rather, he wanted them to be exposed to someone who could teach them more about life, and help them develop skills which would be useful as they cared for his home and his sons.

In the heat and humidity of the India, one of the many difficulties faced by the foreign women missionaries was personal illness. When a missionary became ill, her visits to the villages would stop for a time, and this would raise suspicions among the local people. Often there was not enough time to advise the *zenana* homes of the changes in the established schedule. In 1898, Alice Luce and Anna Tottenham became ill and had to abandon their *zenana* ministry to recuperate (Puckle 1898). Then, in 1899 the CMS temporarily transferred Luce and Tottenham to Benares to attend to the Girls’ Orphanage during Miss A. H. Bull’s absence (CMS 1900b, 219). Such protracted absences of the women missionaries created distrust among the *zenanas*, and the door of opportunity could close quickly. The suspicion was that, “The missionaries ha[d] only come to look around and teach them a bit, and their real *iráda* (intention) is to inoculate

them<sup>67</sup> (Tottenham 1898, Letter; CMS 1899b, 192).

Why were the *zenanas* so suspicious? In a letter to Luce, Tottenham opined: "Fear kept these shunned, cursed-by-the-gods child-widows in submission. Fear overtakes them because once they have begun to walk with Christ; they need the presence of the missionary to encourage them" (Tottenham 1898, Letter). These women's worldview was full of superstitions that held them in bondage to their old religion and culture. When the missionary women came, their visits were much appreciated; when they did not come, their visits were very much missed.

As the *zenanas* listened to the gospel, they were plagued by a nagging fear: If they became Christians what would happen to them? They could be expelled from their homes by their husbands. Luce comments on this point saying, "An increased interest in the truth on the part of the *zenana* pupils visited" had been observed in Azamgarh. However, "the fear of expulsion from their homes deters them from openly confessing Christ" (CMS 1901a, 241).

The *zenana* ministry challenged Luce and her colleagues on every level. They invested their lives in hundreds of secluded women and girls, with the hope of converting some of them to Christ. Their ultimate goal for the *zenana* ministry was that some of the converts might go on to reach their own people with the gospel.

### **Bible Women**

According to Dana Robert, professor of World Mission at Boston University, Bible women "were indigenous women hired to do evangelistic work" whose ministry was "a product of the late nineteenth-century woman's missionary movement" (1997, 167). Over a period of three years, and sometimes more, the Bible-women received "an elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and a thorough knowledge of the Bible and

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<sup>67</sup>Inoculation was a procedure which the Indian's feared greatly.

the great principles of our holy religion" (Barnes, 164). Their preparation combined instruction in the theory of ministry with the practical, hands-on training of going to the villages and sharing the gospel with people from their own culture and language group.

The ministry of the Bible women was an example of the indigenous church principle of *self-propagation* — local women were trained and sent out to take the gospel to their own people. The Bible women's main ministry was to teach women and girls to read, to tell them the story of the good news of Jesus Christ, to win their confidence and trust, and gradually to lead them to experience life eternal in Jesus Christ (Burton 1918, 37). The Bible women's patience and humble attitude proved to be a rich blessing to the homes of Hindus and Muslims alike. Through their kindness and dedication, the Bible women, better than anyone else, could make the gospel story clear and concrete to the groping, wondering minds of their countrywomen.

With the calling of evangelism deep on Luce's heart, after having been in India for only six months she was already dreaming about her future ministry in Azamgarh working with *zenanas*. She had hopes that the Young Women's Bible Class at the vicarage in Gloucester, England would give support for a Bible woman (Alice E. Luce 1897c, Letter). The first Bible woman assigned in 1898 to Luce's pioneer ministry in Azamgarh was a Miss Fallon. Luce spoke of her as being a "good 'aje,'" (a Brahman convert). Another Bible woman, a Mrs. Mitter, assigned to Luce in 1899, became her "right hand" after Anna M. Tottenham transferred to Muttra (CMS 1900a, 541).<sup>68</sup>

For the female CMS missionaries, the society often budgeted into their expenses the salary for one or more Bible women to labor side-by-side with them in ministering to the "heathen." On one occasion, Luce wrote the Committee of Correspondence (CoC) of the CMS in London, requesting a Bible woman and a teacher for Azamgarh. The cost for

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<sup>68</sup>Notice the shift from foreign to indigenous co-laborer.

both amounted to just twenty-five Rupees<sup>69</sup> per semester. But the money could only be sent if there were funds in the account earmarked for that purpose (CMS 1905b, Letters). Among other sources of funding, Luce received support from her family, as well as from her father's parish. J. J. Luce's congregation of St. Nicholas parish in Gloucester supported three Bible women who served as teachers and worked with Alice in Azamgarh. Their names were Miss Rachel Dayal, Miss Sundari Paul, and Mrs. Nazer Khatum, and they received ten, eight, and seven Rupees respectively per month (CMS 1915, 52). In a letter to the CMS in November of 1900, Luce noted that the number of Bible women and teachers had increased from six to fifteen, but that only two of them had to be supported by the Society's funds (1901b, 421).

While Luce was at home in Gloucester, England on furlough in 1908, she received a letter from a Mr. Maconachie of the CMS asking her to take charge of a girls' orphanage in Sikandra, India. In her response, dated August 26, 1908, she stated that she was willing to "acquiesce" if the Committee insisted on the assignment (Alice E. Luce, 1908a). However, Luce said that, after much thought and prayer, she could offer five reasons she believed that transferring to the orphanage was not God's will for her life. To begin with, for the past twelve years of ministry in India, God had laid the village work on her heart. Second, she believed that God had prepared her physically for the rigors of village ministry. Third, she felt it would not be wise to leave the *zenana* ministry in the hands of novices, Miss Cole and Miss Tucker, who had each completed less than a year of language study. Fourth, the CMS had made tremendous progress in the United Provinces. Previously, the local women's attitude had been one of resistance, but now they were "eager to listen to the Message." Luce felt that the CMS could not afford to

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<sup>69</sup>In 1905, the exchange rate of rupees to dollars would have been about US \$0.325 to one rupee. Thus 25 rupees would have been equivalent to about US \$8.13. In terms of purchasing power, this would be equivalent to about \$54.00 today.

lose this opportunity. This brought her to her fifth objection to the new assignment: If she were transferred away from Azamgarh, who would take her place (Alice E. Luce 1908a, Letter)? “The harvest is plentiful but the workers are few” (Matthew 9:37, NIV). However, her closing comment was that if God guided the committee to send her to the orphanage, then she would consider that to be God’s will for her ministry (Letter).

Four days after Luce responded to Mr. Maconachie’s letter, she corresponded with Mr. Baring-Gould about her potential transfer to orphanage ministry (Alice E. Luce 1908b). Again, she emphasized that much thought and prayer had been invested in understanding God’s will for her life. Her objection to being transferred was not that the orphanage ministry was unimportant, but that several other missionaries were already working in that area (for the record, she listed seven colleagues’ names). Further, wrote Luce, the record of the CMS showed that when an experienced worker who was doing well in evangelism “is diverted to an institution ... the evangelistic work is left entirely untouched or only very partially attempted” (Alice E. Luce 1908b, 3). A replacement is rarely sent, because of a shortage of CMS workers in India.

Adding weight to her argument was a report given by a Mr. Carpenter at a missionary conference in India in February 1908, which reflected a decrease in numbers of new converts in the United Provinces. Luce pointed out to the Allahabad Correspondence Committee (ACC) that this could be directly traced to the transfer of personnel away from evangelistic work in the villages to institutional ministries.

However, Alice Luce did not just point out the problem; she also offered a solution—one that tied in directly with the indigenous church principle of *self-propagation* and the example of the New Testament church: “Train up Indians to man the institutions,” she urged (6)! Finally, she requested that her two letters be presented to the ACC on her behalf (1908a and 1908b), and she reiterated her willingness to accept the decision of the committee as God’s will for her ministry.

Apparently, Alice Luce talked the matter over with her father, vicar J. J. Luce. In response, he first bathed the matter in prayer, just as she had. Then, on September 1, 1908, he took paper from his vicarage desk and penned a letter to Mr. Baring-Gould, directly questioning Alice's potential transfer from evangelistic ministry to orphanage work (John J. Luce 1908, 1-3). (ref).x

It is significant to note, at this point, that in 1896 when Luce had first offered herself for missionary service in India, her father had raised this key question: "Has the Lord laid any special work on your heart?" (1908, 2). She responded: "No, only *not* educational work" (2, emphasis in original). The good vicar had been caught off guard by her response, for he considered her eminently qualified for educational work.

So, in his letter to Mr. Baring-Gould, J. J. Luce, caring, loving, and proud father of thirteen, offered his observation for his "Eveline": "God has manifestly guided [her] in the direction of evangelistic work, and used her in it: Why start her off into another channel?" (1908, 2–3). He firmly believed that she should stick to work that was directly missionary, that is, *evangelism*. (Apparently, J. J. Luce understood true missionary work as being evangelistic, and viewed institutional work—like running an orphanage—as something other than missionary work [3]).

The response, which came in late October 1908, was the one Alice and her father had hoped for. Mr. Durrant wrote Alice to inform her that, upon recommendation from the ACC in Allahabad, the Instruction Committee of the CMS in London had granted her request to remain at Azamgarh for the her next term of ministry (Alice E. Luce 1908c). Having prayed and meditated on God's will for her life, Alice Luce now rejoiced to know the Holy Spirit had led all involved in this important decision. After packing her trunks, Luce departed from the port of Naples, England on January 19, 1909, and arrived in Azamgarh on February 7 (CMS 1909, lxvii). After her arrival, she received a letter from the Instruction Committee confirming her assignment, and telling

her that the Committee wished her success and God's blessings (Waller 1909a, 7).<sup>70</sup>

Luce often referred to her ministry with Bible women as "camping work" and "itinerating tours." Teams, which might include a married missionary couple, one or more single female missionaries, several Bible women, and various servants, would travel in caravans to outlying villages. The missionary band would normally travel by the *ekka*, a type of wagon drawn by horses or oxen (Barnes, 75), wending its way from village to village. They would pitch their tents in a favorable location, from which they would go out daily to evangelize the surrounding villages.

### **Educational Ministry**

During her years of service in India, Alice E. Luce received a continuous "cross-cultural education." As she reached out to the disinherited of India, her own "holistic ministry" included, among other things, offering an education to girls and adult women.

From 1830 to 1857, one of the prime movers of education for India was famed Scottish missionary Alexander Duff. Duff began by seeking to educate the youth of India's upper class. He reasoned that by reaching India's cultured intellectual leadership with a higher education, Christianity would emerge as superior. This approach would help develop a brilliant generation of truly Christian youth, with an excellent secular and Christian education (Richter 1908, 175). By first converting the upper castes to Christianity and educating them, the masses would eventually be evangelized. This strategy was adopted by many of the Christian educators who came after Duff.

Under the British Empire, the government supported India's educational system through the "grant-in-aid" system (Richter, 180-181). Influenced by Duff, this system

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<sup>70</sup>When Luce did not go to the Sikandra orphanage, her colleague Emma Bedford responded to the need (Waller 1909b, 10). Bedford had arrived in India in 1891 to superintend the Industrial Department in Benares (10). With seventeen years of experience in the culture and language, having served the orphanage at Sagra, she was an ideal candidate for the position.

allowed missionary agencies to engage widely in the elementary education of children. Duff also brought the Bible into Indian schools. He insisted that, "Every school library, and every teacher should have the right to read it [the Bible] out of the regular school-hours with any pupil who should express a desire for such instruction" (183).

Duff also understood the need of reaching the *zenanas* to bring them into the Kingdom of God. So in 1849, a Normal School for Females was founded to provide women with an education (Richter, 338). However, one of Duff's colleagues, Thomas Smith, published an article in the *Calcutta Christian Observer* in 1840, in which he argued that "the only way to reach the women of India was personally to seek them out in the *zenanas* and there to give them Christian instruction" (338). In agreement with this thinking, Luce and her colleagues chose to begin with the villagers, the "simple and ignorant" (CMS 1898, 120).

### **The Indian School System**

Before 1854, most inhabitants of India received little or no education. During the administration of Governor-General Lord W. Bentinck, information emerged that ninety-two percent of the school-aged population never set foot in any educational institution (Richter, 183). But on July 19, 1854, Sir Charles Wood<sup>71</sup> issued his famous "Educational Dispatch,"<sup>72</sup> which led eventually to the establishment of a network of schools, from indigenous village institutions to colleges and universities (Richter, 180). The Dispatch also led to the "grant-in-aid" system for funding private schools. This system extended to

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<sup>71</sup>Sir Charles Wood served as the President of the Board of Control in Lord Aberdeen's Ministry—1852-1855 (Stock 1899, 239). Later, Wood became Lord Halifax (Richter 1908, 180).

<sup>72</sup>Sir Charles Wood's "Educational Dispatch" radically altered the way education was offered in India. His dispatch stipulated that an educational department be established in every province in India and that universities be established, based on the London university model, and that there be at least one government school in every district. In addition, private schools were to be given "grants-in-aid," and Indians were to be educated in their native language (Stock 1899, 239-241; Richter 1908, 180-184).



vernacular-language institutions and to girls' schools, and made it possible for even a poor man's children to receive a university education.

The grant-in-aid system allowed mission schools, staffed mainly by missionary personnel, to greatly improve the quality of the education they provided, and to achieve a higher status among Indian educational institutions. It also reduced the schools' financial dependence on their sponsoring missionary societies. The CMS sent a circular to its missionaries telling them to "take full advantage of the intended government scheme" (Stock 1899b:241). Leadership within the CMS understood that the system could enable them to expand their educational work and reach more Indian villages.

On the other hand, the many Indians, especially men, did not want the socio-cultural structure altered by Western educational values. To preserve their cultural distinctives, in the newly-developed schools under indigenous leadership, boys were educated in academics, but girls, in domestic roles. However, in the mission schools education for girls was holistic. According to British missionary educator Alice Evans, "The goal for the higher education of the womanhood of India, as well as for the whole world, should be character, not a B.A. degree, a symmetrical development of hand and head and heart, and not just a knowledge of this or that" (Singh 2000, 191–192).

Forty-two years after the Educational Dispatch was put into action, Alice Luce arrived in Benares, India. She discovered that, "the educational need of the locals was deplorable," and she soon "started little schools in the homes of a select few to offer opportunities to learn" (CMS 1898, 120). After studying Hindi and Urdu, Alice Luce and Anna M. Tottenham (who studied at The Olives in London, as had Luce), opened two new Hindi-language schools for girls. One was in their compound, for the servants' daughters; the other was in Sidahri village,<sup>73</sup> where the daughters of higher caste

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<sup>73</sup>Located outside the city of Azamgarh, which is about 100 miles north of Benares.

families studied. Things did not always go as planned, however. On one occasion Luce reported that two of their schools among the Mohammedans had closed, because of the parents' fears that their daughters might become Christians, and so be excommunicated from their families (Alice E. Luce 1901: Letter). Excommunication was a harsh punishment indeed; it could mean the loss of life for the children.

Several years after Luce served as the acting principal of the girl's school in Agra (see below, "Queen Victoria High School"), she received three graduates from there to help teach and work with the young women in the school in Azamgarh. Eighty-nine young women were attending and all but three were Christians. Because of the school's academic excellence and positive inspection report, the government elected to increase its funding, and some of the funds already paid out by the CMS were replenished (CMS 1910, n.p.). Ministry was necessarily interrupted in the schools and the *zenanas* in November of 1903 due to a plague that raged around Azamgarh and lasted until April 1904, when missionary ministry resumed (CMS 1905c, 195).

Christian missionary efforts to educate girls and women had a significant impact on Indian society. For example, according to the 1901 census in the Madras Presidency of southern India, "in every 10,000 women, 70 of those who can read and write are Hindus, 86 Mohammedans, but 913 are Christians. Of the 20,314 women in India who understand English one is a Jain, 77 are Mohammedans, 1,770 Hindus, but 18,402 are Christians" (Richter 1908, 322–323)! On the average, Indian Protestant Christians excelled their compatriots in educational achievement, regardless of their caste and/or status in society. The one exception was the Brahman caste, which was better educated than any other of the castes in India.

Protestant missions impacted Indian society through education, religious training, and holistic ministries. The missionaries were pioneers in the field of education, especially in the education of girls and women. Christianity brought people from both

lower and upper castes to the foot of the Cross of Jesus Christ, and offered them an eternal hope that was infinitely superior to the “hope” afforded them by Hinduism and its caste system. Missionary led and/or funded dispensaries and medical care further improved the quality of life for Indians. All of these—education, medical services, and evangelism—were part of ministries to the *zenanas*. These ministries especially helped women improve their quality of life—in this world, and in the next! But before Indian women could experience these benefits, it was necessary to carefully and sensitively peel away the layers of superstition and erroneous beliefs. Indeed, “the women missionaries worked hard to wean away Indian ladies from age-old superstitions and enlighten them towards modern trends” (Renick 2004, 109–110).

### **Queen Victoria High School**

The Educational Dispatch of 1854 enabled missionary schools to develop, with the dual-purpose of educating India’s populace and spreading the gospel. In Agra,<sup>74</sup> by 1909 the CMS had developed ten main stations for missionary ministry, including St. John’s College and the Queen Victoria High School for Christian girls (CMS 1909, 116).

The Girls’ High School was erected in 1904, in the shadow the Taj Mahal<sup>75</sup> facilitated about eighty students. Students spent about ten months a year in classroom studies, including cooking and needlework. They had a globe, wall maps, encyclopedias, the *Times* atlas, and a library for both teachers and students (CMS 1904d, Girls’ High School Agra). The school’s name was subsequently changed to Queen Victoria High School). Classes began in the fall of 1904, with Miss A. F. Wright (number 146 in the CMS’s register of women missionaries) serving as its first Principal (CMS 1906, 164).

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<sup>74</sup>Agra, the ancient capital of the Mughal Empire, is in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). See Figure 2.

<sup>75</sup>The Taj Mahal, the outstanding example of Mughal architecture, is the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal, favorite wife of Shah Jahan, Mughal emperor from 1628 to 1658 (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. “Shāh Jahān”).

However, the following year Miss Wright return to England because of a medical complication. This presented the problem of who would fill her shoes. As the manager of education for the CMS in Agra, Georgina May Dodson, and other CMS officials, searched their personnel files for a qualified person. They stopped at the file of Alice E. Luce. Her educational preparation at Cheltenham Ladies' College, The Olives, and as a deaconess provided the much-needed requirements for the post. So, in February 1905 Luce, who had been serving in Azamgarh with Anna Tottenham, accepted the assignment as temporary principal of the Girls' High School (CMS 1906, 158, 505).

The Allahabad Correspondence Committee (ACC) sent Luce a letter conveying its appreciation for her willingness to serve at Agra. C. H. Hill, chairman of the ACC, noted that Luce was "making a very efficient principal of the school during the interval" (Hill 1905, Letter). When the ACC transferred Luce to Agra, it was explicitly stated that it would be only until Agnes Cox returned in the autumn; then she would be free to return to her *zenana* ministry in Azamgarh. "But recently," according to C. H. Hill, "I have heard it stated that it would be advisable to retain Miss Luce at the Queen Victoria High School to strengthen it after Agnes Cox returns" (Letter). Luce's continued presence at the school would coincide with two other staff additions, namely Miss G. M. Dodson and Miss Hawkings (Letter). Though the decision for keeping Luce in Agra would occur in London, it was strongly urged that her presence would be a valuable asset.

After either Miss A. F. Wright or Miss Agnes M. Cox returned to the Queen Victoria High School in 1906, Luce resumed her work with the *zenanas* and Normal schools in Azamgarh. However, after only a year in Azamgarh, Luce returned to Agra to take A. F. Wright's place as principal. It especially pained her to leave Azamgarh because there was no one to take her place (CMS 1907b, 317).<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>This shift in missionary personnel illustrates the difficulties discussed above in the section "Bible Women."

## Chapter 4

### India's Revivals

#### Introduction

In the latter part of the nineteenth and first part of the twentieth-centuries, the Church in India experienced two great evangelical revivals. The first took place in the 1860s in the Tinnevely District of southern India, and was precipitated by the ministry of Indian pastor John Christian Arulappan (1810–1867). The second started in 1905 in the Khassia<sup>77</sup> Hills of Assam, and continued through 1907. In particular, this second revival was instrumental in making Alice E. Luce into the spirit-filled missionary she became. Luce's life and ministry was strongly influenced by her association with two amazing women: Indian evangelist and social reformer Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922), and missionary evangelist Minnie Abrams (1859–1912). Both these women had an important role in the second great Indian revival.

#### Antecedents of Revival

As the sun set on the nineteenth century and rose on the twentieth, several theological and missiological factors heightened the already urgent need to equip more missionaries for world evangelism. Among the more dominant motifs were premillennialism, faith missions, and Pentecostalism.

Across England and America, cries of "Jesus is coming!" filled church sanctuaries and echoed through homes where Bible study groups met and prayed—and missionary ranks were swelled with fresh waves of dedicated women and men. Some of

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<sup>77</sup>Various ethnonyms include *Khassie*, *Kassie*, *Khasiah*, and *Cassia*, among others. This author has chosen to use *Khassia*, due to its frequent use in the literature consulted.

the major promoters of this imminent-return-of-Jesus doctrine were Arthur T. Pierson, Albert B. Simpson, Dwight L. Moody, and John Darby. Pierson and Moody had been among the catalysts of the Keswick movement in England. Keswick platform speakers often emphasized the imminent return of Jesus Christ. They were premillennialists, as were most within this practical holiness movement (Sandeem 1970, 179).

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, faith missions moved to the forefront of the British and American missionary enterprise. As mentioned briefly in chapter 2, J. Hudson Taylor, founder of the interdenominational China Inland Mission (CIM), pioneered the institutional use of this mode of missionary support. Taylor's own experience in trusting God to meet his needs convinced him that missionary work could be financed entirely by the contributions God brought in as the needs arose. For a while, Taylor struggled personally with the decision to send missionaries halfway around the world without pre-arranged financial support. But then, he realized that "the battle is the Lord's" (1 Sam. 17:47). After that he proclaimed, "Thou, Lord. Thou shalt have all the burden! At thy bidding, as thy servant I go forward, leaving results to thee" (Taylor and Taylor 1990, 120). And so, the fledgling CIM sent its first missionaries to China under a six-point strategy that promised no salary or appeals for funds (Steer 1996, 14).

Taylor's missionary model dramatically altered Protestant evangelical missions, for it led to many agencies' sending their missionaries wherever God called them to serve, even though the venture seemed financially untenable. Presbyterian pastor and writer Arthur T. Pierson was a staunch supporter of this revolutionary idea, and a creative voice in getting evangelicals involved in foreign missions (Robert 2003, ix).

The motifs of premillennialism and faith missions contributed to the development of the modern-day Pentecostal movement. Modern Pentecostalism did not have a singular point of origin. Multiple spontaneous spiritual fires began to spread throughout the world. For example, the Welsh revival of 1904-05, the Azusa Street mission revival

of 1906-1909, the Mukti revival in Poona, India in 1905, the Calcutta, India revival of 1907, the revival in England in 1907, are but a handful of places where an outpouring of the Holy Spirit occurred around the world. But this outpouring of the Holy Spirit encountered stiff resistance from both within and without. A spiritual war occurred wherever souls received this phenomenon known as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues.

On the secular side, at the dawning of the twentieth century, wars raged in Africa and Asia, and rumors of wars abounded. The Boer War (1899-1902) in South Africa proved to be a watershed event for the British Army and the British Empire. Although the British eventually won, their conviction that it was Britain's destiny to rule a worldwide empire was beginning to weaken.

The Boxer Rebellion in China (1899-1901) began with a secret society known as the "Fists of Righteous Harmony." Foreigners called them "Boxers" because they practiced martial arts. Their goal was to overthrow the imperial Ch'ing government and expel all "foreign devils" from China. "On June 24, 1900, an imperial decree ordering the killing of all foreigners was issued from Peking" (Neill 1986, 287). As missionaries and Christians tried to escape the carnage, the Boxers massacred hundreds of Christians, both expatriates and Chinese. But the Boxer Rebellion did not deter Christian missionaries from taking the gospel to China.

Besides the Boer War and the Boxer Rebellion, there were other wars around the turn of the twentieth century: the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the Spanish-American War (1898), and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). Conflicts such as these typically have many long-term results. Death, of course, is the most dramatic result of any war. Thousands of male soldiers never return to their families, leaving widows and orphans to fend for themselves. Refugees multiply by the thousands, as people flee for their lives to neighboring countries where, all too often, they become unwilling immigrants. And wars

leave physical and psychological scars — missing limbs, single-parent families, and emotionally handicapped men and women of all ages and social classes.

War is devastating, but sometimes it is unavoidable. Wars, whether between spiritual powers<sup>78</sup> or between nations and peoples, produce in a country or region a variety of results. According to revival historian J. Edwin Orr, Southeast Asia experienced many spiritual awakenings in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries (1975, x). When missionaries began arriving in India, spiritual warfare broke out, as Hinduism and Christianity clashed. Spiritual awakenings occurred in the area around the Khasia Hills in Assam, in southwest India, in northern India, and in other regions. Eventually, a patchwork of revivals occurred across India that brought together people of various regions and opened the door for them to enter the Kingdom of God.

One of the missionary societies that greatly impacted India was the Church Missionary Society (CMS)<sup>79</sup> of the Church of England. At first, the CMS sent out only missionary couples and single men. But beginning in the 1860s, the CMS began to send out single women to serve around the world, and by the late 1890s they constituted a significant portion of the CMS's missionary force. Single women missionaries proved to be the agents best suited to reach India's "heathen" female population. Hundreds of single women volunteered to go and offer hope and healing to their downtrodden Indian sisters who experienced so much abuse and rejection.

### **The First Great Indian Revival**

In the 1860s, through ministry of an Indian named John Christian Arulappan<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>Spiritual war is a life-and-death struggle between Yahweh God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and humanity's greatest enemy, Satan, "the Devil." This titanic struggle has raged since the beginning of time. Nevertheless, Satan is not an "evil god," but only a fallen angel who rebelled against his Creator, and who will ultimately be defeated.

<sup>79</sup>See chapter 1 for more information regarding the CMS.

<sup>80</sup>Also spelled "Aroolappen."



(1810–1867), God sent a spiritual awakening that spread throughout the Tinnevely district of Southern India (part of present-day Tamil Nadu) and affected over thirty thousand Indians (Dann 2004, 253). Under Arulappan's apostolic leadership, indigenous congregations developed that were self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing. His ministry produced congregants in thirty villages; he also developed a boarding school in Christianpettah and a printing office (Lang 1988, 237–238).

John Arulappan's spiritual journey began at the feet of missionary Anthony N. Groves (1795–1853),<sup>81</sup> who served with the Plymouth Brethren in India from the mid-1830s until his death. Influenced by his brother-in-law, George Müller,<sup>82</sup> Groves was a man of prayer. He pioneered the “tent-making” approach to faith missions in India (DeKar 2000, 417). Throughout his missionary ministry, he relied on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and lived a life of disciplined, personal holiness. Following in his mentor's footsteps, Arulappan worked tirelessly, planting churches and discipling his own people.

Then, in 1860, Christianpettah and the surrounding area experienced an extraordinary outpouring of the Holy Spirit, first in Arulappan's village, and subsequently elsewhere. As this awakening spread from town to town, people were saved, baptized in water, participated in communion, and were baptized in the Holy Spirit, with spiritual signs following. In a letter dated August 8, 1860, Arulappan tells the story of some of his family members' being baptized in the Holy Spirit: “Some prophesy, some speak by unknown tongues with their interpretations. Some missionaries admit the truth of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. The Lord meets [them] everywhere one after another, though some tried to quench the Spirit” (Lang 1939, 144-145).

Some missionaries had serious reservations about what was occurring. Eugene

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<sup>81</sup>See Robert B. Dann (2004).

<sup>82</sup>George Müller was a German faith-missions advocate, who founded the Bristol Orphanage in England. He lived by faith, was a man of prayer, and believed God to take care of his needs.

Stock writes that the outpouring was accompanied by “physical manifestations as in Ireland, falling to the ground, unearthly cries, hysterical sobbing, and so forth; which the missionaries and experienced catechists at once saw were not of God” (1899a, 190). However, that same year Septimus Hobbs, a missionary from Ceylon, visited the state of Tinnevely and commented, “The work itself was of God, and does and will remain” (Stock 1899a, 190). Three years later, N. Honiss wrote: “Consistency of life has been conspicuous in the subjects of the revival ever since. Formerly there were many drunkards; now they are all sober men. Formerly they were irregular in attendance at the services; now we cannot complain of one” (Stock 1899a, 190).

When the next major outpouring of the Holy Spirit occurred in northeastern India, according to Gary McGee, “Aroolappen and the other evangelists and prophets from forty years earlier had been largely forgotten or simply dismissed as misguided enthusiasts” (McGee 1996, 114).

In 1870, Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) missionary William Taylor (1821-1902) arrived in India, at the invitation of Bishop James Thoburn. According to Henry Mansell, another MEC missionary, “constant prayer was offered for [Taylor] that a mighty revival might result from his preaching” (Mansell 1908, 447). Taylor’s ministry in India fostered the revitalization of many MEC congregations. Taylor and Mansell witnessed great results, including the establishment of self-supporting<sup>83</sup> congregations in India.

### **The Second Great Revival**

The second great evangelical revival in India broke out 1905 and lasted into 1907. It started in the Khassia Hills of Assam, in the northeastern hill country of India,

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<sup>83</sup>William Taylor states that his approach to indigenous ministry is “self-supporting,” but the context supports including self-governing and self-propagating. Thus, Taylor was, in fact, a staunch supporter of the indigenous church principles: self-support, self-government, and self-propagation, as these are taught in the Pauline literature of the New Testament. See William Taylor, 1879 and 1882). See p. 153ff. of this dissertation for more information on William Taylor.

and spread to other areas of the Subcontinent, eventually touching the lives of thousands of expatriate missionaries and Indian Christians. A variety of factors prepared the way for this outpouring of the Spirit.

In the years leading up to this period, many Protestant evangelicals in Europe and North America had been writing about and/or expressing an interest in the baptism and gifts of the Holy Spirit. In the accounts of William Taylor's ministry in India, he had spoken of a "Pentecostal harvest of souls" (Taylor 1882, 116). And, as discussed in chapter 1 of this dissertation, the Keswick Convention embraced the language of the "baptism in the Holy Spirit." F. B. Myers, one of Keswick's speakers, insisted that "they [Keswickians] could receive 'a mighty baptism of the Holy Ghost' like 'another Pentecost'" (Price and Randall 2001, 53).

Among the Wesleyan and Holiness Christians eager for revival were many missionaries in India. They formed prayer circles "for an outpouring of the Spirit," and membership in these groups eventually exceeded 850 persons (Dyer 1907, 15). R. J. Ward, a CMS missionary in Madras, proclaimed in 1898 that, "We [Christians in India] must have more prayer; then there will be more power, the power of the coming upon us of the Holy Ghost" (Dyer 1907, 14). This shared conviction led to the establishment in 1897 of an annual "Day of Prayer" for India (Dyer 1907, 14).

So, though the flames of revival had been dying down in India during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, in other lands, spiritual fires were burning brightly. One factor which contributed to the coming of revival to the Khassia Hills was the 1903 Keswick Convention in Britain (1998, 243–244; Penn-Lewis 1905, 30; Bundy 2002, 1188).<sup>84</sup> Several participants in that historic gathering served in India as missionaries, including Alice E. Luce, Jessie Puckle, Anna M. Tottenham, and Gertrude E. Withers.

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<sup>84</sup>For additional information about the Keswick Convention, see chapter 2.

However, more important in igniting the awakening in India was the great Welsh Revival of 1904-1905. According to Henry Mansell:

The revival in Wales was the direct answer to prayer inspired by the Holy Spirit given to the young people of Sunday schools, Christian Endeavor, the Epworth League, and Student Volunteer societies, and the prayer and faith of the whole Church in all countries and Christian denominations. It spread through England and many places on the Continent, to the Welsh settlements in South America, to the Welsh mission in the Khassia Hills in India, and from there to all the missions in India, where the Spirit was poured abundantly upon Christian schools and orphanages, leading children and young people, especially girls, to pray, repent and confess their sins. (Mansell 1908, 447)

Prayers offered by the revitalized Welsh saints for the peoples of the Khassia and Jaintia Hills helped bring about revival there. The first outpouring of the Holy Spirit began in March of 1905, accompanied by many manifestations (Dyer 1907, 16). Some were overwhelmed with a passionate love for God and a strong desire to take the good news to other towns also. Others heard spiritual singing, dreamed of Jesus entering houses where souls were being saved, or saw clouds of fire over a brother who was praying. Still others became prostrate in agony, shouted for joy, and clapped their hands. Spontaneous testimonies moved souls to repentance (17-25). In several locations, the revival began among children. As the outpouring of the Holy Spirit continued and spread, thousands came into the Kingdom of God. Construction of more buildings reflected the numerical growth of the Church.

### **The Mukti Mission and the “Great Revival”**

The famous Mukti Mission (which still operates today) was one of the major centers of the Spirit’s outpouring during the second great evangelical revival in India. The story of *Mukti* and the revivals there is inextricably linked with the stories of the ministries of two great women of God: Pandita Ramabai and Minnie Abrams. Both these women, and the revival in which they were so deeply involved, had a profound influence on the life and future ministry of Alice E. Luce.

## **Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922)**

Between the two dominant evangelical revivals in India, the Spirit of God was at work in the life of Pandita Ramabai, one of India's greatest social reformers, and founder of the Mukti Mission in Khedgaon, India.

Long before this "salvation station" (*mukti* means "salvation" or "liberty") for widows and orphans came into existence, Ramabai had been in spiritual training for the seemingly impossible task of rescuing thousands of India's unwanted and tortured daughters. Raised as a Hindu by her Brahmin, Sanskrit-scholar father, she learned firsthand about suffering, starvation, and grief from the loss of her parents. But physical suffering was only one of the many factors that prepared Ramabai for reaching out to the widowed orphans and others in India. Several famous Christians influenced her life, including J. Hudson Taylor of the China Inland Mission, George Müller of Bristol, England, and John G. Paton, founder of the New Hebrides Mission (Dyer 1927, 45, 172). By her example of prayer, Bible reading, and faith, Pandita Ramabai taught her Hindu compatriots how to live in fellowship with the Living God. Her life eventually influenced thousands of Indians and helped prepare them for eternity.

At the age of twenty-two, Ramabai, who was Brahmin, married a Bengali gentleman named Bipin Bihari Medhavi, who was not a Brahmin. This caused a stir in orthodox Hindu circles. After about fifteen months of marriage a daughter, Manorama, blessed their happy home. Her name meant "heart's joy" (Ramabai 1901, 12–13; Dyer 1907, 18; MacNicol and Mangalwadi 1996, 92-93). But Ramabai's home became a sad place when, three or four months after Manorama's birth, Medhavi died of cholera. To support herself, Ramabai returned to her former occupation, lecturing on ancient Hindu literature in Poona (today Pune), the capital of her home state in western India. As she lectured, she promoted the right of women to be educated. She "helped organize the *Arya Mahila Samaj*, the Aryan Women's Society," a movement for women's education,

medical and social reform (Kwantes 2005, 129).

While living in Poona, Ramabai also experienced genuine Christian love, shown to her both by CMS missionaries and the Anglican sisterhood, the Community of St. Mary the Virgin (CSMV). Through these acquaintances, Ramabai developed a passion for the Bible, and learned English. Eventually she traveled with her daughter to the United Kingdom. There, in 1883, Pandita Ramabai and Manorama were baptized as Christians in Wantage, southwest of Oxford (Ramabai 2003, 18; Frykenberg 2003, 17).

As mentioned in chapter 1, Ramabai's trip to England in the 1880s took her to the Cheltenham Ladies' College (CLC), where she studied mathematics, science, and literature (Ramabai 2003, 19). In exchange for her room, board, and education, she taught various Indian languages to future women missionaries. Her personal testimony was deeply affected by association with Dorothea Beale, the founder and principal of CLC. Beale and Ramabai became champions of women's education.<sup>85</sup>

In 1886, Pandita Ramabai traveled to the United States of America to attend the graduation of a relative, Anandibai Joshi, the first Indian woman to earn a medical degree from the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania (2003, 24). Ramabai's planned short trip to the U.S. turned into a stay of some three years, during which she lectured on women's rights and education in several American and Canadian cities.

With financial backing from the Ramabai Association, formed by her supporters in the United States, and from other friends in the United Kingdom, in 1889 Ramabai opened her first home and boarding school for child-widows, the *Sharada Sadan* of ("home of learning/ wisdom") in Bombay. Ramabai, of course, was passionate about sharing her Christian faith with others, and several of the young women became Christians. This angered Ramabai's local board of advisers, who were Hindus. So, after

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<sup>85</sup>Note that Alice Luce attended Cheltenham Ladies' College in 1891; just six years after Ramabai had studied in the same institute. See chapter 1 for details.

a little over a year, she moved her institution to her hometown of Poona, southeast of Bombay. This allowed Ramabai to change the school's curriculum to include formal religious instruction, whereas she had been prohibited from doing this in Bombay (Kwantes 2005, 135). The move of the Sharada Sadan to Poona represents the beginning of the now-famous Mukti Mission.

Because she had read of men of faith, like J. Hudson Taylor, John G. Paton, and George Müller, Ramabai decided to begin to live by faith and to trust God to provide the funds needed for the mission (Kwantes, 135). Just as God had honored the importunate prayers of George Müller, God clearly blessed the faithful prayer lives of Ramabai, Manoramabai, and others who ministered at the Mukti orphanage. Indeed, Ramabai eventually became known as the Müller of India (Ramabai 192?, Prefatory Note). In answer to her prayers, she received donations sufficient to buy a one hundred acre tract of land in Khedgaon, near Poona. There, she founded the Mukti Mission, which was "modeled on women's institutions in Britain and America" (Ramabai 2003, 29). Ramabai and her team dug wells, planted fruit trees and vegetables, and erected buildings. By 1898, Mukti Mission had a kindergarten and primary school, a library, dormitories, kitchen, and dining room. By the turn of the century, the mission housed about two thousand women and girls.

While attending the 1898 Keswick Convention in England, Ramabai addressed the gathering. She began by saying that she represented the 140 million Hindu women of India. She pled for "1,000 Spirit-filled missionaries for India's women, and asked for prayer that 100,000 Christian women [and 100,000 Christian men] might be raised up in India to carry the Gospel to their needy sisters [and brothers]" (Sloan 1935, 49-50; Dyer 1987, 29-39; Ramabai 1903, 195). The response to her appeal was overwhelming; some two hundred people rose to their feet to offer themselves for missionary service.

Prayer was one of the chief focuses in Ramabai's personal life — she began

each day with prayer at three o'clock in the morning! Even though the orphaned widows or child-widows of *Mukti* were not forced to take part in Christian prayers, from Ramabai's example they soon realized the value of prayer. In 1903, Ramabai heard of a revival taking place in Australia, so she sent her only daughter, Manoramabai, and Minnie F. Abrams, a director at *Mukti*, to make inquiries. A purpose of their visit included asking Christians in Australia to pray for the *Mukti* Mission and for India's salvation.

In 1905, Ramabai started "prayer circles" at Mukti Mission, which met to pray for the salvation of India and for "a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all Christians of every land" (MacNicol and Mangalwadi 1996, 169). Initially, there were about seventy participants, but within a few months over 550 women were meeting twice daily to "storm heaven" for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit (Dyer n.d., 100; Abrams 1906a, 5). And in 1905, a mighty outpouring of the Holy Spirit did, indeed, fall on *Mukti* and Poona. The long-term results of the Spirit's moving included many more trained indigenous Christian women to serve as Bible women, evangelists, and teachers to their own people.

At Mukti, Ramabai built a "prayer tower" from which prayer rose night and day for years (Dyer 1907, 31). This unceasing flow of prayer paved the way for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on India in the revivals which soon followed.

### **Minnie Abrams (1859–1912)**

In 1885, Minnie Abrams matriculated at the Chicago Training School for City, Home, and Foreign Missions, founded by Lucy Rider Myer (1849-1922). Abrams was a strong supporter of the deaconess movement,<sup>86</sup> and after her graduation she was commissioned as a deaconess-missionary with the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS). She traveled to Bombay in 1887, where she ministered in a Methodist boarding

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<sup>86</sup>See chapter 1 for more information about the deaconess movement. It is interesting to note that Alice Luce received some of her training in a center for the preparation of deaconesses.



school (Abrams n.d., Roll Call; McGee 2002a, 305; Robert 1997, 245).

After several years in Bombay, Abrams became dissatisfied with her ministry; she wanted a more hands-on evangelistic ministry to touch souls for eternity. So, in 1895 Methodist Bishop James M. Thoburn appointed her as an itinerate evangelist to the Poona area (Abrams n.d., Roll Call; McGee 2002b, 91). While preparing for another season traveling from village to village in 1899, Abrams felt that God “unmistakably spoke to her and told her to go to Khedgaon” (Dyer 192?, 61; Nalder 1908, 10), where the Mukti Mission was located. Soon, Abrams was ministering with Ramabai, and eventually took charge of the Mukti Mission (Dyer 192?, 65).

In 1905, the outpouring of the baptism in the Holy Spirit spread across the subcontinent of India, capturing the attention of thousands of missionaries and Indian Christians. Ramabai started “praying bands” or “prayer circles”<sup>87</sup> that met twice daily, and Abrams taught on the subject of the baptism of the Holy Spirit as giving believers power for service to God. Together, prayer and teaching opened the windows of heaven and the baptism with the Holy Ghost poured out on the Mukti Mission.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> of June, [1905] at 3:30 A.M., the Holy Spirit was poured out upon \_\_\_\_\_, one of these volunteers. The young woman sleeping next to her awoke when this occurred, and seeing the fire enveloping her, ran across the dormitory, brought a pail of water, and was about to dash it upon her, when she discovered that \_\_\_\_\_ was not on fire. In less than an hour nearly all of the young women in the compound gathered around, weeping, praying, and confessing their sins to God. The newly Spirit baptized girl sat in the midst of them, telling what God had done for her, and exhorting them to repentance. (Abrams 1906a:5-6)<sup>88</sup>

Revival flowed for about two years, from 1905 to 1907, and brought great

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<sup>87</sup>“Praying bands” or “prayer circles” were established for the purpose of asking God to send an outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all Christians of every land, and for the “true” conversion of Indian Christians (Dyer n.d., 49; Dyer 1907, 32).

<sup>88</sup>In this quotation, where Abrams used only blank lines, Helen Dyer used blank lines, but also inserted the letter “J” In her volume, a photo of Jivubai and Minnie Abrams is included between pages 40 and 41. It could be assumed that Jivubai and “J” are one and the same person. Jivubai’s personal story is truly heart-breaking, so if she was “J,” it would seem appropriate for God to have first poured out his Spirit on such a humble person. See Dyer 192?.

conviction on the souls of many in the Khedgaon area, and especially on the residents of the Mukti Mission. The outpouring of the Holy Spirit on June 29, 1905, ushered in a radical change in daily life at *Mukti*. As Ramabai was leading devotions the following evening, she had to stop her exposition because the girls began praying simultaneously in loud voices. According to Abrams' record, "All in the room were weeping and praying, some kneeling, some sitting, some standing, many with hands outstretched to God. Promises and words of help were to no avail. God was dealing with them and they could listen to no one else" (Abrams 1906a, 6). While the women and girls were at school or at work in the *Mukti* compound, powerful conviction of sin would fall on them and they would cry out for God to baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with "fire" — for they expected from the Spirit a burning within and on them, like the first girl had experienced. When they received true assurance of forgiveness, many began to sing, praise God, and dance for joy, while others had visions and dreams. "One girl sang hymns, composing them as she sang—lovely hymns to Indian tunes" (Dyer 1907, 34).<sup>89</sup> All involved understood these phenomena to be according to the Scriptures (Abrams 1906a, 8).

For months after the revival began, Abrams, Manoramabai, and young women from the *Mukti* community continued visiting towns and villages, near and far. In each they proclaimed the gospel, and then witnessed new outpourings, accompanied by unusually intense prayer, the confession of sins, the praising of God by singing and dancing, and the real fruit of the Spirit produced in the lives of those affected.

This same atmosphere of revival reigned at the Methodist Boys' School in Poona, the *Zenana* Training Home of Soonderbai Powar,<sup>90</sup> and a Boys' Christian Home

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<sup>89</sup>Instead of singing the Western hymns of the missionaries, this girl and others sang lyrics describing the glory of God to melodies familiar to the Indian ear. So, one result of this revival was a blossoming of indigenous hymnology!

<sup>90</sup>Powar, a dear friend of Ramabai's, had ministered with her for several years, and was placed in charge of the work at Poona, while Minnie Abrams was in charge of Mukti. Later, Powar

at Dhond directed by Mr. and Mrs. Albert Norton. Revival also occurred at the Famine Orphanage in Allahabad under the leadership of Shorat Chuckerbutty,<sup>91</sup> which was linked with Ramabai's work at *Mukti*.

As the Western manner of conducting revival meetings was set aside, and the revival was left in the hands of the Holy Spirit, the Indian Christians discovered greater spiritual liberty in worship, prayer, and witness (Dyer 1907, 46). As revival fires burned in the hearts of Indian Christians, some Western missionaries also became more Spirit-led, and began experiencing signs and wonders. Thomas Walker, a CMS missionary who worked in association with Amy Wilson-Carmichael of Dohnavur, recounted: "I found everywhere a real desire for a better state of things" spiritually throughout central India (Dyer 1907, 56). According to Dyer (56), Wilson-Carmichael argued specifically that the revival must be of God because it went on without the presence of the missionary.

A revival of this importance, however, is not without its critics. Abrams said that nine months after the revival began, "Many looked upon it as mere excitement and prophesied that there would be nothing left after the bubble had burst" (1906b, 620). According to historian Gary McGee, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), published an article saying the baptism of fire is "sensuous and superstitious ... pure heathenism in Christian dress (2002b, 94). On the other hand, "an editorial in the *Indian Witness*, the official Methodist periodical for India, defended it by comparing the fire to Wesley's heart being 'strangely warmed' at Aldersgate" (McGee, 94).<sup>92</sup> And, in her book *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire*, Abrams includes

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later left her post with Ramabai and began her own orphanage in Poona, called the Zenana Training Home.

<sup>91</sup>See Introduction of this dissertation for more about Shorat Chuckerbutty.

<sup>92</sup>Regarding his experience at Aldersgate, Wesley declared in his journal that "an assurance was given me that He [God] had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death" (Ward and Heitzenrater, eds. 1998, 250). The context of Wesley's declaration has nothing to do with the baptism in the Holy Spirit, but his experience does reflect

comments by Charles Finney, Madame Guyon, and *Mukti* workers about the “fire” element of the baptism in the Holy Ghost.<sup>93</sup>

In 1909–1910, the Mukti Mission received a visit from Henry C. Morrison, a representative of the “Holiness Union.”<sup>94</sup> Morrison was a Methodist minister who, at the request of the Board of Missions of the Holiness Union, went on a world tour to report on the “state of the church.” His travels took him to India, and of course, to the site of Mukti. Morrison had the opportunity to interview Ramabai and told her that “it had been reported in America that her institution had been about broken up with the tongues movement.” Laughingly, Ramabai responded: “Well, we will have you shown through the place directly and you may judge for yourself if it has been broken up.” What Morrison discovered was “industry, order, and peace everywhere” (Morrison 1911, 141).<sup>95</sup>

In her book *The Baptism in the Holy Ghost and Fire* (1906a), Minnie Abrams published an account of the revival at the Mukti Mission, which included a great deal of Pentecostal theology. This book, according to McGee, “provided Pentecostals with their first expanded theology of mission” (2002b, 102). Not only did the book’s contents stir the souls of missionaries and Indian Christians alike, but they also stirred souls in faraway Valparaíso, Chile in 1909. Abrams sent a copy to a classmate from the Chicago Training School, Mary Hilton Hoover, the wife of Willis Hoover.<sup>96</sup> This book about a

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the Spirit’s convicting power. And, the idea of “fire” in the revival at Mukti did reflect the cleansing from sin, just as did Wesley’s experience at Aldersgate.

<sup>93</sup>See Minnie Abrams (1906a, 80-88).

<sup>94</sup>The Holiness Union was organized in 1904 for the purpose of uniting “Spirit-filled people of various denominations into a union of hearts, seeking a great revival of spiritual life in all churches” (See Henry Morrison 1911, 7).

<sup>95</sup>In Henry C. Morrison’s book *World Tour of Evangelism*, he uses the same terminology and Scripture to depict Minnie Abrams’ first point in the reception of the baptism in the Holy Ghost and fire: “Pardon” and Matthew 3:11, pages 4, 6, 14 in 1911.

<sup>96</sup>Willis Hoover, pastor of a Methodist Episcopal congregation in Valparaíso, Chile, was there as a result of the ministry of William Taylor. Taylor had planted numerous self-supporting congregations along the western coast of South America in the 1870s. See William Taylor (1878).

revival in India, and the letter that accompanied it, helped spark a Pentecostal revival in Valparaiso.<sup>97</sup> Because of their friendship with Abrams, the Hoovers further researched the subject of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, reading from Abrams' writings, as well as the writings of Thomas A. Bailly, of Caracas, Venezuela, T. B. Barratt, of Christiania, Norway, and Max Wood Morehead, of Bombay, India (Hoover 2000, 9; 1922, 2-3).

One of the notable features of Abrams' book is the three-part theological framework she uses to explain the outpouring of the Holy Spirit's baptism: (1) pardon — born-again experience, (2) purity—sanctification, holiness, destruction of sin, and (3) power—for service, for evangelism (Abrams 1906a, 38–57). For Abrams, the purpose of this spiritual empowerment was to enable the Church to evangelize the world. She understood that the baptism in the Holy Ghost and fire would propel believers to all parts of the world, and that their proclamation of the gospel would be followed by signs (manifestations of the Spirit) such as are listed in 1 Corinthians 12:4-11. According to Abrams, these gifts enabled the early Church to establish itself and grow rapidly. However, Abrams, Ramabai, and others did not focus on the “sign” or “initial physical evidence” element of their experience. Evidently, Abrams focused on the “fire” element primarily because of the June 29, 1905 event.

The “initial evidence” aspect of the experience was, however, emphasized at the Azusa Street Mission revival and, later, at *Mukti* and other places in India. For the Pentecostal movement around the world, “speaking in tongues” (whether *xenolalia* or *glossolalia*) gradually came to be viewed as an important sign that a person had truly received the baptism in the Holy Spirit.<sup>98</sup> According to McGee, at various times, some residents and workers at *Mukti* spoke in tongues, including Manoramabai and Abrams

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<sup>97</sup>For a complete record of this powerful Pentecostal revival, see Mario G. Hoover (2000).

<sup>98</sup>This important doctrine will not be developed in this dissertation. Those wishing further information may see Gary B. McGee, ed. (1991), and Stanley M. Burgess, ed. (2003).

(2002b, 98–99). But Abrams did not see speaking in tongues as essential, although she understood the gift's importance. In her book, Abrams states that the gift of "prophecy"<sup>99</sup> ... is the most needed, and most to be sought after (1 Cor. 14:1)" (1906a, 70).

In a sermon printed in *The Latter Rain Evangel* in 1909, Abrams referred to the Holy Spirit's having been poured out in various "waves" at *Mukti*. After the early-1905 outpouring, another wave came about two years later. She states, "God sent another wave upon us with the gifts of the Spirit. ... God poured out upon us a mighty wave of speaking in other tongues, and a mighty wave of interpretation" (Abrams 1909, 11). After the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Assam (Khasia Hills) and *Mukti*, other Pentecostal missionaries had arrived from the Azusa Street Mission revival, who were strong proponents of speaking in tongues as the sign of Spirit-baptism. When Abrams and her party returned to England in 1908, she wrote in the magazine *Confidence*:

It is true that a part of those who have received this Baptism with tongues claim that speaking in an unknown tongue is the only sign of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, while others of us feel the unknown tongue is a sign of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, but feel that while all may and should receive this sign, yet we dare not say that no one is Spirit-baptized who has not received this sign. (Abrams 1908:14)<sup>100</sup>

Here, Abrams is trying not to quench the Holy Spirit of God (1 Thess. 5:19-20). Such "quenching" did occur on a couple of occasions, especially in the life of Ramabai.<sup>101</sup>

### **Abrams and Luce**

Minnie Abrams' influence on the life of Alice Luce began when Abrams and her party of five Spirit-filled women evangelists began a new mission in 1910 in the Basti

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<sup>99</sup>The gift of prophecy is understood by Pentecostals as a supernatural manifestation intended to exhort, edify, and comfort the members of an assembled congregation (1 Cor. 14:3). This gift is one of nineteen manifestations of the Spirit, according to many scholars. For more information, see Cecil M. Robeck Jr. "Prophecy, Gift of," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan. 2002), pp. 999-1012.

<sup>100</sup>For a more complete treatment of this point, see Gary McGee (2002b).

<sup>101</sup>See Helen S. Dyer n.d., 103–104.

District of northern India, near the border with Nepal (Copely 1910, 14). With her marching orders for North India, Abrams organized the “Bezaleel Evangelistic Mission of Uska Bazar, Basti District.” Abrams also established a ministry to the Brahmins in Uska Bazar and Basti City.<sup>102</sup>

While Abrams was associated with Ramabai at *Mukti*, Ramabai had ties to an orphanage in Allahabad, located west of Benares. Standing at the confluence of two holy rivers, the Ganges and the Yamuna, Allahabad (“city of God,” today called *Prayag*, “place of sacrifice”) is one of the more important Hindu pilgrimage cities. However, the city also has a Christian history which should not be overlooked. At the orphanage managed by Shorat Chuckerbutty, a revival broke out on October 9, 1905, and continued for some time (Dyer 1907, 42).<sup>103</sup> During this revival, many believers received the baptism in the Holy Spirit at the feet of Spirit-filled Indian women — among others, Agnes Hill and Alice E. Luce (Agnes Hill 1913, 11; cf. Lawrence 1916, 104).<sup>104</sup>

As was previously noted, according to Luce, her baptism in the Holy Spirit took place in 1910, while “two Indian sisters, who had received the baptism, were praying for her” (Alice E. Luce 1916a, 13; Bonilla 1955, Letter; De Leon 1979, 20; cf. Moorhead 1910, 69; Agnes Hill 1913, 11). Luce proclaimed that her experience was parallel to that

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<sup>102</sup>Ten years after Abrams’ death, this ministry continued to flourish, under the direction of her missionary society, which later became part of the Assemblies of God missions ministry (Frodsham 1922, 13). By 1922, there were fifteen preaching points that had been established as a result of Abrams’ pioneer missionary ministry. (See Figure 3 for location of “Uska Bazar.” *The Pentecostal Evangel* October 14, 1922, page 13).

<sup>103</sup>Chuckerbutty attended the first organized girls’ school in Lucknow, called Lal Bagh (“Ruby Garden”), founded in 1870 by Isabella Thoburn (1840-1901). Chuckerbutty later graduated from Bethune College in Calcutta (Hollister 1956, 81), the first Christian women’s college in India. The college was later renamed the Lucknow Women’s College and was affiliated with the University of Calcutta. After Isabella Thoburn’s death in 1903, the college was renamed again as the Isabella Thoburn College; still later, it was known as the Women’s College of Lucknow University. See Anne C. Wantes (2005, 105, 114, 118). Apparently, at this college, Shorat Chuckerbutty earned an advanced degree in some medical field.

<sup>104</sup>I am indebted to Gary B. McGee for locating this reference as to where Alice E. Luce received the baptism in the Holy Spirit.

described in Acts 2:4, in that she “spoke in tongues as the Spirit gave utterance” (Alice E. Luce 1921a, 6; 1927, 195-196). According to Victor De Leon, before receiving the baptism in the Holy Spirit, Luce had heard about the baptism in the Holy Spirit and had read a newsletter<sup>105</sup> about this manifestation (De Leon 1979, 20).

Over time, Luce and Abrams became friends, due in part to their similar Pentecostal experiences and to their mutual acquaintance with Shorat Chuckerbutty. In 1912, Alice Luce “had been on a vacation to the mountains [in northern India] with Abrams, and they both contracted jungle fever<sup>106</sup> on their return” (Alice E. Luce 1916a, 13). About four months afterwards, Minnie Abrams went home to be with the Lord on December 2, 1912 (Alex Boddy 1913b, 22). For her part, Alice Luce continued to suffer bouts with malaria until her own death in 1955 (Wilson and Wilson 2002, 163 n. 12).

### **Medical Training and Holistic Missions**

By the end of the nineteenth century, the “Woman’s Work for Woman” movement had reached its peak. Women had founded and were supporting financially more than forty women’s missionary societies, and single female missionaries outnumbered their male counterparts by two to one (Robert 1997, 130; 2006, 837).

One of the ministries these courageous women undertook was medical missions. Among the first female medical missionaries was Clara Swain, trained at the Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania, and sent out by the WFMS (Robert 1997, 162). This major step of faith by the WFMS was taken in response to urgent requests from missionary wives. It was hoped that female medical missionaries would be able to provide proper medical attention to the women of countries like China and India, where

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<sup>105</sup>Most major mission ministries in India published accounts of the revivals in the Khassia Hills, Calcutta, and the Mukti Mission, whether in newspapers, booklets, or other mission periodicals. These often detailed accounts enabled both missionaries and Indian Christians to stay abreast of the spiritual awakenings. See Gary McGee (1996, 114).

<sup>106</sup>“Jungle fever” here is a reference to malaria. Gladys L. Fillmore refers to Luce’s having recurrent problems with malaria. See Wilson and Wilson (2002).



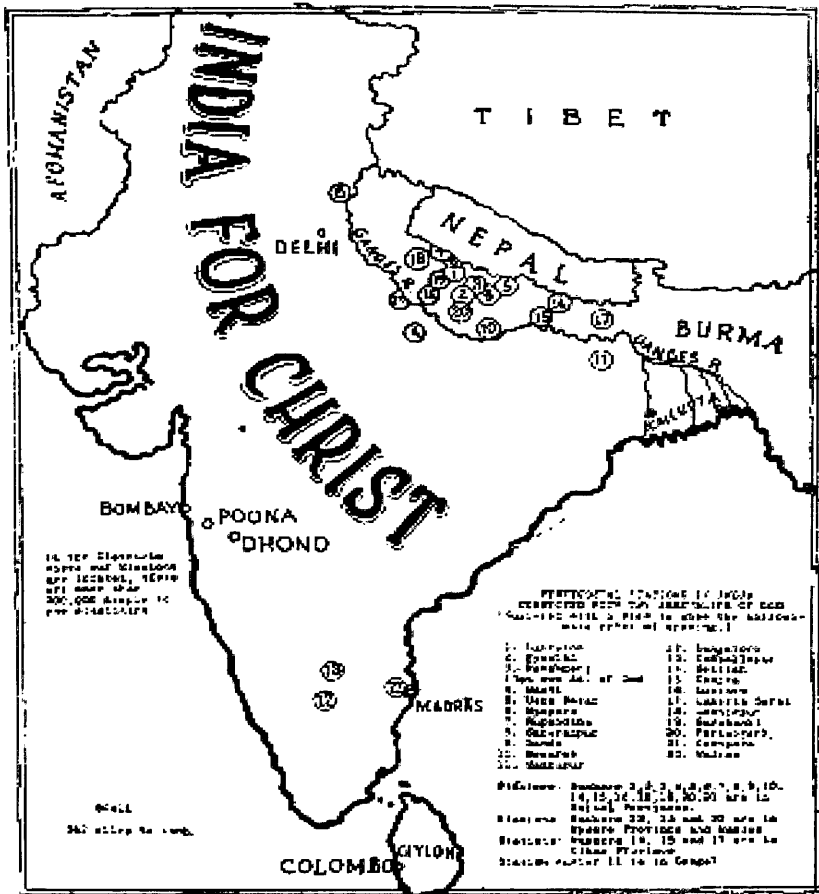


Figure 3. Location of Minnie Abrams Bezaleel Evangelistic Mission of Uska Bazzra\*

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|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Bahraich   | 9. Banda        | 17. Laheria Sarai |
| 2. Fyzabad    | 10. Benares     | 18. Lakjimpur     |
| 3. Twabganj   | 11. Madhupur    | 19. Barabanki     |
| 4. Basti      | 12. Bangaloro   | 20. Partabgarh    |
| 5. Uska Bazar | 13. Todballapur | 21. Cownpore      |
| 6. Manpara    | 14. Bettiah     | 22. Madras        |
| 7. Rupaidiba  | 15. Chapra      |                   |
| 8. Saharanpur | 16. Lucknow     |                   |

Stations 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21 are in United Provinces.  
 Stations 12, 13, and 22 are in Mysore Province and Madras.  
 Stations 14, 15, and 17 are in Dibrang Province  
 Stations 11 is in Bengal.

\*The above information has been rewritten for clarity in reading.

male medical missionaries were mostly prohibited from ministering to women.

In the United States, training for women wishing to enter missionary ministry was almost non-existent until Lucy Rider Meyer opened the Chicago Training School for City, Home, and Foreign Missions in 1885, in downtown Chicago, Illinois.<sup>107</sup> Three years later, also in Chicago, the “Methodists established Wesley Hospital in 1888,” which depended “on a nursing staff of deaconesses trained” at Meyer’s training center (Brereton 2005; Robert 2006, 838). Meyer was a staunch supporter of the deaconess movement and incorporated training for deaconess’ work into the curriculum shortly after the Training School’s opening. The school offered three areas of study: “(1) The Bible, (2) Methods of teaching the Bible and doing religious work, and (3) Nursing and Elementary Medicine” (Meyer 1888, 942). As mentioned earlier, Minnie Abrams attended this school; in fact, along with Mary Hilton Hoover, Abrams was part of the first graduating class.

In England, the CMS began providing cross-cultural missionary training for women at several institutions: The Willows, operated in connection with the Mildmay Institutions in London; The Olives,<sup>108</sup> a private institution which worked with the CMS; and The Highbury Home, operated by the CMS. In addition, The Deaconess House at Great Yarmouth, and a Testing and Training Home at Chelsea were founded in London. These institutions all provided basic medical training to their students. As mentioned in chapter 1, Alice Luce’s initial preparation for missionary service included one term of medical study at Bermondsey Medical Mission.

It was not until 1887 that CMS began freely to send out single women as missionaries. Missionaries such as Alice Luce adopted a holistic approach to their ministry to the *zenanas*. The Church of England developed the Zenana Bible and

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<sup>107</sup>The Chicago Training School for City, Home, and Foreign Missions became part of Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary in 1934. See Ted A. Campbell (2003).

<sup>108</sup>See “The Olives Missionary Training Home” in chapter 1.

Medical Society (ZBMS), which showed how women could lead the heathen into the Kingdom of God through holistic ministry (education, evangelism, and medical work) to other women. According to Dana Robert, "Woman's Work for Women," as this strategy was known, "was one of the major western mission theories of the late nineteenth century" (1997, 137). Especially in India, women missionaries' holistic ministry to indigenous women yielded amazing results. As women missionaries ministered "behind the *pardah*," the medical aid they offered opened the *zenanas*' hearts to receive God's love and healing for their spirits as well.

Because there were limited medical facilities available in India, many missionaries took medical classes, so they could help meet the basic needs of India's vast population. Missionary "dispensaries" became an important way of offering holistic ministry, especially to the women and girls of India. As noted in the *Proceedings* of the CMS, there was "not a regular medical mission in the United Provinces, but dispensary work was carried on at Ghaziabad and also during itineration, [travel from village to village doing *zenana* work], in the Azamgarh and Agra districts" (CMS 1912a, 117). Alice Luce and Anna Tottenham ran a dispensary in villages around Azamgarh, and at outstations in Khorason and Deogaon, about sixty miles to the southwest (Alice E. Luce 1910). Their medical training had been relatively limited, but it had provided them the basic medical knowledge they needed to help alleviate the suffering of India's people.

Since the medical training she had already received had proven to be so valuable in her *zenana* ministry, while Alice Luce was home on furlough in England in 1902 and 1903, she asked permission of the CMS to continue her certification in midwifery. In her request she stated that "a kind friend" had "offered to pay all the expenses," and that the studies could be completed at the "District Nursing Home in Gloucester," where she had originally begun her course work (Alice E. Luce 1902, Letter). In March of 1903, when Luce communicated again with Mr. Durrant, acting

Secretary of Allahabad for the CMS, to discuss her return to India to continue her *zenana* ministry, she noted that she was about halfway through her midwifery course.

In this same correspondence, Luce also stated that she was “very well and strong through God’s mercy” and “quite ready to return” to India (Alice E. Luce 1903, Letter). This was likely intended to allay fears of a decline in her health after the several bouts with illness (including malaria) she had suffered since 1898.

### Health Problems

During Alice Luce’s tenure in northern India, she became ill on several occasions (Puckle 1898, Letter; Bull 1899, Letter). In one case, though her illness is not specified, she states in a letter to Mr. Durrant that she “was hospitalized at St. Catherine’s Hospital<sup>109</sup> in Amritsar”<sup>110</sup> (Alice E. Luce 1898b, Letter). In her absence, others had to come to Luce’s post and take on her workload.

To help missionaries recuperate from illness or fatigue, the CMS had established a rest home in the cooler climate of the hill country in northern India. As needed, missionaries could take a trip to “the Hills” (usually meaning to Mussoorie,<sup>111</sup> United Provinces) to refresh their bodies and souls with some time away from the rigors of their work.<sup>112</sup> For example, during Jessie Puckle’s first year in India, she became ill and the doctor sent her to Mussoorie to recuperate. While Puckle was recuperating, Luce wrote to Mr. Durrant and commented that Miss Puckle was responding to the cool mountain air

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<sup>109</sup>St Catherine’s Hospital was well known for its medical and surgical practices. Many medical mission ministries began there. However, the hospital was severely overtaxed; it attended to more than 96,000 patients annually (CMS 1902c, n.p.).

<sup>110</sup>The city of Amritsar (“pool of ambrosial nectar”), is located in the state of Punjab, to the northwest of the United Provinces. It is home to the “Golden Temple” of the Sikhs of India.

<sup>111</sup>Mussoorie was the CMS’s official “Hill station,” and missionaries were given allowances for trips to it (CMS 1909, 156).

<sup>112</sup>Alternately, they might travel by steamship to another country, for a time of rest. In addition, CMS rules required each missionary to accept the “luxury” of six weeks’ vacation each year, to help prevent burnout.

and was gaining strength daily (Alice E. Luce 1897d, Letter).

During 1911, Luce became ill again and was attended by doctors. She seemed to recover well, and on her "Medical Certificate,"<sup>113</sup> Dr. Jessie George, of the Ishwari Hospital in Benares, United Provinces, declared, "I consider Miss Luce is absolutely well and quite able to continue her duties at the Normal School at Sgra"<sup>114</sup> (George 1911, Medical Certificate).

However, the following year proved to be the "straw that broke the camel's back" regarding Luce's health. Sometime before September 17, 1912, due perhaps to the stress of laboring in India's hot climate and to her having once again contracted malaria, Luce suffered an acute heart attack (Warren 1912, Telegram). CMS leadership in Allahabad sent another telegram on September 17 stating that she had left on September 5 to return to London (CMS 1912c, Telegram). Ironically, only weeks before, Luce had been on holiday in the mountains (probably at Mussoorie) with Minnie Abrams and several Indian women. There the whole party contracted malaria. By December 2 of that same year, Abrams had died, as had one of the Indian women (Alice E. Luce 1916a, 13). Luce continued to suffer with reoccurring bouts with malaria until her death.

At the CMS Women's Conference, held from October 29 to November 1, 1912, in Allahabad, the Women's Conference committee stated:

Resolved: -- (1) That this conference records its deep sense of gratitude to Miss Luce for the invaluable services she has rendered in her office as Secretary,<sup>115</sup> and for the constant zeal and unflinching sympathy she has shown in all the duties connected with it. (2) The Conference desires to express its deep sympathy in

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<sup>113</sup>The "Medical Certificate" was issued by a doctor stating the missionary's name, location, date, and prognosis. If needed, a specified period of rest would be prescribed, and the missionary would travel home to recuperate.

<sup>114</sup>Located in Benares, United Provinces.

<sup>115</sup>Alice Luce was elected to serve as the secretary of the Church Missionary Society Women's Conference in 1904 at Allahabad. Also, she served on the Agents and Schools Committee, along with 11 other members; on the Standing Committee of Conference, with eleven others; and as Secretary and Convener. In the report of the sub-committee, on pages 36-37, she is listed as Secretary and Convener (CMS 1904f, 28, 30-32, 36-37).

her serious illness and its earnest hope that she may be speedily restored, and enabled to return to her work in India. (CMS 1912, Women's Conference)

After Luce arrived in London, she went to the London Missionary Home, owned and administered by Sister Cantel (Reiff 1922, 15), where missionaries could pause for rest and recreation as they traveled to and from the field. This haven of rest, whose walls were adorned with Scriptures about Jesus as Savior, Healer, and coming King, provided both physical rest and spiritual solace. On entering her room, Luce told another guest, "Put me to bed for I am ill" (17). This person was Dr. Florence J. Murcutt,<sup>116</sup> who had just arrived from Palestine. Murcutt, a trained doctor and surgeon, immediately gave her medical attention (Murcutt 1932, 9). This meeting with Murcutt was the beginning of a lengthy personal and ministerial relationship that eventually took Luce to the U.S.A.

While recuperating from the heart attack and malaria, Luce insisted on doing "something" for the Kingdom of God. Gradually, a plan developed for her to serve as a secretary for the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission (ZBMM)<sup>117</sup> in Canada (ZBMM 1914, 83). She served part of her tenure in Toronto, where her brother, Charles Etienne, had earned his Bachelor of Divinity, at the University of Toronto. Still suffering from recurring bouts of malaria, she penned a letter to the Secretary of the CMS in Allahabad, lamenting that she was "sick with fever, but yet able to do some work for India" (Alice E. Luce 1913, Letter). While still attempting to recover her health, Luce eventually traveled westward to the ZBMM office in Vancouver, British Columbia. There, she and Miss M. Campbell "filled in the gaps of office and Deputation work pending the arrival of the Secretaries from England at the end of April" (ZBMM 1914, 83; Cavalier 1914, 91).

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<sup>116</sup>Florence J. Murcutt will be discussed further in chapter 5.

<sup>117</sup>The ZBMM, formerly known as the "Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society," was founded in 1852. In 1957, this medical mission became a general mission, which accepted not only women but also men. After the decision to accept ministers, professionals, and educators, in 1987 it underwent still another name change to Interserve (International Service Fellowship). The mission is still located in London.

Eventually, it became clear to Luce that her health had been permanently compromised. After sixteen years of faithful service, on August 7, 1914, in the home of her new friend, Florence Murcutt, in Long Beach, California, she apprehensively wrote a letter of resignation. In it, she gave her reason for resigning as poor health, and stated that "medical opinion gives no hope of my ever being able to return to India" (Luce 1914, Letter). In response, the Committee

accepted with much regret the resignation, on health grounds, of Miss A. E. Luce after 16 years of missionary service, the resignation to take effect from October 6, 1914. They record with thankfulness the valuable work Miss Luce has been able to do for the cause of Christ amongst the women of India, and desire to express their sympathy with her in the circumstances which have compelled her to relinquish work in India, and their wishes for a speedy restoration to health and strength. (CMS 1914a, 329-330)

After sixteen years of successful missionary ministry, Alice Luce must have been deeply disappointed that she could no longer serve the daughters of India. In relation to her health, several questions arose at this point in her life and ministry: What now? What about the baptism in the Holy Spirit? What about the gift of healing (divine healing)? Was she supposed to end her ministry now? Or was this only a hiatus, a time for reflection and for listening to the Spirit speak to her about her future ministry?

**PART III**

**THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO (1914–1955)**



## Chapter 5

### An Outsider Ministering to Outsiders

In 1914, Alice E. Luce moved to sunny southern California and roomed in a little bungalow owned by Dr. Florence J. Murcutt,<sup>118</sup> whom she had first met in 1912 in London (Reiff 1922, 17; Murcutt 1932, 9). Luce was at a crossroads in her ministry and personal life. When Luce had resigned from the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1914, her health was broken, and prospects for future missionary ministry were dismal. She must have replayed in her mind over and over again the memories of the work of the Holy Spirit “with signs and wonders” in her own life, in the lives of her Pentecostal friends (Abrams, Chuckerbutty, and Hill, in particular), and of the Indian people. And she must have wondered, “What is God going to do with me now?”

Did God have an answer for her? As she recuperated in California, the Holy Spirit began to speak to her about the needs of the people of the borderlands<sup>119</sup> of the southwestern United States and northwestern Mexico. Luce became convinced that God was calling her to labor among the Mexicans in this area. Murcutt commented that, “When the Lord miraculously restored [Luce] to health and strength, He laid the needs of the Latin-American peoples heavily upon her heart” (Alice E. Luce 1916a, 13; 1917c, 13; Murcutt 1932, 9; De León 1979, 20).

Indeed, her restoration to health was a key reason for Luce’s willing response to

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<sup>118</sup>See chapter 6, “Florence J. Murcutt.”

<sup>119</sup>“People of the borderlands” refers to Hispanics living in the area along the frontier between the four states on the US side, and the six states on the Mexican side, of the border between the U.S.A. and Mexico. A Mexican from this region who had gone to live in Chicago would still be considered part of this group; on the other hand, Euro American US citizens who had moved to the Guadalajara, Mexico area for retirement, would not.

the Holy Spirit's call to give the balance of her life to people of yet another language and culture. Because she was a woman of faith, and had seen that faith in action in India, she held onto what God promised in Mark 16:15-20, which includes, "they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover" (Alice E. Luce 1916a, 13). It is not known who laid hands on Luce and prayed the prayer of faith for her healing, but a miraculous transformation took place in her body. Luce had left India with no prospects of ever again being well enough to serve in any mission field at all. But God raised her up and enabled her to minister for four more decades, right up until her death in 1955 at the age of eighty-two. It is hardly surprising, after such an experience, that healing was a recurring motif in Alice Luce's personal life and in her ministry to Hispanics.

### **Another Language, Another Culture**

With a new lease on life, and with the field wide-open for ministry among the people of the US-Mexico borderlands, Luce began learning the language and culture of another people. Her language aptitude clearly was good; at the age of 41, she already spoke English, French, Hindi, and Urdu (De León 1979, 20; see chapter 3 of this dissertation). By January of 1917, Luce was able to give a praise report "that the Lord is graciously giving me the Spanish language and enabling me to speak little messages from His Word at every meeting now" (Alice E. Luce 1917a, 12).

By July of 1917, Luce was training Mexican men and women in a local congregation in Kingsville, Texas, while fellow-laborer Henry C. Ball<sup>120</sup> ministered to the fledgling congregations along the Texas-Mexican border in the Rio Grande valley (Alice E. Luce 1917c, 13; 1917d, 13). In September, along with Florence Murcutt, Sunshine Ball, and two young Mexican women, Luce moved to Monterrey, Mexico to serve as a missionary with the Assemblies of God. She appealed to the readers of *The Weekly*

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<sup>120</sup>See chapter 5, "Henry C. Ball."

*Evangel* to pray that her ministry team would be “enabled to get the language very quickly, and that I may be guided in teaching them. I believe we can expect the Lord to work a miracle in this matter (as He really has done already in the case of Dr. Murcutt) that they may be able to speak in an incredibly short time, because the days are so few before the coming of our precious Lord” (Alice E. Luce 1917e, 11).

When learning a people’s language, it is indispensable to learn about their culture as well. As Luce transitioned to her new ministry to Hispanics, she faced a culture worlds apart from that of either England or India. The smells of the open-air market, the living conditions, the local economy and local politics, and the local religion all played a valuable role in Luce’s becoming acculturated to her new place of service. Learning the importance of each facet of the local culture was essential to her knowing the people and being able to influence them to accept the gospel message, so that they might become citizens of the Kingdom of God.

When Luce arrived in the crowded metropolis of Los Angeles, California in 1914, she would have found a well-entrenched, Anglo-controlled social structure. Anglos<sup>121</sup> controlled the economy<sup>122</sup> in California, just as they did in the rest of the United States. The recent inventions of electric lights, telephones, motion pictures, trolley cars, automobiles, paved roads, and other accouterments of modern life, made Los Angeles an attractive destination for immigrants. With the Mexican Civil War in full swing from 1910 to 1920, Mexican citizens swarmed into the southwestern part of the U.S. seeking refuge from the turmoil and devastation. Although many middle- and upper-class families escaped to the safety of the United States, the refugees were mainly peasants. These

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<sup>121</sup>An “Anglo” is a North American whose native language is English and, especially, whose culture or ethnic background is of European origin (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary).

<sup>122</sup>At that time in the USA, the Euro Americans controlled most private and corporate businesses. Other ethnicities were usually kept in the background and didn’t have a large stake in the economy.

*peones*,<sup>123</sup> typically poor, illiterate and unskilled, found work in their new homeland as laborers in agriculture and industry, and it was on the backs of the peons that the economy of the borderlands was built.

The pace of immigration from Mexico to the U.S. was phenomenal. “By 1925, Los Angeles had the largest community of Mexicans in the world outside of Mexico City” (Samora and Simon 1977, 130). According to the Fifteenth Census of the United States (1930), Los Angeles had a population of 29,757 in 1920, but by 1930 this had grown to 97,116 (Griswold del Castillo and De León 1996, 68).

In India, Luce had ministered to people bound up in the Hindu caste system. So she would quickly have noticed the segregation — occasionally voluntary, but most often involuntary — of the Mexicans from the Anglo-Americans. Mexican people tended to move into areas where other Mexican families already lived. They gradually developed their own *barrios* (neighborhoods) inside the city, or else moved to outlying areas (which usually lacked utilities).

Luce’s arrival in Los Angeles coincided with the beginning of World War I. During this dark hour in American and world history, the Anglo community tolerated Mexican Americans and the war-time immigrants from Mexico because they strengthened the war effort. When the war ended, however, Anglos reverted to their former hatred of Hispanics and other ethnicities. When Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans moved to other areas of the United States, they encountered the same discrimination, and continued to suffer poor living conditions. The Anglo community enforced the “Jim Crow”<sup>124</sup> traditions on Mexicans and Mexican Americans. “Anglos kept Mexicans from

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<sup>123</sup>*Peones*, from which the English “peons” were Indian peasants who survived as wage workers. The *peones* were reduced to virtual serfdom through indebtedness and were under the control of Mexico’s *hacienda* owners until the 1915 Land Reform Act.

<sup>124</sup>“Jim Crow” was the name of the racially-based class system that operated primarily, but not exclusively, in southern and border states, from the late 1870s through the mid-1960s. Jim Crow was more than a series of rigid anti-Black laws — it was a way of life. Under Jim Crow,

swimming pools, movie houses, barbershops, and eating places and openly displayed signs that read ‘No Mexicans Allowed,’ or ‘No Mexican Trade Wanted’” (Griswold del Castillo and De León, 66-67). The general image of Mexicans was negative, and they typically were treated as second-class citizens.

Beginning in the latter half of the eighteenth century, in the Los Angeles area, as well as throughout southern California, numerous Roman Catholic missions were established (Campbell 1949, 29-39). In and around these missions the Indians were “civilized” and “Christianized” according to Roman Catholic tradition. Protestants — almost exclusively Anglos — didn’t enter the area until the latter half of the nineteenth century. So, southern California was typically thought to be almost totally Roman Catholic. However, this perspective was not entirely accurate. The poor immigrants to the U.S. were often nominal Catholics, who were ignorant of their religion and had only weak loyalties to formal Catholicism. Furthermore, there had never been many parochial schools in Mexico, and they were finally outlawed by the Constitution of 1912. The textbooks and curriculum in Mexican public schools had a decidedly anti-religious flavor. Hence, some immigrants brought anticlerical leanings to their new homeland (Grebler, Moore, and Guzman 1970, 450). That Roman Catholic authorities were aware of the prevalence of nominalism among Catholics is demonstrated by an article in the diocesan newspaper, *The Tidings*, which emphasized two major themes: (1) fears of Protestant proselytism; and (2) the need to Americanize the Mexican immigrants (457).

Catholic worry over Protestant proselytism was well-founded. Protestant missionaries actively sought Hispanic converts in remote villages, rural towns, migrant camps, barrios — wherever they could attract an audience. On the Mexican side of the

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African Americans were relegated to the status of second-class citizens (Pilgrim 2000, Jim Crow). In the southwestern USA, many Euro Americans viewed Hispanics, and in particular, Mexicans, in the same way, and treated them just as they did African Americans.

*frontera* (border), Manuel Gamio states that “prior to 1930, the growth of Protestantism had mainly come from the middle classes, who were ‘too intelligent to accept the neo-paganism of the Indians’” (Holland 1974, 35).

When Luce finished her missionary service in Monterrey, Mexico in December 1917, she and Murcutt returned to the Los Angeles area and began planting Hispanic congregations. This era of “church planting” by Luce and her colleagues will be discussed in chapter 6.

### **The Azusa Street Revival**

In 1906, a major earthquake, with its epicenter in San Francisco, violently shook northern California. The quake, and the fires that swept across the city in its aftermath, brought San Francisco to its knees. But that same year, a different kind of “earthquake,” with its epicenter in a small warehouse at 312 Azusa Street in Los Angeles, rocked southern California. This second quake was not a shift in the earth’s crust, but a shift in the spiritual realms. The effects of the first temblor were both local and temporary, but the effects of the second, spiritual one have spread around the globe, and are still being felt more than one hundred years later.

The city of Los Angeles was characterized by considerable religious and ethnic pluralism and by the racial and class divisions that such diversity seems inevitably to produce. The Pentecostal revival at the Azusa Street Mission created waves that washed over and blurred these deeply-engrained divisions. According to Frank Bartleman, “The ‘color line’ was washed away in the blood” (1980, 54). African Americans, Euro Americans, as well as Asian and Hispanic Americans and immigrants worshipped God and received the Spirit’s baptism together. As news of the revival spread around the globe, people came from Africa,<sup>125</sup> India,<sup>126</sup> and other parts of the

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<sup>125</sup>See Seymour (1997), p. 20, regarding S. J. and Ardell K. Mead, missionaries to Africa.

world to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues.

The first edition of *The Apostolic Faith* newspaper carried an article relating the testimony of a Mexican citizen, who told that, "On August 11, a man from the central part of Mexico, an Indian, was present ... and heard a German sister speaking in his tongue . ... He understood ... the message" and "was most happily converted so that he could hardly contain his joy" (Seymour 1997, 12). Later in the service, he was led by the Spirit to place his hands on a woman suffering from consumption and she was instantly healed (12). Two months later, it was reported that Abundio L. Lopez and Rosa de Lopez had received their baptism in the Holy Spirit back on May 29, 1906 and that they were preaching in the Plaza (downtown area) of Los Angeles (17).<sup>127</sup> During the following November, another Mexican brother, Brigido Perez, testified to receiving his personal "Pentecost" and a call to preach (Apostolic Faith 1997, 21). These brief testimonies of the fruit of the revival at the Azusa Street Mission were a foreshadowing of what was soon to occur among the Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the borderlands.

Aldolfo C. Valdez Sr., who, as a 10-year-old boy, experienced the revival firsthand, gives us another eyewitness account of the "latter rain" of the Holy Spirit poured out at 312 Azusa Street. According to Valdez, one night his mother, Susie Valdez, having attended a revival meeting at Azusa Street, awakened Aldolfo and

began talking fast in some language I had never heard before. ... Why wasn't she talking English? ... Then, suddenly, she began crying, but I knew right away she was crying from joy, not sadness. I kept wondering if she would ever use English again. Then the other language stopped, and she said: 'Son, I have had a most glorious experience! I have just been baptized in the Holy Ghost and have been given the gift of tongues!' (Valdez 1980, 3-4)

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<sup>126</sup>See Seymour (1997), pp. 38 and 46, regarding A. G. and Lillian Garr.

<sup>127</sup>According to church historian Cecil Robeck, another Abundio de Lopez worked closely with William J. Seymour, pastor of the Azusa Street Mission, and was ordained by him several years later. Eventually, this family obtained credentials with Francisco Olazábal,<sup>127</sup> the founder of the Latin American Council of Christian Churches, with headquarters in Brownsville, Texas (Robeck 2006, 197-198).

This was not the first time that a member of the Valdez family had experienced speaking in tongues. Aldolfo Valdez tells the story, passed down to him from his great-great-grandfather, Eugenio Valdez, of the spirit-filled Franciscan priest, Junipero Serra, who established nine missions in California before it became a U.S. territory. One mission, constructed in 1782, was the San Buenaventura Mission (located in modern-day Ventura, California). Aldolfo Valdez's father told him about his own father, who was a member of the Franciscan order:

My father was filled with the Spirit, and many times I found him in the barn on his knees, praying and shaking from head to foot and speaking in tongues. He continued: The Franciscan Order, named after St. Francis of Assisi, a priest filled with the Spirit and possessed of all the gifts of the Spirit, including speaking in tongues, was the example my priest followed. (Valdez 1980, 21–22)

So, members of the Valdez family had been experiencing this spiritual phenomenon for over 150 years. That is why, says Valdez, when the Azusa Street meeting occurred, “our hearts and minds were open to it and we were able to share in this great ‘sound from heaven’” (Valdez, 22). Prior to the Azusa Street revival, Susie Valdez had worked with Dr. Finis Yoakum at his Pisgah House, a faith-healing home, in Arroyo Seco, California (Alexander 2005, 99). After the revival, she continued to evangelize, teach, and disciple the Hispanic people, and she encouraged her son as an international evangelist.

Understanding what happened among Hispanics at the Azusa Street Mission helps make clear why people like Alice E. Luce, Florence J. Murcutt, and Henry C. Ball became involved in ministering to Hispanics. Both Luce and Murcutt were British citizens, and so were viewed as outsiders by the local Anglo or Euro American population. These same Anglos viewed Hispanics as outsiders or second class citizens as well. So, in a real sense, Murcutt's and Luce's ministry was a case of one outsider ministering to other outsiders.

However, when Luce and Murcutt came to south Texas in 1917, the burden they felt for Mexican Americans and Mexicans was not new; it had been laid on their hearts



back in 1912, while both were still in England (Murcutt 1932, 9). In giving themselves to reach Hispanics for Christ, Luce and Murcutt were simply responding to the leading of the Spirit, “for the training of the saints in the work of ministry, to build up the body of Christ, until [they] all reach unity in the faith and in the knowledge of God’s Son, growing ... mature ... with a stature measured by Christ’s fullness” (Eph. 4:12–13, HCSB).

### **Florence J. Murcutt, M.D. (1868–1935)**

Florence J. Murcutt was born in Australia in 1868, to English parents. In 1901, she immigrated to the United States. According to the 1910 census, she was both a physician and a surgeon (United States of America 1910, 131). She did her medical studies at the Woman’s Medical College<sup>128</sup> in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, from which she graduated in 1907 (Woman’s Medical College 1918, 19).

Murcutt’s Jewish mother raised her to believe that Jesus was not the Son of God. Having an inquiring mind, however, after her mother died Murcutt read the Bible through. Sometime later, through the “instrumentality and prayers” of Dr. Jenny Trout,<sup>129</sup> Murcutt became a Christian. She often referred to Trout as her “spiritual mother” (Alex Boddy 1913a, 40; Murcutt 1916a, 13; 1916b, 4).

The story of Murcutt’s conversion to Christianity is an interesting one. Some of her earliest contacts with Christians were with Pentecostals in Vancouver, British Columbia, where she “heard Lillian Garr speak in tongues and interpret the message” (Frodsham 1941, 231–232). Later, while traveling from Vancouver to Los Angeles, she

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<sup>128</sup>The Woman’s Medical College, founded in 1850, was the world’s first medical school specifically for women. Today, it is part of the Drexel University College of Medicine.

<sup>129</sup>Jenny Kidd Gowanlock Trout (1841-1921) was the first Canadian woman to earn her medical degree at the Woman’s Medical College in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania as did Florence Murcutt. At age 41, Jenny Trout took an early retirement from her medical practice, the Medical and Electro-Therapeutic Institute, in Toronto. In 1908, she and her family moved to Hollywood, California, where she became friends with Murcutt, because they were both medical doctors and Christians (Dembski 2005, 427-428).

stopped in Portland, Oregon and attended a Pentecostal camp meeting, where she witnessed signs and wonders. One Canadian man began speaking to her in Parisian French, which she understood. Murcutt states:

He told me I was a sinner and that I could be saved only one way, and that was through Jesus Christ who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. He told me that Jesus was the Door and that I would have to enter by that door. He told me that He is the Bread of life and that I would have to be sustained by Him. As he spoke he urged me to yield to God. This brother was absolutely unfamiliar with Parisian French but was speaking entirely under the anointing of God. ... As a result of this manifestation of God's presence, I went on my knees and yielded to God. (Murcutt 1926, 3; Frodsham 1941, 232-233)

Murcutt later testified to having "received the outpouring of the Holy Spirit according to Acts 2:4 in [her] home," at 749½ Ocean Front Street in Long Beach, California (Murcutt 1932, 7). This would have been sometime between April 1910 and the autumn of 1912.

After her conversion and baptism in the Holy Spirit, God began speaking to Murcutt about going to Palestine, which she did in 1912 (Murcutt 1932, 7). There she gave out approximately five thousand Hebrew and Arabic New Testaments and gospel tracts, which she bought from the Bible Society in Port Said and Jerusalem. With Palestine under Turkish rule, and Turkey involved in the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-1912, political tensions were running high in Palestine, especially for foreigners and tourists. When Murcutt was called before the *pasha* (governor) of Palestine and accused of proselytizing Mohammedans and Jews, she explained her reasons for distributing the literature. The *pasha* informed her that her life was in jeopardy, and insisted that she desist from her literature distribution. After spending about two weeks in prayer with other Christians, Murcutt resumed her labor of love. Once again, she was called appeared before the *pasha* who again ordered her to cease the distribution. But in an extraordinary answer to prayer, within twenty-four hours the *pasha* was recalled to Turkey, and Murcutt was able to distribute the remainder of the literature without further incident (Alex Boddy 1913a, 39-41; Murcutt 1916a, 13; 1916b, 4-5, 9).

During Murcutt's voyage home from Palestine, the steamship stopped at the port in Liverpool, England. There, God spoke a specific person's name to her: Mrs. Cantel, of London. Obediently, Murcutt went to London and found Mrs. Cantel at her London Missionary Home. Murcutt took up temporary residence at the home, and sometime later, in 1912, Alice Luce arrived there from India in her broken state of health. As Murcutt cared for Luce, there developed between them a "firm friendship," which lasted for nearly a quarter of a century until Murcutt's death. According to Murcutt, this meeting was instrumental in Luce's moving to California, where "the Lord laid the needs of the Latin-American peoples very heavily upon her heart" (1932, 9) and "to study the Spanish language" (Reiff 1922, 17). After ministering to Luce for several months, Murcutt returned to her home in Long Beach, California. In 1914, Luce moved to California and moved in with Murcutt (Murcutt 1917, 11).

On June 18, 1915, in California, at the recommendation of Arch P. Collins, chairman of the Assemblies of God (AG), and M. M. (Mack) Pinson, an ordained minister with the AG, Luce and Murcutt both received ordination as "missionaries." Luce's and Murcutt's formal credentials were issued by the newly-organized AG, whose headquarters were located in St. Louis, Missouri (AG 1915a, Alice E. Luce; 1915b, Florence J. Murcutt). Neither of the two ladies ever stated clearly what caused them to identify with the Assemblies of God. However, it can be safely assumed that an important factor in their decision was the AG's espousal of the doctrines of salvation by faith, a Trinitarian mode of water baptism, the baptism in the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in tongues, and divine healing.

In 1916, Luce<sup>130</sup> traveled to Kingsville, Texas, and became a co-laborer with

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<sup>130</sup>It was at first assumed that Murcutt didn't go with Luce at this time (Alice E. Luce 1917a, 12). It was discovered, however, that as of April 14, 1917, Murcutt was designated as a "Missionary to Texas" by the AG (AG 1917, 15). Apparently, Murcutt had traveled back to

Henry C. Ball, who also served as a missionary to Hispanics. When Luce and her team, which included Murcutt, went to Monterrey in September of 1917, she became only the second AG missionary to enter Mexico, after Loreto Garza, who had gone to Mexico with his family some months earlier.<sup>131</sup>

While Murcutt was part of a team led by Luce, Murcutt herself almost certainly has the distinction of being the first female Pentecostal medical doctor ever to labor among the Mexican Americans and Mexicans in California and Mexico. (It also seems likely that she was the first *Jewish* Pentecostal Christian missionary ever to serve anywhere!) Murcutt medical and surgical skills, augmented by Luce's nurse's training, would have been the means of tremendous blessing to the people in their new field of labor. When the first Spanish Pentecostal Bible School opened in San Diego in 1926, Murcutt worked with Luce, and together they organized the school and ministered to the students. Also, Murcutt helped Luce with planting Spanish and English congregations in central and southern California (Wilson and Little 1994, 58).

Besides her work with Luce's missionary team, Murcutt wrote at least eight articles for *The Pentecostal Evangel* (USA), as well as several articles for *Confidence* (UK) and *The Latter Rain Evangel* (Chicago). These articles gave accounts of her ministry in Palestine, personal healing, ministry with Luce, and other travels.

On December 13, 1935, in the area of Inglewood, California, an automobile struck Florence J. Murcutt, and she died of her injuries. As a pioneer missionary with the Assemblies of God, she had served sacrificially among the Mexicans and Mexican

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California to take care of her home or some other business. Hence her absence when Luce was preparing to enter Mexico (Henry Ball 1917a, 12).

<sup>131</sup>In her history of missions in Latin America, Hispanic educator Luisa Jeter de Walker states that Luce was the *first* Assemblies of God missionary to Mexico (Luisa Walker 1990, 17). But subsequent research shows that Luce was, in fact, the *second*, having been preceded by the Garza, who went to Mexico in February or March of 1917, some six months before Luce and her missionary team (Alice E. Luce 1917p, 12; 1917d, 13). For more about the Loreto Garza family, see "Self-governing" in chapter 7

Americans of California and Mexico (Frodsham, ed. 1936, 7). She was also Alice Luce's dedicated companion and friend for almost twenty-five years.

### **Henry Cleophas Ball (1896–1989)**

Henry Cleophas Ball was born in Brooklyn, Iowa on February 18, 1896, to Scottish parents. After his father's death, he and his mother journeyed to Ricardo, Texas to put down roots. Ball joined the local Methodist congregation in 1910, and soon sensed God calling him to minister to the Mexican people. After learning only a few words of Spanish, he took a step of faith and opened the doors of the local schoolhouse to conduct his first Spanish service, with just two people present. The following week, one of these returned with six guests; and within the first four years, Ball had an established congregation of about twenty members, plus a number of adherents.

In November 1914, Ball attended a revival in nearby Kingsville, Texas, where evangelist Felix A. Hale was conducting meetings from September 13 through November 15 (P. Johnson 1914, 4). And then it happened: Ball received the baptism in the Holy Spirit (Preston 1915, 4). At this point, he had a choice to make: Should he remain with the Methodists, where he had the opportunity to attend one of their seminaries, or should he affiliate with the newly-organized Assemblies of God? Ball's decision set the course of his ministry for the rest of his life. On January 10, 1915, Ball received his ordination from the AG, by the laying on of hands by Felix A. Hale, Charlie Mosely, and Elder Mosely of San Antonio, Texas (Henry Ball 1917c, Application Blank; AG 1916, Certificate of Ordination).

After one year of ministry to the Mexican Americans and Mexicans at Ricardo, Texas, Ball had established a fledgling AG congregation. Hale reported that "over 30 of [them] have the baptism in the Holy Ghost with the signs following according to Acts 2:4. [O]ften messages are given in tongues with interpretation and many cases of healing

have occurred among them" (1916, 12).

In 1916 and 1917, Ball contributed articles to *The Weekly Evangel* (the AG's official organ). In these, he petitioned the readers to send financial support for a band of ministers to reach other Hispanic Pentecostal worshippers. He also asked for help to finance a publication called *La Luz Apostólica* (The Apostolic Light). This magazine became the official organ of the Mexican Convention,<sup>132</sup> and focused on keeping adherents informed and disciplined through the printed page (Henry Ball 1916, 15). In 1916, *La Luz Apostólica* was the only Spanish-language Pentecostal periodical in print.

When John A. Preston, a missionary to Mexicans, and Ball had visited the nearby town of Brownsville, Texas, they could hear the firing of weapons in Matamoros, which was just across the river and under siege by Poncho Villa's<sup>133</sup> army (Preston 1915, 4). Brownsville was filled with Mexican people displaced by the fighting, and Ball wanted to evangelize them. He also saw an opportunity to impact their lives by putting gospel literature into their hands. But he didn't have the financial means to realize this passion, so he pleaded with the readers of *The Weekly Evangel* to come to their aid.

Near the end of 1916, Ball received an answer to his prayers when he was joined by a missionary colleague with her nineteen years of foreign missionary experience: Alice E. Luce. Though Luce was twenty-three years his senior, she learned to work within the confines of the "machismo" culture of the Mexicans and Mexican Americans. By the end of 1916, Luce was heavily involved in raising funds to complete the tabernacle in Kingsville and to buy Gospel portions for war-torn Mexico (Alice E. Luce 1917a, 12). This experience ministering in south Texas helped prepare Luce to enter Mexico as a missionary the following year.

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<sup>132</sup>In 1930 this was renamed the Latin American District of the Assemblies of God.

<sup>133</sup>When Villa was in Matamoros, Mexico was caught up in a civil war (1910-1920).

## **Sunshine Louise Marshall Ball (1895–1993)**

Sunshine Louise Marshall was born in Lampasas, Texas on August 5, 1895. About eight years later, while her family was living in Beeville, Texas, her mother passed away. On a visit to an aunt's home in Liberty Hill, Texas in 1911, Marshall gave her life to Jesus Christ, received the gift of the Holy Spirit, and felt a call to ministry (Sunshine Ball n.d., 1). Educated as a schoolteacher, she taught three terms in Williamson County, Texas (Sunshine Ball 1964?, 1).

While attending her first District Council at Faith Tabernacle in Fort Worth, Texas in 1917, Sunshine L. Marshall witnessed a wonderful spiritual manifestation of tongues and interpretation. The gift of tongues was manifested through M. M. (Mack) Pinson and the gift of interpretation was given to Alice E. Luce (Baldwin n.d., 2). Earlier in the afternoon, Marshall attended a prayer meeting, during which the Lord had laid two Scriptures on her heart: Joshua 1:9 and Isaiah 41:10. According to Marshall, that day in 1917 marked a turning point in her life, as she heard and accepted God's call to minister to Hispanics with the Assemblies of God (1–2).

Later that same year, Marshall attended the Latino Camp Meeting at Onion Creek, near Austin, Texas, in 1917. While there, she received an invitation from Alice Luce to join the missionary team about to enter Mexico (S. Ball 1964?, 2). Before she went, the Mack Pinson family invited Marshall to visit San Antonio, Texas. There she became acquainted with ministry in a Mexican context, and began studying Spanish with Professor Díaz, before entering Mexico with Luce's team (2).

Something else happened while Marshall was at the Onion Creek meeting — she met and fell in love with Henry C. Ball. When Ball accepted a call to pastor in San Antonio (where Marshall had ministered before going to Mexico, and to which she had returned), they announced their engagement. They were married on June 20, 1918, and over the next fourteen years had three daughters and two sons (Spence n.d., 7).

## A Team of Missionary Women

For some time, Alice Luce had carried a burden to minister in Mexico; but in God's timing, the opportunity had not yet come. However, after Spanish language study and enculturation in Kingsville, Los Indios, and Brownsville, Texas, she felt the Spirit of God leading her south of the border (Alice E. Luce 1917d, 13). Luce began to form a team of missionary women to go to Monterrey, Mexico. In mid-1917 Luce and Sunshine Marshall joined Henry Ball in Brownsville, with plans to begin a mission there while they awaited the arrival of Florence Murcutt, who would go with them to Monterrey (Henry Ball 1917a, 12). The missionary team, once complete, was composed of Alice Luce, Florence Murcutt, Sunshine Marshall, and two unnamed Mexican women — possibly from the ministry in Kingsville, since while in south Texas, Luce had trained those who responded to a call to ministry (Alice E. Luce 1917e, 13; 1917c, 13). The team arrived in Monterrey in September, 1917.

From the outset, it was unclear how long the team might be able to stay in Mexico, for both the Mexican Revolution and World War I were ongoing. Indeed, Marshall commented that, "The Lord had made known to Sister Luce beforehand that it would be but a brief stay" (Baldwin n.d., God's Plan). In her first report from Monterrey, Luce noted that the city had a population of about eighty thousand. She described the spiritual climate as "nothing but dirt, degradation, devastation and waste on every side. The whole scene just spells ROME" (Alice E. Luce 1917d, 13).

Marshall provides some details about what they were able to accomplish in the short time they were in Monterrey. They "distributed tracts and gospels all over the city, on the streets and parks, and obtained permission to visit the hospitals and the penitentiary" (S. Ball 1964?, 2). In addition to this ministry, Luce told *The Weekly Evangel* readers that on September 21, the team was able to rent a house that would seat about one hundred people. They began to conduct nightly services, with overflow



crowds, and saw several people turn their hearts toward heaven. Some began to seek and receive the infilling of the Spirit; Luce describes one sister who, "seeking with all her heart lay under the Spirit's power last Wednesday from 10 a.m. till 6, praising God all the time without a moment's intermission" (Alice E. Luce 1917d, 13).

All was not roses in their ministry, however. Marshall lamented that during one service she "was spit upon as she gave a message from the Word of God in a cottage meeting held in a strongly Catholic neighborhood" (Baldwin n.d., 2). Luce reported other adversities: "We have had stones and mud thrown in on us at nearly all meetings, and one night the windows were broken; but, glory to God, the more the enemy raged, the more of the Spirit's power came on the meeting," (Alice E. Luce 1917d, 13). Sometime later, they were given notice to vacate their rented building as soon as possible. Local Roman Catholic priests had obviously influenced the landlords to expel them (13).

Because most of the team members were novices, Luce requested prayer through *The Weekly Evangel* that God would enable her to teach them Spanish, and that He would perform a miracle in them as He had in Murcutt (13). As they continued studying Spanish, a Roman Catholic home opened to them where they conducted weekly "cottage" meetings; they also ministered from house to house, in hospitals and in a penitentiary (Sunshine Ball 1964, 2).

Tensions within Mexico were high because of World War I, and Poncho Villa's escapades in northern Mexico and his invasion of Columbus, New Mexico, raised the specter of possible war with the U.S. Thousands of Mexicans had crossed the Rio Grande seeking asylum, and governments of the U.S. and Mexico were accusing each other's citizens of spying. On one occasion, when Murcutt had returned to Texas to buy items for the team's ministry, she was accused of being a spy and denied entry back into Mexico (2). And once, while Marshall was passing out literature with a Mexican woman in Monterrey, they were followed by unidentified people (Sunshine Ball 1964?, 2).

In the end, after serving in Monterrey for only three months, the first missionary team in Mexico with the Assemblies of God received notice from the American Consulate that the group should leave Mexico immediately and return to the United States. This was a disappointment, although as mentioned above, God had revealed to Luce that their stay in Mexico would be brief. Nonetheless, they had distributed thousands of tracts and gospel portions, and were leaving a handful of new believers to be the nucleus of a potential congregation in Monterrey. It would be some five years later before a Mexican Pentecostal minister, R. C. Orozco,<sup>134</sup> would return to Monterrey to pick up the pieces, and eventually establish the indigenous *Las Asambleas de Dios* (The Assemblies of God) of Mexico in 1930 (S. Ball 1964?, 2).

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<sup>134</sup>See Alfonso de los Reyes (1997, 9).

## Chapter 6

### Revival Fires: Fanning the Flame

#### Introduction

During the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries, England, Wales, Europe, India, Africa, Latin America, and the United States witnessed spiritual awakenings with a frequency unprecedented in the history of the Church. No single center or person can claim responsibility for igniting these revival fires. Their true source was God, responding to God's word and to the cries of the children of God's Kingdom. Indeed, a common thread running through the literature on these revivals is that they were predicated on believers' having spent years praying for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

A variety of observable phenomena accompanied the outpouring of the Spirit in these revivals. As we have seen, spiritual manifestations occurred during the revivals in southern India in the 1860s, and in the Khassia Hills and at the Mukti Mission in 1905. And the testimonies of participants and witnesses to the events at Topeka, Kansas in 1901, and at the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles, California in 1906, ignited similar revival fires around the world. This resulted in a surge of new and/or renewed evangelistic and missionary ministry which has had a worldwide impact.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Los Angeles' diverse ethnic community included adherents of a wide variety of sects and religions. So, when reports appeared in the local newspapers about an outpouring of the Spirit accompanied by corroborating "signs and wonders," many Christian leaders and lay people questioned the authenticity of the event. However, in 1906, on the first page of the third edition of *The Apostolic*

*Faith*, the official organ of the Azusa Street Mission, editor Clara Lum, states:

The news has spread far and wide that Los Angeles is being visited with a “rushing mighty wind from heaven.” The how and why of it is to be found in the very opposite of those conditions that are usually thought necessary for a big revival. No instruments of music are used, none are needed. No choir—but bands of angels have been heard by some in the spirit and there is a heavenly singing that is inspired by the Holy Ghost. No collections are taken. No bills have been posted to advertise the meetings. No church or organization is back of it. All who are in touch with God realize as soon as they enter the meetings that the Holy Ghost is the leader. One brother stated that even before his train entered the city, he felt the power of the revival. (Lum 1997, 18)

And in *Fire on Azusa Street*, Valdez asserts, “There was almost no human leadership. The Holy Spirit took charge and spoke through anointed ministers” (1980, 79).

This baptism in the Holy Ghost and fire moved the Azusa Street congregation to become involved in taking the word of God to other communities and other countries. A report in *The Apostolic Faith* in January 1908, noted that missionaries went out from Los Angeles to Monrovia, Liberia, to South Africa and other parts of Africa, and to Northern China (1997, 54). “By 1908, the [Azusa Street] Mission claimed missionaries in over fifty nations around the world” (Espinosa 1999, 96).

As well as inspiring overseas missionary ministry, the Azusa Street Mission worked with several who planted congregations in the Los Angeles area and other towns. The Eighth and Maple Streets Church, and the outreach of Abundio and Rosa de López to the Hispanics at *La Placita* (the town square in Los Angeles) are examples of Pentecostal congregations planted on the home front (Robeck 2006, 190–193, 196–198). Frank Bartleman and, later, William Pendleton served as pastors of the Eighth and Maple Streets Church.

The ministry of Abundio and Rosa de Lopez directly connects the Hispanic ministry of the Azusa era (1906-1909) with that of Alice E. Luce’s in 1918, because both ministries were located in the *La Placita* area of Los Angeles (Sanchez-Walsh 2003, 37). The Lopezes ministry began as early as 1906 at the Azusa Street Mission with pastor

William Seymour, which led directly to their ministering to other Hispanics in the *La Placita* area. In the 1920 edition of the Los Angeles City Directory, the Lopezes were listed as pastors "of the Apostolic Faith Church, a Spanish-speaking congregation that doubled as a Euro American church named Victoria Hall<sup>135</sup> on Spring Street" (17).

Wherever she went, the missionary ministry of Alice E. Luce contributed to the continued development of Pentecostal congregations. Prior to Luce's arrival in Los Angeles in 1915, several Anglo and Hispanic Pentecostal congregations already existed.<sup>136</sup> But it was not until 1918, after Luce and Florence Murcutt returned to the Los Angeles area from Mexico, that they planted their first Hispanic congregation in California. Its location was in the *La Placita* area of Los Angeles where the Lopezes congregation existed. Luce and Murcutt dedicated the balance of their lives working among the Mexican Americans and Mexicans of the borderlands area.

### **Church Planting**

According to C. Peter Wagner, church planting is "the single most effective evangelistic methodology under heaven" (1990, 11). This is exactly what both Alice Luce and the Azusa Street Mission did: They planted new congregations. They understood that extending the Kingdom of God through church planting entails both the evangelization of non-believers and the incorporation of new believers into a fellowship with other believers. Through church planting ministries, the revival fires continued to burn and spread to new places and peoples.

How may new churches most effectively be planted, especially when working cross-culturally? What strategies or models should be employed? Ebbie Smith,

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<sup>135</sup> Victoria Hall was a "downtown mission that seated about a thousand" [people] "[o]n the site of the present *Los Angeles Times* building" (Blumhofer 1993, 141).

<sup>136</sup> These included the Eighth and Maple Streets Church, The People's Church, the Upper Room Mission, the Alley Mission, and the Spanish Apostolic Faith Mission.

professor of Christian Ethics and Missions at Southwest Baptist Seminary argues that, “Church planting models can follow either the *modality* type or the *sodality* type” (2000, 202). As used here, modality is “a tendency to conform to a pattern or type” (Merriam-Webster, s.v.). Church planting models of the modality type tend to be *vertically* structured, and lend themselves to *reproducing the original entity*. An example would be a denominational church which plants a new congregation of its own denomination, which conforms to the liturgical and organizational norms of the parent body.

In contrast, *sodality* is “a grouping, association, or joining together based on common purpose or interest” (Merriam-Webster, s.v.). Church planting models of the sodality type tend to be *horizontally* structured. They may begin, for example, with a team of leaders or an individual from a parachurch organization such as a mission society or evangelistic association. Church planting based on a sodality model more easily bridges the gap between ethnicities or socioeconomic strata (E. Smith 2000, 202).

Furthermore, “Church planting,” according to Smith, “generally follows a pattern of *persuading, preparing, and producing* [emphasis added]” (2000, 202). *Persuading* incorporates the spiritual dynamics of prayer, discerning God’s will, and answering God’s call—all predicated on the power of the Holy Spirit. *Preparing* includes setting goals, using demographic information to lay plans to plant a particular church among a particular people, making contacts to assess people’s needs and then determining a favorable location for the church plant. *Producing* is the actual work of initiating Bible studies, holding meetings, and employing specific evangelistic methods to win people to faith in Jesus Christ. The desired outcome is to establish a new congregation that meets the expectations both of the parent church and of the target community (202–203). Luce and her team understood that new churches did not simply “spring up” overnight of their own accord. First and foremost, they knew that it required prayer, prayer, and more prayer to plant new churches. In addition, during her ministry in India, Luce had

extensive experience in overcoming the obstacles to evangelism posed by differences of language, culture, ethnicity, social class, and non-Christian religious backgrounds.

### **Planting Spanish Churches**

In the Los Angeles area, the lines of ethnic division had been drawn by the city's Euro American power elite. They had "settled" the West during the gold rush in 1848; in 1869 they had connected the East and West Coasts by rail; and they had developed the commercial agriculture and industries which provided jobs for "other people." Those "other people" included Mexican Americans as well as illegal immigrants from Mexico. Mexican Americans and Mexicans worked in areas where Euro Americans were unwilling to labor, and they received less money for the same work than their "Gringo" counterparts (Walsh 2003, 39).

The deeply-rooted cultural and social differences between the Euro Americans and Mexican Americans and Mexicans, along with the language barrier, made the Hispanics extremely reluctant to attend an Anglo church—at which they might well be unwelcome at any rate. So, in order to reach these marginalized, "second-class people," missionary evangelists held worship services in Spanish for Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants, with the specific goal of planting Latino churches.

After they returned from in Monterrey in early 1918, Alice E. Luce and Florence J. Murcutt made their new ministry "headquarters" in Los Angeles. Sometime before April, they started the *Placita* Mexican Mission, a Spanish-language congregation in the *la Placita* ("little plaza") area of Los Angeles. This mission, which was later called *El Aposento Alto*, began on Los Angeles Street in a rented house that would seat about two hundred.<sup>137</sup> Luce described it as being in as "dirty and tumbledown condition as you

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<sup>137</sup>Later the congregation moved to 3505 E. Michigan Street in Belvedere, a suburb of Los Angeles (Holland 1974, 503).

could well imagine, but the Lord has graciously sent us the money (over \$100) ... to thoroughly fumigate, clean, whitewash, repair and furnish it" (Alice E. Luce 1918b, 11).

In terms of Ebbie Smith's categories, Luce and Murcutt adopted a sodality-type model of church planting, in which they worked as a team, persuading, preparing, and then producing a new congregation. In the first step, *persuading*, to be certain that they would do God's will in this church plant, they prayed and petitioned God to direct their steps in the power of the Holy Spirit. Luce also urged the readers of *The Weekly Evangel*, "Pray for a great outpouring of the Spirit in convicting power here, to show sinners their need of a Saviour" (11). Not only were these prayers answered, but God also blessed them by sending a husband-and-wife team, the John A. Prestons, to serve as co-laborers in proclaiming the gospel to the Hispanics of Los Angeles.

In the second step, *preparing*, Luce gathered demographic information for Los Angeles area, noting that there were "over 60,000 Mexicans in this one county alone" (Alice E. Luce 1918b, 11). They also invited Francisco Olazábal (1886–1937),<sup>138</sup> a preacher from Sinaloa, Mexico, to come and speak for a month or so. Part of Luce's and Olazábal's strategy for evangelizing the Hispanic populace was to begin with open-air meetings. After about six weeks of these, Luce commented that, "We get good crowds at the open-air services, but very few follow us into the hall as they are so afraid of being hypnotized, or else absolutely careless and gospel-hardened" (Alice E. Luce 1918e, 7).

An essential component of Luce's strategy was to present the gospel in the people's own language, Spanish. They focused on evangelizing the area around *La Placita* (Alice E. Luce 1918e, 11). During the summer of 1918, while the adherents of the

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<sup>138</sup>Known lovingly as "El Azteca," Olazábal had been visiting with George and Carrie Judd Montgomery, ministers in the Assemblies of God in Oakland, California. Olazábal attended a prayer meeting conducted in their home, at which several other people, including Luce, were present. When the group laid their hands on Olazábal, he gloriously received the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. See chapter 9, p. 223 for more about Olazábal.



Mission were laboring in the agricultural fields, the attendance was around thirty people (1918d, 3). Some two years later, the leadership of *El Aposento Alto* reported that there were “about 60 or so who have been saved and baptized in the Holy Spirit, and who are working for the salvation of other souls” (Alice E. Luce 1918d, 3; 1920a, 11).

Church growth development<sup>139</sup> theory asserts that a newly-established church should reach out beyond its immediate area and plant another church. This was just what occurred with Luce’s and Murcutt’s church plant in Los Angeles. In 1918, Luce reports that, “The Light is spreading in many of the villages and Mexican settlements within a radius of 20 miles from this city: and we are having the joy of receiving calls not only to pray for the sick, but to visit whole families in various places who are anxious about their souls” (1918c, 14).

During the formative years of Luce’s ministry team in Los Angeles, its members began discipling new converts by conducting open air meetings, preaching and teaching on pneumatology, eschatology, and divine healing. With churches being planted and souls being discipled, Luce began writing her missiological strategy as she labored among the Hispanic population. In January and February of 1921, Luce penned a three part article predicated on the how and why of church planting: “Paul’s Missionary Methods” (see Appendices A, B, and C).

By late 1922, Luce wrote about the need of missionary ministry to whomever needed salvation stating that “missionary work is far above the level of philanthropic effort” (1922, 6). She continued her argument by focusing on missions ministry among the Mexican population in the United States of America and included several reasons. One reason referred to the Mexican population as a harvest ready to be harvested.

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<sup>139</sup>Church growth development is a “discipline which investigates the nature, expansion, planting, multiplication, function, and health of Christian churches as they relate to the effective implementation” of the Great Commission (Kraft 2005, 302).

They, Luce and her ministry team, needed additional disciple-makers and evangelists to capitalize on the opportunity at hand (6).

Discipling new converts became a key to extending the Kingdom of God into other regions of California including San Francisco, Oakland, Hayward, Danville, and San Jose. These new church plants had been planted before April 1923 (Alice E. Luce 1923a, 12; 1923b, 13). By the spring of 1923, Luce's team reported that in "San Francisco God [is] doing a gracious work." She adds, "The attendance at our Mexican meetings has more than quadrupled during our absence, and the pastor we left in charge has been very faithful" (1923a, 12). Luce's reports revealed clearly that these assemblies were becoming indigenous<sup>140</sup> congregations which were implementing the Indigenous Church Principles (ICPs).<sup>141</sup> For example, the congregation in San Francisco was supporting their own pastor and paying the rent for their meeting place,<sup>142</sup> reflecting the ICP of *self-support*. And they were conducting extension meetings in "three different localities," putting into practice the ICP of *self-propagation* (Alice E. Luce 1923b, 13).

In another demonstration self-propagation, the Hispanic congregation in San Jose invited Portuguese believers living in the area to share in their services, which were conducted in Spanish.<sup>143</sup> This resulted in still other Portuguese people experiencing salvation, healing, and the baptism in the Spirit. By 1923, the San Jose congregation had outgrown their building, constructed just two years before, and had built a new addition to accommodate their growing congregation (Alice E. Luce 1923b, 13).

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<sup>140</sup>In this context, an "indigenous" congregation is one which functions according to the Indigenous Church Principles. See next note.

<sup>141</sup>As noted in the Introduction, the Indigenous Church Principles, or ICPs, are classically defined as: self-government, self-support, and self-propagation. See chapter 7 for a detailed discussion of these principles.

<sup>142</sup>The rent was \$27.00 each month, a substantial sum in the early 1920s!

<sup>143</sup>While there are significant differences between them, Spanish and Portuguese are similar enough to allow a substantial degree of mutual intelligibility.

In February of 1923, Murcutt began ministering with the Fred Steele family, who were by then pastoring the *La Placita* mission in Los Angeles. The *La Placita* congregation had purchased a lot, ideally located at the conjunction of four streets in the *barrio* (neighborhood) of Belvedere, on which to build a new building. By late March they had erected a five-hundred seat tabernacle which included a concrete baptistery and dressing rooms for the candidates for baptism. Luce reported in 1923: "On Sunday May 20<sup>th</sup> we held the dedication of the tabernacle. Brother [George] Montgomery of Oakland gave the message" (Alice E. Luce 1923b, 1313).

Aside from the indigenous nature of the churches, the sheer rate of AG church planting among Hispanics was phenomenal. In 1917, AG missionaries set in order two Hispanic churches in the borderlands; by 1924, the Latin American District in California had about forty congregations (Alice E. Luce 1924a, 1), not including preaching points which, in many cases, eventually became full-fledged indigenous congregations. This meant that Luce, Murcutt, other AG missionaries, and Hispanic leaders together were, on average, setting in order a new congregation every two to three months!

It is important to note that Luce, Murcutt, and the other AG missionaries did not work alone as they planted churches and saw them well-established; indigenous Mexican American and Mexican leaders and believers shared in their own churches' development. Although up through early 1923, either British or Euro American missionaries were leading these congregations, gradually they were handed over to Mexican American and Mexican leaders. Among other things, these indigenous leaders were better able to shape their *cultos* (services) to reflect Latino cultural preferences.

In addition to their church planting ministry in California and Mexico, in 1922 Luce and Murcutt traveled to Gloucester, England to visit Luce's family. Wherever they went, whether at home or abroad, Luce and Murcutt capitalized on the opportunities at hand to extend the Kingdom of God. For example, they participated in that year's "Whitsuntide

Pentecostal Convention at Crosskeys, Monmouthshire, and while there, were told of a Spanish Colony at Dowlais, South Wales” (Thomas 1924, 10). Murcutt explained that this colony of Spanish people numbered several hundred, and was located between “two Pentecostal assemblies” (1922, 7). Luce and Murcutt conducted open-air meetings in the colony, and visited the Spanish people in their homes. As a result, a number of them responded to the gospel of Jesus Christ.

After several weeks of ministry, the newly formed congregation selected a leader, an Englishman named George H. Thomas, and the meetings continued with his preaching through an interpreter. Many new converts were baptized in water, and several received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. This newly-established congregation was equipped with Bibles and hymnbooks, as well as tracts for distribution (Thomas 1924, 10). A member of the Hispanic community in Wales taught Thomas to speak Spanish, and he continued to lead the congregation until one of the local Spanish leaders took the reins of leadership, sometime before the fall of 1926 (Bax 1929, 11).

### **Planting an English Church**

While Luce and Murcutt worked together for nearly twenty-five years among the Hispanics of California and Mexico, they also planted at least one English speaking congregation. With their experienced eye for advancing the Kingdom of God, Luce and Murcutt saw the need to plant a church in Manhattan Beach, which lies between Long Beach and Santa Monica, California. Everett Wilson states that “Alice Luce, Florence Murcutt, and C. Amy Yeomans, niece of Lillian Yeomans, are considered the founders” of the Manhattan Assembly of God congregation (Wilson and Little 1994, 58).

As on other occasions, Luce and Murcutt adopted a sodality model of church planting, utilizing Ebbie Smith’s principles of persuading, preparing, and producing. The team began “a Sunday School in an elderly lady’s garage, that went for several years”

(Wilson and Little, 58). And they conducted meetings that emphasized healing and Bible teaching. “People came all the way from downtown Los Angeles for the healing and deliverance services on Fridays” (58).

### **Cross-cultural Disciple-making**

Discipleship is a term with which most Christians are familiar, yet one which few seem to understand. At its most basic level, discipleship consists of proclaiming the gospel to unbelievers, baptizing those who accept it, and teaching the new converts to follow Jesus’ teachings (Matt. 28:18-20). According to Mathias Zahniser, retired professor at Asbury Theological Seminary, discipleship “is that ongoing set of intentional activities governed by the goal of initiating people into the Kingdom of God through appropriate instructions, experiences, symbols, and ceremonies” (1997, 23). Another definition of discipleship is intentionally obeying God’s Word and investing in the lives of others. This includes spiritual formation, accountability, and evangelism. The outcome of discipleship should be the multiplying of soul-winning disciple-makers.

The transformation from “babes in Christ” to mature disciples doesn’t occur overnight; it is an extended process which, in a real sense, lasts a lifetime. At the beginning of this process, new converts typically know very little about the lifestyle changes they will have to make in order to follow Jesus faithfully. The discipler must attempt to ascertain how much the new converts know about life as citizens of God’s Kingdom, so that discipler can know where and how to begin his/her mentoring work.

When the ministry of discipling is exercised *cross-culturally*, the disciple-making process becomes considerably more complex. Regardless of their ethnicity or society of origin, new believers begin their journey toward maturity in Christ from the starting point of their own culture. However, as Mathias Zahniser argues, “unlike Hinduism, Judaism, Islam, and primal religious traditions, the gospel has no sacred language, no detailed

social code, no prescribed political order, and no detailed dietary laws" (1997, 25).

Consequently, the Christian faith can be completely "translated" into human language and culture, and the Spirit-filled Christian life can be lived out within any human society.

Successful cross-cultural disciplers will be *incarnational*, that is, they will follow the example set by Jesus Christ in His incarnation. The Word did not become flesh as a cultureless "man from nowhere"; he was born into a first-century A.D. Jewish home, and enculturated into Jewish society, which was a part of the larger Roman colonial milieu. In other words, in the incarnation Jesus Christ identified with humanity not only physically, but culturally and socially as well (John 1:14; Col. 2:9; Heb. 2:17). If God-in-human-flesh adapted to first-century Jewish culture, then Christian cross-cultural disciple-makers of today surely ought to adapt to the culture of the people they serve.

Incarnational cross-cultural disciple-makers will enter into the converts' culture as *learners*. They will not insist on doing things their own way; rather, they will learn to follow the cultural norms of the people they serve. This will often require the disciple-makers to learn new ways of doing otherwise-familiar things. For example, disciple-makers from the United States will be accustomed to buying their groceries at a supermarket. The store is air conditioned, and usually smells clean and fresh. Shoppers select their meat from among standard cuts in neat, cellophane-wrapped plastic trays. Most other products come from a factory, and are pre-packaged in boxes and cans. These are stacked neatly on shelves, which are arranged in straight, evenly-spaced rows, and the aisles between them are swept and mopped regularly. Finally, each item is clearly marked with its price, which is *not* negotiable.

In contrast, when disciple-makers from the U.S. go to Mexico to serve, they may find themselves buying their groceries in a *tianguis*, a mobile, open-air market that comes to their town or *barrio* weekly. In the *tianguis*, the shoppers' senses are assaulted by a barrage of sights, sounds, and smells. Stalls are laid out in uneven rows, and the

walkways gradually become littered with trash. In the “meat aisle,” flies swarm around butchered goats, plucked chickens, and sides of beef hanging from hooks in open stalls; shoppers select their preferred cut of meat directly from the carcass, or ask for *carne molida* (ground beef) mixed to their personal tastes. Vegetables, spices, and other foodstuffs are stacked on low tables, or on blankets spread on the ground. Vendors weigh out the requested portion, wrap it up in paper and hand it to the shoppers, who carry away their purchases in cloth bags or woven baskets. Prices are almost always negotiable, and the shoppers are expected to haggle with the vendors. Getting used to shopping in a *tianguis* is typical of the lifestyle accommodations required of incarnational disciple-makers as they enter another culture to make disciples of Jesus Christ.

But of far greater significance are the adaptations cross-cultural disciplers must make to tailor the discipleship process to the new believers’ cultural, social, and linguistic context. The disciple-makers must be flexible in their methodology (ways of delivering instruction, locations and frequency of discipling sessions, etc.) and in their framing of the gospel message (in which language the gospel is proclaimed, use of culturally-appropriate narrative forms, etc.). But the essentials of the gospel itself must not be changed. Whether purchased in a supermarket or a *tianguis*, meat is still meat; and whether it is proclaimed in English, Spanish, or Nahuatl, the gospel is still the Good News “that God was reconciling the world to himself in Christ, not counting men’s sins against them” (2 Cor. 5:19), disciples in any culture must still “set apart Christ as Lord” in their hearts (1 Peter 3:15). But Christ’s lordship can only be understood and lived out in terms of the believers’ own culture and in the context of their own society.

So, like the gospel itself, the cross-cultural disciple-making process is “translatable.” That is, it can be adapted to and carried out in any human culture and society. But the disciple-maker must understand that new believers of another culture will not experience the disciple-making process in the same way as would believers from

the disciple-maker's own culture, nor will they necessarily mature at the same rate. And even after extensive discipling, mature believers in the target culture will not always share their spiritual mentors' theological perspective, nor will they necessarily conform to the same norms and patterns of conduct.

The role of language in cross-cultural discipling deserves special mention. On the one hand, the disciple-makers may be discipling people among whom there is no established church. In this case, the disciplers will almost certainly discover that the local language lacks terminology to express at least some Christian truths. In such situations, the cross-cultural disciplers may proceed in at least three ways: 1) they may take terms from their own language, "indigenize" them (by altering their spelling, pronunciation, etc.), and teach the new believers using these essentially foreign expressions; or 2) the disciplers may search the local language, with the aid of mature local Christians, for indigenous terminology that can be invested with new, Christian meaning<sup>144</sup> in order to communicate Christian truths and concepts to new believers; and 3) the disciplers may choose to inculcate new believers with only such biblical concepts as are essential to the establishing of indigenous churches in the near term, and then allow the maturing local Christian leaders themselves, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to develop gradually new ways of understanding and expressing the broader and deeper truths of the gospel in terms of their own language and culture. This may include the indigenous believers' coining entirely new Christian terms in the local language. In this way, the local churches and Christians will be engaging in what David Bosch believes should be a "fourth *self*" or ICP, that of being "self-theologizing" (Bosch 1991, 451-2).

On the other hand, the cross-cultural disciple-maker may be working where there

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<sup>144</sup>This is the procedure adopted by the apostles John and Paul, who took common Greek philosophical terms with already-established meanings, such as *logos* or *sarx*, and invested them with new, Christian meaning, in order to communicate the truths of the gospel.



are already well-established congregations of believers. Over time, such congregations tend to develop their own distinctive Christian jargon, which may be largely unintelligible to non-Christians and new converts. In such situations, cross-cultural disciple-makers may choose one of two approaches. They may either: 1) Seek to integrate their new believers into the already-existing churches. In this case, the disciplers will have a dual task: They will need to help long-time Christians learn to express themselves in words and concepts the new believers can understand; and they will need to serve as “interpreters” for the new converts to help them learn the jargon and sub-culture of the longtime Christians and become integrated into the already-existing churches; or else 2) the cross-cultural disciplers may opt to organize their new believers into entirely new congregations, and encourage them to employ terminology which is as intelligible as possible to non-Christians in the local culture and society.

As a result of the discipleship process, the now-maturing Christians will begin to develop new ways of living. If the disciple-making is fully culturally-appropriate and covers all essential areas of life the result will be a new lifestyle which is both fully Christian and fully indigenous. If, however, the cross-cultural disciple-makers allow their own cultural biases to direct their disciple-making, they may overemphasize some things while failing to address other areas that the local people feel are extremely important. This is likely to result in the new believers’ developing a lifestyle that Fr. Jaime Bulatao called “split-level Christianity,” which he defines as “the coexistence within the same person of two or more thought-and-behavior systems which are inconsistent with each other” (Bulatao 1992, 22).

For example, new Christians from the U.S.–Mexico borderlands frequently have a religious background which incorporates elements from Roman Catholic Christianity, combined with elements from one of the indigenous religions of Mexico. They may have been baptized and confirmed as Roman Catholics, and may attend mass regularly. Yet

they may also consult a *curandero* (healer) to obtain an *amuleto* (amulet, charm) to protect their children from the *mal de ojo* (evil eye), or to cure a sickness they believe is caused by *brujería* (sorcery, witchcraft). They may believe in Jesus Christ as God's Son, often referring to him as *el Niño Dios* (lit. "the child God"), and may acknowledge him as humankind's Savior from sin, and yet continue to make offerings to ancient indigenous gods in an effort to secure a plentiful harvest. Officially, these people are Christians; in actuality, they practice a syncretistic folk religion.

Why would professing Christians go to a shaman for healing when God the Creator can provide for their every need? What produces the split-level Christianity which characterizes so many believers from "traditional" societies? In his landmark article, "The Flaw of the Excluded Middle" (Hiebert 1994) missionary anthropologist Paul G. Hiebert compares the Western Christian worldview with the worldview typical of non-Western "traditional" peoples. Both view reality as divided into realms, levels or spheres of existence. For both, the bottom level is the "natural" world, inhabited by humans, animals, insects, plants, and ordinary objects, in which we live our daily lives. And, both recognize the top level, the transcendent realm inhabited by the high God or the gods.

But in between these two realms or types of existence, traditional, mainly non-Western, peoples believe in the existence of a third or *middle* level of existence, a this-worldly spiritual realm inhabited by angels, demons, and other beings who are in frequent contact with humans, and directly influence our daily lives. Until the Enlightenment, most Western Christians also believed in this middle realm. But under the combined influence of rationalism and empiricism, modern Western Christians came to discount this middle realm and its inhabitants as unreal, as mere superstition. They began to exclude it from their thinking, their doctrine, and their *practice* of the faith.

Western missionaries working in non-Western, traditional societies, have carefully indoctrinated their converts into the tenets of Western, rationalistic, "excluded

middle” Christianity. But non-Western believers often find such religion singularly unsatisfying. Before their conversion to Christianity, they had consulted a shaman or other religious practitioner for help with the pressing issues of daily life, such as: “Why is my wife sick, and who can cure her? Whom should our son marry, and on what day? How can our daughter be free from the evil spirits that so often attack her?” Unfortunately, the rationalistic, excluded-middle Christian faith of the Western missionaries offered little help with such questions. Not surprisingly, converts from traditional societies frequently returned to the old, familiar sources of spiritual power to find help. But they often do so while still professing allegiance to Christ and the doctrines of orthodox Christianity. Thus, while they are undeniably Christians, their Christianity is “split-level.” They believe in Christ for salvation from their sins, attend worship, and are faithful members of their congregation. But when confronted by the inevitable difficulties of daily life—sickness, loss of livelihood, uncertainty regarding important decisions—they seek help from the shaman or diviner just as they have always done.

All disciple-makers, and especially those working cross-culturally, need to understand split-level Christianity and the “flaw of the excluded middle,” because the exclusion of the “middle” tier of reality from Western Christianity’s thought and practice has robbed it of much of its spiritual power. However, at least one major portion of Western Christianity does not suffer from the “flaw of the excluded middle”: Pentecostal Christianity. Pentecostals not only believe in the middle, spiritual realm, but have direct, firsthand experience with it. They fight against demonic beings in spiritual warfare. They also understand that angels are present around us, sent by God to assist and protect us.

In their ministry, Luce and Murcutt worked with many Mexicans and Mexican Americans caught up in split-level Christianity. Most of these were *mestizos* (i.e. of mixed European and Amerindian ancestry) for whom indigenous religious practices would have been as much a part of their religious upbringing as the Roman Catholicism.

Many, if not most, of their indigenous religious practices were directly contrary to biblical Christianity. For example, the practice of divination and interpretation of omens, sorcery, witchcraft, and consulting the spirits of the dead are all forbidden (Lev. 19:26; Dt. 18:11-12). Converts to Christ should leave behind such practices. In addition, much of traditional Catholicism— e.g. the veneration of the Virgin and prayer to the saints—is also incompatible with biblical Christianity. God’s Word expressly prohibits the worship or veneration of any other than Yahweh (Ex. 20:3; Deut. 6:13-15), and insists that there is only “one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus” (1 Tim. 2:5-6).

Consequently, Luce’s and Murcutt’s new converts would have found their new faith to be considerably different from their old one. In the Roman Catholic Church, the attendees experienced highly liturgical and ritualistic worship, led by extravagantly robed priests. By contrast, Pentecostal worship typically does not follow a high church liturgy, the leaders being free to follow wherever the Spirit leads. And Pentecostal preachers and other leaders conduct the worship service dressed in ordinary, everyday clothing.

This is not to say, however, that there were no similarities or overlap between the two. Both Pentecostals and Roman Catholics practiced water baptism, although the mode of baptism differs (Pentecostals practice immersion rather than sprinkling). And both engage in public worship services on Sunday in a specially-designated ‘sacred space’ (usually a church structure). It is true that in Pentecostal worship there are often physical “manifestations” of the Spirit’s working, which probably seemed curious, even strange, to the *mestizo* inquirers and new converts. Still, some Roman Catholic believers evidently were familiar with some of these manifestations. For example, in his personal testimony A. C. Valdez Sr. relates that his great, great grandfather spoke in tongues back in the eighteenth century in southern California.

The above description of cross-cultural disciple-makers portrays the environment in which Luce’s team found their future disciples. The challenge was to learn how to

effectively contextualize biblical principles into the framework of the borderlands worldview. This challenge took on the form of communicating in Spanish, touching their daily needs (work, social sense of belonging, medical attention, friendship, council), and being their neighbor. Luce's team was prepared to help meet their medical needs, visited their homes, demonstrated Christian love with works and deeds, and empowered them to take the gospel to their own culture (Alice E. Luce 1917c, 13; 1917j, 12; 1917k, 11; 1918e, 7; 1920a, 11; 1922, 6). Additionally, Luce's team discovered the need for education and offered studies that would enhance the Hispanics daily lives. They learned to understand God's word for themselves in lieu of depending on others.

### **Typical Pentecostal Worship**

To better appreciate the experience of Luce's converts, it is helpful to look at a typical Pentecostal worship service during the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. An example is taken from the worship at *La Placita (El Aposento Alto)* during the time Luce was associated with that congregation.

While the manner and style of the observances vary considerably from one denomination to another, corporate Christian worship typically exhibits the three-part ritual structure of a "rite of passage." Rites of passage are customary observances, whether sacred or secular, which mark the transition of members of a society from one stage in life, with its corresponding social identity and status, to the next stage, with its new identity and status. Typical rites of passage include birth and naming ceremonies, puberty rites, weddings, and funerals, among others. The three-part structure of these rites was first identified by ethnographer Arnold van Gennep (1873–1957). Van Gennep noted that rites of passage include three phases: a pre-liminal or separation phase; a liminal phase, and a post-liminal or reintegration phase. Building on van Gennep's work, Scottish anthropologist Victor Turner (1920–1983), in his seminal work *The Ritual*

*Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (1969), more fully described and analyzed the triphasic nature of ceremonial/ritual observances. Indeed, in most, if not all, ceremonial occasions, participants typically pass through the same three stages.

Christian worship services in general, and Pentecostal worship in particular, takes the worshippers through these three phases. In the initial, separation phase, the worshippers detach themselves from the day-to-day activities of normal life. They do this by entering the sanctuary or other place of worship, which is by definition *sacred space*. The separation phase is completed as the service begins. The participants then enter the second, liminal phase, as they turn their attention to worshipping the living God. One of the key effects of the liminal phase, which occupies the bulk of the worship time, is the formation of *communitas*, a sense of egalitarian camaraderie, in which all the worshippers shed their external status and all assume, for the duration of the worship, a common, shared status as humble "sinners saved by grace," who "hunger and thirst after righteousness." Finally, after all the various activities of the worship service are concluded, the worshippers pass through the post-liminal, reintegration phase, as the benediction is pronounced, and after a time of informal fellowship, the worshippers exit the sacred space and return to their everyday lives in the ordinary world. But, ideally at least, they do not return the same as before. Rather, through the worship service, with experience of liminality and *communitas*, the worshippers have been "blessed." The worshippers emerge from the service renewed and refreshed, better equipped to face the difficulties of day-to-day life, and ready to "tell their story," to give testimony to others about "what God has done for me!"

As the believers, accompanied, it is hoped, by at least some unbelievers, would enter the rented facility in *La Placita*, they would separate themselves from the rest of the world, and enter into a state of liminality, in which they could experience the presence of the Living God and God's ability to strengthen their lives. In the *communitas*

of fellowship and worship with other, like-minded believers, their focus would not be on ethnicity, language, status, or role, but on their Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Typically there would be an opening prayer, followed by enthusiastic singing, accompanied by rhythmic hand clapping and lively playing on whatever instrument(s) were available: tambourines, guitars, a piano or a pump organ.

Grant Wacker, a professor of History of Religion in America, notes that during the early twentieth century, “there is little doubt that Pentecostal meetings can be aptly described with two words: chaotic and deafening” (2001, 100). During the worship service, an individual or group might break out into spontaneous shouts of praise, or begin “dancing in the spirit.”<sup>145</sup> Luce relates that on one occasion in 1917 during a service at Kingsville, Texas, a woman had testified that she wanted to be baptized in the Holy Spirit. As the congregation was worshipping in song, accompanied by Luce playing her pump organ, suddenly the woman was “slain in the spirit,”<sup>146</sup> (1917e, 11). Luce recalls, “She began to tremble all over, threw up her arms and began praising Jesus. Soon she was brought down on her knees, there on the platform in full view of everyone, and she began speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gave her utterance” (11). According to Luce, when individuals would seek God for the baptism in the Holy Spirit, their experience was often accompanied by shaking, trembling, and prostration. Some would shout, dance, and leap, while others would be quiet and hushed, with a demeanor of gentleness (1918g, 2-3). Pentecostal believers understand such moments of extreme liminality and unfettered *communitas* not only as God’s blessing upon themselves, but as a living object lesson for any unbelievers who may be present (cf. 1 Cor. 14:22ff).

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<sup>145</sup>Dancing in the Spirit is a spontaneous manifestation that generally involves a single participant “dancing” with eyes closed without bumping into nearby persons or objects, obviously under the power and guidance of the Spirit (AG 2008, Modern day manifestations).

<sup>146</sup>The experience of being *slain in the Spirit* is a religious phenomenon, common in Pentecostal worship services, in which an individual, overwhelmed by the power of the Holy Spirit, falls down in an ecstatic or trance-like state.

As the worship and manifestations of the Spirit continue, an altar call is sometimes given in order to facilitate the response to the moving of God's Spirit by individuals or groups with some specific need. In the particular service just cited, when an altar call was given, Luce reports that some unbelievers present ran to the altar, where several were saved and others received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. During such altar calls, some people might come forward and ask believers to pray with them for a specific healing. Luce reports that in one such case, a woman came forward whose arm was stiff at the elbow; after prayer she could move it about freely (1927b, 4). Luce tells of another woman who was scheduled to have an appendectomy the next day; after she was anointed with olive oil and the prayer of faith was offered in her behalf, she was healed, and received the gift of the Holy Spirit (4). On another occasion, during the altar service, two local, non-Pentecostal assistant pastors went to the altar, asked Jesus to save them, and began seeking the baptism in the Spirit. As God was moving by the Holy Spirit in the heart of the congregants, an earthquake occurred and the building swayed back and forth. Luce reports that suddenly a sister cried out: "'Jesus is coming,' and all sprang to their feet with outstretched arms, while shouts of praise and the sweetest strains of the Heavenly Choir filled the place. None of us will ever forget the sacred sweetness of the hour" (1918e, 7).

Prayer for people's specific needs was an important element of the public worship services Luce conducted. When people would request prayer for a particular need, those who gathered round to pray for them often anointed the petitioners with olive oil and laid hands on them. Then as today, touch is an important feature of Pentecostal spirituality. It symbolizes the touch of Jesus, as though he were physically present and touching the person in need, just as he did during his earthly ministry. According to Luke 4:40, Jesus placed his hands on those with various kinds of sickness and healed them (see also Mark 1:31, 40-44; 5:41; and 9:27). Mark 1:40-44 speaks of a leprous man who



was healed by the touch of Jesus. Through physical contact, spiritual as well as physical vitality was transferred from Jesus to those in need. According to Luke the physician, the apostle Peter took a crippled beggar by the hand and proclaimed, "Silver or gold I do not have, but what I have I give you. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk" (Acts 3:6 NIV), and the crippled man walked. These biblical examples of the help and healing of outcasts and marginalized individuals in the early days of Christianity, have their direct parallels in the physical healing and spiritual transformation experienced by members of the outcast and marginalized Hispanic community under Luce's ministry.

The period of liminality and *communitas believers* experience during a worship service is a time of special openness and psycho-spiritual malleability, during which they are especially enabled to identify with the gospel stories and internalize biblical life-principles. The public worship services Luce conducted furnished the participants with this essential opportunity for "bond[ing] to the message and meaning of the gospel" (Zahniser 1997, 91). After passing through the reintegration stage at the close of the service, these Hispanic believers went out transformed, taking with them power to bear enthusiastic witness to the Good News of Jesus Christ. Saved and filled with God's Holy Spirit, with fragmented families restored, and diseased bodies supernaturally freed from affliction, they surely had something to be enthusiastic about!

In this chapter we have looked at certain aspects of Luce's church-planting methodology, and at the characteristics of the public worship services she conducted. In the next chapter we will examine more closely the way Luce employed the Indigenous Church Principles in her ministry.

## Chapter 7

### The Indigenous Church Principles

#### Introduction

Among missiologists today there is wide recognition of the importance of the Indigenous Church Principles (ICPs) of *self-support*, *self-government*, and *self-propagation* (Terry, 2000, 483). Across the centuries, local congregations that have put these principles into practice have put down roots in their respective cultures and flourished. In addition, missiologist David Bosch has suggested that a fourth principle should be added to the original three, namely, that indigenous churches should also be *self-theologizing*<sup>147</sup> (Bosch 1991, 451-2).

This chapter takes the reader first to what is an indigenous church, then to the rediscovery of these principles by modern-day missiologists and mission leaders Henry Venn, Rufus Anderson, and others. In particular, a careful review of the literature on ICPs reveals that Alice E. Luce was, apparently, the first missionary to view these principles through the lens of modern Pentecostalism. Together, the ministries of Luce, her missionary teams, and the Hispanic congregations they fostered demonstrate how to implement this New Testament pattern for church planting.

#### What is an Indigenous Church?

During a recent time of deputational ministry, the author queried pastors and church leaders and discovered that they had limited understanding of the concept of an indigenous church. Little did they realize that *they themselves* were examples of leaders of indigenous churches! According to John Mark Terry, indigenous churches “reflect the

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<sup>147</sup>*Self-theologizing* means able to express biblical truth in ways sensitive to the local culture in which the church has taken root.

cultural distinctives of their ethnolinguistic group” (Terry, 2000, 483). Thus, “The missionary effort to establish indigenous churches is an effort to plant churches that fit naturally into their environment and to avoid planting churches that replicate Western patterns” (483). Missiologist Alan Tippett proposes a more lengthy definition, stating:

A church is indigenous: when it is culturally a part of its own world; when its witness is relevant in meeting the needs of its congregation and the world about it; when its message is meaningful in the context where it belongs; when its physical form and operating structures are suitable for the culture; when it acts on its own initiative in the service ministries arising from local needs and crises and in missionary outreach; and above all, when it is aware of its own theological identity—in other words, it sees itself as the Body of Christ ministering the love of Christ, the mind of Christ, the Word of Christ, and His ministry of reconciliation and comfort in the location where it is set in the world. (Tippett 1987, 86)

Anthropologist William Smalley defines the indigenous church as “a group of believers who live out their life, including their socialized Christian activity, in the patterns of the local society, and for whom any transformation of that society comes out of their felt needs under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures” (1974, 150). According to Smalley, “in much missionary thinking ... a church which is ‘self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating’ is by definition an ‘indigenous church’” (147). The *self-governing* principle provides an example of this. If local leadership trained in Western church government takes over, “the result will be a church governed in a slavishly foreign manner” (148). Unlike the church at Jerusalem or any of the congregations the Apostle Paul founded, his new congregants adopted the universal principle of the ICPs. An indigenous congregation reflects local sociocultural realities, not those of some other country with a different culture or worldview. The outstanding ingredient in Paul’s setting up congregations was his care to follow the leadership of the Holy Spirit. However, Paul didn’t leave the fledgling congregations to struggle along without supervision. He periodically visited them, or communicated by letter.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, several noted missiologists

sought to remind their contemporaries of the Pauline methods of planting churches. Key among these leaders were Henry Venn, Rufus Anderson, William Taylor, Roland Allen, and Melvin Hodges.

### **Henry Venn (1796–1873)**

Known as one of the fathers of “indigenous church” principles, Henry Venn, an Anglican from Clapham, London, England, was one of the most influential leaders during the nineteenth century. His father, John Venn, had taken part in organizing the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799, and Henry Venn served as the Secretary of the CMS from 1841 until 1872 (Shenk 1983, 16, 101). As has already been noted, the CMS eventually sent single women as missionaries to the four corners of the world.

Unlike Anderson, Henry Venn never actually served as a field missionary. Nonetheless, his leadership spurred others onward and outward to experiment and explore missionary ministry. Based on their reports, “Venn worked inductively at finding the principles of mission” (Shenk 1994, 544). In particular, Venn raised the question: “What ... gave a church integrity?” (544). It took Venn some fifteen years to identify the answer. He concluded that what gives a church integrity is a sense of “self-worth.” His investigations gradually led him to formulate the three “self” principles, which he believed should govern the planting and fostering of indigenous churches. These are: Self-government, self-support, and self-propagation.

For Henry Venn, an indigenous church should be *self-supporting* from the very beginning. In fact, he made the acceptance of the idea of the local church as self-supporting a precondition for the ordination of local pastors. As for the other two characteristics, self-governing and self-propagating, Venn believed they should be developed gradually over time. Only when a congregation had successfully implemented all three self principles, would it be identified as a fully indigenous congregation.

As an illustration of how an indigenous church should be established, Venn presented the analogy of the construction of a building. The church planting effort, under the leadership of the missionaries, was the scaffolding; the native congregation, under local leadership, was the building itself. Once the structure was completed (the local leaders adequately disciplined) and the scaffolding removed (the missionaries withdrawn), the local congregation was shown to be indigenous, because it could stand by itself, on its own foundation. At this point the missionary would be free to move on to some other location to plant another congregation. When this became a reality, “Henry Venn said, the ‘euthanasia of missions’<sup>148</sup> had occurred” (Shenk 1983, 46). Simply stated, the missionary had worked himself or herself out of a job at that location.

### **Rufus Anderson (1796–1880)**

Whereas Venn stressed the principle of self-support as the first stage of indigeneity, Rufus Anderson, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), stressed that indigenous congregations should, firstly, be *self-propagating*. Missiologist R. Pierce Beaver notes, “Anderson’s fundamental thesis was that ‘missions are instituted for the spread of a scriptural, self-propagating Christianity’” (1996, 549). Like Venn, Anderson discovered the New Testament principles of the indigenous church exemplified by the Apostle Paul. Like Venn, Anderson also stressed the idea of the missionary’s establishing a congregation that could take care of itself, and then moving on to develop other congregations. Anderson understood *self-support* as freeing “any local congregation from missionary paternalism” (551). He recognized that when the local congregation could exist without financial support from the mission, it would be free to function as the local leaders saw fit.

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<sup>148</sup>According to Wilbert Shenk, “Henry Venn did not originate the phrase ‘euthanasia of missions’ but appropriated it from someone else.” See Shenk’s footnote number 40 (1983, 47).

Both Anderson and Venn understood the need for implementing the ICPs wherever missionaries planted churches. Local, indigenous leaders were to be disciplined, and then allowed to make adjustments in the functioning of local congregation so that it fit the local culture and situation. The ICPs were to be taught (in the local vernacular) to both ministerial and lay leaders. Not only would this benefit the local congregation itself, but it would also prepare it to establish new congregations in other areas. When a local congregation eventually began to engage in extending the Kingdom of God by planting new churches, it was fulfilling the ICP of self-propagation.

### **William Taylor (1821–1902)**

William “California” Taylor<sup>149</sup> of Virginia was “responsible for extending the Methodist Episcopal Church beyond the boundaries of Europe and North America ... [to] Peru, Chile, India, Burma, Panama, Belize, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, and Zaire” (Bundy 1994, 461). Viewed by some Methodists as a rogue missionary, Taylor led the Methodist Episcopal Church into areas where it might not otherwise have ventured. This resulted in the extending of the Kingdom of God to people groups that otherwise might have waited for years, if not decades, to hear the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Taylor’s approach to the indigenous church principles contains six points: (1) Plant pure gospel seed, (2) establish church government on the local level, (3) allow for indigenous development in the bonds of peace, (4) pay the laborer because he is worthy of his hire, (5) develop self-supporting congregations, (6) aid in organization and development of local leadership (Taylor 1879:3–7). These principles, taken from Scripture, match the way Alice Luce and her ministry team developed an indigenous

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<sup>149</sup>William Taylor acquired the nickname “California” Taylor due to his missionary impact on the people of California from 1849 to 1856. Taylor developed five ministries during his seven years as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church to California: “Pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, acting pastor and organizer of initial pastorates over the State, street preacher, hospital missionary, and minister to the sailors through his Seamen’s Bethel” (Paul 1928, 53).

ministry among the Hispanic populace from California to Texas and from Colorado to Mexico (Alice E. Luce 1921a, 1921b, 1921c, 1931a; Taylor 1879).

Taylor saw that in the first-century, new local congregations had been self-supporting from the beginning, and so he put this same idea into practice in his ministry in India. He viewed his Indian congregations as *churches*, equal in importance and dignity to any congregation in the United States. Unfortunately, the Methodist Episcopal Mission Board (MEMB) saw them as *missions* rather than churches, and decidedly did *not* consider them equal. Thus they were placed under the control of missionaries in India. Taylor understood the policy of the MEMB as a clear example of what later missionaries referred to as paternalism.<sup>150</sup> Among other things that burdened the Indian church through the MEMB were expenses they could not bear.

During his subsequent service on the continent of Africa as a Methodist Episcopal missionary bishop, Taylor continued his attempts to convince the MEMB of the Pauline missionary method of implementing the ICPs, but with limited success. But through his writings, “Taylor became the primary mission theorist for radical Methodist and Holiness missionaries as well as Pentecostal mission efforts in Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia” (Bundy 1998, 660).

While developing the ICPs, Taylor witnessed tens of thousands becoming disciples of Jesus Christ. He appears to have developed his approach to setting up indigenous churches independently from any influence of either Venn or Anderson. Taylor’s publications make no reference to any sources apart from the Holy Bible. Also, according to David Bundy, “no recognizable [external] sources” exist in Taylor’s *Pauline Methods of Missionary Work* (Bundy 1994, 468).

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<sup>150</sup>In this context, paternalism refers to a foreign missionary society’s attempting to control the churches it planted in another country in much the same way as parents control their children.

## Taylor and Luce

As William Taylor focused on establishing indigenous congregations, his labor of love obtained a distant reflection in the ministry of Alice E. Luce. She too, like Taylor, advocated solid biblical preaching that would bring humanity to its humble knees at the foot of the cross of Christ. The message of salvation, water baptism, baptism in the Holy Spirit, and divine healing, clearly marked Luce's ministry (Alice E. 1917c, 13; 1917e, 11; 1917i, 6; 1917j, 12; 1917k, 11; Luce 1918c, 14; 1920a, 11). The only exception to the above mentioned doctrines is the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Taylor's writings do not refer to this particular Christian doctrine.

Taylor's second point, self-governing, is also taught and practiced by Luce. Her position for this point is to develop leaders and allow them to take the lead and govern their own in local matters, traditions, and needs (Alice E. Luce 1921c, 6-7). Also, Luce points out that when another congregation has multiple leaders (elders and deacons) and another church needs help with solving issues or a revival, then congregations should work together allowing one's maturity to become a blessing to the less mature congregation (7). This style of governance will lead to fruitfulness in the body of Christ.

A third point of similarity is self-support. As Taylor developed nascent believers into house groups, he prepared them to immediately become self-supporting so they could reach their own people with the salvific message of Christ. As well, Luce understood that any poor congregation could support its pastor just as they supported their own impoverished families (Alice E. Luce 1921c, 6).

Another Taylor principle is the development of local leadership. For Luce, this was a given. When working with other people groups, they must see what binds the body of Christ together. If they see bickering and a lack of unity, then why should they want to become Christians? Leaders must see the unity of the Spirit at work in the various issues that Christians encounter on a daily basis. Luce advocated that the



"babes in Christ" (younger inexperienced believers) do need development by the more experience and mature believers. Then Luce adds, "When the Lord raises up spiritually qualified leaders in the native churches themselves, what a joy it will be to us to be subject to them, and to let them take the lead as the Spirit Himself shall guide them" (1921c, 7). In other words, be willing to step aside and let God be God.

### **Roland Allen (1868–1947)**

Roland Allen, of Bristol, England, served from 1895–1899 and again in 1902 as an Anglican missionary to northern China under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). After leaving China, he served as a parish priest but resigned his charge in 1907. Years later, in 1932, Allen moved to Kenya to be near his son (385).

The ICPs were not original with Allen. According to Charles H. Long, Allen "was an early advocate of the Nevius plan<sup>151</sup> to establish churches that from the beginning would be self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing" (1998, 12). But in 1912 Allen published his now classic *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?* In it, he analyzes the Apostle Paul's missionary methods, highlighting especially his application of the ICPs, and his dependency on the power of the Holy Spirit. Allen criticized Western missions for their paternalistic and overprotective attitudes, and saw their inability to trust the Holy Spirit to lead, guide, and develop newly planted congregations as falling far short of the mark set by the great Apostle. Although Allen laments that his own church's mission organization had little room for miracles, he still believed that the Apostle Paul's Spirit-led methodology was applicable to modern missionary ministry (Allen 1962a).

Later, in his *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (1927), Allen elaborated on the indigenous church principles and showed how they could be applied. He writes:

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<sup>151</sup>The Nevius Plan was developed by Presbyterian missionary to China, John L. Nevius (1829-1893). Details of this plan consist of nine major points, which include the ICPs. See Everett N. Hunt Jr. (1994, 194) for a complete list of the nine points.

the very first groups of converts must be so fully equipped with all spiritual authority that they could multiply themselves without any necessary reference to us: that, though, while we were there, they might regard us as helpful advisers, yet our removal should not at all mutilate the completeness of the church, or deprive it of anything necessary for its unlimited expansion. (Allen 1962b, 1)

### Allen and Luce

In reviewing the writings of Alice E. Luce, it can be discerned that her day-to-day practice of ministry among Hispanics reflected considerable agreement with Allen's ideas. For example, in *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*, Allen discusses the role and dependence on the Holy Spirit in missions. Luce picks up on this understanding and takes it to a new level including her critical views. Recall that while serving in India (1896–1914), Luce received the baptism of the Holy Spirit in a powerful way. Subsequently, Luce wrote that this experience increased her understanding and made her better able to distinguish between mere human methods and the apostolic methods of the New Testament. Rather than depending on “denominational methods which have no scriptural warrant” (1921a, 6), in her ministry Luce sought to “depend absolutely on the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and let Him work” (1921a, 6; Cf. Mark 16:20).

Compared to what she saw as Allen's limited understanding of the power of the Holy Spirit, Luce developed a distinctively Pentecostal approach to missions, which stressed absolute dependence on the guidance of the Holy Spirit to accomplish what appeared to be impossible (Allen 1962a; Alice E. Luce 1921a, 1921b, 1921c). For example, regarding miraculous manifestations of the Spirit's power, Allen wrote: “One day we shall perhaps recover the early faith in miracles. Meanwhile, we cannot say that the absence of miracles puts an impassable gulf between the first-century and today, or renders the apostolic method inapplicable to our missions. To say that was to set the form above the spirit” (Allen 1962a, 48). In contrast, Luce believed that the power of the Holy Spirit ought to be *daily* in evidence in church planting and discipling ministries

through such manifestations as prophecy, tongues, and healing. She writes about nineteen spiritual gifts (Alice E. Luce 1917f, 4–5; 1950, 120–132) which portray the participation of individual Spirit-filled and Spirit-led believers in their local assembly.

Allen's influence on Luce's Pauline methodology is visible in her views on several important subjects, for example: spiritual children, evangelistic centers, and ethnicity or nationality. Regarding the first of these, in part three of her, "Paul's Missionary Methods" (February 5, 1921), Luce identifies eight aspects of Paul's relationship to his converts and their local assemblies: (1) He was to them as a father or a nursing mother; (2) his aim was to establish in every place a self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating church; (3) persecutions and sufferings were no sign to him that he was out of the will of God; (4) however, when persecuted and forbidden to preach any longer in one place, he moved on to another; (5) he concentrated his efforts on large urban centers; (6) he worked harmoniously with others, whatever their nationality; (7) he made no distinction whatever between believers based merely on their race or nationality; and (8) in matters of dispute he appealed to his home church for guidance and counsel (Alice E. Luce 1921a, 6-7). Allen focuses on Paul's "responsibility" for his converts and the churches he planted (1962a:141–145). Similarly, Luce expressed her view of Paul's relationship to new Christians and other disciples of Christ as being his "spiritual children" (1921c, 6). Allen was critical of the way foreign missionaries, as outsiders, tried to do everything for their converts, because the missionaries had difficulty believing that the Holy "Spirit will guide and inspire them [the converts]" (144). Luce addresses this same point, underscoring how the Apostle Paul travailed in prayer for his novice converts, and then exhorting them to walk by the Spirit (Rom. 8:4, 6, 9, 14; Gal. 5:16).

A second aspect of Allen's influence on Luce is seen in her adoption of the Pauline strategy of establishing evangelistic centers in key urban areas, from which to develop and extend the church. Luce cites three such centers—Antioch in Syria, Corinth,

and Ephesus (1921c, 6). Allen treats in detail Paul's ministry in these cities, which were among the great intellectual and commercial hubs of the Roman world. As a Roman citizen, Paul benefited several times from Roman military protection. He made use of the widely-spoken Greek language to communicate the gospel of Jesus Christ, so that he did not need an interpreter. Each of these centers had a large Jewish population which was already familiar with the Old Testament texts Paul used to proclaim Jesus as Messiah, which they had in Greek translation (the Septuagint). After Paul had disciplined a group of new believers in these cities, he expected that they, under the Holy Spirit's direction, would evangelize the surrounding communities. At this point, Paul considered that he had "evangelized the whole province" (Allen 1962a, 13).

In their efforts to "lay some sheaves at Jesus' feet," Luce and Murcutt followed a broadly Pauline strategy. They traveled from city to city, enjoying as needed the protection of local police and sheriffs' departments. Just as Paul did not have to use interpreters or translate the Scriptures, Luce and Murcutt spoke fluent Spanish, and had Spanish translations of the Bible available to them. And as they labored in highly populated areas of California, they set up centers from which the local believers, in their turn, reached out to the surrounding communities (Alice E. Luce 1917d, 13; 1918b, 11; 1918e, 7; 1918c, 14; 1920a, 11; 1922, 6; 1923a, 12; 1923b, 13; 1923c, 13).

A third area Luce's ideas mirror Allen's is in reference to the converts' ethnicity. During the "Great Century" of missions (1792-1910), many denominational churches believed that new converts from among the "heathen" of other countries needed an extended time of spiritual and administrative supervision. Allen took his Anglican colleagues to task, lamenting:

We have done everything for them. We have taught, baptized, shepherded, managed their funds, built their churches, nursed, fed, and doctored them, and ordained some. "We have done everything *for* them, but very little *with* them. We have done everything for them except *give place* to them. We have treated them as 'dear children,' but not as 'brethren'. (1962a, 143, emphasis added)

Up to a point, Luce accepted the need for missionaries to remain in supervisory roles in a foreign mission field for an extended time. But her rationale had nothing to do with the converts' ethnicity or nationality. She writes: "Many say that these young assemblies need foreign supervision for a long time. Possibly so, but it is not because we [missionaries] are foreigners, but because we are older in the faith, and have experienced more of the Spirit's guidance than they have" (1921c, 6). And again, "The babes in Christ always need the help of those who are older and more spiritual; but let us make our greater experience, or spirituality, or capacity for supervision, the criterion, and not our nationality" (6). According to Luce, missionaries should not behave paternalistically towards their new converts, nor use their positions to lord it over God's heritage. Rather, they should be an example to the local congregation (1921c, 6), and display toward them a spirit of meekness, rather than nationalism. Luce was convinced that what the apostle Paul taught and Allen reiterated regarding this issue could help Pentecostal missionaries avoid "a great deal of trouble that has occurred in many of the denominational churches" (6). Her deep convictions in this regard led her to look forward with confidence to passing on the mantel of spiritual leadership to indigenous leaders. She writes: "And when the Lord raises up spiritually qualified leaders in the native churches themselves, what a joy it will be to us to be subject to them, and to let them take the lead as the Spirit Himself shall guide them" (1921c, 6-7).

### **Melvin Lyle Hodges (1909-1988)**

Pentecostal missiologist Melvin L. Hodges and his wife Lois Crews served as missionaries to the countries of Nicaragua and El Salvador from 1936 until 1944. When Hodges arrived on the mission field in El Salvador in 1936, he met and was influenced by Ralph D. Williams (1902-1982),<sup>152</sup> an Assemblies of God missionary who had been in

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<sup>152</sup>See chapter 8 Ralph D. Williams.

El Salvador since 1929. Williams, in his turn, had been mentored by Alice E. Luce at Glad Tidings Bible Institute (GTBI) in San Francisco, California.<sup>153</sup> It was at the feet of Luce that Williams learned about the ICPs and saw them put into practice.

Hodges began his study of the ICPs by looking at the example of the New Testament church as recorded in the book of Acts and Pauline Letters (Hodges 1976, 11). Another influence on Hodges' preparation for missionary service came from his reading of two of Roland Allen's volumes, at the suggestion of Noel Perkin, the Secretary of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God (Perkin 1929a, 10). Allen had given details of a *praxiology* of missions which showed that by planting churches and discipling new converts, an indigenous church could emerge. Hodges applied Allen's missions theology to local situations in Central America as he developed a Bible school to educate indigenous converts as ministers.

Though Hodges did not earn a college degree, he did, however, attend high school and business school in Colorado Springs, Colorado.<sup>154</sup> By 1945 Hodges served as the editor and associate editor of the *Missionary Challenge*, published by the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God. He also served as the founding editor of the *Missionary Forum*, a publication for Assemblies of God missionaries, in 1948.

After several years of experience as a missionary, writer and editor, and missionary trainer for the Assemblies of God, in 1953 Hodges wrote *The Indigenous Church*, the first book-length work to give a distinctively Pentecostal interpretation and presentation of the ICPs. The value of Hodges work was quickly recognized by his

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<sup>153</sup>Williams subsequently served as the first president of the Spanish Bible School (later known as the Latin American Bible Institute) in San Diego, California.

<sup>154</sup>According to church historian, Gary McGee, Melvin Hodges didn't achieve a theological education, but did benefit from his seminary trained father, Charles E. Hodges. Hodges' lack of a theological degree may have stemmed from limited financial funds or due to the premillennial eschatological position held by his father (1998a, 20). During the early twentieth century, most Pentecostals believed in the immanent return of Jesus Christ. Thus their spiritual zeal for the lost souls of humanity took precedence over formal education. Time was of essence.

evangelical peers, and several denominations and publishing houses reprinted it. Hodges' emphasized the training of indigenous workers and giving over to them the responsibility for leading their local assemblies, based on the confidence that the Holy Spirit is able to lead them in their daily lives and ministries.

While Hodges was clearly influenced by Roland Allen thinking, he does not strictly follow Allen, and it is instructive to note the points of similarity and contrast between them. For example, Allen places considerable emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit in guiding and directing both missionary and indigenous leaders, but his non-Pentecostal perspective left little room for miraculous manifestations of the Spirit's power (Allen 1962a, 48). Hodges also places great value on the leading of the Holy Spirit, but in addition, Hodges, like Luce, emphasized the Pentecostal understanding of the New Testament model for the church, in which "all things are possible" (Mark 9:23). Consequently, Hodges made ample room for the supernatural to function in contemporary churches just as on the day of Pentecost (Hodges 1953, 131–134).

In regards to the ICPs, Allen doesn't treat each principle individually. Rather, throughout his writings, Allen weaves the principles into the tapestry of his commentary on the Pauline method of evangelism and church planting. Hodges, on the other hand, dedicates chapters specifically to each of the ICPs and gives details of how they should develop in a local setting, including examples and suggestions for their implementation. One point of unequivocal agreement between Hodges and Allen is their expectation that converts take responsibility for their own actions. Allen refers to the Apostle Paul's "principle of mutual responsibility," and urges that this principle is applicable to questions of spiritual authority and church discipline (Allen 1962a, 111–125). In terms of the ICPs, this is the principle of *self-government*. Hodges quotes Allen approvingly on this point and includes Allen's illustrations in his own work (Hodges 1953, 28–32).

## Hodges and Luce

Hodge does not refer directly to Luce's three articles on Pauline missionary methods. But Hodges' missionary field experience, mainly under the direction of Ralph Williams,<sup>155</sup> and the orientation Hodge received from Assemblies of God missions secretary Noel Perkin, all reflect Luce's "thumbprint," i.e. her specific understanding of biblical principles of mission (Perkin 1929b; Williams n.d.; Alice E. Luce 1921a; 1921b; 1921c). For instance, a major motif in Luce's writings is the operation of the Third Person of the Trinity. According to Luce, to properly establish an indigenous church all ministry must occur in the power of the Holy Spirit—apostolic power—and be accompanied by corroborating signs—apostolic results (Alice E. Luce 1921a, 6; 1921b, 6; 1921c, 7; McGee 2004, 159–162). Both Hodges and Luce believed that witnessing new converts' receiving the baptism in the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit's empowerment for service, was the apostolic method of preparing believers to evangelize the world (Hodges 1976, 14, 131, 134). And both Luce and Hodges understood that all believers, whether clergy or lay, were candidates to take part in this ministry (Snyder 2004, 50–52).

### The Indigenous Church Principles through the Lens of Pentecostalism

Before discussing how Luce put into practice the ICPs in her ministry among the Hispanics of southern California, this section examines her distinctive understanding of the ICPs as viewed through the lens of Pentecostalism.

As a denomination, the Assemblies of God did not formally adopt a stated mission strategy until its General Council meeting in September of 1921, at Saint Louis, Missouri. In January and February of that same year, Luce, an ordained Assemblies of God minister, wrote an article which was published in three parts in *The Pentecostal Evangel* under the title: "Paul's Missionary Methods." (See Appendices A, B, and C for

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<sup>155</sup>See chapter 9 "Ralph Darby Williams" for details.



the complete text.) Part one dealt with missionaries' relationship with their home church; part two dealt with the way the apostle Paul labored in a given missionary field or country; and part three presented Paul's missionary methods in relation to the newly planted congregations in a given country. The following is an analysis of Luce's articles.

Concerned that much missionary methodology in the early twentieth century fell short of the New Testament ideal, Luce began studying the book of Acts and the Pauline letters in an effort to discover biblical principles for putting into practice the *missio Dei*<sup>156</sup> in order to advance the Kingdom of God. Through prayer, study, and experience, Luce had understood that God had poured out God's Spirit on humanity specifically for the purpose of reaching lost souls around the world. In looking at the Apostle Paul's missionary ministry, Luce sought to more fully understand his methods and principles of evangelizing and planting new congregations. Luce's previous experience as a missionary to India emerges as a point of reference in her investigation.

In India, Luce had done missions by following without question instructions given by the CMS. But while there, Luce and her colleagues had read Allen's *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* Although she had forgotten the author's name, Luce commented that he was viewed as both "visionary and unpractical" (1921a, 6). But right on the heels of this remark, she admits, "That book first opened my eyes to the diametrical distinction between our methods of working and those of the New Testament" (6). Like Allen, Luce was critical of her former missionary society and denomination. She did not want to be "drawn back into those denominational methods which have no scriptural warrant, but learning in ever-increasing humility to depend

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<sup>156</sup> *Missio Dei* means "the mission or sending of God." In classical theology, the term referred to the Father's sending the Son into the world, and then the Father's and Son's sending the Spirit to empower the Church. Recent missiological theology has understood the *missio Dei* as entailing a *third* sending, i.e., the Father's, Son's and Holy Spirit's sending the Church into the world. There is growing agreement among missiologists that the *Church's* mission in the world is best understood as *participation in the missio Dei*, as God builds God's Kingdom in the world.

absolutely on the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and let Him work" (6).

To support this understanding of the distinction between human-made or denominationally-developed methods of ministry and those revealed in Scripture as conforming to the nature of the Kingdom of God, Luce described her own Pentecostal experience in India. This Pentecostal doctrine, coupled with her personal experience, provided the justification for her declaration that "there is such a thing as doing an apostolic work along apostolic lines" (1921a, 6). She understood the ministry of Paul to have been powerful, and she wanted her labor among Hispanics to be characterized by that same Holy Spirit power. According to Luce, the essence of missionary ministry was to proclaim the Word of God with signs and wonders, following Mark 16:20.

### **Paul's Missionary Methods – I**

In part one of "Paul's Missionary Methods,"<sup>157</sup> Luce focuses on the missionary's calling and commissioning for service. For missionaries to serve in the world, they should be selected from among the best leaders available, with excellent credentials; and most especially, they should be soul-winners.

As for the important role in missions of the missionary's own "home" or supporting congregation, Luce suggested that this ought to include supporting the missionary both financially and with prayer. Regarding financial support, Luce notes that Paul often chose to labor with his own hands to support himself and his ministry. However, when planting new congregations, the already-established congregations sometimes sent Paul financial assistance. Luce uses this example to urge congregations to financially support missionaries working both at home and abroad. About prayer support, Luce comments, "The measure of the Spirit's power in the home assembly has everything to do with the quality of their missionary's work and witness" (1921a, 6).

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<sup>157</sup>Published January 8, 1921. See Appendix A for the full text.

The calling and commissioning of a missionary requires spiritual sensitivity both of the sending congregation or mission society and of the missionary. According to Luce, there are three parts to the Spirit's guidance: 1) the inward voice; 2) the written word of God; and 3) the circumstances, i.e. the shutting of one door, and the opening of another (1921a, 6). Luce noted that the counsel of the home church and of other missionaries could help prevent the duplication of efforts and reduce friction among colleagues (Gal. 2:6–10; Acts 15:2, 40; 17:10, 14, 15; 19:30, 31) [Luce 1921a, 6]. However, the Spirit's leading must remain primary for the missionary. In Acts 21:4, 10–14 the local congregation tried to keep Paul from going to Jerusalem, but at his insistence, they gave in and supported him as he followed God's will.

Paul explained that once the local assembly can stand on its own, the missionary should move onto the next place to pioneer the gospel in unclaimed territory (Luce 1921a, 7). Luce believed that a missionary ought always to be a pioneer, ever taking the gospel to new territory (7). Luce herself had taken the gospel to India and served in a pioneer role for sixteen years. We should note, however, that over the next several decades, Luce's view of missionary ministry as exclusively pioneering in character gradually softened somewhat. In her later years, she still considered herself a missionary, even though her primary work was the developing of two Bible schools and the writing of articles and books in Spanish and English.

In fact, this change in the nature of her missionary service was logical for both physical and strategic reasons. As she aged, Luce experienced the inevitable decrease in personal energy, which ultimately made the role of always-on-the-move evangelist problematic. But she also came to see that educational ministry was a natural role for the missionary who sought to help fledging indigenous leaders (in the case of her ministry, *Hispanic* leaders) to reach the next level of personal and ministerial development. The missionary would necessarily have to train the first generation of

indigenous leaders. But once trained, these indigenous leaders could train others, thus allowing the leadership of the Hispanic churches to become and remain fully indigenous. In this way, Hispanic leaders would be trained and educated by other Hispanics (rather than by non-Hispanic missionaries) to reach their own people in the USA, Mexico, and other Spanish speaking nations. This would represent the full fruition of the ICP of self-propagation. At this point, the missionary's role, if he or she still had one, became that of supporting indigenously organized and directed ministries.

In the last section of the first installment of her article, Luce considers what missionaries ought to do when they return home to report what God has been doing in their places of service. The missionaries' reports inform the local assembly about their "daughter churches in the mission field" (7), and give them a clearer idea of how to support both the daughter churches and missionaries in prayer. And the weeks or months "at home" are a time of physical and spiritual renewal for the missionaries.

### **Paul's Missionary Methods – II**

In the second installment of her article,<sup>158</sup> Luce addresses the way Paul worked and witnessed on the mission field. Equipped by the Spirit with the gifts of apostle, prophet, and teacher, Paul gave a *kerygmatic* presentation of the gospel which emphasized the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. As he closed his presentations, Paul would have focused on the need for his hearers to repent and receive the gift of the Holy Spirit, just as did the Apostle Peter in Acts 2:38–39, where Peter pleads: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, [even] as many as the Lord our God shall call." Viewing the Apostle Paul as a model missionary, Luce exclaims, "May

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<sup>158</sup>Published January 22, 1921. See Appendix B for the complete text.

the Lord raise up such missionaries from every assembly!" (1921b, 6).

Luce emphasizes that, first and foremost, the Apostle Paul dedicated himself to *proclaiming the gospel* of Jesus Christ; only secondarily did he give attention to meeting the physical needs of the people—for example, through the collection for the poor saints in Jerusalem, the care of widows and orphans, etc. (1921b, 6). Luce found support for this in Acts 6:3 where Luke relates, "Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples [unto them], and said, it is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables." The Apostles believed that their first priority was to proclaim the Good News. But recognizing the importance of meeting people's physical needs, they instructed the assembled believers to select leaders from among themselves whose responsibility it would be to meet the people's material needs.

Looking back on almost a quarter century of her own missionary ministry, Luce writes, "I mourn to think of how much time I have spent in serving tables, when I might have been all the time preaching the Gospel" (1921b, 6). She lamented that she could have seen more people prepared for eternity had she understood the biblical principle of the primacy of proclamation, instead of having spent so much time at "works of mercy and philanthropy" (6).<sup>159</sup> A common cry of Evangelicals and Pentecostals at the end of the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth was, "*Jesus is coming!*" Thus, Luce's sense of the urgency of evangelism was heightened by a firm conviction that Christ could return at any moment. Reflecting specifically on her ministry in India among the *zenanas*, Luce regretted that so many had perished without knowing Christ. She apparently felt that, had more of her time been devoted to evangelism, more of the *zenanas* could possibly have avoided eternal damnation.

The obvious question that suggests itself is: Why did Luce view the ministry of

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<sup>159</sup>In another article, Luce pointedly says "missionary work" was "far above the level of philanthropic effort" (1922, 6).

“waiting on tables,” i.e., philanthropy, as being of secondary importance (if not inferior in nature) to the preaching of the gospel? In part, this was a result of her experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit in India in 1910. “Since receiving the Baptism of the Holy Ghost,” argued Luce, “this impression has been ever deepening in my soul, and the desire to be able to keep first things first in all my future work” (1921b, 6). Luce even suggests to her Pentecostal missionary colleagues that they should allow “others” to do the “works of mercy and philanthropy” (6). By “others,” Luce may have meant deacons and deaconesses, who did not have a calling to the ministry of proclamation. If this was her meaning, however, it is sad to note that not many congregations responded to her pleas. Typically, deacons seemed more focused on maintaining control of the local fellowship than on serving others, and few if any women were selected to serve in the role of deaconess in Assemblies of God congregations.

Luce’s study of Paul’s missionary methods augmented her understanding of importance of manifestations of the presence and power of God for successful evangelism. When people witness signs and wonders, they have the opportunity to recognize that the living God of heaven is in their midst. This sets out in sharp relief the alternatives they face: They must either believe in the living God and the message of salvation, take up their cross, and follow Jesus; or else they must reject him. Signs and wonders were a dominant feature of Luce’s ministry, and she contrasts her view with that of non-Pentecostals, asking, “When we go forth to preach the Full Gospel, are we going to expect an experience like that of the denominational missionaries, or shall we look for the signs to follow?” (1921b, 6). And she adds, “If they [non-Pentecostals] would bring a Pauline Gospel, they would get Pauline results” (6)!

Writing concerning ministry to people of another culture, Luce cites the example of the Apostle Paul’s not “compromising nor catering to the prejudices of the people, their customs or their social position, Acts 13:38–41, 46; 14:14–15; 15:24–29; Gal. 2:11–

18; Acts 17:2– 3, 32; 19:1–8, 17–20; 20:20, 27; 1 Thess. 2:4–6; Rom. 1:14–16” (1921b, 6). Luce draws a parallel between the Early Church’s missions among the Greeks and present-day Pentecostal missions, asserting that the cross of Jesus Christ “was the stigma of Christianity, even as the speaking in other tongues is the stigma of the Full Gospel today” (6). But, though the Greeks were revolted by the idea of the crucifixion, Paul refused “to water down his message from any motives of expediency” (6). During Luce’s era, non-Pentecostals argued that the Pentecostal message was anti-biblical and of the devil.<sup>160</sup> Against this position, Luce quoted Paul’s declaration in Acts 20:20: “I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you. I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God” (6). Luce understood the Apostle Paul as teaching that every Christian should be filled with the Holy Spirit, with the accompanying evidence of speaking in tongues, because this gift is profitable both to the recipient, through whom the Spirit is manifest, and to any unbelievers who may witness the manifestation (cf. 1 Cor 14:22)..

Toward the end of the second part of her article on *Paul’s Missionary Methods*, Luce argues that “It is not necessary to waste our time in a great deal of social intercourse; rather it seems best to let our dealings with those among whom we work remain exclusively of a spiritual character” (6). At first glance, this declaration would seem to lead to the missionary’s interaction with the local people being decidedly one-sided, or even antisocial. On further consideration, however, it makes good sense, in that it places the people’s spiritual needs ahead of their physical and/or social needs.

In the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainline American Protestantism was

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<sup>160</sup>The idea that the Pentecostal message was anti-biblical and of the devil had its roots in the teachings of Augustine and Chrysostom. Around 1000 AD, the Roman Catholic Church declared that glossolalia was *prima facie* evidence of demon possession (Synan 2001, 20). Later, Luther stated that “tongues” were not necessary to the Christian’s experience. In the nineteenth century, holiness leaders like Alma White said speaking in tongues was “satanic gibberish” and referred to Pentecostal services as “the climax of demon worship” (Synan 1997, 145). G. Campbell Morgan “called the Pentecostal movement ‘the last vomit of Satan’” while R. A. Torrey “claimed that it was ‘emphatically not of God, and founded by a Sodomite’” (146).

permeated with the motif of the "Social Gospel." Moved by the plight of the mass of impoverished humanity around them, both American citizens and immigrants, many churches began to work to meet their very concrete needs for food, clothing, etc. Unfortunately, in too many churches the focus of ministry shifted almost entirely from preaching the gospel to meeting people's physical and social needs. The Social Gospel movement found support for its emphasis in a postmillennial eschatology, according to which it was the Church's mission to rid the world of social evils and establish the Kingdom on earth, which would open the way for Christ's return and his millennial reign on earth. In addition, other theories swept through the American Protestantism, including Higher Criticism, Darwinism, and ecumenicalism—all of which were considered "false doctrines" by the Holiness and Pentecostal movements (Synan 1997, 46). Luce and other Pentecostal leaders stood in direct opposition to all these doctrines, so as to remain focused on fulfilling the Great Commission of Matthew 28:18-20.

Seen against this background, it becomes easier to understand why Luce makes the statements she does. There can be no doubt that she was genuinely concerned about the physical needs of those to whom she ministered. Her major focus, however, was on their eternal destination and she wanted to do all she could to ensure that it was Heaven, not Hell. To guarantee that her readers understood that she saw missionaries as *servants* of the people they evangelize, Luce cites two passages that emphasize the biblical concept of servanthood: 1 Corinthians 9:19-23 and 1 Thessalonians 2:5-12. And she urges, "Let us study the message of the Incarnation as given us in Philipians 2:5-8, until the Spirit can burn it into our souls and make it part of the very fiber of our being" (1921b, 11). Because the "heathen" do not know Jesus, nor have they read His Word, they can only see Him through the lives of the Christians who go among them. Luce insists that, "It is only as the Word becomes flesh in us by the power of the indwelling Spirit teaching us to empty ourselves and become of no reputation, that the heathen will



be able to see the great love of Jesus and be drawn to his feet” (11).

When Paul spoke of the mystery which is the Church, he included all people from all nations and ethnic groups within its ranks. From her experiences, Luce related that many Indians viewed Christianity as a British or white man’s religion (1921b, 11). Because of this, the Indian people did not see Christianity as something they needed. When carried out within the imperialistic, ethnocentric milieu of colonialism, Christian missions had widened, rather than bridged, the gap between Christianity and other religions. Because of this, Luce explained to her readers that missionaries must “train native workers to evangelize their own countries, for they are the only ones who would ever accomplish it, and they had many advantages over the foreigner” (11).

### **Paul’s Missionary Methods – III**

In the third installment<sup>161</sup> of her article, “Paul’s Missionary Methods,” Luce focused on the apostle’s methodology. The Apostle Paul’s first congregations were planted in Christ-less lands. The only examples the new converts had of how to “do church” were what they experienced in the synagogue (in the case of Jewish converts) or what they had seen in the pagan temples (in the case of Gentile converts). Initially at least, the Early Church had to borrow from the local culture the vocabulary to express their faith and to describe what they were experiencing in their newly Spirit-filled lives. For example, to describe water baptism the Early Church borrowed the word *baptizō* from the cloth-dying industry, where it meant “to dip” (Findlayson; Vine 1966, 97). As necessary, Paul either redefined already-existing Greek terms or coined new ones, in order to explain what it meant to be a follower of Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord.

For Paul, those he led into the Kingdom of God became his sons and daughters in the Lord (cf. 1 Tim. 1:2; Tit. 1:4). Spiritually, he became a “father” to them. Luce

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<sup>161</sup>Published February 5, 1921. See Appendix C for the complete text.

remonstrates with her readers: If new converts are indeed our spiritual children, then why did not Christians of her day take to heart their parental responsibility?<sup>162</sup> Why did they not travail in prayer night and day for their spiritual children? “If we did,” asks Luce, “would they not grow up faster, and cause us less sorrow and anxiety?” (1921c, 6).

According to Luce, the Apostle Paul’s aim was to establish self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating congregations wherever he went (Luce 1921c, 6; cf. Acts 13:43–49; 14:3, 21–23; 16:4–5; 20:28; 1 Thess. 1:6–8). One point that Luce emphasized was how quickly Paul organized new congregations. He taught his disciples to “stand on their own two feet” and depend on the power of the Holy Spirit to guide them—and then he let them do it! Yes, they made many mistakes,<sup>163</sup> but is not that still true today (Luce 1921c, 6)? Nonetheless, Paul did not change his methodology. He delegated to newly-formed congregation all the responsibilities of supporting, governing and propagating themselves—and, in the case of Gentile converts, without burdening them with the excess cultural and ceremonial baggage of Judaism. Local deacons and elders were appointed to take care of issues such as how to care for orphans and widows (Acts 6:1-6<sup>164</sup>; 14:23; Luce 1921, 6). Paul did not micromanage, for he knew that God would answer the people’s prayers just as God had answered his own.

In addition to the consideration of the missionary’s relationship to the indigenous churches, in her article Luce raises the question of the failure of some church plants. She points out that most of these congregations were not Pentecostal; she notes that some of them failed initially, but that another attempt would be made to establish them; and, she insists that she had rather fail while trying to follow the Spirit’s leading, than to succeed while following man-made methods and plans (1921c, 6).

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<sup>162</sup>This concept is also described in Roland Allen (1962a, 141-145).

<sup>163</sup>Roland Allen refers to this same idea (1962a, 145).

<sup>164</sup>This passage refers to a Petrine method of appointing leaders, not a Pauline one.

On the point of developing self-supporting congregations, Luce gave an example from India where, in her experience, Pentecostal believers were more given to self-sacrifice than their non-Pentecostal neighbors. Among Pentecostal Christians from one of the lower, poorer casts, it was common for housewives, as they were preparing rice twice daily for their families, to put a handful of uncooked grain into “the Lord’s pot.” When taken weekly to the local meeting place, these offerings of rice were sufficient to support the pastor. “There is no assembly,” according to Luce, “too poor to support its leader, if each member really does his or her share” (1921c, 6).

Some Christians think that if believers face persecution from others or the trials of difficult circumstances, then that person or congregation must be out of God’s will. Not so, says Luce. She says that when a missionary is “persecuted and forbidden to preach longer in one place, he [or she] passed on to another [location]” (1921c, 6).

In this article on Paul’s missionary methods, Luce reminds her audience that the Apostle worked in harmony with others, whatever their nationality. He made no distinction between ethnicities when founding new congregations. Luce strongly warns Pentecostal missionaries not to base their assessment of indigenous believers on their nationality or ethnicity, but on their level of spiritual maturity.

In reference to preserving the bond of peace, Luce comments, “Whatever the provocation, the rasping of our nerves due to unhealthy climates, overworked bodies or insufficient food, let us resolve that we will let nothing break the bond of love which binds us to our brethren in Christ” (1921c, 6). Here, Luce speaks from years of experience in India, where she had suffered illness and poor living conditions. But all this suffering was endured in order to serve those whom she had learned to love. Allen touches on this same issue, but says of the Anglican Church that, in the main, they had treated indigenous converts as “‘dear children’, but not as ‘brethren’” (1962a, 143).

Luce’s last point in “Paul’s Missionary Methods” deals with matters of doctrinal

dispute on the foreign mission field. She makes a case for voluntary cooperation between local believers and local congregations in order to resolve such disputes. For example, in Acts 15, when a problem emerged concerning both doctrine and practice at once, Paul and Barnabas appealed to the mother congregation in Jerusalem for support. In that case, wise human leadership, guided by the Holy Spirit, determined not to burden the daughter congregations with unnecessary rules and regulations. Rather, they sent a letter containing only some general guidelines, which the indigenous congregations received with great joy. As a result, unity and peace were preserved in the Church, and the indigenous congregations continued to develop apace.

Paul's principle of mutual responsibility<sup>165</sup> led him to give the local congregations the information they needed in order to decide what to do, but not a detailed prescription for how to proceed on each point. He purposefully left room for the Holy Spirit to speak to and guide them. This is the approach Luce promoted as well, declaring: "How blessed it will be when we Pentecostal missionaries become so absolutely yielded to the Spirit of God, that we shall realize our interdependence in the body of Christ" (7). Her whole purpose in discovering the indigenous church principles in Paul's writings was to help her Pentecostal family to realize the need for establishing the Kingdom of God around the world, and by means of apostolic power, to produce apostolic results.

### **Adoption of the ICPs by the Assemblies of God**

As the Pentecostal message continued to spread across the United States and to many countries around the world, various problems began to surface which threatened to splinter the fledgling Pentecostal organizations and congregations. Some of the most

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<sup>165</sup>By Paul's "principle of mutual responsibility" I mean his allowing the local congregation to recognize and resolve its own problems without the intervention of the foreign missionary (that is, without his intervening). By allowing the congregation to discover a solution to their own problem, Paul helped them learn to depend on the Holy Spirit—and to stand on their own feet!

difficult problems were related to the many missionary ministries in countries around the world and, specifically, to the lack of coordination of these efforts. One problem involved the acquisition and administration of mission properties. According to Anna Reiff, editor of the *Latter Rain Evangel* in Chicago, "In some countries the government will not permit individuals to hold property for mission purposes; it must be held by trustees or an association properly organized" (1914, 15; Bell 1914, 2). Because Pentecostals did not have a missions board or other institution to help missionaries obtain and hold properties, it became clear that some sort of formal organization must be developed. Another problem was the lack of supervision of Pentecostal missionaries. Some missionaries were traveling around the world at their leisure. Others were not staying in the field long enough to learn the language and culture, while others were not complying with the requirements of earmarked funds (Bell 1913c, 2). These issues had created havoc for those whom God had genuinely called to serve abroad, and were interfering with their ministry of leading other people into the Kingdom of God.

Typically, Pentecostal missionaries received their financial support from the United States, frequently in response to articles and appeals printed in various publications such as *The Latter Rain Evangel*, and *Word and Witness*. The editor of *Word and Witness*, published in Malvern, Arkansas, was Eudorus N. Bell (1866-1923). In light of the issues and problems mentioned above, Bell wrote: "If missionaries expect to receive the constant help of sensible saints in the home land, they must go to fight the good fight of faith, to learn the languages, to train the native workers in their own tongue, to battle against the powers of darkness in the might of God's Spirit, and like Paul, not give up until they have finished their course" (1912, 3; 1913a, 4; 1913c, 2).

Through the pages of Pentecostal publications in 1913, various ministers and editors sounded a clarion call for change. Problems with the missionary enterprise was only one of several issues that plagued United States Pentecostalism as it sought

stability in its marginalized existence. A call for unity and accountability appeared in the December 20, 1913 issue of the *Word and Witness* under the heading "General Convention of Pentecostal Saints and Churches of God in Christ: Hot Springs, Arkansas, April 2–12, 1914" (1913b, 1). Though this dissertation is not focused on the formation the Assemblies of God as a denomination, its development of a formal process for sending and supporting missionaries is relevant to our discussion. Point three of the stated purpose for calling the convention is directly related to missions ministry. It states:

We come together for another reason, that we may get a better understanding of the needs of each foreign field, and may know how to place our money in such a way that one mission or missionary shall not suffer, while another not any more worthy, lives in luxuries. Also that we may discourage wasting money on those who are running here and there accomplishing nothing, and may concentrate our support on those who mean business for our King. (Bell 1913b:1)

Pentecostal leaders like E. N. Bell, H. A. Goss, M. M. Pinson, and D. C. O. Opperman became concerned about this issue. They had already experienced and written about "charlatans" in "sheep's clothing" who had "fleeced" or had taken advantage of the support of multiple Pentecostal congregations (Goss 1958, 167–174). To correct such abuses, both at home and abroad, was one of the major purposes of the Hot Springs convention. It called Pentecostal leaders to assemble and lend their voices to bring order to the chaotic expansion of the Kingdom of God.

The AG General Council's chief concern, expressed in purpose number three, was the equitable division of available missionary funding. The recorded minutes of the 1914 meeting did not include any strategy for the actual carrying out of missionary ministry. According to the "Combined Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God," in 1920 that the body enacted substantive provisions governing the division of funds, the holding of real estate, and the setting up of a missions department. Despite these considerable advances, there was still no mention of any specific guidelines for setting up mission churches. It was not until the 1921 General Council meeting in St.

Louis, Missouri, from Sept. 21–28, that the issue of missionary strategy was addressed. On the afternoon of Tuesday, Sept. 25, the Council convened to discuss changes to its missionary policy. Six major points were presented and adopted. The following are extracts from the General Council's "New Policy of the Foreign Missions Department":

Whereas, The General Council of the Assemblies of God has purposed to obey the great commission of Mark 16:15 and Matthew 28:18–20, and to co-operate with Christ for the evangelization of the world through its Foreign Missions Departments, and

Whereas, the General Council has put itself on record as being ready to follow the New Testament methods in the conduct of its work in foreign lands, and

Whereas, It is incumbent upon the General Council to make provision for the proper care and support of its missionaries both on the field and while home on furlough; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Foreign Missions Department (which consists of the Foreign Missions Committee and the missionary personnel) be guided by the following New Testament practices:

First. The missionary work of the Council shall be on the "Co-operative faith" basis, viz., the missionaries, the Foreign Missions Committee and the home constituency shall look to God together to supply the needs of the work. ...

Second. The *Pauline example* will be followed so far as possible, by seeking out neglected regions where the Gospel has not yet been preached, lest we build upon another's foundation (Rom. 15:20).

Third. It shall be our purpose to seek to establish *self-supporting, self-propagating* and *self-governing* native churches.

Fourth. The system of supporting missions and missionaries shall be based on the principle outlined in Acts 4:34, 35, which principle found favor by the apostles and was put into operation by the early church in caring for its poor. ...

Fifth. If funds are needed for the support of native workers, special arrangements should be made to meet these needs between the District Council on the field and the Foreign Missions Committee. ...

Sixth. The Foreign Missions Committee shall define proper standards for the training and testing of candidates as to their call and qualification for foreign service, as the needs of the work shall require. (AG 1921a:60–64 emphasis added)

Points two and three are of key interest for our purposes, as they specifically spell out a commitment to a Pauline methodology of missions and formally adopt the ICPs as Council policy. For the first time, the General Council of the Assemblies of God had declared their strategy for extending the Kingdom of God, both at home and abroad.

That the General Council had not specifically addressed missions strategy in its

meetings prior to 1921 raises several questions. Since at least the 1860s, church leaders from many backgrounds had recognized that the Apostle Paul's missionary strategies are applicable to contemporary missions practice. If the General Council leaders understood this strategy, why had they not discussed, written about, or adopted these points earlier? Did other denominations of which some of these leaders had previously been members know nothing of the Pauline methodology of missions? However this may be, the record shows that the AG General Council neither recognized officially the importance of the indigenous church principles (ICPs) exemplified by the Apostle Paul, nor formally adopted them for AG missions until late 1921.

Alice E. Luce was, apparently, the first Pentecostal missionary from the Assemblies of God or any other Pentecostal group to specifically explain and advocate the ICPs. We have already discussed her important articles, "Paul's Missionary Methods," (1921a, 6–7; 1921b, 6, 11; 1921c, 6–7), which were published just months before the AG General Council's 1921 meeting.<sup>166</sup> Luce's theology and praxis of the ICPs gave the missionary ministries of the Assemblies of God a firm footing from which to reach out both at home and around the world. Evidence of this was visible in the many churches that Luce and her missionary team planted in California and in Mexico. Not only did she train her disciples in them, but she "lived out" the ICPs wherever she ministered. *In light of all this, it seems to this researcher that much of the credit for the AG General Council's recognition and adoption of a Pauline missionary methodology and the ICPs should go to Alice E. Luce.*

### **Hispanic Pentecostal Indigeneity**

From her reading of the Great Commission in Matthew 28:18–20 (cf. Matt. 9:35–

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<sup>166</sup>Luce's article was published in three installments, two in January and one in February, 1921. The General Council which formally adopted the ICPs as AG policy met that September.



38; 10:1; Mark 16:15–18), Luce understood that her way of equipping converts as parallel to that of Jesus' way: Evangelize them; baptize them; and disciple them. When a nucleus of Hispanics believers was developed, Luce taught them that they should tell their story to others. In a short time, a small congregation would form, and a building would be secured (rented or purpose-built) to house their meetings. Thus, a local church would be established, which would serve as a center from which to reach out to other areas. Then, Luce and her team would move on to a new area, and the whole procedure would be repeated. Luce demonstrated over and over how the Great Commission could be fulfilled by following Jesus' own example, and by employing the Pauline methodology of planting a church that reflected the convert's culture, and implemented the ICPs.

Before we examine the churches Luce and her team established in light of each of the three ICPs, an important issue needs to be addressed. William Smalley writes: "It seems to have become axiomatic in much missionary thinking that a church which is 'self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating' is by definition an 'indigenous church'" (1999, 474). However, the mere inculcation of these principles in local church leaders doesn't necessarily make their churches truly indigenous. Indeed, according to Smalley, "Indigenous churches cannot be founded. They can only be planted, and the mission is usually surprised at which seeds grow" (1999, 478).

John Ritchie, Scottish missionary and writer, addresses this subject head-on. To those who insist that a self-supporting church is, therefore, indigenous, he responds:

"Indigenous" should express the conception of a Christian Church which sustains its own life, rather than pays its own expenses or exists without any external aid, and whose mode and being of expression arises from its own nature and environment rather than arising out of ecclesiastical, theological and political conflicts of the Church in some other land. (Ritchie 1946, 26)

So then, what *are* the necessary characteristics of a truly indigenous church?

Reiterating Smalley's definition, cited early in this chapter, an indigenous church "is a group of believers who live out their life, including their socialized Christian activity, in the

patterns of the local society, and for whom any transformation of that society comes out of their felt needs under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures” (1999, 475–476). This is precisely the sort of churches which grew out of Luce’s mission work among the Hispanics in Texas, Mexico, and California.

### **Self-Propagating**

One of the attitudes which should characterize a newly planted church in any community is the congregation’s willingness to reach out to others with the gospel message. When they do this, they are implementing the ICP of *self-propagation*. Success in inculcating this principle was one of Luce’s strengths as a church planter, as she modeled “how to do it” among the Hispanic populace of California. Shortly after Luce had planted a congregation near the Mexican Plaza (*La Placita*) in Los Angeles, California in 1918, the converts were out sharing their newfound faith with others. Some of the Mexican converts worked in nearby orchards picking fruit, and Luce reported that they had delivered “numbers of Spanish tracts and Gospels, and from one place they sent to me for some hymnbooks that they might hold meetings” (Luce 1918c, 14; 1918d, 3). On holidays or at special events the members of recently-planted Hispanic congregations would share Bible portions and tracts with their family and friends.

In addition to evangelistic literature, God also used the testimonies of Spirit-filled Hispanic converts to reconcile people to Himself. Luce describes what typically went on at the various mission stations: “As the Mexican Christians go from one place to another they gather at night, after the day’s work is done, and tell out the Gospel with such power that numbers have been saved who have never been inside our missions” (1922, 6). Thus, both through literature and testimonies of believers, men and women became part of the Kingdom of God.

Some of the conversion stories Luce reports are quite dramatic. One sister had

been tortured by her abusive husband, including burning her face with a hot iron. After two years of her praying for him, he became a Christian and received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. The woman was not able to read or write but had committed many Scriptures to memory. At the time of writing of the article, "Mexican Work in California," both husband and wife were ministering in the San Joaquin Valley, leading others into the Kingdom of God (Luce 1918d, 3). Luce reflects on the case of a young man, possibly Miguel Guillén,<sup>167</sup> who was converted in Kingsville, Texas in 1917. After being saved, he led six others to experience Christ. A few months later sixty-four men and women in Los Indios, Texas area had been saved and filled with the Holy Spirit (1922, 7).

Along with testimonies of salvation, baptisms in the Holy Spirit, and healings came a report that the ministry to Hispanics had been extended over a twenty mile radius around Los Angeles (1918c, 14). On one occasion, due to an outbreak of Spanish influenza, the *El Aposento Alto* congregation couldn't meet in their building. However, Luce reports that both missionaries and Hispanic members of the congregation met in homes, where they prayed for the sick and saw a good number of souls saved (14).

### **Self-Governing**

In the minds of most Mexican Americans and Mexicans living in California during the early 1900s was the belief that the Euro American culture was superior to Hispanic (Mexican) culture. And most Euro Americans saw themselves as being "better" than people of other ethnicities, and they demonstrated this prejudice daily in their dealings with Hispanics. Even the pay was less for Hispanics than for Euro Americans doing similar jobs, based on the so-called "dual-wage system."<sup>168</sup> Sadly, even many of the

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<sup>167</sup>Miguel Guillén, who is further discussed in chapter 9, authored the volume *La Historia del Concilio Latino Americano de Iglesias Cristianas* (The History of the Latin American Council of Christian Churches).

<sup>168</sup>For additional information see Paul Barton (1999) and Mario T. García (1981).

clergy harbored such prejudice (Walsh 2003, 39). As we noted above, many missionaries felt that churches and leaders of non-European descent needed many years of Euro American missionary supervision before they could even begin to order their own affairs and govern themselves.

This biased attitude, so prevalent among Euro Americans, was *not* shared by Luce and Murcutt. Although they were “Euro-,” as British citizens they were not “Americans,” and so were themselves “outsiders” in the eyes of the Euro American majority. This helped them to be able to minister effectively to the Mexican Americans and Mexicans who were ostracized and marginalized by majority Euro American society. And although this missionary team of two single British women did work within the structures of the existing cultural system, they were strong advocates for treating their Hispanic disciples as equal partners in the faith and in ministry.

As they planted and watered the new Hispanic local congregations and watched over their growth, Luce and Murcutt did not immediately attempt to implement the ICP of *self-government*. Generally, this principle does not come to fruition until the second or third generation of believers in a new church.<sup>169</sup> Paul spent about three years discipling his converts in Ephesus; convinced of the importance of following the Pauline model, Luce and Murcutt felt that this timeframe would be a good measure by which to evaluate the progress of the new Hispanic congregations they were planting.

Gradually the ICP of self-government began to develop. One example of the transition of the churches Luce planted from missionary governed to *self-governed* is the commissioning and sending by the Hispanic congregation of Kingsville, Texas, in a

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<sup>169</sup>The term “second or third generation” refers to an immigrant convert’s children or grandchildren who become Christians, as well as to others who have been in the Christian community for a sufficient number of years for this to occur. See above, “Hispanic Pentecostal Indigeneity.”

special Sunday afternoon service on March 4, 1917, of Loreto and Paulita Garza<sup>170</sup> as the first Assemblies of God missionaries to Mexico who were themselves Hispanic. In transitioning from being local ministers to missionaries, the Garzas were to experience for the first time what it meant to labor on their own without supervision by more mature missionaries (e.g., Ball and Luce). They would make their own decisions regarding where and how to carry out the task of reaching lost souls. And, as the Kingsville Hispanic congregation continued to support their missionaries both financially and in prayer, they would grow stronger and more confident of their status as a fully-fledged, *indigenous* local church. After reaching their destination in Mexico, Loreto and Paulita Garza eventually planted a church in Burgos, Tamaulipas, Mexico (Bell 1919, 23). Six months after the Garzas entered Mexico, the Kingsville congregation received a letter sharing how God was meeting their needs and adding souls to the Kingdom (1917, 4).

### **Self-Supporting**

For Luce, the idea of a new church's becoming *self-supporting* was clear and straightforward. Drawing on her past missionary experience in India, Luce was convinced that any congregation has the ability to support its pastor, as long as the local people can feed themselves. She noted that if family in India could spare a couple of handfuls of rice a day, then a Mexican family could do the same (1921c, 6). However, Luce was aware that pastors supported solely by their local congregation needed much prayer. In an article in *The Weekly Evangel* of July 14, 1917, Luce urged her readers: "Do pray ... that the young workers who are going forth trusting the Lord alone to provide their support without any promises whatever from us may have their faith strengthened,

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<sup>170</sup>Loreto Garza (1895-1975) was one of Henry Ball's first converts at Kingsville, and he received his calling to ministry at the same time as he was saved. He spent two years studying God's Word in preparation to serve his people. Then on July 12, 1916, when he was just 21 years of age, the General Council of the Assemblies of God ordained him as a minister.

and be kept close to Jesus” (1917c, 13).

In another article in November of that same year, Luce addresses the need for “tithes and offerings [to be] brought into God’s storehouse.” She shows her readers the New Testament teachings about regular and systematic giving of tithes and offerings, citing numerous biblical references (1 Cor. 16:1–3; Acts 11:29; 24:17; Luke 11:42; Matt. 23:23; Rom. 15:26–28; 2 Cor. 8–9). She then relates the testimonies of some who had begun to tithe systematically, for example: “Since we have begun to give our tithes regularly to the Lord, we have had a crop of sweet potatoes such as I had never seen in my life before” (Luce 1917h, 6–7; 1950, 227–230).

There were clear signs that some of the recently-planted Hispanic congregations were beginning to implement the ICP of self-support. Hispanic believers were learning to tithe—a sure sign of spiritual maturity—and as a result, several Mexican Pentecostal congregations were beginning to pay their own way. The mission congregation in San Francisco, for example, had quadrupled in attendance from late 1922 through May of 1923 and was supporting its own pastor and paying its own rent (1922, 7; 1923a, 12; 1923b, 13; 1927c, 6). Some years later, Luce penned another article in which she contrasts the discrimination charge in Acts 6 to turning over the control (“support, government, and extension”) of the local church to its own members. If this were done, she asserts, the native congregations would grow “faster than ever, and a robust type of Christian life would develop which would surpass our highest expectations” (1931a, 8).

## Chapter 8

### The Latin American Bible Institute of California

#### Introduction

During his lifetime, this researcher recalls hearing many times from Pentecostal leaders that a person did not need an education in order to preach the gospel. Especially during the first few decades of the twentieth century, many viewed ministerial education as diminishing the minister's reliance upon the leadership of the Holy Spirit. "A great fear common among Pentecostals in those days, and persisting for many years, was that education would produce carnal pride, and that if workers prided themselves in their own knowledge they would be less prone to depend on the operation of the Holy Spirit" (Menzies 1971, 141). Others were suspicious of advanced ministerial education because of the philosophy of modernism that was so prevalent in that era in the seminaries of the major denominations (for example, the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans). This modernist philosophy had a negative impact on Pentecostal students who attended such seminaries. And those who persisted in their Pentecostal beliefs were often ousted from such institutions, leaving them feeling marginalized.

Yet, Pentecostal ministers wanted—and knew they needed—*biblical* training. Though the grassroots level of the AG may have deemed it unnecessary for ministers to have a formal education, still the "believers almost always treated it as an obvious qualification for leadership" (Wacker 2001, 152). And for the fledgling Pentecostal denominations to succeed, they needed strong, well-educated leadership to help their groups survive and flourish during their formative years, and to equip the next generation of Pentecostal leaders. Sentiment began to build that this need must be met. Finally, writing in the *Word and Witness* (1913b), E. N. Bell called for a meeting of Pentecostal

Christians to assemble at Hot Springs, Arkansas in April of 1914. One of the purposes of the meeting was to address the educational needs of Pentecostal ministers. Bell's call stated, "We may have a proposition to lay before the body for a general Bible Training School with a literary department for our people [Pentecostals]" (Bell 1913b, 1).

According to church historian Grant Wacker, among Pentecostals, the need for "education ranked especially high" (2001, 151). However, Wacker clarifies that this did not mean *secular* education, but rather the mastering of the King James Version of the Bible and of the doctrinal distinctives around which the various Pentecostal camps were structured, and which gave them their identity. Indeed, T. K. Leonard, one of the key leaders in organizing the Assemblies of God as a denomination in 1914, remarked that "time is too precious, Jesus is coming too soon, and education has proven too futile" to spend much effort on secular studies (Wacker, 151–152). Wacker records that, "The only preparation a man or woman needed for ministry, sniffed one editor [from England], was an 'upper-room experience'" [meaning the baptism in the Holy Spirit]" (152). However, the 1920 session of the AG's General Council approved the following resolution: "That we encourage our people as a whole, and our young people especially, to attend faithfully to a diligent search of the Scriptures, and if possible to attend some properly and scripturally accredited Bible Training School" (AG 1920a, 29–30).

Bible schools played a major role in the development of the AG into a denomination whose missionaries circled the globe with the Pentecostal message. For example, one of the major modern-day Pentecostal outpourings of the Spirit occurred at Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas in 1901; another occurred in 1907, at Nyack Missionary Training Institute in Nyack, New York. As the AG movement grew, a 1915 article in the *Pentecostal Evangel* announced the opening in Hartford, Alabama, of "a Bible School for the training of the young preachers and people who desire to enter the work of the Lord and obtain better preparation for [the] same. A [b]rief course in Bible



[h]istory, and study on the special truths for this day and age in the form of topics.

Training in vocal music and grammar, with special evangelistic services at night” (Jessup 1915, 1). Other schools, either already-existing or newly-founded, also contributed to the growth of the AG by helping to develop its ministers and missionaries. Their names, locations, and year of their founding were as follows: Gibeah, in Plainfield, Indiana, in 1912; Elim (later renamed the Rochester Bible Training School), at Rochester, New York, in 1895; Bethel Bible Institute, at Newark, New Jersey, in 1916; Glad Tidings Bible Institute, in San Francisco, California, in 1919; Southern California Bible School, in Los Angeles in 1921; and Central Bible Institute, in Springfield, Missouri, in 1922.

It should be noted that this move to found Pentecostal Bible schools was part of a more general movement in American Evangelicalism. According to educator William Ringenberg, “The Bible college movement arose in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries as a response to the widespread revivalism of Dwight Moody and others” (1984, 157). A. B. Simpson, the founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, established the first such school, Nyack Missionary College, in New York City in 1882, and Dwight L. Moody established the second, the Moody Bible Institute, in Chicago in 1886. These “newly founded Bible Schools were successful in training large numbers of men and women for practical Christian work ... who were deeply concerned about evangelizing the American working class ... as well as reaching the millions of people overseas who had not heard the Gospel” (Castleberry 2004, 235). Grenz and Olson (1996, 26) note that, “Theologies ... lie along a spectrum of reflection,” from “folk theology” to “academic theology”. On this continuum, Simpson was nearer the former, for he understood himself as training “foot soldiers for God’s army.” Moody position was, perhaps more toward the center of the spectrum, for he was looking for “gap men,” who could “fill the void between the frequently neglected lower classes [grassroots/folk theology] and the formally trained clergymen [academic theology]” (161).

When Alice E. Luce moved to the U.S. in 1915, the Bible School movement was well underway. Educational needs surfaced early in the development of AG Hispanic missions. Well before the AG General Council had developed a formal policy on the education of ministers, Luce had already begun educating the Hispanic converts of south Texas to serve in leadership roles (Luce 1917b, 12; 1917c, 13; 1917f, 4–5). In the early years, to supply the lack of educated leadership among Mexican Americans and Mexicans, Hispanic converts sat at the feet of both British and American missionaries to learn about biblical principles. However, Luce and her team eventually founded two Bible Schools—the Latin American Bible Institute in La Puente, California (in the San Diego area), in 1926, and the *Instituto Bíblico Bethania* (Bethany Bible Institute) in Tijuana, Mexico, in 1947—where Hispanics could receive more thorough training for the ministry. Luce also developed correspondence courses, wrote the curriculum in Spanish, and personally trained many leaders in the indigenous church principles.

### **The Pre-Latin American Bible Institute Years (1917–1926)**

The missionary team of Alice E. Luce and Florence J. Murcutt not only planted indigenous churches in California and Mexico, but, as was just noted, also took part in educating Hispanic church leaders for ministry.

In 1919, Robert J. Craig founded the Glad Tidings Bible Institute in San Francisco, California, and served as its first principal. The faculty included Lillian Yeomans and Florence J. Murcutt, both medical doctors. Luce, however, didn't join the faculty until 1921 (Wilson and Little 1994, 103, 126). During the first few years, the school's academic curriculum included courses on Bible doctrine, divine healing, sermon preparation, and English and Spanish language. The students' practical training included participation in street meetings (as many as a hundred per month), providing music for church services, and preaching on Sunday evenings at Glad Tidings Temple, as well as

in “surrounding churches and missions” (Craig 1930, 9). In support of their training, Luce wrote a textbook on sermon preparation, entitled: *The Messenger and His Message*.<sup>171</sup> However, Luce didn’t teach at Glad Tidings full-time; rather Luce and Murcutt taught special short courses intermittently over the years (Craig 1930, 9; Luce 1930a, b).

As previously discussed, before working among the Hispanic population in California, Luce had served in India with the Church Missionary Society (CMS). During her tenure in India she served as acting principal of the Queen Victoria Girls’ High School in Agra. Her experience in teaching and administration in India prepared her well for similar service among the marginalized Hispanic populations of the Borderlands. As Luce undertook this ministry among the Mexican Americans and the Mexicans, she understood their culture, and the difficulties they faced in having their educational needs met. In public schools in the United States, for example, Hispanic children and adolescents were stigmatized and typically were segregated from the Anglo students. “Justification for such separational patterns rested on the Anglo belief that Mexican children smelled because of improper hygiene, or that they descended from a decadent race” (Griswold del Castillo and De León 1996, 76). But, Luce and other Pentecostal missionaries gladly entered this lower socio-cultural stratum to give the people hope, through a spiritual encounter with the living God of heaven and earth.

When Luce and her team moved to south Texas in late 1916 to work among the Hispanics, they discovered a people who were warm, caring, loving, and willing to listen. The people’s lives had, however, been turned upside down. When the United States government began drafting soldiers for its efforts in World War I, many Mexican American men fled to Mexico in order to avoid the draft. Yet, on the other side of the border, many of the Mexican people had fled from their homeland to the United States in

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<sup>171</sup>Principal Craig stated that Luce taught at Glad Tidings Bible Institute in the “Forward” of Luce’s volume (Alice E. Luce 1930a, b).

order to escape the ravages of the Mexican Revolution. It was during this chaotic time that Luce and Murcutt came to South Texas. These two British subjects put down roots in the Hispanic community and culture, and drew on years of missionary experience to bring the light of the gospel and a biblical education into the people's war-torn lives.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, before Loreto and Paulita Garza were commissioned as the first Hispanic missionaries to Mexico for the Assemblies of God, Loreto had spent two years in preparation for ministry. Apparently, it was Luce who instilled many sacred truths into Garza's spirit, while stationed at Kingsville, Texas, Luce set up a night school for the training of Christian leaders. After the Hispanic brothers and sisters had labored arduously during the day, instead of going home to rest in the evening, they chose to attend classes in preparation for missionary ministry among their own people. Luce relates that they "drink in everything I can tell them about the Scriptures with the greatest avidity" (1917c, 13). Later in 1917, when Luce and her missionary team traveled to Monterrey, Mexico, she gave her colleagues training in the Spanish language and in how to plant an indigenous church (1917d, 13).

In May of 1920, J. W. Welch, then-chairman of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, attended the meetings of the Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona District Council of the Assemblies of God in Wichita Falls, Texas. After the meetings, Welch visited the Mexican missionary work in several locations (Welch 1920, 11). He soon realized the need for pushing forward with the outreach to the Mexican people. In particular, he commented on the need of a practical training school for Hispanic workers, stating, "Men must be well trained to be successful" (11). In discussing the setting up of a Bible school in Texas, Welch notes that, "It would be a splendid thing if it might include a Spanish department presided over by competent superintendent and instructors. ... Prospective workers from Mexico could be trained in Texas to good advantage" (11). Although a Spanish Bible institute did not open until 1926, Welch's comments were the

seeds of an education ministry which would soon spring up and begin to bear fruit.

Burdened by the lack of training available to Hispanic ministers and missionaries, Luce took a step of faith and initiated a series of "Bible Conferences", which functioned something like a short-term ministerial studies course (1922, 7). As Luce used the gifts the Spirit had imparted to her, Mexican American and Mexican believers began to receive the equipping they needed to serve effectively in the building up of the body of Christ (cf. Ephesians 4:12). The first Bible Conference convened in July of 1920 in Rosenberg, Texas, in the recently-constructed building of the Assemblies of God congregation pastored by Manuel Cárzares (Henry Ball 1966, 3). Subsequently, conferences were also held in various communities throughout the state of Texas, in Houston, Victoria, Kingsville, and Dallas, among other locations. In one of her articles, Luce's longtime friend Sunshine Marshall Ball states that Luce prepared the studies, and then traveled from California to Texas, where she taught at the various sites, along with Sunshine and Henry Ball (1968a:6).

According to Luce's own account, the Hispanic people of Texas were "very hungry to hear the Word of God" (1922, 7). Her well-designed Bible conferences provided solid biblical training for pastors and evangelists which could be delivered and absorbed in a short time-frame. Luce describes how these conferences would unfold: "Each conference will last two weeks, and we expect to get them all down to real hard study, two and one-half hours in the morning and two and one-half hours in the afternoon. Then each evening we shall have an evangelistic meeting" (7). Sunshine Ball writes that these "Border Conferences" proved to be a rich blessing, with large crowds attending the evening meetings (1968b:9). This mobile, modular system for training church leaders was very popular, and in the ensuing years it spread to neighboring states.

These "Bible Conferences" not only prepared Hispanic leaders for service, but

also served to whet the appetites of the attendees for a permanent Bible school. Many pastors and evangelists began to see their need for more thorough ministerial preparation. They realized that they were like many of the apostles of the Primitive Church: uneducated field-workers whom God had called into ministry. When these pastors and evangelists were in the presence of well-educated leaders like Francisco Olazábal and Luce, they realized the need for setting up fully-fledged training institutes in which they could be better equipped for ministry.

During this same period, one of Luce's and Ball's colleague's, Francisco Olazábal (1886–1937),<sup>172</sup> had also seen the need for discipling his fellow countrymen. So Olazábal had started a “training center” in El Paso, Texas, in 1922. Olazábal refers to these humble beginnings in educational ministry, which had just ten students, as “the work of the school” (Olazábal 1922, 13). But Olazábal's heartfelt effort to provide training for his Hispanic brothers and sisters was unsuccessful. Barriers to success included the difficulties of long-distance travel for the students.

Clearly, there was a need for these various efforts at Hispanic ministerial education to be coordinated. An article in *The Pentecostal Evangel* of January 6, 1923 reports that, “On December 15 and 16, an important conference was held in the office of the Missionary Secretary [in Springfield, Missouri], at which Brother Ball, Brother Blaisdell, Brother Olazábal, and Sister Alice Luce were present” (Flower 1923, 13). The purpose of this meeting was to discuss setting up a Spanish-speaking Bible school. Because Olazábal was so often away from El Paso, preaching and extending the Kingdom of God among Hispanics, the committee decided that it was best that he not continue in his attempt to set up a school. Instead, the attendees suggested the idea of founding a Bible school in San Antonio, Texas, and Ball was charged with this

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<sup>172</sup>See chapter 9, “Francisco Olazábal.”

responsibility. And one attendee at the conference received an invitation to serve on the new school's faculty: Alice E. Luce (Flower 1923, 13). The committee recognized that their Hispanic brethren were, generally speaking, too poor to support such a project and would need Euro American financial support. So the conference determined that, "The school will be owned by and operated under the supervision of the Missionary Committee of the General Council of the Assemblies of God" (13).

Perhaps none of those present at the conference could have foreseen that this decision would be, so to speak, "the straw that broke the camel's back." Within a month of the conference, Francisco Olazábal had initiated a schism that divided the work of the General Council of the Assemblies of God. This issue will be discussed further in chapter 9 of this dissertation. For the present, we move to a consideration of the proposed Bible institute, which was opened three years after the conference.

### **Latin American Bible Institute (1926–1955)**

Training the expanding ranks of Hispanic Pentecostal leaders from the borderlands area had become a major priority for the leadership of the Assemblies of God. At both the AG General Council and district council levels, discussions took place regarding how to carry out the decision of the above-mentioned conference. Among the issues with which Ball and Luce had to grapple was the problem of how to accomplish such a large task on a limited budget. What about the need for textbooks and lesson plans written from a specifically Pentecostal point of view? Who would prepare them?

Based on the three years additional years experience of the burgeoning need of equipping the Hispanic saints, in 1926 a step of faith was taken which would eventually impact not only the United States, but Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean (De Leon 1979, 69). Early in that year, Ball traveled to the state of Tamaulipas, Mexico and conducted an annual conference to encourage the brethren.

Ball writes, “When I mentioned the Bible school, the pastors became very enthusiastic and each one stated that they would send someone to the school from each of the assemblies, especially to learn to play the organ, that they might have music in their assemblies” (1926, 11). Obviously the purpose for developing the proposed training institute was to equip ministers, teachers, musicians, and missionaries. So, in August of 1926, the formal announcement was published in *The Pentecostal Evangel* that two Spanish language Bible schools were to open in October of that same year. The article stated that the Bible school for the West Coast would be “The Spanish Department of Berean Bible Institute of San Diego, California,” while for Texas, the new “Latin American Bible Institute” would be conducted in the *Templo Cristiano* Assemblies of God church in San Antonio, Texas (1926b, 10).

A school’s motto and its school song reveal much about the school. From them we can tell that an institution is enthusiastic, inspired, and focused. They declare the purpose for which the school exists, and express its guiding principles. Thus, the Spanish Department of Berean Bible Institute proudly announced its motto and song in *The Pentecostal Evangel* in 1926 (Luce 1926, 4):

LABI School Motto: “*Procura con diligencia presentarte á Dios aprobado, como obrero que no tiene de qué avergonzarse, que traza bien la palabra de verdad.*”

[2 *Timoteo* 2:15, RV 1909] (Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed; rightly dividing the Word of truth [2 Tim. 2:15]).

LABI School Song: “*En Busca de Obreros*” (The Call for Reapers). *Himnos de Gloria: Cantos de Triunfo*, no. 127 (Editorial Vidal 1961). Matthew 11:36-38 is the basis for the school song. See Appendix D for full Spanish text of the song.

## **Locations of LABI**

“Bible School Opens at San Diego” read the headline in *The Pentecostal Evangel*



in November of 1926. Luce announced in this article, "I am glad to report the opening at San Diego, California, on October 1, 1926, of the first Bible School in our Latin American work" (1926, 8). Six students matriculated on opening day, and within a few days the number was nine, not counting the students who attended evening classes.<sup>173</sup> Luce had recruited Ralph and Jewyl Williams, Richard and Minnie Williams, and Mabel L. Bax as teachers (De Leon 1979, 69). To house the school, property had been purchased at 343 17<sup>th</sup> St. in San Diego (69). The purchase price of the property was \$3,000.00. Luce made a down payment of \$250.00, trusting the Lord to help them make the monthly payments (LABI 1977, 8; De Leon 1979, 69). Later, a Mr. H. D. Grable paid-off the balance of the mortgage. His only condition was that the property be used only for "Spanish-speaking people" (De Leon 1979, 71; LABI 1977, 8). These newly-purchased facilities included a four-bedroom home, and although it needed remodeling, classes began in this existing building. Two of the missionaries, Ralph and Richard Williams, began construction on a new, thirty-by-forty-foot building with whitewashed lap siding, to provide the sanctuary for the Spanish mission and classrooms for the Spanish Department of Berean Bible Institute (Williams 1998, 10).

From the beginning, LABI was forced to put out a constant plea for funds to help support the Mexican American and Mexican students. In *The Pentecostal Evangel* Luce laments, "There are great numbers of our Latin American workers who desire to attend Bible School, but who are unable to do so on account of lack of funds" (1926, 8). As for the students, Luce had made many acquaintances with other Euro American Christians and had shared with them her burden for the Hispanic population. These Euro American brothers and sisters responded by opening their own homes to house some of the students (De Leon 1979, 69), thereby displaying their desire to take part in the cross-

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<sup>173</sup>The number of night school students is not mentioned.

cultural process of training and equipping Hispanic Pentecostal leaders.

In San Diego, the Spanish Department of Berean Bible Institute<sup>174</sup> was not housed on the Institute's main campus. Instead, it met in the facilities of the Full Gospel Tabernacle,<sup>175</sup> the congregation pastored by William T. Gaston (Frodsham 1926a, 14). Gaston had founded Berean Bible Institute (BBI) in 1923 to train ministers and missionaries. By adding a Spanish Department, the Institute's Euro American leaders demonstrated to other Christian groups the urgent need for Christians of all ethnic groups to work together to fulfill the Great Commission.

In the latter part of 1928, BBI's Spanish Department "was incorporated according to the laws of the State of California under the name of the Latin American Bible Institute (LABI) of San Diego, Calif[ornia]" (Bax 1929, 11).

After being housed in the San Diego location from 1926 to 1936, LABI moved to a large house in La Mesa, California, where it stayed for about four years. In La Mesa, the students raised a vegetable garden, tended a fruit orchard, and took care of a cow and some chickens. Their efforts greatly reduced the cost of feeding the faculty and students. Before the school year opened in 1938, some of the faculty and administration were busily canning tomatoes and fruit to help feed LABI family (C. Fred Steele 1938, 12). Facilities at the new location were larger than at the original site in San Diego, but the constant travel from San Diego and other parts of California to La Mesa proved to be too burdensome for students (LABI 1977, 8). So, in 1940 Luce made a decision to return the school to the Los Angeles area. Because LABI still had a debt on the property at La Mesa, H. D. Grable again stepped in and liquidated the mortgage (8).

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<sup>174</sup>Many sources mistakenly state that Luce was the founder of Berean Bible Institute. But all the evidence indicates that she simply founded the "Spanish Department," which eventually became known as the Latin American Bible Institute. Sources that incorrectly name Luce as the founder of the BBI are: Clifton L. Holland (1974, 353); Victor De Leon (1979:21); Gary McGee (2002c, 845; 1998, 414); Gaston Espinosa (1999, 164); Arlene Walsh (2003, 41).

<sup>175</sup>Later renamed the First Assembly of God (Wilson and Little 1994, 25).

LABI's "new" location was, in reality, an old location, where in 1923, Luce and the Steele family had originally built the first Spanish Assemblies of God Church, called *El Aposento Alto*, "The Upper Room," located at 161 Carmelita Avenue in Belvedere<sup>176</sup> (9). The "new" facility was a great blessing to the Hispanic ministry. It comprised a two-story building, with businesses all around. Next door to *El Aposento Alto* was a grocery store which, according to one photo, was known as *El Lucero*, "the Evening Star." Both buildings faced an unpaved street. Because of the general lay of the terrain, the community nicknamed the area *El Hoyo*, "the Hole." For the next nine years, LABI served the Hispanic population in Los Angeles by preparing Hispanic Pentecostals leaders for ministry among them.

A steady increase in enrollment in LABI across the years made it necessary to look for another location to house the institute, one which would afford room for future growth. After committing the need to prayer, the leadership of LABI and supporting Hispanic congregations decided to buy a property located at the corner of Fifth St. and Lomitas Ave. in La Puente, California (De Leon 1979, 73). On October 26, 1946, they broke ground at the new site, consecrating the property to the glory of God. Noel Perkin, the Missionary Secretary of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, turned the first shovel of soil (LABI 1976, 64). One photograph of this eventful celebration shows Luce leading those assembled in song, and Perkin with a shovel in his hands.

Managing the construction of the new facilities was a heavy burden for Luce who, at the time of the groundbreaking, was just three months away from her seventy-fourth birthday. Over the next three and one-half years, the constant tension of obtaining building permits, asking for volunteer labor from the Hispanic and Euro American

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<sup>176</sup>"Mexicans had begun moving into the [Belvedere] area during the late 1910s, when its lots and houses were significantly cheaper than in other welcoming suburbs" (Rios-Bustamante and Castillo 1986, 132). By the end of the 1920s, Belvedere had the largest Hispanic community of any of the districts of Los Angeles.

pastors, and soliciting funds to buy building materials, all took their toll on Luce's health. "It was said that 'her health broke down from the burden of the work in the construction of the school in La Puente, California'" (De Leon 1979, 22).

When the construction dust had settled, LABI's new campus was a work of art. From the chapel to the classrooms to the kitchen and dormitories, the administration, faculty, students, and AG officials could be proud that the new facilities. Then LABI moved to La Puente in February of 1950 (LABI 1977, 9). Today, LABI has the distinction of being the oldest Latin American Pentecostal Bible institute in the world. Still located at Fifth St. and Lomita Av., its current campus includes beautiful landscaping and buildings that house a growing student body.

Before we continue our consideration of LABI, we should note another of Luce's major accomplishments in the education ministry. Not only was she instrumental in setting up LABI in California, she was also co-founder of a Bible institute in Mexico. At their biennial meeting in 1946, the General Council of the Assemblies of God of Mexico made a formal appeal to its constituency to develop a Bible school in Tijuana, Mexico. In September of 1947, Eusebio Herrera León, along with Alice E. Luce, founded the *Instituto Bíblico Bethania* (Bethany Bible Institute), with Francisco Rosales Cano as the first director (De Los Reyes Valdéz 1997, 19). León became a Christian in Lindsay, California, in April of 1934, under Pastor Ernesto Rivera Álvarez. In 1942, León received his ordination (De Los Reyes Valdéz 1997, 111–112). From 1947 through 1963, the sub-director of this institute was Fred Steele, who had served as superintendent of LABI in California during the 1930s (Flora Steele to J. R. Flower, October 21, 1963; Luisa Walker 1990, 35).<sup>177</sup> Courses offered at this institute were the same as those offered at LABI in California (Flora Steele 1963).

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<sup>177</sup>In Luisa Walker's volume, she fails to mention that Luce was the cofounder of *Instituto Bíblico Bethania*.

According to Victor De Leon, "One of the desires of her [Alice E. Luce's] heart was to see Mexicans and Latin Americans saved, filled with the Spirit and preparing for the ministry. She raised funds for the school in California and for the school in Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico" (De Leon 1979, 22). One of the speakers at Luce's memorial service in 1955 noted that "Of all the schools she helped start, the work she loved above all was that at Tijuana" (22). One photograph of graduating and first-year students with the faculty reveals that two women and eleven men were studying at *Bethania* in 1953. Also in the photograph is Alice E. Luce (De Los Reyes Valdéz 1997, 158).

### **Curriculum for LABI**

At the heart of the Bible school movement's curriculum was its sacred text: the Bible. "A typical school usually listed some courses in the liberal arts and a large amount of work in biblical studies, theology, and practical Christian training" (Ringenberg 1984, 163), and this was true of LABI.

However, in the 1920s, besides the Bible itself, theology and other textbooks written from a Pentecostal point of view were nonexistent. So, after the AG General Council voted "to establish a school for Mexican ministers at San Antonio," in 1923, and invited Luce to become part of the faculty (Flower 1923, 13), Luce began thinking about writing textbooks and other materials in Spanish to serve the Pentecostal constituency. The leadership of the Latin American District believed that Luce was the best qualified among them to write such materials. So, in 1926 she began preparing lesson plans in Spanish, which she developed on a monthly schedule. The lessons were later printed at the facility at San Antonio, Texas, where the staff often toiled into the night to meet the printing deadline for the next set of lesson notes (Henry Ball 1966, 3).

Once the lessons were printed, they reached both U.S. and foreign addresses by mail. Luce comments in *The Pentecostal Evangel*, "I am preparing the course of study

and the lesson notes here, with the aid of the teachers in San Diego, and sending them out to the three schools.” The additional schools were: San Antonio, Texas; Mexico City, Mexico; and Barquisimeto, Venezuela (Luce 1926, 8; 1927c, 6; Bax 1929, 11; De Leon 1979, 22). Later, the *Instituto Bíblico Bethania* in Tijuana received their study materials from Luce as well. Uniform training materials for Hispanic leaders, whether in North, Central, or South America, guaranteed sound theological preparation and promoted doctrinal harmony. Ball praised Luce’s work in *La Luz Apostólica*: “The lessons of Sister Luce were bound together in two volumes and they served well the institutes for years” (1966a, 3). In the words of Victor De Leon, “Alice E. Luce became a pioneer in producing and translating literature among Hispanic Pentecostals” (1979, 65).

Before LABI opened in 1926, Luce had already published several works in English and Spanish: *Pictures of Pentecost in the Old Testament*, Volume 1 (1920); *El Señor para el Cuerpo* (1924); and *The Messenger and His Message* (1925). This last work also exists in Spanish, but exactly when Luce translated it is uncertain. The Glad Tidings Bible Institute in San Francisco, where Luce occasionally taught, used this volume as a textbook. *Pictures of Pentecost in the Old Testament*, Volume 1, may have served for the Synthetic Studies courses in both Old and New Testaments.

The courses offered by the LABI schools for the first year students were: Preliminary Studies, Personal Evangelism, Christian Doctrine, Prophecy, Types of Christ, Music, Rhetoric, Bible Geography, and Synthetic Studies in both Old and New Testaments. For the second year, all the courses of the first year were extended into the second, and additional courses were offered in Divine Healing, Types of the Holy Spirit, Christian Evidences, Homiletics, and Pastoral Theology (De Leon 1979, 70).

The course in “Preliminary Studies” used lessons from the publication *Introducción Bíblica*, (Bible Introduction), which is still in print today, and available from

Editorial Vida.<sup>178</sup> The title *Estudios en la Profecía* (Studies in Prophecy) served as a text for the Prophecy class. And the course on Types of Christ<sup>179</sup> used the volume *Estudios en los Tipos* (Studies in Types). *La Geografía de la Biblia* was the text for Bible Geography. Additional texts for the second year courses included *Evidencias Cristianas* (Christian Evidences), and for the class on divine healing, *El Señor para el Cuerpo* (The Lord for the Body). As for the courses on Christian doctrine, the lesson plans addressed a particular element of the theology of God (the existence and personality of God, the attributes of God, the names of God), Creation, angels, demons, Satan, the creation of humanity, and the image of God in humanity. All of the lessons included numerous Scripture references, as well as questions for thought and discussion.

In 1945, LABI's program expanded from two years to three years, and the "first class to complete the full course was graduated in June, 1948" (LABI 1953, 11).

Luce and her missionary team adopted a variety of approaches to the task of equipping leaders (ministers, missionaries, and teachers) to serve the Kingdom of God. An important part of LABI's ministry was the correspondence course, which Luce implemented in Spanish in 1927. Already in 1923 she had communicated with the General Council of the Assemblies of God in Springfield, Missouri about a new correspondence curriculum she was developing in English, which was going to be offered through Berean Bible Institute in San Diego, California. Luce's three-page letter specifies how the course would be organized. She wrote that its focus was the more mature minister who would be unable to attend a residential school. Luce wanted to take the Bible school to the kitchen table of any minister, in any part of the United States, who wanted to advance herself or himself by pursuing a recognized educational program

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<sup>178</sup>See E. Lund and Alice E. Luce (2001).

<sup>179</sup>In this context a "type" is "a person, institution, office, action, or event, by means of which some truth of the Gospel was divinely foreshadowed under the Old Testament dispensations. Whatever was thus prefigured is called the antitype" (Terry 1890, 336).

within the Assemblies of God. She even informed the General Council of the date when the study materials would be available: September 24, 1924. She noted that the curriculum would be the same as that at Berean Bible Institute in San Diego, California, with the exception that courses in English, Spanish, and music would not be offered by correspondence. Students were to receive the same attention from the teachers as did the resident students, and the academic year for the correspondence course would run parallel to that of the residential Institute, which lasted eight months (Alice E. Luce 1923d, 2). In this way, if some correspondence students subsequently decided to enroll in one of the residential Bible institutes, they would be able to select their school of choice, and easily transfer their credits from the correspondence course.

The AG General Council's response to Luce's letter demonstrates that they did not understand what she was proposing. They thought she simply wanted to advertise her course in *The Pentecostal Evangel*, while in fact Luce was informing them that she *had already developed* the course of training and that it would be ready for implementation soon. In order not to discourage her, the author of the response letter, Stanley Frodsham, told her that the leadership at Central Bible Institute (CBI)<sup>180</sup> in Springfield, Missouri, had presented a plan to develop their own correspondence course. The AG, however, wanted to get CBI itself fully up and running before such a task was undertaken. So, they encouraged Luce to go ahead and try to offer her courses through the Berean Bible Institute in San Diego. According to the Frodsham, had Luce's correspondence course been approved by the AG's Bible School Committee, it "might have been made to cover the whole field [USA] with the same course" (Frodsham, ed. 1923, 1). But there were apparently political and procedural hurdles to be overcome before a non-degreed female author's work could be officially accepted and approved. In

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<sup>180</sup>CBI was founded in 1922. The name later changed to Central Bible College (CBC).



the end, much to the chagrin of Assemblies of God leadership, the correspondence course out of CBI did not get off the ground until December of 1926 (7).

A correspondence course of multiple subjects proved to be an excellent tool to train ministers. By June of 1927, Luce announced that she planned to make her studies available in Spanish. This, she suggested, would “help our pastors already out in the work who are unable to attend Bible school, as well as ... those in other countries” (1927c, 6). When Luce and Murcutt visited Honolulu in 1932, they shared in several Spanish services and disciplined a group of seventeen prospective students, who then began studying by correspondence (Alice E. Luce 1932, 15; 1933, 8). About nine years later, Luce makes reference to these courses, stating that “a large number (sometimes as many as two hundred at one time) have studied our correspondence courses. Most of them are workers for the Lord in various parts of Mexico, Central and South America” (1942, 7; 1930b, 18). Occasionally, Luce would announce that several more students had graduated from LABI via the correspondence courses (1936, 9).

When LABI moved from La Mesa, California to the Belvedere area of Los Angeles, the new superintendent was Simón Franco, who was himself a graduate of the correspondence program Luce had established (LABI 1948, 7).

### **Leadership of LABI**

Luce believed in praxis-oriented leadership; as she led, she was deliberately training others by giving them an example to follow. This parallels closely the way the Apostle Paul trained his leaders, and in this regard, Luce would quote Philippians 4:9: “The things which you learned and received and heard and saw in me, these do, and the God of peace will be with you.” But despite her pivotal role in its development, it is interesting to note that Luce never wanted to be the superintendent of LABI. Instead, she insisted that others take that role, and she humbly accepted their supervision.

During the first fifteen years of LABI's existence, British men served as superintendent. The first, Ralph Williams, served from 1926 to 1928, after which he went to serve in Mexico. Richard Williams, the second superintendent, followed his brother, leading LABI from 1929 until he left to serve as a missionary to Peru in 1930. (The Williams brothers will be more fully discussed in chapter 9 of this dissertation.)

The third superintendent of LABI was George H. Thomas (1893–19??) who served in that role in 1931 and 1932. Thomas had been on staff at LABI since its founding in 1926 (Bax 1929:11). As we noted in chapter 6, in 1922 when they visited Luce's parents in England, Luce and Murcutt began a Spanish ministry, and the new congregation selected George Thomas as their first pastor. Thomas and his wife, Flora, moved to the United States during the mid-1920s, possibly in 1926. On May 11, 1928, Thomas was ordained by the Assemblies of God (AG 1928, Personnel file of George H. Thomas). Before serving at LABI, Thomas apparently served as pastor of the National City, California Spanish mission that Luce and Williams founded in 1926 (Personnel file). Later, Thomas went to Mexico City and worked with David Ruesga teaching at an unofficial Bible school,<sup>181</sup> before the Mexican General Council of the Assemblies of God was organized in 1929.<sup>182</sup> By the fall of 1931, Thomas was back in San Diego, California, where he served one year as the superintendent of LABI. Then, in the fall of 1932, he and his wife returned to Wales, broke with the AG, and aligned themselves with the Elim Alliance (AG 1928, Personnel File of George H. Thomas).<sup>183</sup> LABI's catalog of 1950-1951 contains a declaration in its "Historical Statement" stating "George Thomas

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<sup>181</sup>The first officially-organized AG Bible School in Mexico, *Elim*, was established in Mexico City in 1934 by Rubén Arévalo (Luisa Walker 1990, 25).

<sup>182</sup>Less than a year later, Ruesga separated himself from the Mexican Assemblies of God to form an independent group. Meanwhile, the Mexican Assemblies of God reorganized in 1930.

<sup>183</sup>A hand written note at the bottom of G. H. Thomas' Personnel File states his credentials with the AG lapsed on November 16, 1932 and probably returned to England.

[has] ... for some years now ... [served as the] Missionary Secretary of the Elim Movement in England" (LABI 9).

The fourth superintendent of LABI had a somewhat longer tenure than any of the first three. From 1932 to 1940, C. Fred Steele (1881–1963) served as superintendent of LABI. Steele was the first Euro American to lead LABI, although his wife, Flora, was Peruvian. Steele had been ordained by the AG on October 24, 1920, at the recommendation of presbyter D. W. Kerr. Before serving as LABI's superintendent, Steele pastored congregations in the Los Angeles area, apparently laboring among the Hispanic people of Southern California (AG 1920b; 1921b). During the 1930s, Steele also served as a general presbyter in the Latin American District, along with Henry C. Ball and Demetrio Bazán (AG 1937, 113).

Under Steele's leadership, the LABI student body ranged from twenty to twenty-six students<sup>184</sup> each school year. It was also during Steele's tenure as superintendent that the school moved from San Diego to La Mesa, in 1936. Steele commented that the ministry of LABI was a missionary ministry and that it was "partly self-supporting" (1939, 7). Catalina Monrada identifies Steele as "a mild mannered man of God that expressed God's love to the students both spiritually and emotionally (2003, Interview). Like Luce, Steele appealed to the readers of *The Pentecostal Evangel* for help in liquidating the institute's financial indebtedness. He informed readers of the current value of the property, which was between \$10,000 and \$12,000, and then of the current balance on the mortgage, which was \$2,357.13 (C. Fred Steele 1939, 7). The appeal ended by asking the saints to pray for the Steeles' ministry at LABI.

In 1940, LABI apparently closed for one year. Steele left and began pastoring in

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<sup>184</sup>Precise data for the number of students enrolled at LABI during these years is unavailable. So, this researcher searched LABI catalogues, yearbooks, and photographs, and charted the number of students who were thus located.

the Lakeside, California area, until 1948. After the *Instituto Bíblico Bethania* (Bethany Bible Institute) opened in Tijuana in 1947, Steele served as the assistant director and taught classes from 1948 until his death in 1963 (Flora Steele to J.R. Flower 1963).

When LABI moved from La Mesa to Los Angeles, California in 1941, the Latin American District Superintendent, Demetrio Bazán, called for a meeting to elect a new superintendent for the institute. At the meeting, conducted at the new location in Belvedere, were: Henry C. Ball, Fred Vogler (national director of the Home Missions Department of the Assemblies of God), and "ministers of the Los Angeles area, especially of the Latin American Assemblies of God" (De Leon 1979, 72–73). The new superintendent elected to serve LABI was Simón R. Franco (1904–1984).

Franco's story is interesting. Born in Mexico, Franco and his mother attended one of Francisco Olazábal's meetings, and later became a Christian. After moving to Los Angeles in 1924, he received ministerial credentials with Olazábal's organization. But this relationship dissolved shortly afterwards, due to a breakdown in communications between Franco and Olazábal (135). So, Franco and two friends, Eduardo Rodríguez and Martín Durán, began a church plant in Los Angeles in late 1924 and later conducted tent meetings in southern California (135). The "Central Pentecostal Church of Christ" Victoria Hall<sup>185</sup> in Los Angeles ordained Franco. (Franco 1927, Certificate). Franco's credentialing pastor was W. W. Fisher. Later, Franco, Eduardo Rodríguez, and Martín Durán received help in holding meetings from Floyd and Chonita Howard of Douglas, Arizona (De Leon 1979, 135). The Howards encouraged young Franco to take a Mexican pastorate in Douglas and he received credentials with the Latin American District of the AG in 1930 (De Leon 135; AG 1929, Certificate). Supporting his ordination were Ball, Luce, and Howard (Franco 1981, Letter). From 1934 until 1941, Franco

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<sup>185</sup>See chapter 6 for information on Victoria Hall.

served the dual role in his district as both presbyter and youth department president.

From 1941 until 1950, Franco led LABI to increased prosperity and enrollment. Being the first *Mexican* superintendent of LABI was apparently a source of considerable ethnic pride, which stirred the churches to greater participation in its financial support. A program called “El Buen Samaritano” supplied LABI with food and funds to help meet annual needs. This activity fostered cross-cultural relationships which brought the Latin and Euro American congregations together (De Leon 1979, 73). As LABI grew, the facilities and location became too small. Under Franco’s leadership, in 1950 LABI moved to a tract of land in La Puente, California that is still occupied today (LABI 1977, 9).

After being elected the Assistant Superintendent of the Latin American District of the Assemblies of God in California in 1951, Franco resigned his position at LABI. He later served as the Superintendent of the Pacific Conference of the Latin American District, and then as the Superintendent of the Latin American District.

After Franco accepted his new post with the Latin American District, in 1951, Ralph Williams, who had served as LABI’s first superintendent (1926-28) received and accepted an invitation to become its superintendent once again. In the intervening years, Williams had gained much experience in church planting and evangelism, had started a Bible School, and had served for 20 years in several leadership roles in Latin America. Also, he had taught at Elim Bible Institute in Mexico City and at Bethel Bible Institute in El Salvador (LABI 1950, 4). Williams and his wife, Jewyl, served until a new superintendent was elected in 1952 (Ralph Williams 1981, 206).

The seventh superintendent of LABI was Theodore Bueno (1903-1987), a former missionary to South America. Bueno came in 1952 and served at LABI for nearly seventeen years, during which he oversaw many changes in faculty, staff, and courses offered, and during which student enrollment increased from fifty-three to seventy-three.

Bueno’s background is noteworthy because of the broad range of his

experiences. At age nineteen, Bueno attended a healing revival meeting of Aimee Semple McPherson in Denver, Colorado, and became a Christian. He attended Park's Business College in Denver, and attended and graduated from Berean Bible Institute in San Diego, California (where Luce had founded LABI in 1926). In September of 1928, the AG ordained Bueno, who then served as an evangelist (T. Bueno 1928, Card File). After marriage to Kathryn (Drake), they moved to Barquisimeto, Venezuela in 1929 their return to the U.S. in 1936. From 1936 to 1944, he held several pastorates in Oregon and California. Then, he and his wife returned to missionary service, this time in Chile, for eight years, and during six of these he served as the General Superintendent of the Assemblies of God of Chile (LABI 1953, 4). Finally, in 1952, Bueno received the invitation to become the superintendent of LABI, a post he held until 1968. One reason he fit so naturally into LABI's context was his Hispanic roots.<sup>186</sup>

Since its founding, LABI had received fairly steady financial assistance from Euro American AG congregations. But during Bueno's tenure, the Euro American churches actually began to provide *more* help than the Hispanic congregations. A newly-developed women's ministry, the Women's Missionary Council (WMC) of the Southern California District, provided an annual Christmas banquet for teachers and students. More importantly, by designating one Sunday each April as "Missionary Day," the WMC helped to promote fund-raising for Assemblies of God missionaries. According to De Leon, this served two purposes: (1) "It developed a missionary spirit for the churches"; and (2) "Students were made aware of the Foreign Missions Program of the Assemblies of God" (1979, 75). The WMC's providing them with an overview of missionary ministry stimulated the Hispanic congregations to develop their own programs for missions.

The purpose of Luce's and others in establishing LABI was to train and equip

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<sup>186</sup>The only Euro American United States citizen of non-Hispanic descent ever to serve as superintendent of LABI was C. Fred Steele. See above.

ministers. Some planted and others watered, but God gave the increase (1 Cor. 3:6). The seeds of their efforts took root in the fertile soil of Hispanic hearts and minds and began to yield rich fruits in the form of Spanish-speaking teachers, pastors, evangelists, and missionaries. Students and graduates of LABI eventually impacted countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and around the world.

### **Students and Graduates of LABI**

Part of the purpose of opening a Bible School was to afford its students not only theological understanding, but also opportunities for practical, hands-on-training. Since Luce had planted many Spanish-speaking congregations, she sought to prepare her students to take God's word to their own people through church planting.

LABI's first graduating class in 1928 consisted of three people: Ursula Riggio, María Grajeda, and Addie Sugg (Frodsham 1928, 13). Since practical experience in evangelism is central to developing the skills necessary for ministry, during these students' two years of study, they worked to help develop a Spanish-speaking congregation which met in the facilities of LABI, and took part in jail, rescue mission, and street'-meeting ministries (Williams 1997, 11; Alice E. Luce 1936, 9). Bax relates that one of the three graduates taught at LABI during the year following her graduation, with "good success, supporting herself meanwhile" (1929, 11).

During the summer of Ursula Riggio's first year at LABI in 1927, she had traveled to Colorado to visit family members. While there, she began ministering to them, and by the end of her visit, "over 20 of those Spaniards had been converted and 18 had received the Baptism with the Holy Spirit" (Alice E. Luce 1935, 8). After graduating from LABI, Riggio became an evangelist and conducted meetings in Walsenburg, Colorado (Ball 1966b, 4). Riggio's revivals received a good deal of attention and success.

Catalina Charlotte Monrada was part of the 1936 graduating class at LABI.

Monrada remembers Alice E. Luce as a tall blond-haired woman with gray eyes, who dressed in a simple, uncomplicated manner. Monrada first met Luce in 1934 when she matriculated at LABI. "Alice Luce," recalls Monrada, "always insisted that all students be baptized in the Holy Spirit, and saw this as a necessary *fuenta* [source or fountain] in their lives" (2003, Interview). According to Monrada, "Sister Luce identified with the [Hispanics], and lived among them with a loving heart and a smile larger than life. She never wanted to draw attention to herself" (2003, Interview).

As noted above, Simón Franco graduated from LABI through its correspondence course the 1930s. He pastored several congregations in Texas, Arizona, and California, before becoming LABI's first Mexican superintendent in 1941.

Another of LABI's notable alumni, Roberto Fierro (1916–1985) graduated in 1936. Fierro had accepted Jesus Christ as his Savior at the age of fifteen, and he had already begun holding revival meetings before entering LABI. As a Mexican American, he spoke fluently both Spanish and English. After graduation, Fierro became a well-known evangelist and, according to Victor De Leon, conducted revival meetings in "the United States, Canada, Latin America, Europe, and Asia" (1979, 171–172). Furthermore, reports De Leon, Fierro "was the first Latin American Pentecostal preacher to be a guest speaker for the California State Senate and the United States Senate in 1959" (172). Later he addressed the General Council of the Assemblies of God in the U.S. and "founded the Latin American Orphanage in Acapulco, Mexico" (172). When the Latin American District met in Pueblo, Colorado in 1956, he became the first president of the newly formed Evangelists' Association (172). In addition, Fierro "founded one of the first Spanish-speaking Pentecostal radio programs in the U.S., called *La Cruz de Calvario* (The Cross of Calvary), based in Oakland, California" (Espinosa 2002a, 637). Catalina Monrada, who was one of Fierro's classmates, recalls: "He was a great preacher and handsome in appearance" (2003, Interview). Also, Lynn Anderson, the current librarian



at Central Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, remembers Fierro as being a mild-mannered person, yet with real charisma when he preached (Lynn Anderson 2007).

Others graduates from LABI were Félix Valentín, 1934, and his wife, Julia Camacho de Valentín in 1935. They ministered in Northern California. Julián Rocha and Sirilo Vidaurri graduated in 1936 and pastored in Fresno and Sacramento, respectively. Other LABI graduates served as pastors, missionaries, and AG district officials.

From the beginning of LABI until 1938, its student enrollment fluctuated from nine to twenty-six. When Simón Franco became superintendent in 1941, the Institute reached an all-time high of fifty-two students. By 1942, LABI was still in touch with sixty of its seventy graduates. Some had planted a church in Mexico and constructed a new building, while another helped open the first Pentecostal Bible institute in Puerto Rico, yet another became a pastor. A Peruvian student returned to her country and became actively involved in ministry. "Others are in active ministry as pastors, evangelists, and teachers in various parts of the United States and Mexico" (Luce 1942, 7).

Finally, it is noteworthy that a number of LABI graduates later returned to their alma mater to teach. In the 1948–1949 school year, four of the nine faculty had received their Bible training at LABI (LABI 1948, 7; Luce 1942, 7).

### **Funding LABI**

Alice E. Luce's pen was often in motion; from it flowed not only textbooks and lesson plans, but also hundreds of letters requesting funding for construction projects, property procurement, or student scholarships. Since Luce was the person from whom the AG received its understanding of the ICPs, one of which is *self-support*, the obvious question which suggests itself is: Why did Luce continually ask for *outside* financial support for her Mexican American and Mexican student constituency?

According to Roland Allen, "Financial arrangements very seriously affect the

relations between the missionary and those whom he approaches. ... What is of supreme importance is how these arrangements ... affect the minds of the people, and so promote, or hinder, the spread of the Gospel" (1962a, 49). Also Allen notes that the apostle Paul practiced three rules in handling finances: "(1) he did not seek financial help for himself; (2) he took no financial help to those to whom he preached; (3) he did not administer local church funds" (1962, 49–61). In the eyes of Allen, the local congregation or entity has the sole responsibility for supplying its own financial needs. John Nevius (1829-1893), missionary to China and promoter of the ICPs, agreed that a congregation must be solely responsible for any project they undertook (Terry 2000, 484).

However, writing half a century after Allen, Melvin Hodges states, "Self-support is not necessarily the most important aspect of the indigenous church. ... [A] congregation may be able to support itself and still not have initiative for evangelism or the ability to govern itself" (1953, 67). While he cautions against the overuse of financial aid by saying that too little is better than too much, Hodges appears to soften what Allen and Nevis have to say about the subject (Hodges 1976, 74).

Missiologist and linguist William A. Smalley presents an alternative understanding of the ICP of self-support. He insists that a truly indigenous congregation or local work can sometimes receive aid from outsiders without violating the "self-support" principle. He bases this contention on Paul's handling of the Jerusalem congregation's desperate situation during a time of famine (cf. Acts 11:27-30; Rom. 15:25-27). Gentile believers from Achaia and Macedonia, that is, *Europeans*, freely and gladly responded to meet the desperate need of their Judean brethren, and Paul himself conveyed a portion of those gifts to Jerusalem. One might ask: Was the indigeneity of the Jerusalem congregation compromised? Smalley thinks not, and then makes the obvious connection: "Neither can one argue," says he, "that the receiving of such gifts by the younger churches today will necessarily infringe upon *their* indigenous character"

(1999, 475, emphasis added). Indeed, Smalley offers specific examples of areas and aspects of ministry in which younger congregations usually *cannot* be self-supporting: “Publications, Bible translation, education, health and medicine, and many other fields [will be] entirely outside the range of their economy. These are not indigenous activities, but they are valuable activities for many churches in the modern world” (475).

If we apply Smalley’s criteria, the correctness of Luce’s handling of LABI’s financial needs vis-à-vis the ICP of self-support becomes clear. Luce was quite simply aware that there were certain things, including funding the operation of a residential educational institution located in an urban center, which were simply beyond the economic capabilities of the Hispanic congregations at that time. She now urged them to continue to shoulder more and more of the burden of supporting LABI, but in the interim she knew that the work of educating Hispanic ministers was too important to be allowed to collapse for want of funds. It must be pointed out, however, that Luce *never* solicited funds in order to pay local pastors salaries or other purely local church expenses. Therefore, Luce was indeed upholding the ICP of self-support, even as she sent out her urgent requests for help in educating Hispanic ministers at LABI.

After founding LABI in 1926, Luce often asked readers of *The Pentecostal Evangel* for money to go toward scholarships for the Hispanic students. Because the students were poor, yet eager to study God’s Word, Luce felt the Euro American donors should support them. But not only this: Luce believed that their giving would serve as a means of encouraging the Hispanic congregations to minister to their own people. Other than donations, the only regular income for supporting the Hispanic work in California came to Luce from the Assemblies of God Foreign Missions Department, in the amount of \$75.00 per month (Frodsham 1927, 11).<sup>187</sup> Students at LABI paid just \$2.00 weekly

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<sup>187</sup>Based on the researcher’s compilation of distribution information for 1927 and the first quarter of 1928.

toward their books, tuition, room and board (C. Fred Steele 1939, 7). Clearly, neither of these sources was adequate to cover the expenses of the Bible institute, church planting, printing, and other ministries to the Hispanics of California.

It should be noted that Luce was quite astute in her fund-raising technique. Her articles in *The Pentecostal Evangel* often began with a sort of “accountability report” telling of the mission work and of what God had been doing among the Hispanic people. She would relate testimonies of souls saved, people baptized in the Holy Spirit, believers called to preach the gospel, or miraculous healings. Only after this would she present the needs of the Spanish ministry—for example, new dormitories, classrooms, a lot for a garden, etc. Sometimes, Luce would relate how she and the Hispanic congregation had delivered gospel portions, New Testaments, and tracts, without mentioning directly the need for money to purchase such literature. But always, her reports left the clear impression that both missionaries and students were hard at work seeking to reach the Hispanic population in their respective areas. Usually, Luce would close by asking her readers to pray that God would supply the missionaries’ and Hispanic people’s needs. Luce’s voluntary accountability of both time and resources spoke volumes to those who supplied the funds that made the mission work possible. And she was planting in the minds of her brothers and sisters the biblical principle, “Give and it shall be given to you” (Luke 6:38). Proof that Luce practiced what she preached was the fact that, on several occasions, she supported various projects out of her personal funds, including funds from an inheritance she received from a family member or friend in England (1917a, 12).

According to Arlene Sánchez Walsh, in the 1920s and 1930s there was significant inequality in wages between men and women “in both private and public sectors” (2003, 50). For example, “During the Depression, the Federal Works Progress Administration paid men five dollars a day and women three dollars a day” (50). Similar inequalities were found even among clergy and missionaries. Financial support from the

Foreign Missions Department for AG missionaries in the Hispanic work in the U.S. in 1927 and 1928 was about \$25.00 per month for a single woman and about \$52.50 per month for a married couple.<sup>188</sup> (Overseas missionaries received somewhat more, due in part to their living so far from their homeland.) Henry Ball and his wife received about \$100.00 monthly,<sup>189</sup> as well as \$125.00 monthly for the Mexican border workers and \$200.00 monthly for the Mexican workers in Mexico. In contrast, Luce received just \$75.00 monthly for the whole California work, including LABI!

Inequalities in missionary financial support apparently extended to non-Euro American men, as well as to Euro American women. A careful review of issues of *The Weekly Evangel* for 1916 and 1917 reveals that Henry Ball received roughly twice as much monthly financial support as Arnulfo Lopez, Loreto Garza, Mack Pinson, or Alice Luce.<sup>190</sup> Several factors might explain such a difference. Ball may have been better known among Assemblies of God constituents, and thus he would have received more financial support from the churches. But another factor was undoubtedly good old American male cultural bias. The American "macho" culture of that era denigrated both women and ethnic minorities groups. As discussed earlier, ethnocentrism lurked within local congregations as well as denominations.

In this chapter, we have considered the educational ministry of Alice E. Luce through the various programs of LABI. In the next chapter consideration will be given to Luce's ministry of personally mentoring future Pentecostal leaders.

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<sup>188</sup>A comparison chart was developed by the researcher for the stated years.

<sup>189</sup>More than likely, some of this was for his responsibilities as a superintendent for the district. Extra funds for travel and for various needs of the district are understandable.

<sup>190</sup>The researcher developed a comparison chart for the years indicated.

## Chapter 9

### Mentoring Future Leaders

#### Introduction

Since the establishment of the first-century church, God has placed individuals in roles of leadership to help develop the body of Christ. Jesus Christ commissioned his disciples to go to the ends of the earth and proclaim the Good News (Matt. 28:18–20; Mark 16:15-16). Then, on the day of Pentecost God raised up the apostle Peter to lead God's ministry "to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8; cf. Acts 2).

"By the eighteenth century," according to Douglas McConnell, "the Protestant Reformation had given birth to new patterns of leadership in mission, including a return to an emphasis on the role of laity" (2000, 565). He lists four types of leadership that have characterized Protestant missions: (1) educated and ordained clergy of the Protestant traditions; (2) eldership or council rule of Pietists and Anabaptists, (3) new leadership models of renewal movements; and (4) visionary charismatic personalities (566). McConnell suggests the third type led to the development of interdenominational missionary societies during the era of the "Great Century of Missions" (1792–1914).

Bringing together the clergy and laity for mission had several notable effects; in particular, both sides of this bonding became deeply concerned with global ministry. Gradually, mission leaders began to understand the need for indigenous leaders to be put in place and allowed to lead their own congregations and organization. This is precisely the understanding Alice E. Luce tried to exemplify through her own leadership style, and to inculcate into the Hispanic congregations and the leaders she mentored.

A review of the literature on leadership reveals that many authors do not define "leadership," nor explain what they believe it to be. Among those who do, however,

Joseph Rost<sup>191</sup> writes, “Leadership is an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real change that reflects their mutual purpose” (1991, 102). Rost’s emphasis, then, is on leadership as bringing about *positive change*. However, Robert Terry<sup>192</sup> points out that, “Stability and change are a polarity. One defines the other, as both exist at the same time. Both require attention and cannot be avoided without danger. One cannot even identify a change without contrasting it with something that is not changing” (2003, 121). Although stability is valuable, especially in a post such as the district superintendency, it eventually became clear that what the Latin American District of the AG needed was change, specifically, a change in *leadership*.

Leadership consultant Mike DeGrosky<sup>193</sup> expands on Rost’s definition. DeGroskey defines leadership as “a process dependent on interactive, influential relationships between people who intend substantial changes reflecting their mutual purposes” (2004, 1). His approach to leadership includes six basic components: (1) “leadership is a process, not a person”; (2) “the essence of leadership is a process of influencing”; (3) this “process of influencing cannot occur without relationships between people that make that influence possible”; (4) “in any one leadership relationship, followers become leaders and leaders become followers depending on the situation”; (5) “the purpose of leadership is to create and promote change,” and leaders “are the driving force” that brings about substantive change; and (6) the change that leaders pursue “should be in the interest of all parties, not just change desired by leader” (1–2).

As Alice E. Luce trained and mentored Hispanic believers, she considered them

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<sup>191</sup> Joseph Rost is Professor of Leadership and Administration in the School of Education, of University of San Diego University of San Diego in California.

<sup>192</sup> Robert Terry was the founder of The Terry Group, a leadership architect, education and training organization, which worked with both for profit and not for profit organizations.

<sup>193</sup> Mike DeGroskey is CEO of the Guidance Group, a consulting organization specializing in the human and organizational aspects of fire-fighting services.

all as potential leaders, even though not all of them would eventually serve in formal positions of leadership. She instilled vision in all her network of contacts, and empowered them. Her drive to lead Hispanic people into the Kingdom of God was infectious. Others such as Fred and Flora Steele, George H. Thomas, Francisco and Natividad Nevárez, George and Francisca Blaisdell served tirelessly alongside their colleagues. As ministers of the gospel, other clergy and lay leaders saw how Luce's influence contributed to their own effectiveness. But in particular, in the case of Francisco Olazábal, Ralph Williams, Richard Williams, and Jovita Bonilla, Luce took the giftedness each one had and sought to help them develop into the best leaders they could become. In the remaining sections of this chapter, their ministry careers will be examined, for they serve as prominent examples of leaders mentored by Alice E. Luce.

### **Francisco Olazábal (1886–1937)**

Francisco Olazábal was born into a traditional Roman Catholic family on October 12, 1886, in El Verano, Sinaloa, Mexico (Melton 1986, 208). As was typical for Roman Catholics in Mexico, he was raised in an environment replete with Christopaganism. According to this worldview, sickness was caused "by evil spirits and spells cast by witches (*brujas*), spiritualists, and angry village saints. Olazábal grew up in a world where the supernatural world was alive and divine healing was an accepted part of everyday life" (Espinosa 2004a, 599).

At the age of twelve, Olazábal's mother accepted Jesus as her Savior (Espinosa 2002, 180). Disgruntled with her newfound evangelical faith, Olazábal traveled to California to visit with family. But there he met George Montgomery, and after reading a gospel tract, Olazábal, too, became a born-again Christian. After returning home to Mexico, "he attended the Wesleyan School of Theology in San Luís Potosí, Mexico, from 1908 to 1910" (Espinosa 2004b, 128). Due to the depredations caused by the Mexican



Revolution, like thousands of other Mexicans Olazábal fled to El Paso, Texas, where he became the pastor of a Mexican Methodist church. Later, he attended the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago for some months, and eventually ended up in Los Angeles, California. There he was ordained by the Methodist Episcopal Church and accepted a pastorate. Later, he was transferred to a two-point charge<sup>194</sup> with churches in Sacramento and San Francisco (Espinosa 2004a, 600). While in San Francisco, Olazábal became reacquainted with the Montgomerys in 1915.

### **Pentecostal Experience**

Olazábal received the baptism in the Holy Spirit, with the evidence of speaking in tongues, in the home of George and Carrie Judd Montgomery in Oakland, California in 1918 (Olazábal 1920, 3; De Leon 1979, 26–27). Besides the Montgomerys, those present and who laid hands on him and prayed with him were Panchito Ortiz, Sr., Angelo Fraticelli, and Alice E. Luce (De Leon 1979, 26–27). After receiving the baptism in the Holy Spirit, Olazábal exclaimed:

Like the man born blind I can say that one thing I know, and that is that once I was blind, but now I see. You cannot make me believe that there is something wrong in my head now, there is rather something right in my heart. It may be hard for you to believe it, but I am now what you call a “holy roller.” I am not going to try and be a bishop in the Methodist Church, I would rather be a humble Pentecostal preacher. (J. Boddy 1920, 3)

### **Pentecostal Ministry with the AG**

At the recommendation of Robert J. Craig, pastor of the Glad Tidings Temple in San Francisco, California, Olazábal received ordination with the AG in February of 1918. According to Olazábal's ministerial “Application Blank,” he had pastored a Spanish

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<sup>194</sup>In Methodism, there is a lack of pastors to be able to assign one minister to one congregation. Therefore the denomination often assigns one pastor to more than one congregation. Typically a minister may pastor two or three congregations during a given week. Thus the term a “two-point” or a “three-point charge” emerged.

mission associated with Craig (1918, Application).

At the invitation of Luce, Olazábal began a revival campaign on Easter Sunday in 1918 at *El Aposento Alto* Church in Los Angeles. Congregants invited neighbors and strangers alike to attend the life-changing services. Plans called for an extended meeting lasting at least a month. As we noted in chapter 6, the revival at the *La Placita* area began with open-air meetings and eventually moved to the rented hall on Olvera Street, which seated about two hundred people (Alice E. Luce 1918b, 11).

After the revival meeting with Luce, Olazábal traveled to San Antonio, Texas and conducted a revival meeting along with Henry C. Ball. Ten people became Christians and six received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. From San Antonio, he headed to El Paso, Texas, where he planted a church and several missions. He also planted missions in Ciudad Juarez on the Mexican side of the border (H. Ball 1918, 7; Olazábal 1921b, 10).

### **Pentecostal Leadership Development**

DeGrosky published his definition of leadership decades after the era of Luce, Olazábal, and Ball. But Luce instilled very similar principles into her disciples. During the revival in *La Placita*, Luce began developing a mentoring relationship with Olazábal that would lead to his changing his worldview in order to incorporate the truths of Pentecostalism. This major shift would have a dramatic effect on thousands of Hispanics and Euro Americans. As Minnie Abrams had influenced Luce in India and helped her more fully understand what the Bible had to say about the gift of the Holy Spirit, so Luce shared with Olazábal her understanding and experience. Luce's had a significant impact on him, during the revival meetings on Olvera Street, both as he observed her, and as she taught him. As Luce and Olazábal worked together during the meetings, he would have been internalizing her idea of cooperative or "team" leadership. In addition, Olazábal would have been influenced by the Pentecostal literature of the day.

Specifically, after a couple of months of the revival in Los Angeles in 1918, Luce's article, "Physical Manifestations of the Spirit," was published in *The Christian Evangel*.<sup>195</sup> It dealt specifically with nineteen biblical physical manifestations of the Holy Spirit. In all likelihood, Olazábal probably read Luce's article.

After the meeting ended Luce and Florence Murcutt had the task of discipling new converts. Their instruction included encouraging the converts to become involved in their church and community. This principle is reflected in Luce's article, "Physical Manifestations of the Spirit," published in *The Christian Evangel*. The article deals with members of the *La Placita* congregation who followed the fruit-picking circuit to earn their wages. She tells how, as they travelled from place to place, they ministered to their fellow migrant laborers, conducted worship meetings, and gave out Christian literature. In this way, the gospel permeated "the villages and Mexican settlements within a radius of 20 miles from this city [Los Angeles]" (Alice E. Luce 1918c, 14).

Under Luce's and Olazábal's leadership, those who became Christians experienced profound changes. As they became part of the body of Christ, they received deliverance from alcohol, tobacco, and violence. The empowering work of the Spirit was obvious in the many who testified of healings from various diseases, as well as other positive changes in their lives. Luce reports the testimony of one mother (a former Roman Catholic) regarding the change in her eldest daughter's character and other works of the Spirit in her daughter's life: The daughter persuaded her mother to attend

the Mission, and she was there when the daughter received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, and lay under the power for six hours, praying for her family, pleading with them to come to Jesus, not to put it off, preaching and interpreting, etc., she would point straight to those in the room, with her eyes tight shut, (and she never saw any of them come in, for she had been down under the power before they entered) and beg them to come to Jesus, or tell them the Lord was able to heal them, etc. etc. There was one man there with pneumonia, and the Spirit took her

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<sup>195</sup>In early 1920, *The Christian Evangel* became known as *The Pentecostal Evangel*. This publication served as the official organ of the Assemblies of God.

hand, pointed straight at him, and said, "Brother, look to Jesus, He will heal you," and he was healed then and there. (Alice E. Luce 1920a, 11)

These healings were not just the imagination of observers; there was a person in the house with the credentials and experience to corroborate what took place, namely, Florence J. Murcutt, who was both an M.D. and a qualified surgeon. The change that occurred in the lives of these new converts was obviously for their good: Salvation, baptism in the Holy Spirit, healing, deliverance from vices, and improved home life.

The ministry of Olazábal flourished throughout the U.S. His friends and close associates fondly referred to him as *El Azteca*, the Great or Grand Aztec. Often, meetings would begin in a private home and, after a few days, move to a rented space; many eventually became organized congregations, which, over the years, built their own structures. On one occasion, a "sister" in El Paso, Texas, offered a lot for building. Olazábal and the attendees felt the time had arrived to build; it would seat three hundred fifty to four hundred people (Olazábal 1921a, 13; 1921c, 3). According to Olazábal (1923, 3), funds for the building were offered with the understanding that they would eventually be repaid. Often he appealed to the readers of *The Pentecostal Evangel* for prayer support, as well as for funds to support the Mexican workers. For their part, Olazábal and his family received "missionary" support from the AG constituency which presumably came from Euro American sources (Olazábal 1921a, 13).

The ministry success of Olazábal contributed significantly to a developing Latino Pentecostal identity, according to Arlene Sánchez Walsh. She quotes from one of Olazábal's early speeches to the Methodist Epworth League in California about "his predisposition to anti-Catholic sentiment" (Walsh 2003, 25). She quotes Olazábal as saying, "I do not believe in the armed intervention of your country [USA] because it is not what we need and you can bear it to us: the intervention of the Gospel and of Christian love" (25). Walsh continues, "Olazábal, the Methodist, blamed the Catholic Church for

Mexico's misfortunes. He explained 'I was born in that faith, and the first instruction which I received was Roman Catholic. When Mexico shall come to be a Christian country, which it surely will be if we do our part, let its best friend be the U.S.'" (25).

### **Pentecostal Schism in AG Hispanic Ministry**

In 1922, Francisco Olazábal broke with the AG and, along with other Hispanic Pentecostal leaders, formed his own council of congregations, the *Concilio Interdenominacional Mexicano de Iglesias Cristianas* (CIMIC).<sup>196</sup> The various accounts of the events leading up to and following this schism are contradictory, but the following is the present researcher's attempt to assess the reasons for and effects of this schism.

The Texas District Council of the AG organized in 1916 in Wichita Falls, Texas (District Council 1937, 27). At that meeting, leaders encouraged the constituency to "take the Mexican situation on their hearts and keep in touch with Brothers John Preston of Houston, H. C. Ball of Kingsville, and M. M. Pinson of Los Angeles (District Council 1916). Apparently, these three persons were key contacts for general areas of the district's ministry to Hispanics. At this time, Luce was in California learning the Spanish language and culture. During 1917, "the District Council of Texas was enlarged to take in the states of New Mexico and Arizona, and the Mexican situation along the Border States" (Collins 1917, 15). This move incorporated all Hispanic ministries from Texas to California and included Mexico.<sup>197</sup>

Under the auspices of the Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona District, the Hispanic ministry, led principally by Euro American and British missionaries, selected their leader, Henry C. Ball, at their first convention, held in Kingsville, Texas in January of 1918 (De

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<sup>196</sup>The official name of Olazábal's new organization was found in the documentary history *La Historia del Concilio Latino Americano de Iglesias Cristianas* by Miguel Guillén. The organization later changed its name to *Concilio Latino Americano de Iglesias Cristianas*.

<sup>197</sup>At that time, the Southern California District of the AG had not yet been organized. The District organized in 1920 with D. W. Kerr as the first Chairman (R. Wilson, 1994, 6).

Leon 1979, 45). Two years later, according to the *Minutes of the District Council of the Assemblies of God for the Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona District: 1920*, Ball was elected as a "district presbyter" for the Mexican work (District Council 1920, 6). This researcher's understanding is that Ball was chosen to be responsible for organizing the Hispanic work, without consulting the opinions of the majority of the Mexican American and Mexican constituency. In addition, this same district formed a "Committee on Missions," on which J. W. Welch of the General Council office served, along with [J.] Frank House and Henry Ball (7). It is important to note that not a single Hispanic leader served on this committee. Indeed, no Hispanic leader's name is found on the roster of the Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona District for that year. Their names appear only on the roll of the "Mexican Council," which was a subdivision of the Euro American district.

According to the Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona District chairman, F. A. Hale, the "missionary work among the Mexicans in our District has shown good results this year ... and much of it has become self-supporting" (District Council 1920, 3). On Friday May 14, 1920, the minutes refer to the need to help the Mexican work financially. A motion to send monthly offerings to support the Hispanic ministry was approved (13).

In 1922, the Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona District Council, which convened in Dallas, Texas, approved a statement declaring: "We recommend that the brethren engaged in the Mexican Missionary work be authorized to organize a Mexican District Council to co-operate with this Council, at such a time as these brethren deem it wise to do so" (District Council 1922, 4). This suggestion would seem to indicate good cross-cultural harmony between the Euro American and Hispanic leaders. Both groups understood the need for someone to supervise the rapidly growing Mexican ministry, and all agreed on the need to form a Spanish-language district. This recommendation for forming a "district within a district" came only a few weeks before the Mexican Convention in Victoria, Texas, but this researcher assumes that Ball had managed to

communicate this news to many of the Hispanic pastors (cf. De Leon 1979, 99).

Excitement must have filled the air as the news spread among the constituency. No doubt, their expectation was that the leader of this new district would be Hispanic.

However, as the convention progressed, the excited attendees soon had their hopes for their own district council dashed on the rocks of hard ethnocentric realities. Apparently, Ball announced early on in the meeting that the proposal of their parent district, made just weeks earlier, would not be implemented that year. And so, whatever may have been the reasons for postponing this major development, it was young Henry Ball on whom the Hispanic constituency laid the weight of blame.

This researcher believes that the recommendation for a Mexican District Council was not clearly understood by leaders on either side of the issue. What the Euro American district actually recommended was that those "engaged in the Mexican Missionary work be authorized to organize a Mexican District Council." This was in itself somewhat strange, since the Hispanic people already had a convention which served in many ways as a *de facto* District Council. Further, according to the recommendation of the Euro American council, this proposed new Spanish-language district would have worked in co-operation with (i.e. under the supervision of) the Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona District Council, which itself was under the direction of the General Council of the AG in Springfield, Missouri. It is doubtful that the Euro American District Council had the authority to set up a Spanish-language council without the prior approval of the General Council. Still further, the second part of the original recommendation states "at such a time as *these brethren deem it wise to do so*" (emphasis added). It is unclear who "these brethren" might be, and whether both Euro American and Hispanic leaders, or only Euro Americans, were intended.

Many questions suggest themselves at this point: Had there been any discussion about the development of this "Mexican District Council" with those who would be

affected, prior to the Victoria meeting? Did anyone arrive at the meeting with a plan for how the new council would be established, and who its members might be? And, perhaps most important of all: *Had any Euro American leader considered what might occur if the establishment of the new Council were delayed?* Answers to these questions are not clear, but it is known that the original recommendation set the stage for an unnecessary schism that cost the AG denomination grave losses. It appears that the schism could have been avoided had leaders on both sides of this ethnic divide employed a bit of cross-cultural, interpersonal, and organizational wisdom.

According to Demetrio Bazán, an AG Hispanic leader, the attendees at the Victoria meeting expected that “they [the Hispanic constituency] would be allowed to elect their district officials” (De Leon 1979, 99). When the assembled brethren heard Ball’s announcement that this would *not* be the case, pandemonium ensued. Apparently, considerable ethnic tension had lain just below the surface, and the denial of the Hispanic constituency’s expectations caused this tension to erupt like a geyser. Adding insult to injury was the fact that, apparently, as De Leon reports, “the Anglos (gringos) did not trust a Mexican in the position of leadership in spite of the fact that Francisco Olazábal was better educated than Henry C. Ball and had better ministerial training than Ball at that time” (1979, 100).<sup>198</sup> Indeed, Francisco Olazábal would have been the natural choice to head a Mexican District Council. Not only was he popular with the constituency and well-educated, but Spanish was his native language, and he was a product of Mexican culture, and understood it well. In addition, he had firsthand experience of the suffering of Mexican Americans and Mexicans, who lived as second-class citizens among the Euro Americans in the U.S. (De Leon 1979, 100).

Outraged, many of the Hispanic brethren urged that they break with the Euro

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<sup>198</sup> Ball never earned a formal education from a Bible school or any other institution.



American church altogether and form their own group. Nellie Bazán, Demetrio's wife, remembers that Ball attempted to mollify the Hispanic brethren, and pleaded with them to be patient and wait until the following year (Bazán 1987, 41)—but to no avail. Many of the brethren believed the decision not to form a Mexican District Council was Ball's own, made on his own authority (Espinosa 1999, 163). As it turns out, the decision was not Ball's at all, but rather that of the Foreign Missions Department of the General Council of the AG (De Leon 1979, 100; Welch to Ball 1924). Nellie Bazán reinforces this notion when she says, "*El Departamento de Misiones en Springfield, Missouri, pospuso este plan hasta el año siguiente*" [The department of missions in Springfield, Missouri, postponed this plan until the following year] (1987, 41). Ball had no choice in the matter, and was simply carrying out the Foreign Missions Department's decision. But the Hispanics assembled at Victoria saw things differently. Historian Miguel Guillén opines that, "The only opposition there was to the proposition to allow the Hispanic community to elect its own leadership was [from] the Saxon missionaries" (1982, 82).

The end result was the first schism in the history of the Latino Trinitarian Pentecostal movement. The schism at the 1922 Victoria Convention divided the Hispanic attendees into two camps—one which favored breaking with the AG, and the other which favored remaining in connection with them. False rumors misrepresented the purposes of the missionaries assembled at the meeting. Later, the disgruntled members of the Victoria Convention met at the *Templo Bethel* in the Magnolia Park area of Houston, Texas on March 14, 1923, to organize their own council, to be led by Francisco Olazábal (Guillén 1982, 85, 88; De Leon 1979, 99; Espinosa 2002, 183). After electing officials, the CIMIC became a legal entity by the state of Texas. Despite repeated attempt to restore unity among the Hispanic Pentecostal brethren, the rift has still not been healed up until today.

Guillén, who has researched the schism, presents information that appears in no

other reports of that fateful convention in 1922 in Victoria, Texas. For example, he lists several missionaries as being present, including Henry Ball, Alice Luce, Floyd Baker, George Blaisdell, and two other brothers. Against these he levies various charges: He alleges that the missionaries did not believe the Mexican community had the ability to direct their own ministry. He also states that the missionaries had canceled the financial support for some of the Mexican workers. Guillén reports that the monthly support given to Olazábal had ranged from two to five dollars per month, though on occasion he received \$25.00 (1982, 83).

The charge of the inability “to direct their own ministry” seems to actually be counterproductive. As stated earlier, Luce and her team revisited other works and upon their return, about four months later, discovered that the Mexican work had multiplied and some were supporting their own pastor (Luce 1923, 13). Regarding the canceled financial support, the present researcher reviewed twelve records of monetary gifts made to Olazábal, randomly selected from *The Pentecostal Evangel* between April 1921 and December 1922.<sup>199</sup> This research revealed that in fact, Olazábal received an average of \$75.00 *per month*. Guillén, however, received much of his information from Isabel Flores,<sup>200</sup> who had helped lead the schism, along with Olazábal. This contradictory finding regarding Olazábal’s income calls into question Flores’ credibility, and suggests that his account may have skewed Guillén’s conclusions.

Guillén’s work does, however, raise some interesting points which at least merit consideration, if not credence. For example, he alleges that Olazábal was told he could no longer serve as a missionary with the AG, and makes the inflammatory suggestion

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<sup>199</sup>See issues of *The Pentecostal Evangel* for, April 30, 1921; October 20, 1921; November 26, 1921; December 24, 1921; January 21, 1922; March 18, 1922; April 29, 1922; June 24, 1922; July 22, 1922; September 30, 1922; October 28, 1922; and December 23, 1922.

<sup>200</sup>Isabel Flores received his License to Preach in November 1916 as an evangelist to Mexico from the Texas District Council of the AG. He allowed his credentials to lapse in 1924 (Flores Certificate of Credential of Unity).

that this was because Olazábal was Mexican (1982, 89, 112). Guillén also suggests that for Euro American leaders a Mexican minister's or delegate's vote had no authority or value. Supposedly, when some Mexican converts began attending the worship services of Euro American congregations, the Mexicans were discriminated against and discouraged from attendance. This last allegation seems credible to this researcher.

Another tragic allegation made by a Mexican pastor was that the Euro American senior pastor of a Spanish congregation had told his Mexican American co-pastor that he, the Anglo senior pastor, was "the boss," had showed open disdain for the co-pastor because of his low socio-economic status, and had even commented that the co-pastor's suit looked bad. The co-pastor retorted that the Euro American senior pastor spoke Spanish poorly (he was still learning the language), and that he, the co-pastor, was doing all the actual work of ministry (Guillén 1982, 102–103). In response to this, the senior pastor reportedly replied, "We Americans need to look good, eat well, and dress well; and you Mexicans can live in whatever manner, use whatever suit you may have, and eat beans" (104). This senior pastor's attitude was deplorable, and he deserved to be reprimanded by his superiors. Unfortunately, some of the Euro American leaders probably would have shared this same ethnocentric view.

Whether the accusations were true or not, it is completely understandable that such rumors set the caldron of anti-Euro American sentiment aboil, so that some of the Hispanic ministers felt they must form their own council. Research has revealed no resolution to this schism during the 1920s.<sup>201</sup> Perhaps future researchers of Latin American Pentecostalism will look more closely at this matter and attempt to discover whether this issue still impacts cross-cultural relationships within the AG today.

Due to continuing accusations from some of the Hispanic ministers against the

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<sup>201</sup>For additional details see Miguel Guillén (1982).

Euro American and British missionaries, the AG's missionary secretary, J. Roswell Flower, called a special meeting, which took place on December 15 and 16, 1922, in Springfield, Missouri. Those present were George Blaisdell, Henry C. Ball, Francisco Olazábal, and Alice E. Luce, all of whom represented the AG's Hispanic ministry (Flower 1923, 13). The report of the Springfield meeting did not mention anything about the announcement by Ball regarding the abortive attempt to organize a Mexican District Council. This researcher assumes that the AG General Council did not want to publicize news of the dissension at the Victoria, Texas meeting. However, the Foreign Missions Department's decision must have been addressed, and those present at this specially-called meeting apparently reached some sort of understanding.

In the report of the meeting penned by Secretary Flower, Francisco Olazábal is said to have received recognition for his successful evangelistic ministry, and for his efforts to establish a Bible school for Hispanic at El Paso Texas. But, as mentioned in chapter 8, due to most potential students' living so far away in south Texas, this fledgling effort was inviable. So, as noted in chapter 8, at this meeting a decision was made that "an effort would be made to establish a school for Mexican ministers at San Antonio, to be operated under the supervision of the Missionary Committee of the General Council of the Assemblies of God" (Flower 1923, 13). Ball was commissioned to investigate the practicability of establishing such a school in San Antonio, and Luce received an invitation to be part of the faculty (13). As to ownership of the Bible school, Flower wrote, "The school will be owned by and operated under the supervision of the Missionary Committee of the General Council of the Assemblies of God" (13). In fact, this Bible school was not established until 1926, about three and one-half years later, by Luce and Ball (Ball 1926a, 11; 1926b, 10; Luce 1926, 4).

In the end, Olazábal "agreed that he would devote his time and energies to this ministry rather than to attempt to build up a school or other institutions which would take

him from the field” (13). Also, he accepted to allow the Euro American and British AG missionaries to attend to the educational needs of the Hispanic ministers. Ball penned a letter to J. W. Welch in Springfield, Missouri on October 20, 1924, formally petitioning for permission to organize an ethnic district council for Hispanics (Ball to Welch 1924).

Guillén’s account of this meeting stands in sharp contrast to Flower’s report. According to Guillén, the Springfield meeting clarified that Olazábal could no longer keep his status as a missionary because he was Mexican. Also, he reported Olazábal saying, “I left the Methodists and thought I had entered among people that were more Christian, but now I see that a Russian, a Greek, an Italian, or whatever other can be a missionary except a Mexican. Without any other reason, except the crime of being a Mexican, if this is the condition, you can consider my resignation” (1982, 106). A few days later Olazábal supposedly received a letter from the AG accepting his resignation.<sup>202</sup>

Olazábal’s has been criticized for allegedly fostering the dissension that led to the schism. What is not considered in treatments of this issue in the literature up to this point is Olazábal’s abilities *as a leader*. That a leader is a successful *evangelist*, who has success in starting numerous congregations, with thousands added to the Kingdom of God, many baptized in the Holy Spirit, and many testimonies of healings, does not guarantee that he or she is an effective *administrator*. Olazábal’s personal charisma enabled him to speak successfully not only to Latin Americans, but also to Euro American audiences as well. He was obviously good at “getting the ball rolling” as it were. But other leaders criticized that he fell short in the area of *follow-up*.

Another criticism of Olazábal was that he lacked patience. As noted above, Ball tried to forestall a schism, and it was unwarranted, at least in so far as it was based on false accusations against the missionaries (Ball, Luce, etc.). Nonetheless, Olazábal

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<sup>202</sup>For additional details on Olazábal’s life, see Gastón Espinosa (2002b, 2004).

resigned from the AG in January of 1923, just a few months after the Victoria meeting. Arlene Sánchez Walsh observes that today the CIMIC is “still suffering the effects of the Olazábal split with the Assemblies of God more than seventy years ago” (2003, 31).

Demetrio Bazán,<sup>203</sup> an early leader in the AG (under Ball) who had served as Olazábal's associate, lamented that he had made a huge mistake by following Olazábal in his precipitous exit. Bazán believed that by joining the CIMIC he had stepped outside of God's will (De Leon 1979, 100). Nellie Bazán confirms that they were out of God's will for their lives in working with Olazábal (1987, 41), and she even cites Demetrio's and other family member's illnesses as proof of this. Demetrio Bazán decided to swallow his pride, and so he set up a time to meet with Ball about the division. Ball presented Bazán with the telegram from the Foreign Missions Department, which “instructed Ball to wait another year” (De Leon 1979, 100–101). When Bazán saw the telegram, his doubts vanished—to be replaced by deep chagrin. He asked Ball for forgiveness, resigned his relationship with Olazábal's CIMIC, and was reinstated in November of 1924.<sup>204</sup>

About two years after the schism, J. W. Welch, chairman of the AG General Council, received a communiqué from Ball requesting the formation of a Hispanic district with the status of any other district. The document was signed by a number of Hispanic leaders (1924, 1). The Hispanic brethren were asking the General Council to do something it had never done before: To organize a new district *inside* an existing district, based on the ethnicity and language of the constituents. Although this is common practice in the AG today, at that time it was uncharted territory, and unanswered questions abounded. Seemingly, no one had a solution to their difficulty.

Once again, the Euro American leadership in Springfield frustrated the aspirations of their Hispanic brethren. In his letter of response to Ball, Welch stated that

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<sup>203</sup>For more about the Bazáns, see De Leon (1979) and Nellie Bazán (1987).

<sup>204</sup>Officially, Bazán never lost his credentials with the AG (De Leon 1979, 1101).

the AG believed that establishing “officiaryism [sic] among the Mexicans” was problematic (Welch 1924, 1).<sup>205</sup> He continues, “The brethren do not know the situation that has developed well enough to feel that they are safe in providing for Mexicans to hold office in the Council” (1). Welch goes on to say, “At present, any and every member of the Council in good and regular standing is eligible to office, and may be chosen to fill the place of highest responsibility” (1). This looks like a double standard: On the one hand, any bona fide AG minister could hold office, but on the other, *Mexican* ministers were barred from holding office. Then Welch offered his opinion that, “if the brethren [of the General Council] were better acquainted with conditions among the Mexicans and better acquainted with the Missionaries who are working among the Mexicans,<sup>206</sup> it would make a difference” (2). So, the recommendation for forming another district became part of the records of the AG, and Hispanic leaders asked that this issue come to the General Council floor for consideration at their next biannual meeting.

Another point regards not what the principal group of Hispanic leaders had said, but the rumors and accusations other Hispanics made regarding the stated facts. Espinosa alleges that, “As Olazábal’s popularity continued to grow, he ran into conflict with H. C. Ball and Alice Luce. Reflecting the pious paternalism of their day, Ball and Luce thought they could treat Olazábal the same way they treated every other Mexican” (2004, 601). This is a harsh accusation, and smacks of one Hispanic defending another even at the cost of his objectivity. Some missionaries of that era were certainly paternalistic. But the causes of Olazábal’s conflict with Ball and Luce were not all on one

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<sup>205</sup>This point arose from a letter written by Welch to Ball in response to a question as to the formation of a Mexican District in 1924 by Ball and other Mexican leaders.

<sup>206</sup>On the point of being better acquainted with the missionaries laboring in the Hispanic ministry, the question to be raised is how much better could the AG leadership be acquainted with Ball, Luce, and others? They had met them on numerous occasions and had read their letters and articles and had been at the same General Council meetings. Welch’s remarks seem to be where perhaps the real problem existed.

side as Espinosa suggests. Indeed, the problem didn't originate with the missionaries; it was generated by the administration of the General Council of the Assemblies of God.

For his part, Henry Ball gave his entire life for the Hispanics of North, Central, and South America. He and his wife, Sunshine, raised their family among the Hispanic population, mainly in Texas. They could have pastored a Euro American congregation, where they very probably would have received greater compensation for their labors. Yet they chose to invest their lives among the Hispanics whom God called them to serve.

As for Luce, Espinosa's accusation is unfounded. She herself was an outsider among the American population. As a British subject, and having served for sixteen years in poverty-ridden northern India, she had already experienced the privations of living with inadequate income. And yet, she accepted the call to work as a missionary to Mexican Americans and Mexicans, even though this meant continuing to be overworked and underpaid. De Leon asserts that, "Alice E. Luce became synonymous with Latin American people, Bible Institute, and God" (1979, 23). The editor of *La Luz Apostólica* declared "what a beautiful life she lived among us" (Henry Ball 1966b, 10). When Luce died in 1955, the Latin American District Secretary, José Girón, commented in a letter to J. R. Flower, that she was "one of the most efficient soul winners among us" (Girón to Flower 1955). The first missionary of the Assemblies of God to Mexico, Loreto Garza, remarks that Luce was a "saintly woman with sweet memories. She watched over us [Hispanics] as a mother does her children" (1967, 7). The current Executive Director of World Missions for the Assemblies of God, John Bueno, whose father served as a superintendent (president) of LABI, recalls Luce in this way: "Not only was she a woman of great talent, but strongly committed to the cause of our Lord and committed to the Spanish-speaking people" (Email to author 1999). Of these comments, only one is from a Euro American. The others are by Mexican American, Mexican, or ethnic Spanish leaders.



### **Richard John Williams (1900–1931)**

The sixth child of the James Williams' family was Richard John, born on November 30, 1900, in Sudbrook, Monmouthshire, England. His other brothers and sisters were Raymond (1889–1949), Mabel (1891–1909), James (1893–1985), Owen (1895–1915), Olive (1898–1994), Ralph (1902–1982), and Beryl (1908–1988) (L. Williams 1998, 2). Like his siblings, Richard attended primary school, and in 1914 he completed his secondary education. Later, he attended a night school for two years and became an apprentice to a ship's carpenter. He labored for four years at the Sudbrook, England shipyard (Richard Williams 1924, 2).

During a revival meeting in a local church, Richard played a major role in leading his younger brother Ralph to become a disciple of Jesus Christ. Together they attended the missionary conference where Alice Luce was one of the speakers. As she shared her testimony, both young men sensed God's leading them to missionary service. After the meeting, they talked with Luce about the Latin American work, and they "became convinced that God wanted [them] in Latin America" (L. Williams 1998, 6).

As mentioned in the previous section, both Richard and Ralph Williams decided to attend the GTBI in San Francisco, California. They arrived in late 1921 and in 1922 began their studies in preparation for missionary service. By the end of 1924, Richard had already graduated and had studied Spanish for one year, with Luce as his instructor (Richard Williams 1924, 2; Wilson and Little 1994, 120). The Williams boys' older sister, Olive Williams (1898-1994), who had come to GTBI in 1923, reported that, "Richard had been the one who even as a child was drawn to ministry. He set up a stool for a pulpit and preached to the other children. He would draw maps of South America and, when he graduated from Glad Tidings, went to Peru" (Wilson and Little 1994, 118).

One year after applying for foreign missionary appointment with the Assemblies of God, Richard and Ralph married their Bible institute sweethearts. Surrounded by

friends, on December 23, 1925, Richard married Minnie Lehman in a double ring ceremony with his brother Ralph, who wed Jewyl Stoddard (L. Williams 1998, 9).

The Luce and Murcutt missionary team expanded in 1926 to include Richard and Minnie Williams, Ralph and Jewyl Williams, and Olive Williams. This team focused on opening a Hispanic mission in National City, California in 1926. Together they faced these doctrinal conflicts with New Issue (Oneness) theology, Seventh-day Adventism, and Roman Catholicism (Richard Williams 1926, 11). During the following year, Richard Williams and D. Wilkins, a missionary to Bolivia, “erected a temporary 30 foot by 50 foot tabernacle,” possibly at a mission station in Redding, California (O. Williams 1927, 12). Richard and Ralph both taught at the Berean Bible Institute’s Spanish Department, that Luce opened in October of 1926 in San Diego, California. Olive Williams received her credentials with the AG as an ordained evangelist after graduation. Her ministry became church planting and preached in many of the nightly services. According to Olive Williams son, David, at the beginning of her message the pace was somewhat slow, but by the middle of her sermon, she would be shouting and was referred to as the “fiery Welsh evangelist” (Alford 2009). Olive Williams married Fred Alford in 1932 and gave birth to one son David in 1933. Fred and Olive spent their lives together pastoring various Assemblies of God congregations, mostly in California (2009).

After Ralph and Jewyl Williams moved to Mexico City in 1928, Richard became the second superintendent of LABI.<sup>207</sup> While serving at the Institute, he also became the first president of the Christ’s Ambassadors<sup>208</sup> for the newly-formed Latin American District in 1929, in Monterrey, Mexico (De Leon 1979, 134).

In 1930, Richard and Minnie Williams received a new direction for their ministry.

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<sup>207</sup>De Leon (1979, 134) has Richard Williams serving as the director of the Berean Bible Institute (BBI) of San Diego. But in fact, Richard never served as the director of BBI, but rather was the superintendent of the BBI’s *Spanish* Department only.

<sup>208</sup>This was the name of the AG Youth Department and the local youth groups.

On June 5, they sailed from Los Angeles, aboard the steamship Heiyo Maru, for the port of Callao, Peru, South America (Frodsham 1930, 10). Studying at GTBI, teaching in the Spanish department with Luce, pastoring a Spanish mission, and serving as president of the youth department of the Latin American District, had prepared them for an effective ministry among the Peruvians.

Unknown to the Williamses, Richard and Leif Erickson, who had also graduated from GTBI (Luisa Walker 1992, 97), were already ministering in Peru. According to historian Everett Wilson, "The 'Latin America' connection that had begun early with Alice E. Luce, continued with the ministry of the Erickson brothers, Olga Pitt, Ruth Couchman and Richard and Minnie Williams, all in Peru" (Wilson and Little 1994, 196).

During the eight months the Williamses ministered in Peru, Richard planted several churches, started a night Bible school, and set up various Sunday schools. Also, he gained access to jails to preach to the prisoners, and started a Christ's Ambassadors youth group. Though new to Peruvian dialects, he helped translate two hymns and portions of the Bible into *Quichua* (Richard Williams 1931, 9; Luisa Walker 1985, 56). He employed the leadership principles and the indigenous church principles that Luce had taught him. Richard had seen his mentor translate material from English into Spanish, and had noted the music that permeated the open-air meetings and mission worship services, and he employed the same approach in his work in Peru.

Richard and his family suffered persecution at the hands of local villagers, who threw rocks at them; they were also threatened by police officials. While seated at his pump organ one day in Huancayo, Richard was pelted with stones and clods of dirt, yet he continued to play and sing for the glory of God (8). In an attempt to break down the barrier of religious sectarianism, Richard even preached from a Roman Catholic Bible, to prove that his message was from the same, living God the Catholics claimed to worship. He told the people that if they were Christians, they should be reading the Bible for

themselves, so as to better understand God's principles (1931, 8).

During the late summer<sup>209</sup> of 1931, a messenger arrived at the Williamses home in Huancayo and announced that a man in the nearby village of Sincayo was calling for prayer. Williams understood the man was dying of typhus and knew that it was very contagious. But he mounted his bicycle anyway and rode to Sincayo. Entering the man's adobe hut, Williams took him in his arms and prayed for some time, and fell asleep while waiting for an answer to his prayers. God touched the dying man's body, and he recovered, "but the dread[ed] typhus germs took vengeance upon the missionary" (Sumrall 1951, 21). After several weeks of struggling with high fever and delirium, Richard Williams passed into eternity. Though his life was cut short, he impacted many lives with the gifts God had granted to him.

"I took his place!" exclaimed Herbert Felton, as he and Lester Sumrall stood beside the grave of Richard John Williams in Lima, Peru (Sumrall 1951, 20). Felton had attended the San Diego Full Gospel Tabernacle as had Williams, and had studied at the Berean Bible Institute. By January of 1932, Felton was en route to Peru to take up Richard Williams' mantle of ministry to the *Quichua* Indians.

### **Ralph Darby Williams (1902–1982)**

Born at Sudbrook, Monmouthshire, England in 1902, Ralph Williams was the seventh child of the James and Sara Jane Williams family (L. Williams 1998, 2-3). Their children attended the public primary school provided by the British government. However, secondary education was not free. "A limited number of scholarships were offered at each school of which several Williamses children received" (4). After Ralph completed grade school, he became an apprentice shipbuilder. Later, he attended night

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<sup>209</sup>Peru lies in the Southern Hemisphere, so when it is summer in Peru, it is winter in the U.S.A., which is in the Northern Hemisphere.

school, where he studied “logarithms, calculus, and drafting” (4).

Though raised in a Christian home, Williams didn't become a disciple of Jesus Christ until his latter teenage years. After his conversion, Ralph and his older brother Richard conducted open-air meetings and cottage prayer meetings. Through these experiences, they sensed God calling them to missionary ministry.

It was at a missions convention in Wales, United Kingdom, in 1922, where the paths of Alice Luce and Richard and Ralph Williams crossed. Luce and Murcutt were visiting Luce's family in Gloucester and were speakers at the Whitsuntide Pentecostal Convention at Crosskeys, Monmouthshire, England. Because the missionary team from California had been praying for more missionaries for their Hispanic ministry, they were quick to recognize the Williams brothers as prime candidates for missionary ministry. Ralph Williams “had secretly been longing for God to send him to Tibet” (L. Williams 1998, 6), but after speaking with Luce and Murcutt, and consulting with family members, both Ralph and Richard believed that God was calling them to serve as missionaries to Latin America. These brothers had read an advertisement in *The Pentecostal Evangel* for a school in San Francisco, California, called Glad Tidings Bible Institute. After sending their applications, they received an acceptance letter. So they packed their bags, said their farewells to family and friends, and made their way to California. Robert J. Craig, superintendent of the Institute, met them at the train depot (7).

On arriving in San Francisco, both brothers matriculated at GTBI and studied Spanish with Luce (Richard Williams 1924, 4). After two years of studies, Ralph Williams graduated in April of 1924, and received ordination with the Northern California and Nevada District of the Assemblies of God in April of 1925 (Ralph Williams 1925). He married Jewyl Stoddard in December 1925 in a double ring ceremony with his brother Richard and his fiancée, Minnie Lehman (L. Williams 1998, 9).

Ralph Williams dove headfirst into missionary work. He “was involved in pastoral

work, taught classes for twelve students at the Spanish Department of the Berean Bible Institute, and ministered downtown in a Spanish mission” while he served as the first superintendent of LABI in 1926 (L. Williams 1998, 11). The Spanish mission was a “rescue” ministry that reached out to the poor, the vice-ridden, and to those who found themselves in dire straits. Part of Ralph Williams’ immediate responsibilities focused on construction projects, which included moving an existing building, which the Spanish department used to house its leadership, from the front to the back of the Bible school property. On the front side of the lot a wooden building was then constructed, which provided both a sanctuary and classrooms for the Spanish-speaking students.

During Ralph and Jewyl Williams’ tenure in San Diego (1926–1928), they began to master the indigenous church principles taught and practiced by Alice Luce. Luce involved them in planting a church at the Spanish department’s extension site. Not only did they learn the theology of how to plant a church, but they gained hands-on experience at putting it into practice. As was the case for Henry Ball, at the beginning of their ministry Ralph and Jewyl knew nothing of the ICPs. But their training equipped them to better serve God and to spread God’s message and principles for the church.

In the winter of 1928, the Williamses traveled to Mexico, where they served at the Bible institute in Mexico City, with Pastor David Ruesga (L. Williams, 11). On arrival, they discovered that missionaries Anna Saunders, from Denmark, and George and Maud Thomas, from Wales, had already been there for some time.<sup>210</sup> The Williamses responsibilities at the institute included teaching classes, directing the choir, and preaching. After one year in Mexico, in 1929 the Williamses received an invitation to serve as missionaries in El Salvador with Francisco Arbizu in 1929.

It was in El Salvador that Ralph Williams especially put to use the training in the

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<sup>210</sup>See Roberto Dominguez (1990) *Pioneros de Pentecostés: México and Centroamérica*, Tomo 2, photos on pages 52 and 53.

ICPs he had received from Luce. Lois Williams, Ralph's second wife,<sup>211</sup> says he referred to the ICPs—self-propagation, self-government, and self-support—as the “Three Holy Spirit Principles,” (1998, 61). She reports that Ralph described these principles as having “guided the general strategy since the beginning in Central America” (61-62). The Salvadorian church began to display great growth and vitality. The people understood the ICPs and practiced them daily. Local leaders and congregations felt that the work belonged to them; they didn't expect funds from the missionaries and thus never became dependent on them. Lois Williams reports that if the local people could not provide the funds and labor for a given project, then it didn't come about until they could make it happen with their own resources (62-63).

When a Bible school eventually developed in El Salvador, the people referred to it as “our own,” declaring, “we planned it,” and “we are supporting it” (L. Williams 73). On the first day of classes, students, following the example of Ralph Williams and his carpentry projects, took wooden crates and turned them into desks and benches. The twenty-four students who attended the first three-month term brought much of their food with them, and slept on simple cane mats. They followed a schedule, with a specific plan of study, and also participated in outreaches where they put into practice their newly-acquired knowledge (53). Students with limited reading and writing skills took remedial classes. Francisco Arbizu developed a curriculum called *El Curso Breve* [Abbreviated Course], which included classes in personal work, Sunday school, doctrine, reading, and writing. These remedial classes met four weeks before the regular semester began (74).

In El Salvador, the Williamses took what they had experienced in San Francisco, San Diego, and Mexico City, and adapted it for the Salvadorians, in order to make the

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<sup>211</sup>Jewyl Stoddard (1902-1976), Ralph's first wife, was born in Jacksboro, TX and died of ovarian cancer July 25, 1976. Though not credentialed with the Assemblies of God, she did labor along side of Ralph in ministry and reared four children. Ralph married Lois Stewart in 1976. (Owen Williams 2009).

ministry fully indigenous. In this way, the influence of Alice Luce, their mentor, began to permeate the Latin American region, through the planting of churches and the developing of indigenous leaders to minister to their own people.

### **Jovita Tomasa Bonilla (1902–1988)**

Jovita T. Bonilla was born to Christian parents in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico, on March 17, 1902. She earned a diploma from the Guadalajara Business School and later attended the Elbethel Christian Work<sup>212</sup> in Chicago, Illinois, from 1924 through 1930. The Elbethel Christian Work society ordained Bonilla on December 23, 1930 as an evangelist and a teacher (Bonilla to Flower 1939). Alice Luce commented that Bonilla had received "splendid training there for six years" (Luce to Flower 1939b). A decade later, on January 15, 1940, Jovita Bonilla received ordination as an evangelist and a teacher in the Latin American District of the Assemblies of God (1940, Ordination).

The missionary team of Luce and Murcutt added yet another member in 1930, when Jovita Bonilla returned to California. Apparently, Luce and Bonilla had met in Mexico, possibly in Guadalajara, during one of the annual Latin American District conventions. Luce always was on the lookout for potential leaders, male or female, and pointed Bonilla to the Elbethel Christian Work in Chicago for Pentecostal theological training. After Bonilla moved to San Diego, California in late 1930, she lived with Luce and served as her secretary, and was her close companion until Luce's death in 1955.

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<sup>212</sup>Elbethel Christian Work, headquartered in Chicago, Illinois, was a Pentecostal ministry much like that of the AG. The ministry's followers believed in: regeneration through Christ Jesus, water baptism by emersion (Matthew 28:19), baptism in the Holy Spirit according to Acts 2:4, holy living, the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, healing through Christ's redemptive work, and the premillennial coming of Jesus Christ (MacLravy n.d., 16). A full list of the society's beliefs can be found under the heading "We Believe ..." in *Elbethel*, July-Sept., 1971, p. 60. *Elbethel* originated as a quarterly journal, and later the training center emerged to offer theological and practical ministry experience to students. In 1912, Cora Harris MacLravy founded the Elbethel *ministry* as a "society for the deepening of spiritual life" (Jones 1983, 558). When Cora MacLravy died, Dorothy G. Wright took up the reins of this Pentecostal ministry (Britton 2007). Via the society's journal, it developed a national and international following (Jones 1983, 558).



With Luce's schedule of district responsibilities and her position as Secretary and Treasurer of the Latin American Bible Institute (LABI), she certainly needed both a secretary, as well as a good friend! Besides these responsibilities, Bonilla was also engaged in church planting, as well as writing curriculum for LABI, Sunday School curriculum for the Gospel Publishing House of the Assemblies of God, articles reporting the progress of the Latin American ministry, and other literature.

While at LABI, Bonilla taught Christian Doctrine, Christian Evidences, Spanish Grammar, Apologetics, Personal Evangelism, Bible Introduction, and New Testament. LABI students spoke of her superb teaching and her personal qualities of devotion, self-sacrifice, patience, and determination (LABI 1952, 2). According to Catalina C. Monrada, "Jovita Bonilla taught classes and was a counselor or Dean of Students. She was a strict person in manner, but helped the students because of her love for them" (2003). Among Bonillas' other responsibilities were Dean of Women, Secretary-Treasurer of LABI (after Luce's death), and the secretary of the correspondence school Luce had developed.

In 1945, Bonilla moved from Los Angeles, California to Springfield, Missouri to help Henry C. Ball, who was by this time the Latin America Field Secretary of the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God. While in Springfield, Bonilla also taught "Spanish One" classes at the Central Bible Institute (CBI, now Central Bible College) from 1945 to 1948. The CBI yearbook for 1946 says of her teaching: "Her Christ-like attitude in tenderness and love makes her classes a joy to all those who receive the benefits of her teaching ministry" (CBI 1946, 38). After the school year ended in the spring of 1948, Bonilla returned to Los Angeles, where she reentered the LABI family and continued her teaching ministry (Bonilla 1948, Ministerial Card File).<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>213</sup>During Jovita Bonilla's tenure in Springfield, Missouri, her ministerial classification changed from "Evangelist-Teacher" to "Home Missionary." When she returned to LABI, it changed to "Teacher" (Bonilla 1948).

Luce's influence in the life of Jovita Bonilla was pervasive and profound. For example: Luce was a prolific writer, publishing books, articles, tracts, and curriculum, and Bonilla followed in her footsteps in the ministry of writing. Part of Luce's strategy was to train others to reach their own people, and Bonilla did the same, as she disciplined students at LABI and authored literature that was distributed throughout Latin America. The Foreign Missions Department of the AG set up a Spanish publishing house called *La Casa de Publicaciones Evangélicas* [Evangelical Publishing House] in 1947. The publishing house invited writers to develop a variety of literature, including Sunday school material. Bonilla wrote manuscripts for the *El Compañero* [The Companion], which was designed for adolescents and teenagers in Latin America. During the first quarter of 1951, the Spanish-speaking world received over 12,000 copies (A. Flower 1951, 8). Imagine the impact on the thousands of Latin American young people as they read those pages prepared by one of their own!

Another important similarity between Bonilla and Luce was that they both gave up citizenship in their homelands of Mexico and England, respectively, to become citizens of the U.S.A. On October 6 Luce ministered in the San Francisco area and registered with the British Consulate (British Consulate 1921). In 1930, while living in Manhattan Beach, California, Luce elected to become a U.S. citizen. At age fifty-six, Alice Eveline Luce's "Certificate of Citizenship" describes her as being a single female of fair complexion, with gray eyes and hair, standing five feet eight inches, and weighing 140 pounds. Having signed her certificate on January 10, 1930, Luce gave up her British citizenship (Alice E. Luce 1930c, Certificate).

Seven years later, Bonilla took the same step, giving up her Mexican citizenship to become a U.S. citizen. At age thirty-eight, Bonilla's "Certificate of Citizenship" describes her as being a single female of dark complexion, with black eyes and hair, and standing five feet two-and-one-half inches, and weighing 130 pounds. On September 24

in San Diego, California, Bonilla signed her legal document (Bonilla 1937, Certificate).

Early in the 1950s, Luce had laid aside her teaching task. However, she still served as the Secretary and Treasurer of LABI. Berta E. Thomas, one of the faculty at LABI, began serving as the assistant Secretary-Treasurer in 1950, to relieve some of the aging Luce's responsibilities. About three years after Luce's death, Bonilla took the reins of leadership as Secretary-Treasurer of LABI, a position Luce had held until her death in 1955 (Latin American Bible Institute 1958, 6).

Bonilla stood by Luce's side as her companion and spiritual sister through victorious and difficult times. Weeks before Luce's death, Bonilla made an emotional journey to Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Hollywood, California, where she bought a plot in the shaded Vale of Peace section to serve as a resting place her dear friend and mentor (Alice E. Luce 1955b, Application). On August 27, 1963, eight years after Luce's death, Bonilla bought a plot for herself, adjacent to Luce's. Because she and Luce had a relationship much like that of a mother and daughter,<sup>214</sup> Bonilla felt compelled to select her place of earthly rest next to that of her dear friend (Bonilla 1963, Application).

Around 1966, Bonilla retired from teaching, and her ministerial status changed from "Instructor" to "Minister." Then, in 1973, she retired from ministry, because of struggles with health issues.

When Alice Luce had first moved to California, she had managed to buy a property in Inglewood, where she was living when Bonilla came to stay with her. In 1949, they moved to 1341 Carroll Avenue, in Los Angeles where Luce had a modest home constructed. When Luce died in 1955, she left all of her worldly goods to Bonilla (Alice E. Luce 1955a, Will). After Luce's passing, Bonilla continued to live at the Carroll Avenue address. Obviously, the Carroll Avenue property increased in value through the years,

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<sup>214</sup>Alice Luce was 29 years older than Jovita Bonilla.

and by the time Bonilla died in 1988, the home had become quite valuable. In Bonilla's senior years, Paul D. Oddo, a businessman of Buena Park, California, served as the overseer of her estate, and the executor of her will. When Bonilla died on February 18, 1988, in accordance with her wishes, Oddo liquidated Bonilla's estate, and the funds were donated to the Latin American Bible Institute (Bonilla 1986, 2). This bequest to LABI, totaling some of \$229,000.00, was an extension of Luce's love and dedication, through the person of Bonilla, as well as a gift of love from Bonilla herself. LABI named the Chapel after Luce, and another of its buildings after Bonilla, in honor of their generosity (LABI 1988, 3).

For more than 35 years, Jovita Tomasa Bonilla served as Luce's secretary, an instructor at LABI, and Dean of Women at that institution. Her peers and students alike recognized her devotion to ministry and her love for them. Bonilla "was known as a devoted, responsible, meticulous, and frugal servant of Christ" (LABI 1988, 3). She gave herself in an unselfish manner to promote LABI and its purpose of preparing the Hispanic leaders for service to their community. In formal and informal settings, Bonilla would present "to her students the vast need for God in the lives of the Mexicans, creating within each student a greater desire to be better equipped for his [or her] future ministry" (CBI 1947, 28). Bonilla, like Luce, had a deep passion for her people; she was a soul-winner, as was her mentor. Personal mentoring is one of the most effective methods of leadership development. Luce was a "mentor-extraordinaire," and Jovita Bonilla carried on this mentoring ministry, developing leaders until she, to, passed the torch on to the next generation of Hispanic mentors.

Having examined Luce's practice as a mentor of both Euro American and Hispanic missionaries and church leaders, and having looked at the ministries of specific individuals Luce mentored, in the next chapter of this dissertation we will consider the impact of this Anglican-turned-Pentecostal on Pentecostal missiology.

## Chapter 10

### The Missiological Impact of an Anglican-Turned-Pentecostal

#### Introduction

What is missiology? What does it mean and how is it understood by the academy? How does it impact the global church and sending mission agencies? Missiologist Wilbert R. Shenk explains that it “is the formal study of the Christian mission” which includes theology, history, anthropology, and analysis (Shenk 1993, 18). Australian missiologist Allen R. Tippett says missiology is an interdisciplinary blending of theology, history, and anthropology that effectively communicates the gospel by various encounters yielding an indigenous church plant in any world culture (Tippett 1987, xiii). Missiology, then, is a synthesis of theology, anthropology, history, and praxis, all bundled together that discovers a means of leading people into an eternal relationship with the living God of heaven. As a discipline, missiology did not dawn on the academic scene until the latter half of the twentieth-century.

One might say that missiology is the study of the *who, what, when, where, why and how of the mission of the Church*. However, the proper focus of mission isn't the Church, but, rather, the Triune God—the God who acts in history to redeem humankind, who adopts as sons and daughters all those who accept Christ Jesus as their Savior, and who incorporates all of Jesus' followers as members of God's Kingdom.

God has one goal, one *mission*, in relation to fallen humanity: To reconcile the world to himself through Christ (2 Cor. 5:18-21). To accomplish this mission, the Triune God has engaged in a threefold *sending*. First, God the Father “sent his Son” (1 John 4:10, 14) into the world, “to seek and to save the lost” (Luke 19:10, HCSB; cf. Luke 14:21–23). Second, after Jesus had accomplished humanity's redemption, before he

returned to his Father, Jesus told his disciples: "As the Father has sent Me, I also send you" (John 20:21 HCSB); "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations" (Matt. 28:19 HCSB). And, third, after Jesus had returned to his Father, the Father and the Son sent the Holy Spirit into the world (cf. Luke 24:49; John 15:26; Acts 1:4-5) to empower God's children to be witnesses (Acts 1:8; cf. Luke 24:48) to continue the Son's work of seeking the lost and reconciling them again to the Father (cf. 2 Cor. 5:18-20).

In the twentieth-century, this threefold "sending," under the rubric *missio Dei* (Latin for "the mission or *sending* of God") has gained wide acceptance as one of the foundational concepts of missiology. At the 1952 International Missionary Council (IMC) conference in Willingen, Germany, the Church's mission was defined in terms of the *missio Dei*. Explaining the conference's understanding, Georg Vicedom declares:

The mission is not only obedience to a word of the Lord, it is not only the commitment to the gathering of the congregation; it is participation in the sending of the Son, in the *missio Dei*, with the inclusive aim of establishing the lordship of Christ over the whole redeemed creation. The missionary movement of which we are a part has its source in the Triune God Himself. (Vicedom 1965, 5)

The term *missio Dei* declares that mission is not the property of human persons, not even of the Church. Rather, *mission belongs to God*. Vicedom continues his explanation of this missiological term by pointing out that, "If we want to do justice to the [b]iblical conception, *missio Dei* must be understood also as an attributive genitive. God becomes not only the Sender but simultaneously the One who is sent" (7). So then, says Vicedom, "The [Church's] mission can be nothing else than the continuation of the saving activity of God through the publication of the deeds of salvation. This is its greatest authority and supreme commission" (9). The *missio Dei* is preeminently *God's activity in human history*. And, as Vicedom notes, "God's activity always places [humanity] under an obligation" (Acts 14:17; Romans 1:8) (11). The *missio Dei* or "mission-sending" of God not only demonstrates God's love for all humanity, but calls for a response from all humanity as well.

In “An Overview of Missiology” (1998) Justice Anderson discusses the etymology of the modern term “missiology,” noting that:

The term *missiology* includes the Latin *missio* referring to the *missio dei*, the mission of God, and the Greek word [*logos anthropou*] meaning the nature of humanity. The word missiology, therefore, connotes what happens when the mission of God comes into holy collision with the nature of humanity. It describes the dynamic result of a fusion of God’s mission with [humanity’s] nature. It is what happens when redeemed [humanity] becomes the agent of God’s mission; when God’s mission becomes the task of God’s elected people. (1998, 2)

Anderson suggests the scope of missiology consists of a theology of mission, plus a history of missions, which yields a philosophy of mission. When this formula is superimposed over a given cultural context in order to present the Kingdom of God, missiology occurs (J. Anderson 1998, 8). Carrying out a philosophy of mission requires firsthand knowledge of “a given cultural setting”; but in order for a particular “cultural setting” to be understood, “it must be seen in the light of the global setting” (15).

Anderson identifies eight “global characteristics ... of the present world mosaic which have a bearing on the communication of the gospel by the cross-cultural missionary” (15), five of which seem especially relevant to our study. These are: (1) a growing revival of the supernatural<sup>215</sup>; (2) the growing influence of the Two-Thirds World; (3) the crowded global village; (4) the shifting economic center of gravity; and (5) the revolutionary nature of the world today (15–16).

Thus, three key terms describe the mission of the Church with increasing specificity: *missio Dei*; mission; and missions. As we noted above, the term *missio Dei* is a broad one, which “encompasses everything that God does in communicating salvation and ... everything the church itself is sent to do” (McIntosh 2000, 631). The word “mission” is narrower in scope, comprising “what the Church does for God in the world”

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<sup>215</sup>With its emphasis on the importance evidences of the baptism in Holy Spirit, and corroborating signs and wonders, Pentecostal missiology is particularly well able to address this issue.

(Moreau, Corwin, and McGee 2004, 73). And finally, the plural term “missions” is more specific still, describing “the activity of churches, agencies, and people in making disciples and planting churches” (73). These many *missions* are component parts of the Church’s *mission*, which is best understood as our participation in the *missio Dei*.

A competent missiologist must be equipped with an interdisciplinary understanding of theology, history, biblical studies, and the insights of the social sciences. According to David Bosch, however, “There is no such thing as missiology, period [i.e., as a finished work]. There is only missiology in draft” (1991, 498). So then, to be effective in ministry, the missiologist must be continually probing for new ways and means of introducing people around the world to the Christ in whom they can be reconciled to their Heavenly Father.

### **Luce as a Missiologist**

In light of the foregoing, we can properly assert that Alice E. Luce was not only a *missionary*; she also was what we, today, would call a *missiologist*.

Luce served as a missionary to two distinct cultures in two widely-separated parts of the globe: To Urdu and Hindi-speaking people of northern India; and to Spanish-speaking peoples of the southwestern United States and northern Mexico. While the science of anthropology was still in its infancy, Luce studied the people’s languages, their religions and their culture, and applied her knowledge to adapt herself to a considerable extent to the expectations of the local people. In Luce’s publications, she demonstrates her extensive acquaintance with a variety of disciplines by quoting from such diverse sources as: The ancient historian Josephus; geologists Dana and Miller; scholar Sir William Ramsay; scientists Sir William Dawson, Arnold H. Guyot, Brewster, Chapin, Copernicus, Kepler, Newton, Wayland, among others (Alice E. Luce 1931b, 2–3). In addition, Luce quotes from the *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, the *Book of Nature*,



various Bible translations, and articles in various secular publications (1931b 2–3; 1932, 15; 1918f, 4; 1918h, 6–7; 1920c, 2; 1921a, 6).

In her writings, Luce highlights important missiological themes. For example, in her article, “Do You Really Care?” (1919), Luce considers *the ratio of Christian workers to the non-Christian population* in various countries around the world. She speaks, for example, of India’s population being over 300 million, but laments that the harvest could not be brought in because of a lack of laborers. Writing of China, she points out that most of its 400 million people are without Christ, and urges, “Now is the time to send China the gospel ... [for] there is only one missionary to every 75,000 of this great nation” (1919, 2). “Japan,” notes Luce, “is about the size of California with about 50 million people that live in idolatry. Japan is the strategic point of Christian Missions ... the Japanese are leaders. ‘If Japan is Christianized, Asia will be evangelized within the century; if Japan remains pagan, Asia will be pagan. As Japan goes, so goes the Orient’” (2). Moving to Latin America, she continues her missiological appraisal, asserting their religiously darkened and corrupt form of Christianity is because of the presence of Roman Catholicism (2). As for the continent of Africa, Luce describes it as

a moral cesspool ... with only three million Protestant Christians, with eighty million heathen and over forty million Mohammedans. And the Arab traders from the north are carrying Islam to all parts of pagan Africa, winning the heathen over to the religion of the false prophet, and thus making them infinitely harder to win for Christ. It is a race—a sad, sad race between the Church of Christ and the Mohammedan missionaries for possession of those 80 million pagans; and so far Islam is gaining. (1919, 2)

In terms of comparing and contrasting Luce’s remarks with today’s spread of Christianity, there exists a bitter/sweet story. India’s masses still are not being reached, however, in China, there are apparently over one hundred million Christians. In Luce’s phrase “As Japan goes, so goes the Orient” certainly is not the twenty-first century story. Japan is a non-Christian nation, but many of her neighbors are becoming Christian.

Focusing on her African comment seems to present another bitter/sweet story.

Northern Africa has become dominated by Islam and southern Africa is more Christianized. Luce's own denomination, in Africa, now numbers over thirteen million.

Another theme common in Luce's writings is *her negative assessment of the results of historic Roman Catholic missions*. Luce stated, "Look at any land where Roman Catholicism has held sway for hundreds of years, and you will see the same picture—no development, no progress, but a blight upon everything, decadence and decay" (1917d, 13). Addressing Mexico specifically, she points out that most of its nineteen million people are Roman Catholic, and still, "The darkness they are in is just as great as that of the heathen," referring to the heathen of India (1922, 6). "You ask them," says Luce, "Who made the world?' and they will answer, 'The Virgin Mary.' You ask them who wrote the Word of God and they will answer, 'The Virgin Mary.' You ask them about Christ and they don't know Him" (6). From Luce's perspective, the primary result of a people's adherence to Roman Catholicism is to leave them "bound by chains of idolatry and superstition, bowing down to images of the virgin, saints or angels" (1923b, 13). Luce was vehemently opposed to the prevalence of "idolatry" in Roman Catholicism. In one of her articles, she gives the example of the supposed possession of Jesus' robe or outer garment by two Roman Catholic churches, one in Paris, France and one at Treves, Germany. Since two congregations claim to have the original garment, she reasons, one of them is necessarily a fake—and in all likelihood *both* are counterfeits. Luce quotes from 2 Kings 18:4, which recounts Hezekiah's destruction of the bronze serpent Moses had made, because the people had been worshipping it. Similarly, asserts Luce, that veneration of Jesus' supposed outer garments is idolatry, and she suggests that the "relics" should be destroyed (1934, 2).

In the above paragraph, Luce is pointing out syncretic<sup>216</sup> practices within the Roman Catholic Church in a Latin American context. Perhaps what she was not aware of is that there were these kinds of practices within Pentecostalism in her day. Also, it should be remembered that the ideal of “Pentecostalism, like Christianity everywhere, is inherently ‘syncretistic’” (Anderson 1999, 6).

Turning to Latin America, Luce painted a dismal portrait placing blame on the Roman Catholic Church. In today’s economy, Roman Catholicism is viewed in more of a positive light. For example, during his papacy, John Paul II worked on an international dialogue with Pentecostal/Charismatic leaders including an AG presence. Apparently this kind of shift or open door dialogue would have greatly disturbed Luce’s worldview.

A third theme, perhaps the most significant in Luce’s missiology, is her emphasis on *Pauline missionary strategy and methods*. This is discussed extensively in chapter 7 above, so no details will be given here. However, in summary, Alice E. Luce’s influence was a critical factor in the AG’s decision to follow the Pauline example of going to the unreached, and in its adoption of the ICPs as official policy for their missionary efforts. (Cf. chapter 7 above and AG 1921a:60–64).

Furthermore, as both a missiologist and a field missionary, Luce *put into practice* the principles she proclaimed. As viewed in chapters 7 and 8 above, she trained people of different ethnicities in the indigenous church principles, and also modeled for them how to plant indigenous congregations. While the Latin American Bible Institute was in its first two locations, in San Diego and La Mesa, California, seventy graduates were trained for ministry. Sixty of them became involved in ministry, in Puerto Rico, Peru,

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<sup>216</sup>For additional information regarding syncretism see McGee’s “Pentecostal Missiology” (1994), Amos Yong’s “Not knowing where the wind blows” (1999), and Allen Anderson’s “The Gospel and culture in Pentecostal mission” (1999).

Mexico, the United States, and Hawaii.<sup>217</sup> Also, “a large number (sometimes as many as two hundred at one time) have studied our Bible school courses by correspondence” and are laboring in “Mexico, Central and South America” (1942, 7). By 1939, the church planting ministry of the Latin American District had established 170 congregations in the United States and 125 in Mexico, with a constituency of almost 3,800 (1939a, 5). Luce notes that this great spreading of the gospel and winning of souls was primarily an indigenous phenomenon, which resulted in “the converts winning others” (5).

### **Luce as a Pentecostal Change Agent**

This researcher also believes Alice E. Luce may accurately be described as a *Pentecostal change agent*.

The major source of change in Luce’s own life was her personal experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit according to Acts 2:4 (1917i, 6; 1920c, 3; 1921a, 6). She exclaimed, “Since then I have been realizing ... there is such a thing as doing an apostolic work along apostolic lines” (6). Because of her experience she purposely abandoned traditionally- accepted methods of ministry and determined in “humility to depend absolutely on the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and let Him work” (6). As Luce understood it, “apostolic work along apostolic lines” included the use of signs and wonders (miracles, healing, and deliverance) in evangelism, and church planting among the least reached, in order to extend the Kingdom of God.

In line with her own experience, an important part of Luce’s role as a change agent was to help other Christians realized their need for the baptism in the Holy Spirit. She understood from the Bible that it was “the will of our Father that we should all receive the full anointing according to Ephesians 1:3; Colossians 2:9, 10; John 1:16” (Alice E. Luce 1950, 98–99). Luce argues for the believer’s need to be empowered for

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<sup>217</sup>Although Hawaii became a U.S. territory in 1898, it did not become a state until 1959.

service (Acts 1:8), as the Apostles and other disciples were on the Day of Pentecost. Finally, Luce insists that Spirit-baptized believers must give proof of the promise's being true by the evidence of a changed life. The difference between the Apostle Peter's pre- and post-Pentecost behavior illustrates her point. Before Pentecost, when he was accused by a simple servant girl of being a follower of Jesus, Peter denied that he even knew Jesus (Matt. 26:69-75). But on the Day of Pentecost and afterward, Peter spoke with boldness and prophetically proclaimed Jesus as Messiah, even though it eventually cost him his life. What brought about this dramatic change? Luce replies, "It was the Promise of the Father, the endowment with power from on high, poured forth on the Day of Pentecost" (104). From this background, Luce insisted that non-Pentecostal Christians needed to take another step of faith and receive the Spirit as on the Day of Pentecost. "The initial evidence of the baptism is the same in every case viz., speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance; but the subsequent manifestations of His power are to be different in the varying lives and ministry of the disciples" (1917i, 6). Luce's ministerial role among the Hispanic population was to help them see, experience, and accept this biblical message, so that they, in turn might extend it to others.

### **Model of Diffusion**

Throughout her missionary career, Luce was an effective catalyst for change. Everett Rogers' model of diffusion of innovations describes the role of change agents and the processes within which they function. Rogers' model defines innovation diffusion as, "the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system" (1995, 5). Diffusion includes "both the planned and the spontaneous spread of the new ideas" (5). Rogers' definition highlights the four main components of the diffusion process: (1) *the innovation itself*, (2) *the communication channels* through which innovation is diffused; (3) *the time* necessary for

diffusion to occur; and (4) the *social system* in and through which diffusion occurs (10).

The first component of the model is *the innovation itself*: the idea or practice itself that is new or unfamiliar to a person or group of people. Rogers notes there are five characteristics of innovations which explain their rate of adoption: (1) relative advantage; (2) compatibility; (3) complexity; (4) trialability; and (5) observability (1995, 15–16).

The second component in Rogers' model is *communication channels*, consisting of a person or group aware of the innovation, other persons or groups who are not, and a means of transferring the message, i.e., the innovation, from the first to the second. Transfer may occur by face-to-face meetings or through various other media. Normally the diffusion process occurs more readily between two or more people who are similar or *homophilous*<sup>218</sup> in beliefs, education, social status, among others (1995, 18–19).

The third component in Rogers' model is the passage of *time* required for the innovation to be diffused. "The innovation-decision process is the mental process through which an individual [or group] passes from first knowledge of an innovation to forming an attitude toward the innovation, to a decision to adopt or reject, to implementation of the new idea, and to confirmation of this decision" (36). There are five steps in this process: (1) knowledge; (2) persuasion; (3) decision; (4) implementation; and (5) confirmation (1995, 36).

The fourth component in Rogers' model is the *social system* in and through which the innovation occurs. Such a system includes an "opinion leader," who advocates the change to others. Another person may surface in the form of an "aide," who "intensively contacts clients to influence" the group's decision (1995, 37). The "adoption or rejection of an innovation" fosters "consequences" within the social system; and consequences bring about changes "that occur to an individual or to a social system as

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<sup>218</sup>People are said to be *homophilous* when "they share common meanings, a mutual subculture language, and are alike in personal and social characteristics" (Rogers 1995, 19).

a result of the adoption or rejection of an innovation” (37).

Finally, the diffusion requires the activity of a *change agent*. A change agent is a person “who influences clients’ innovation-decisions in a direction deemed desirable by a change agency” (Rogers 1995, 335). One of the long-range goals of a change agent should be “to create conditions in which clients can help themselves,” and so, eventually, to work herself or himself out of a job (335). For this to occur, the change agent and client must communicate clearly with each other. Rogers identifies seven activities by which the change agent introduces an innovation and works for its acceptance: (1) Develop a sense of need for change; (2) Establish an information-exchange relationship; (3) Diagnose problems; (4) Create an intent in the client to change; (5) Translate the intent into action; (6) Stabilize adoption and prevent discontinuance; and (7) Achieve a terminal relationship, after the innovation has been accepted (337).

### **Application of the Model**

Though developed in a secular context, Roger’s theory of innovation diffusion may profitably serve as a lens through which to view Luce’s presentation of the Pentecostal message to the Hispanic community in the borderlands areas of the U.S. and Mexico. Formally, the diffusion of the doctrine of Pentecostalism may be defined as *the process by which the Pentecostal message (the innovation) is communicated through theology and praxiology (the channels) over time (the timeframe) among the members of a given community (the social system)*. This process is implemented by *the Pentecostal missionary* serving as change agent—in this case, Alice E. Luce.

### **The Innovation**

After spending some two and one-half years learning the Spanish language and culture, planting churches, and training leaders, Luce returned from Mexico and Texas to southern California in 1918. There she found a Hispanic Pentecostal community still in

its infancy. From that time, the modern-day Pentecostal message became the dominant motif of Luce's ministry.

Pentecostal doctrine and practice were undeniably an *innovation* for most Hispanics. In general, the Mexican Americans and Mexicans among whom Luce worked would almost universally have claimed to be Roman Catholics. So, they had a form of Christianity, which afforded the Pentecostal message a certain level of *compatibility* with their already-existing beliefs. Common points included a general belief in God, having heard about *Jesucristo* (Jesus Christ), and, perhaps, the Holy Spirit. They were also aware of the Bible as God's Word, although most of them would not have read it. Sometimes Pentecostal Christians would even preach from the Roman Catholic Bible, in order to emphasize the commonalities between the Pentecostal message and Roman Catholicism with which the people were familiar (Richard Williams 1931b, 8).

Nevertheless, the similarities between the two only went so far. Most Hispanics knew more about the Virgin of Guadalupe than about the Son of God. And they might or might not even have heard of the Holy Spirit. Besides this woefully ignorance of even the basics of true Christian doctrine, their lifestyle often was deplorable. Luce comments that "not one in one hundred are born in wedlock" and "they are under the heels of Romanism. ... Rome has been their chief source of trouble, and they are endeavoring to be freed from the shackles of that corrupt system" (1916a, 13). Her argument intensifies, as she laments that they are "bound by chains of idolatry and superstition, bowing down to images of the virgin, saints or angels" (1923b, 13). The Pentecostal message of forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ Jesus, and the subsequent experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit, resulting in a transformed life and power for service to God, would have represented a spiritual innovation of the highest order for most. Luce tells of one Roman Catholic lady who scoffed at the idea of needing to repent, and declared that "she had inherited her faith from her parents" (Luce 1918b, 11).



However, once they understood it, the *advantages* for Hispanic Roman Catholics of accepting the innovation of the Pentecostal message would have been considerable, including: Forgiveness of sins and freedom from guilt; deliverance from enslaving vices and moral decay; an end to domestic violence and the restoration of family relations; and a divinely-ordained purpose in life—that of sharing the joyous message with others.

In terms of the innovation's *complexity*, Hispanic Roman Catholics usually had little personal experience of the sorts of supernatural events that are common in the lives of Pentecostal believers. And they would have expected such events to be due more-or-less equally either to the activities of the Roman Catholic priest or of local *curanderas* (healers). For example, Bonifacio Ortega, in the late 1920s stated, "I am Catholic, but the truth is that I hardly follow my beliefs. I never go to the church nor do I pray. I have with me an amulet which my mother gave to me before dying. This amulet has the Virgin of Guadalupe on it and it is she who protects me" (Espinosa 1999, 28).

The *trialability* of the spiritual innovation we are considering would be somewhat problematic, for accepting the Pentecostal message would have been viewed by most Hispanics as changing their religion. However, the effects of the innovation were easily *observable*. When those considering the innovation attended a Pentecostal service, they would see and hear the changes that occurred in the lives of their neighbors as they experienced the baptism in the Holy Spirit (1917e, 11; 1917k, 11). They would also be able to see the positive changes brought about by a life of holiness, as their friends were delivered from alcohol or tobacco, demonic possession, or healed from some dreaded disease (1917a, 12; 1917j, 12; 1918e, 7).

One notable example of the *observable* effects of the Pentecostal innovation was the case of one young Mexican man who gave his life to Jesus Christ while at home. He began to praise God out loud, and during this time of worship received the baptism in the Holy Spirit and, even louder than before, began to speak in tongues. This brought his

drunkard brother into the room, who, upon witnessing the remarkable change in his brother, confessed his own sins and received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. This increasing noise brought their mother to the room. The younger son convinced her to confess her sins and she too, received the Holy Spirit. Later, the same blessing came to their younger sister after she entered the room (1922, 7).

### **The Communication Channels**

The story just related illustrates that the Pentecostal message often flowed through *the channel of natural lines of communication between family members*. The first son to “adopt the innovation,” i.e., to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit, shared news of the innovation with others of his family in a face-to-face exchange with them. Similarly, face-to-face exchanges *between friends* also serve as a channel through which the innovation of the Good News can flow. The dynamics of this flow are similar in many respects to those involved in intra-family communication. Because they are relatively homophilous in culture, beliefs, social status, etc., diffusion of an innovation from one family member to another, or from one friend to another, is often relatively rapid. Of course, this is not always the case, since each person must decide for himself or herself whether to adopt the innovation or reject it—and many *do* reject it.

Another channel, overlapping this second one (friend-to-friend), through which the Pentecostal innovation may flow, is small meetings where Christians gather for Bible study and prayer. As noted in the introduction of this dissertation, it was in just such a meeting, at the orphanage of Shorat Chuckerbutty in Allahabad, India in 1910, that Luce accepted the innovation of the gift of the Holy Spirit “according to Acts 2:4” (Alice E. Luce 1916a, 13; 1917i, 6; 1920c, 3; 1921a, 6; 1927a, 95; Price and Randall 2000, 158).

Another, very important, channel through which Luce and her team routinely communicated the innovation of the Pentecostal message was the channel of *public*

*proclamation*, employed at outdoor and indoor revivals, and in local church services. Through revival campaigns, such as the one at Los Angeles in 1918 (Alice E. Luce 1918b, 11; 1918e, 7), the Pentecostal message could rapidly be made known to relatively large numbers of people, who then had to decide whether to accept or reject this "innovation." Frequently, significant numbers of people did accept the innovation in these meetings, in which signs and wonders were a normal occurrence.

### **Time**

The time necessary for people to accept or reject the innovation of the Pentecostal message varies considerably from person to person and situation to situation. Some accept the message immediately upon hearing it. Others take more time, and some resist the message for years. Referring once more to the example given above: The two brothers had heard about the need of repenting and asking God to forgive them for their sins from a man who had attended a Pentecostal meeting in Kingsville, Texas, where Henry Ball and Luce were ministering. Based on this knowledge, the younger brother received Christ and the Holy Spirit. Through the persuasion of his younger brother, the older brother, Miguel,<sup>219</sup> who had lived a terrible life, became a spirit-filled Christian. Both confirmed their decision by telling their mother, who with flour covered hands, asked God to save her soul, and was also filled with the Spirit. (Leading others to accept the innovation greatly strengthens one's own decision to accept it, thus diminishing the chances of ultimately opting back out.) Shortly after this, their sister, and eventually, thirteen more friends, received the same experience (Alice E. Luce 1917k, 11). Discovering for himself the advantages of spirit-filled Christianity,

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<sup>219</sup>The Miguel of this story is Miguel Guillén. He became an ordained minister with the Assemblies of God, and participated in the 1922-1923 schism in the Latin American District. Later, he followed Francisco Olazábal in the new organization of which he wrote a history. See Guillén (1982).

Miguel later became a pastor in the community of Los Indios, Texas.

### **The Social System**

In the Hispanic culture of the borderlands area, most had the same socioeconomic status. Families had become splintered and uprooted because of the Mexican Revolution, or in the process of immigrating to the U.S. looking for work. New immigrants usually sought out family members or acquaintances to aid in their search for work. During the latter part of the 1910s, in the *La Placita* area of Los Angeles, Hispanics lived and worked, bought and sold their goods, and attended "Sunday religious services at the old Mexican Plaza church"<sup>220</sup> (Romo 1983, 12). "Tremendous overcrowding occurred in the plaza area" (Allen and Turner 1997, 94). It was in this area that Luce and Murcutt planted the first AG congregation among Hispanics.

One of the common needs of any community is relief from sickness and disease. Through their acceptance of the innovation of the Pentecostal message, which included the knowledge that Jesus Christ's death on the cross provides healing for all our diseases, many in the Hispanic community were miraculously healed.

Of the "Fundamental Truths" of the AG, the doctrine of divine healing was one of which Luce heartily approved. In late 1916, she received a letter, possibly from a missionary colleague in India, who formerly had not believed in the doctrine of divine healing. But the missionary friend of Luce told the story of a Hindu woman whose eyes caused her great pain, so that she could not work. After being told of the great Physician, of His love and power, with uplifted hand the woman asked Jesus "to give her relief to her eyes and spiritual sight for her heart" (Luce 1916b, 2). Returning two days later with eye salve, the missionaries found the woman cheerfully at work. She

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<sup>220</sup>Our Lady the Queen of the Angels" was the name of the Roman Catholic Church in the Plaza.

announced, "It is all true, He has made my eyes well, and I know Him here" and "He has given me spiritual sight" (2). The woman's neighbors were impressed by the event. One neighbor exclaimed, "I am not going to call on Ram (her favorite Hindu god) any more. I know now that your Jesus Christ can do what our gods cannot. I have turned my back on Ram and my face to Jesus Christ" (2). This testimony illustrates the way people from the same social context and status can share a new idea in such a way that others can easily see the benefits of its acceptance, which may lead them to accept it too.

Within any social system, certain individuals are "opinion leaders." In the Kingdom of God, opinion leaders would typically be pastors and other church leaders, who would share the gospel with the community by preaching, teaching, praying for the sick, and giving their testimonies. Luce attested that, "The Light is spreading in many of the villages and Mexican settlements within a radius of 20 miles from this city [i.e. Los Angeles]: and we are having the joy of receiving calls not only to pray for the sick, but to visit whole families in various places who are anxious about their souls" (1918c, 14).

The various entities within the social system may work against one another, especially when the decision at stake is whether to convert from one religion to another. In his model of innovation diffusion Rogers list three levels on which decision making may occur within the social system: (1) The decision to adopt the innovation may be fully *optional*, so that it is made entirely on the *individual* level, by each person; (2) the decision may be made at the *collective* level, so that the decision is reached by community consensus and is effective for all members of the community; or (3) the decision may be made at the *authority* level, by a person or small group with power to compel the community to accept or reject the innovation.

As they spread Pentecostalism, Luce and her team often had to contend with collective and authority-level decision-making. The initial response of the mainly-Roman Catholic community of southern California to the Pentecostal message was, by and

large, one of *collective rejection*. And, as Luce and her ministry team evangelized in an area, the local Roman Catholic priests, who were highly respected and powerful *authorities* in the local social system, often incited their parishioners to bring persecution to bear against Pentecostal Protestants. This persecution usually took the form of throwing stones and mud, or of strongly urging landlords to evict their “Christian” tenants (1917d, 13). Because the Roman Catholic priest was so respected as an authority figure in the Hispanic community, his instructions were often followed without question.

On the other hand, Luce’s team brought a message which *offered the individual a choice*, even though acceptance of the Pentecostal message meant violating local social norms and being rejected by the mainly-Roman Catholic community. An illustration of this idea comes from the story of a Roman Catholic family that opted to become Pentecostal Protestants through the ministry of Luce’s team. Several members of this family became Christians and received the Holy Spirit. The local priest tried verbal threats to dissuade them from continuing their connection with the Pentecostals. On hearing of this, Luce’s team interceded in prayer for two days. Some time later, the mother of this formerly-Roman Catholic family sent for the Luce’s team. When they entered her home she exclaimed, “Oh, sister [Luce], I was like Peter walking on the water, when he saw the waves boisterous, and my faith had almost failed, but Jesus has stretched out His hand and picked me up” (Alice E. Luce 1920a, 11). What had occurred was that the daughter had convinced her mother to attend *El Aposento Alto*, Luce’s mission near *La Placita* on Olvera Street in Los Angeles. When the daughter received the baptism in the Spirit, the mother witnessed the event. During this experience, the daughter was “under the power” of the Holy Spirit “for six hours, praying for her family” to receive Christ (11). Perhaps a critical moment for the mother’s decision was when she saw a man healed of pneumonia. The daughter, under the anointing of the Holy Spirit, “with her eyes closed ... pointed directly at the man” and told him that Jesus would heal

him (11). According to Luce, his healing was immediate. How could this be, some would ask? Luce would answer: By the prayer of faith and belief in God's principles (James 5:13-16). How did they know that healing had come? By the obvious changes the man's physical condition. And it should be remember that Luce had nurse's training, and that Florence J. Murcutt, M.D., was part of Luce's missionary team. Later the mother's two younger daughters accepted Christ and received the baptism in the Holy Spirit (11).

Consequently, the mother of this family told Luce that she had made a decision. The Roman Catholic priest was insisting that they stay away from Luce's team. But seeing her daughter's dramatic transformation had convinced her that the Pentecostals were right. And so, change occurred again, as Christ became the mother's Savior and Baptizer with the Holy Spirit, with the evidence of speaking in tongues. This mother and her whole family decided to convert from Roman Catholicism to Pentecostalism. They had seen and experienced the power that set them free from previous spiritual limitations. They began to read and study the word of God for themselves and sat under the tutelage of Luce's team. Instead of being dependent on an authority figure (i.e. the priest), they now were free to experience the fullness of God, to learn the truths of God's Word, and to make spiritual decisions for themselves.

Their decision to accept the "innovation" represented by the Pentecostal message is an example of *social learning*. According to Rogers, "The central ideal of social learning theory is that an individual learns from another by means of observational modeling; that is, one observes another person's behavior, and then does something similar" (1995, 330). The mother in this story saw two major changes: Her daughter and the healed man. Her daughter was an "absolutely changed girl," and as the mother heard her praying for herself and the family, the mother's spirit was filled with conviction. When the mother saw her daughter speak and point to the infirm man, she became totally convinced of her need to change her belief system. Not only did the mother

witness change in others, but she experienced personally a similar change.

### **The Change Agent**

According to Rogers, "A change agent is an individual who influences clients' innovation-decisions in a direction deemed desirable by a change agency. A change agent usually seeks to secure the adoption of new ideas" (1995, 335). In the context of Christianity, a change agent may be a minister, missionary, other church leader, or even an ordinary believer, who seeks specifically to influence other people's decisions in the direction of accepting and fully carrying out biblical truths of the Kingdom of God.

Since most of the Mexican American and Mexican community had experienced neither salvation by grace through faith in Jesus Christ, nor the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues, Luce was intentionally functioning as a *spiritual change agent* among them (though she would not have used this terminology). And by her proclaiming of New Testament truth she brought renewal to the Mexican American and Mexican community, much as did Josiah, who, when the high priest discovered the book of the Law of Moses, had it read to the people, "and renewed the covenant in the presence of the Lord" (2 Chron. 34:31; cf. vv. 14-34).

As a British European, and later, a Euro American, Luce was *heterophilous*<sup>221</sup> with the Hispanic community. So, to gain their respect and trust, Luce learned their language and culture, and adapted key aspects of her behavior to bring them in line with the community's expectations. Thus Luce had one foot in each of two worlds, both culturally and spiritually, and so developed a comprehensive understanding of both their physical and their spiritual needs.

According to Rogers' list of seven activities of a change agent, already noted

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<sup>221</sup>Heterophily, the opposite of homophily, is defined as the degree to which two or more individuals who interact are different in certain attributes. A change agent is more technically competent than his or her clients" (Rogers 1995, 18-19). This was the case with Luce (1921c, 6).



above, the first is to *develop a need for change* (1995, 337). Luce did this in the Hispanic community by helping them become aware of their spiritual situation. She had developed great skill in interpersonal ministry when she worked among the *zenanas* of India. So, she sought to develop rapport with members of the Hispanic community, in order to *establish an information exchange relationship*—the second activity on Rogers' list (337). This she did by visiting their homes. When a member of the family or a friend had a need, Luce prayed for them. She tried to be available for them whenever they called on her. Gradually, many came to trust her, and deep relationships developed.

As she got to know the people, Luce saw their living conditions, superstitions, and religious practices. With their biblical knowledge and experience, Luce and her team were in a position to help the Hispanic people *diagnose the problems* they faced—the third activity of a change agent, according to Rogers (337)—which were the heart of their need for change. They did this both in the local congregations' meeting places and in the homes of the congregants. Luce would sit down at their tables with them to discuss spiritual things. The people would share both their needs, and their testimonies of what God was doing for them—from healing, to deliverance from demon-possession, to husbands saved and spirit-filled (Luce 1917j, 12). Luce understood that with God nothing was impossible, and she worked to teach her Hispanic friends this and other biblical principles that would help them stand daily on their own two feet.

In her work in *La Placita* and elsewhere, through open-air meetings, and by visiting house-to-house, Luce explained to Hispanics their spiritual need. To win the people's confidence, Luce's team often began a service in the open-air or on a street corner; then they would move into the *El Aposento Alto* building. According to Luce, "very few follow us into the hall, as they are so afraid of being hypnotized, or else absolutely careless and gospel-hardened" (1918e, 7). Yet, when the local congregation began to grow, Luce reported that "most of them receive the Baptism i[n] the Holy Ghost

soon after they believe, and new missions are continually springing up, the message of full salvation being carried from place to place by the converts themselves" (1927c, 7).

The next essential step for Luce as a change agent, the fourth on Roger's list, was *to create an intent to change* (Rogers 1995, 337). An illustration of this activity is Luce's method of leading people to understand their need for the baptism in the Holy Spirit according to Acts 2:4. Luce's instructions to all Christians were, "What is your motive in seeking" the baptism in the Holy Spirit? "It may be that you have seen the joy and peace of others who are baptized with the Spirit, and you long for a like experience. Or perhaps you are conscious of a lack of power in your ministry, and long to be more successful" (1917l, 5). For those who wanted to receive this blessed gift from God, Luce explained that, "One of the most important things in seeking the baptism of the Holy Spirit [is] to surrender the will entirely to Him" (1917m, 2). And she continued her encouragement, saying, "Let us not stop short of this stepping out into a life of faith and expectation. ... Remember it is the enduement of power for service" (6).

The fifth of Rogers' activities of a change agent is to *translate an intent into action* (1995, 337). As she dealt with her Hispanic hearers, Luce suggested that in preparation for receiving the baptism in the Spirit, believers must pass through four stages: (1) Humiliation (Psalm 51:17); (2) revelation—the Spirit is cleansing us with the washing of water by the Word (Eph. 5:26); (3) separation—the fire of the Refiner; and (4) transformation—purification, removal of the dross and alloy from the pure metal (1917o, 5, 9). Along with these steps, believers must ask the heavenly Father for this blessing, believing that, "He is infinitely more ready to give than we are to receive, Luke 11:13" (Luce 1918f, 4).

Regarding the proof that one had received the gift of the Holy Spirit, Luce proclaimed, "The initial evidence of the baptism is the same in every case viz., speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance. However, the subsequent manifestations

of His power are to be different in the varying lives and ministry of the disciples, 1 Cor. 12:8-10; Rom. 12:3-10" (1917i, 6; 1917n, 6). Luce makes this bold statement about the initial evidence, saying:

We are commissioned to proclaim to the world that 'the Comforter has come' in Latter Rain power and fullness. ... The churches will listen while we tell them that God sends the Holy Ghost from heaven to dwell in the spirits, souls and bodies of His children, and that He can do mighty works through them. But when we tell them that He manifests His presence in the 'Baptism' in the same way as on the Day of Pentecost, and through the early centuries of Christianity, when 'they were all filled with the Holy Ghost and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance' (Acts 2:4), they draw back at once. Many of the churches today are feeling and voicing their need of the Comforter; but they are not willing to let Him come in His own way, the scriptural way, which involves the reproach of the Cross. Just as the Cross was the stigma in the days of Paul, so the speaking in unknown tongues is the stigma of today. (1920c, 3)

Apparently, even some Pentecostal believers wavered regarding the need for the initial evidence of speaking in tongues. In response to this, Luce noted that the archenemy of Christians, the devil, "is trying hard to get such teaching of compromise into our midst today; but when we get back to the Bible and the practice of the apostles, we find that they would have none of it" (1920c, 3). She quotes from Galatians 1:10, 5:11, and 6:12, arguing the Pentecostal believer should not make room for compromise. And she reinforces her point, stating: Let us not fear the reproaches of men nor be afraid of their revilings (3). Pentecostal Christians are to be "wise as serpents in discerning the first beginning of compromise, or watering down our message to suit popular prejudice, and may the record of our whole earthly ministry be like that of Paul, who could say, 'I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you. I have not shunned to declare unto you the whole counsel of God (Acts 20:20, 27)'" (3).

Luce's purpose in all this is clear: As an agent of spiritual change, she was working on the sixth of Rogers' activities, to *stabilize adoption and prevent discontinuance* of the innovation (1995, 337). She hoped to do this by convincing her "clients" that what others might say against them did not matter. If they wanted God's

Holy Spirit flowing through their lives, then they must stand by their faith. Their reward would be to see God do the impossible through them.

One method a change agent may employ to stabilize adoption is through the formation and/or promotion of *near-peer networks* among those who have adopted the innovation. For Luce, this was accomplished by bringing together Hispanic Pentecostal leaders and members of other Pentecostal congregations in the California area. When Luce, Henry Ball, Demetrio Bazán, and others came together in a district or public meeting, these events often attracted others, both sinners and Christians outside the AG. Luce mentioned an occasion on which many of the Hispanic members in the Los Angeles area were working during one of the harvest times. After a long day of physical labor, they conducted worship services at night, and during these services "numbers have been saved who have never been inside our missions" (Alice E. Luce 1922, 6).

Another example of the use of near-peer networks for stabilization and discontinuance prevention involves the spiritual healing that occurred between Mexican Pentecostal brethren previously divided by schism. In chapter 9, in the discussion of Francisco Olazábal, we considered at length the schism which occurred in 1922 within the Latin American group of the AG on the Texas, Arizona and New Mexico District. This schism resulted in division between close friends. But at the Mexican Conference for the District of Northern and Southern California in 1923, Luce relates that during a foot-washing service and the Lord's Supper, "several brethren were reconciled who had been at variance" (1923b, 13). Clearly, these brethren constituted a near-peer network. And their reconciliation occurred, in part, due to Luce's activities as a change agent.

A critically important method of permanently preventing discontinuance of the innovation of the Pentecostal message and experience was discipleship and leadership training for new converts. An illustration of this is Luce's training of new converts in 1917, in Kingsville, Texas. After a hard day's labor, the Mexican Americans and Mexicans

attended night training classes designed to equip them to reach their own people. Luce says that they were like sponges, “drinking in everything I can tell them about the Scriptures with the greatest avidity” (1917c, 13).

According to Rogers, the final role or activity of the agent of change is to *achieve a terminal relationship* (1995, 337). In the beginning stages, this involves equipping other leaders to serve as *aides* to help spread the innovation. In Luce’s context, this meant the training of indigenous pastors and lay leaders to extend the Kingdom of God into their own Hispanic community. Aides such as these are very helpful in diffusing an innovation. For example, occasionally, Luce or other Euro American missionaries were unwelcome in particular neighborhoods or settings; but a Hispanic pastor or lay worker would be given free access.

For missionaries, achieving a terminal relationship ultimately means surrendering leadership into indigenous hands. In chapter 7, it is noted that Henry Venn advocated the so-called “euthanasia of mission,” i.e. that missionaries who were successful in fostering truly indigenous churches would eventually work themselves out of a job. Thus the missionary will eventually end his or her role as change agent. In the local church, transference of leadership is to an indigenous pastor who assumes the role of spiritual change agent for the surrounding community.

On one occasion in 1923, Luce and Murcutt left five local assemblies in the hands of new indigenous leaders, while they revisited several missions in Texas and Mexico. On their return trip, they discovered, to their great satisfaction, that the local congregations had made considerable advances. Some had developed financially to the point of being able to support their pastor and pay their own rent (the ICP of self-support). One congregation in San Francisco had set up three added preaching points (the ICP of self-propagation) [Alice E. Luce 1923b, 13]. Although Luce does not state specifically that new believers were receiving the baptism in the Spirit, it is reasonable to

believe that this occurred, since the indigenous leaders had been trained well, and knew that part of the pastor's role is to lead new converts in developing a spirit-filled life.

Luce's team gave themselves to the service of their constituency. Living among Mexican Americans and Mexicans gave them multiple opportunities to engage the people in all phases of life: in homes, in the marketplace, at special events, in the jails, and in other situations. When the people were suffering, the ministry team went to great lengths to meet the needs. They went to homes and prayed for the sick, conducted Bible studies, and visited neighbors (1917c, 13; 1917d, 13; 1917e, 11). Luce's team was constantly in the field, laboring among its constituency, displaying God's love. Though the team's contact was basically heterophilous, Luce and Murcutt understood how to meet the people at their level of daily life.

Through forty years of continuous contact, Luce and her team initiated and brought to fruition changes that brought about positive outcomes in the lives of Hispanics. Luce planted numerous churches, helped found two Bible schools, published twelve volumes, wrote over one hundred articles, developed Sunday School and Bible School curriculum, published many gospel tracts, and preached and taught everywhere she went—and did all of these in both Spanish and English languages!

According to Rogers, from the point of view of clients, the final phase of innovation adoption is *routinization*. Rogers states that, "Routinization occurs when the innovation has become incorporated into the regular activities of the organization, and the innovation loses its separate identity" (Rogers 1995, 399). Luce and her team presented Pentecostalism with clarity and fervor; it was up to the Hispanic people to accept or reject it. For those who chose to accept the Pentecostal message, it transformed their lives, and then, filtered through their own culture, was indigenized or contextualized, and became their own. At the point of routinization, the change agent has finished her or his task, and can move onto the next place of ministry.

## Conclusion

Luce's preparation time in the United Kingdom equipped her with hands-on training and cross-cultural ministry experience. Her father's model of forty-six years of stability as a pastor, his passion for souls, and his Keswick enthusiasm provided Luce with a strong spiritual foundation. Along with parental influence, Luce's British education helped shape her worldview, and taught her to be forward-thinking and to make changes wherever needed. Her education extended her knowledge in various fields: medicine, literature, politics, and religion. In particular, Luce's time at the Cheltenham ladies' College exposed her to role-models of strong women in leadership positions. And her tenure as a deaconess equipped her with practical life skills in nursing, teaching, and local congregational ministry.

As women's role in missionary ministry surged to the forefront of world missions in the 1880s and 1890s, the leaders of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Keswick Convention began to equip single and married women for missionary service. Keswick also lent support to the "Woman's work for woman" ministry, the role of which was to evangelize heathen women and teach them life skills. Eventually this shift in the way missions ministry was carried out led to the development of new missionary methods for Asia, specifically, the *Zenana* ministry (a ministry to secluded women) and the work of the Bible Women (local Christian women who worked with missionaries). By 1899, women missionaries comprised fifty-three percent of CMS missionaries around the world — a figure which included Alice Luce (Ward and Stanley, 89).

The Keswick Convention emphasized the role of the Holy Spirit in ministry. Each Christian was to live by faith, to live a life of holiness, and to believe for the impossible. At one Keswick meeting, Luce heard Jessie Penn-Lewis, a participant in the Welsh revival, speak about the need to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit before engaging in ministry. In all probability, this was the first eye-witness report about the Welsh revival

that Luce had ever heard. Through Penn-Lewis she learned about the various manifestations of the Spirit which came to be so influential in her theology, e.g. speaking in tongues, singing in the Spirit, and prophecy.

In 1896, Luce joined the ranks of the CMS and went to serve in India. After arriving in northern India, Luce grappled with, and mastered, the Urdu and Hindi languages and Hindu and Islamic cultures. Luce and her colleagues faced enormous challenges as they worked in cross-cultural ministry to the *zenanas* and with the Bible women. One of these challenges was the discovery of adult women with the minds of twelve-year-old girls, due to their perpetual seclusion behind the *pardah* (veil). Ministering to them proved to be a daunting task, as the missionary team taught these illiterate women the ABCs of pre-Christianity. Gradually, some of them experienced life-changing encounters with Christ. Through faith in Christ they could be freed from fear of evil spirits, from the idolatrous worship of countless gods, and could escape *samsara* (the endless cycle of death and rebirth) and inherit heaven as their eternal home. In this way, education became a cross-cultural tool to enrich the lives of women behind the *pardah*.

By providing an education for females, Christian women missionaries began to work alongside Indian women in holistic ministry, which consisted of education, health care (mainly dispensaries and hospitals), and discipleship. By 1901, census data showed that of the 20,300 Indian women who spoke English, 18,000 were Christians (Richter 1908, 322-323). On average, Christians excelled in education regardless of their status in society.

As education provided a major shift for many of India's women, the power of prayer provided renewal for India's masses. In 1898, the founder of the Mukti Mission, Pandita Ramabai, spoke at the Keswick Convention and requested prayer for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit on India (Ramabai 1903, 195). Prayer circles were



established throughout India for the purpose of fostering a spiritual awakening. And spiritual awakenings or revivals did occur in 1905 in the northeastern Kassia Hills region, which led eventually to the gospel message's reaching many of India's indigenous tribes.

On June 29, 1905, the flood gates of heaven opened, and the blessings which were poured out first in the revival at the Mukti Mission near Poona spilled over onto dozens of other institutions scattered across India (Abrams 1906a, 5-6). One of the outgrowths of this revival was the publication in 1906 of the first modern-day Pentecostal theology, *The Baptism in the Holy Ghost and Fire*, penned by Minnie Abrams. This small volume was Abrams' attempt to report what had actually occurred at the Mukti Mission. In it she explained how to receive this gift of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, by developing a three-pronged theological framework. She understood this experience as empowering the Christian to witness and to take the gospel around the world, with signs following, just as they did in the New Testament. Though Abrams and others didn't see speaking in tongues as the essential initial physical evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, they did understand its broader importance as a spiritual gift. The doctrine of tongues as the initial evidence emerged in 1907 from the Azusa Street revival (begun in 1906), and quickly made its way to India.

On the heels of this prolonged revival, in early 1910, Luce herself experienced the baptism in the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands by one or more Indian women, including Shorat Chuckerbutty, in Allahabad, India (Alice E. Luce 1916a, 13; 1917i, 6; 1920c, 3; Agnes Hill 1913, 11). This experience marked a major turning point in her ministry, changing the way she would live the rest of her life. The spiritual empowerment she received opened up a new dimension for Luce's ministry which would soon bear fruit on yet another continent, where she would discover untapped skills to introduce the full gospel to yet another ethnicity. By following the leading of the Holy Spirit, Luce became a major pioneer in delivering the "day of Pentecost—Acts 2:4" message to Hispanics on

the North American continent. What began with Luce has become today's major phenomenon of the Assemblies of God missionary ministries throughout Latin America. According to current statistics, what began as a small handful of Hispanic believers now numbers over twenty-eight million members and adherents. And from the first Hispanic Bible school, in the founding of which Luce played a pivotal role, the educational ministry of the AG to Hispanic peoples has grown to over one thousand three hundred Bible schools and extensions, with more than sixty thousand students preparing to serve in Latin America and the world (Assemblies of God 2009).

Luce's experience of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit had a profound impact on her missionary ministry. It took her from India, by way of a sick bed and ruined health, through divine healing, to a new vision to bring the Good News to yet another people of a different language and culture—the Hispanics. Through sacrificial pioneer ministry, Luce, along with Florence J. Murcutt, Henry and Sunshine Ball, Jovita Bonillo, and others, took steps of faith and invested their lives in the development of people whom many Euro Americans viewed as second class citizens. Though most of these were viewed as nobodies, they became 'somebodies' through the power of the Kingdom of God. As Hispanic Pentecostal congregations began to develop, they, in turn, invested in their own people. The outgrowth of this is captured in the philosophy of the indigenous church principles (ICPs).

During the 1921 General Council of the Assemblies of God in St. Louis, Missouri, the assembly adopted the ICPs as their official missions strategy. This decision was largely the result of Luce's publication of a three part article that appeared in January and February of that year in *The Pentecostal Evangel*, the official organ of the Assemblies of God. All the evidence indicates that Luce was the first to write about the ICPs as viewed through the lens of Pentecostalism.

Her understanding of these principles came through having read the work of

Roland Allen, who had been influenced by the research and publications of Henry Venn and John L. Nevius. However, a major difference between Allen and Luce was their understanding of the role of the Holy Spirit. Allen's view had no room for the supernatural workings of the Spirit, whereas Luce's view embraced at least nineteen different manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Luce's integration of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as on the day of Pentecost, with the ICPs was a quantum leap forward that brought hope where none had been visible to the natural eye.

As the ICPs were taught and practiced within the Hispanic ministry, new converts suddenly discovered themselves empowered to pray prayers of faith that were instrumental in helping meet the needs of a brother or sister in Christ, or even of a stranger. This demonstrates the Hispanics worldview change from a nobody to a 'somebody' citizen of God's Kingdom.

Being empowered by the Holy Spirit to do the impossible wasn't the only thing that gave strength to the Hispanic community. The opportunity to study the Bible and become more knowledgeable added another level of quality to life for Hispanic Christians. As Luce was inspiring both the Hispanic leaders and lay people with her vision of their being equipped to serve as recognized ministers of the gospel, she developed the very first Pentecostal Hispanic Bible school, the Latin American Bible Institute (LABI) which opened in California in 1926. A few weeks later, Henry Ball opened in Texas a second branch of the LABI. Later, after the Mexican Assemblies of God was officially organized in 1929, Luce founded another school, in Tijuana, Mexico, in 1947. And because a Pentecostal theological training curriculum didn't exist, Luce herself planned, authored, and printed the first such curriculum in Spanish. Eventually her curriculum found its way into at least five different Bible schools in the USA, Mexico, and Venezuela.

Through Luce's leadership in developing LABI, leaders and future leaders

received instruction in how to conduct evangelistic campaigns (revivals), plant churches, disciple converts, and train missionaries. LABI's second president, Ralph Williams, serves as an example of the kind of character, humility, and integrity that Luce and her team instilled in both students and new team members. After Williams moved to Mexico City, he taught and modeled the ICPs that he had learned from his mentor, Alice E. Luce. Later, while serving in El Salvador, Williams once again implemented the ICPs in his students' lives. As these students began to take the reins of leadership in their own countries and churches, Luce's influence could clearly be seen in the evangelism, church planting, discipling, and education ministries throughout the Central America region. In 1937, when Melvin and Lois Hodges arrived in Central America, they began to learn from their mentor, Ralph Williams, about the ICPs. Though Hodges had read Roland Allen's work, he had the opportunity to see these principles in action through the lives of the Central American believers. Williams and Hodges made a major impact for Christ in the Spanish-speaking world through their leadership and publications. Hodges later served as a regional director for Latin America with the Assemblies of God and became well known due to the publication of his book, *The Indigenous Church*, which is still in print.

One of LABI's outstanding students, evangelist Roberto Fierro, conducted revival meetings in "the United States, Canada, Latin America, Europe, and Asia" (1979, 171–172). Also, he developed one of the first Pentecostal radio programs called *La Cruz del Calvario* (The Cross of Calvary), based in Oakland, California" (Espinosa 2002a, 637).

According to Victor De Leon, Luce "was the type of person that worked for the Lord, not expecting recognition" (1979, 22). From the LABI's inception, Luce had chosen not to serve as the president (although she did serve as the Secretary-Treasurer). This decision appears to have reflected her leadership style of placing Hispanics into leadership roles to help them develop their skills. An example is Simón R. Franco, who

served as the first Mexican president of LABI from 1941-1950. Under Franco's leadership, LABI's matriculation flourished and a new campus was developed in La Puente, California, where the institute is still located today. After his resignation as president, Franco served in other leadership roles with the Assemblies of God as Assistant Superintendent and later Superintendent of the Latin American District. Other LABI graduates demonstrated the effectiveness of their academic and practical preparation by serving with integrity. Their leadership reflected the education and mentorship they received from Luce and her ministry team.

In regard to the education received by the Mexican and Mexican American students at LABI, Luce didn't just implement the educational methodology of her day. She recognized the need to go beyond the standard andragogical approach, and in response she developed a correspondence course in both English and Spanish to make possible a ministerial education for students who could not leave their jobs or families. Her innovativeness bridged the gaps caused by cultural and ethnic barriers between Euro Americans and Latin Americans. This level of commitment demonstrated Luce's passion to emancipate the Hispanics from bonds imposed on them by reigning social structures and to afford them every opportunity to succeed in the Kingdom of God.

Early on in Luce's ministry, she came into contact with Francisco Olazábal, a Mexican citizen, who became Pentecostal. He worked with Luce in Los Angeles and later planted a church in El Paso, Texas. In El Paso, Olazábal attempted, without success, to develop a Bible school. By January of 1923, he had severed ties with the Assemblies of God, and his departure left a deep scar on the relationship between the Hispanic and the Euro American Pentecostal communities. Olazábal was present at a specially called meeting in Springfield, Missouri in December 1922, which attempted to discover how the issue could be resolved. But after the December meeting, and in the aftermath of the Victoria Convention meeting of 1922, a serious rupture occurred, as the

disgruntled believers formed their own religious entity. Olazábal became their leader and a flood of misinformation ensued. This rift pitted Mexican brother against Mexican brother, and reflected negatively on the leadership of the “gringos”. But over the next several years, serious flaws in Olazábal’s leadership style surfaced which clearly point to why, at least in part, the schism occurred. Accusations have been made by both sides of this spiritual divide, but if patience and confidence had been exercised by both parties, it is probable that the relationship would not have been fractured. It bears saying that in all probability paternalism did play a role; but then, the Euro American missionaries and church leaders were inevitably children of their era.

Another aspect of Luce’s leadership merits comment, viz. her development of other women in ministry. Two women of special importance were Florence J. Murcutt, who was British, and Jovita Bonilla, who was Mexican. Murcutt served with Luce in evangelism, church planting, Bible school development, and writing ministries. Luce modeled for her professorial and writing skills that aided Murcutt’s development as an instructor and a writer at LABI. In return, as a qualified medical doctor and surgeon, Murcutt helped Luce develop a holistic style of ministry that didn’t become typical of AG missions until the latter half of the twentieth-century.

As for Bonilla, she devoted her life to serving her own Mexican people through ministry with Luce at LABI. Her deep passion for the students and their development is a mirror image of Luce’s ministry among the Hispanic populace. Like Murcutt, under Luce’s tutelage Bonilla developed into an excellent writer of Christian literature, an able professor, and a trusted mentor to developing Hispanic leaders. Her commitment to the Kingdom of God — and to Luce — was clearly visible to all who were identified with the LABI ministry and the Latin American District Council of the AG.

Though the term “missiologist” didn’t exist in Luce’s day, her life and ministry demonstrate that she was, in fact, a missiologist. Her evangelistic ministry,

implementation of the ICPs, mentoring, cross-cultural communication, educational ministry, and strategies all point to her being an able theoretician as well as a skilled practitioner of missions.

Luce's missiological ministry was that of a *change agent*. She introduced Hispanic believers to what the Bible teaches about the person and work of the Holy Spirit. As they received the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues, according to Acts 2:4, they began to see in their own lives the reality of the apostolic power Luce herself exemplified. Their lives were transformed; they were delivered from vices, their families were restored, and they experienced a spiritual freedom which enabled them to share their newfound liberty with others. Their empowered lives brought change to their communities as well. Some eventually became ministers, teachers, or evangelists; but all became promoters of the Kingdom of God.

"By the time of her death," affirmed the Wilsons, "Luce had become a spiritual icon who epitomized competence, character, faith, and dedication" (Wilson and Wilson, 2002, 174). And Victor De Leon identified Luce as one who "became synonymous with Latin American people, Bible Institute, and God" (1979, 23). Luce's extensive network among both Hispanics and Anglos demonstrated her integrity as a person and a mentor, who saw positive change as essential. Indeed, *the implementation of needed change* may be said to epitomize Alice E. Luce's life and ministry as she gave everything she had to equip others for service to the Lord.

## Appendix



## PAUL'S MISSIONARY METHODS

"And hath chosen thee, that thou shouldst know His will. For thou shalt be His witness." Acts 23:14, 15

As the Coming of the Lord draws nigh, our hearts go out more and more to the "other sheep," that we may by all means save some of them, and bring them into the Fold before the door is shut. And the more we realize the shortness of the time, the more we long to make the very most of it, to so preach the Gospel in apostolic power that we may see apostolic results. As a humble worker in the great missionary field, there has been a great burden on my heart for months past to learn from our Great Teacher how to more closely pattern my work and methods after His Word, and to reject all plans and ideas that are not His best. To this end I have been studying the life and teachings of Paul, our great model missionary, who has said, "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." (1 Cor. 11:1).

The thoughts in this article are not offered by way of criticism, but are the result of much prayerful study of the Acts and the Epistles, to find out what are some of the things our God's ways in this vital question of missionary methods. When I first went out as a missionary to India 12 years ago, I accepted without hesitation the methods of the Board under which I was working, and went on laboring for many years along those lines. Then a book was written, whose author's name I cannot now recall, entitled, "Missionary Methods, Paul's or Ours?" We missionaries all read it, and thought the writer somewhat visionary and impractical; but that book first opened my eyes to the dualistic assumption between our methods of working and those of the New Testament.

Nearly eleven years ago the news of the Lahore Massacre came and brought to that far-away land, and glory to God! He baptized me out there with the Holy Ghost as in Acts 1:4. Since then I have been realizing more and more that there is such a thing as doing an apostolic work along apostolic lines, and in my recent years of work among the Moslems, this is what I am striving to attain. "Not as though I had already attained, either were already made perfect, but I follow after, earnestly longing to work more as Paul worked, not to get drawn back into those dualistic methods which have no spiritual warrant, but learning to ever increasingly humbly depend absolutely on the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and let His word be my rule and my strength." "They went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with signs following." (Mark. 16:20).

There are some of the lines along which the Lord has been opening up to me the missionary methods of Paul:

Editor's note: This series of articles entitled, "Paul's Missionary Methods," has been written by an experienced missionary with the express purpose of bringing our Pentecostal missionaries to get a clear vision of Paul's methods of evangelization. Paul's methods are applicable, however, to every town and community and district in the homeland. The Pentecostal people are peculiarly missionary, and the growth of the Pentecostal Movement is due largely to this missionary spirit. We shall all find these articles profitable, and when Paul's methods are put into practice we can look for apostolic results to follow.

### I. IN RELATION TO THE HOME CHURCH.

"Then blessed it the assembly and others with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company." Acts 13:12

This gives us the inspired picture of the apostolic church, not well contented, nor taken up all the time with its own affairs, but ever ready to respond to a cry for help, imbued with the true missionary spirit. But what of the missionary who is sent forth?

1. He received his message, as well as his call, direct from heaven. Acts 21:14, 15 and 28:16-18; Gal. 1:11-20; 1 Cor. 1:18, 17. How important it is for every Pentecostal missionary to bear from heaven in a very definite way his call and his message! Much pains has been done to the work, and reproach caused to the Lord's Name by ardent young souls running ahead of the Spirit, and hastening in the foreign field before they had definitely preached themselves soul-worshippers at home, or before they had been baptized in the Word. We notice that when the Holy Ghost came and descended to go forth as missionaries from Antioch, the first Gentile church center He selected their very best. It was not a number of packing and those who could just be spared, or who had not exactly fitted in at home, but the very best ones who had established the church, its leaders and pillars, were called to be its first missionaries. Does not this show us God's standard for those whom He would send as missionaries to the heathen from a Pentecostal church?

2. After the "call" of the Holy Ghost, he preached the "gospel," and organization of the local church, who recognized and accepted so what God had done, Acts 13:3-4. How blessed it is when the whole assembly is so sensitive to the voice of the Spirit that they can hear him saying, "Separate Me Sunday school," and gladly obey, whatever it may cost them. The called one also will take the witness of the Spirit in his or her own hand, and so will obey the sending forth of the church. Thus there is a double seal on the going forth of the missionary: the secret, inward call of

the Holy Ghost, and the outward, public commission of the local assembly. It is a solemn thing this ordaining and sending forth a worker to the heathen. Many a young missionary has raised spiritually or broken down physically for lack of adequate support from his home church, especially in prayer. No amount of pecuniary aid can ever take the place of definite, regular and continual intercession for the worker, the heathen and the native converts. If we think of the church as a tree, sending forth its branches to bear fruit even to the uttermost parts of the earth, we shall realize more clearly the interdependence of the missionaries and their home assemblies. The branch gets its sap from the parent tree, and can never flourish if severed from it. Also we cannot expect a higher degree of spiritual life in the ends of the branches than there is in the trunk. This is the measure of the Spirit's power in the home assembly has everything to do with the quality of their missionary work and witness.

3. He went down place to place as guided by the Holy Ghost, Acts 16:9, 10; Rom. 1:13 and 15:19-22; Gal. 1:15-24 and 2:1, 2.

4. He obeyed the checks and restraints of the Spirit, Acts 13:6, 7. In both these points we see what an urgent need there is of the anointed ear to hear aright the voice of the Guide. He has promise to guide the work, so unless we are meek and lowly in heart we are sure to make gross mistakes in the matter of guidance. There seems to be three parts in the Spirit's guidance, all of which will agree when His really talks us.

(a) The inward voice of the spirit,  
(b) The guidance of the written Word, and

(c) Circumstances, or the shutting of one door, opening another, etc. This also includes the counsel of our friends, as we shall see in the next point.

5. He was willing to take advice and guidance from those of his home church, and also from his fellow missionaries, Gal. 2:6-9; Acts 15:2, 40 and 17:14, 16, 18, and 19:29, 31. How much wisdom, sharing of work and friction among the workers would be eliminated if every missionary followed Paul's example in this. He writes to the Philippians, "Let your thinking be kept lowly to all men." (Phil. 4:5 Menie's translation). Dear fellow missionaries, when we seek more than ever to let the full of the Spirit be manifested in us?

There are just two examples given of Paul's suffering from his fellow workers: his contention with the Bereans (Acts 17:20-31), and his refusal to be deterred from going up to Jerusalem through fear of persecution prophesied (Acts 21:4, 11-14). In the former case the whole church was emphatically assured

that Paul was right, and in the second case the very brethren themselves who were holding him back eventually "ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done". This shows how they realized that they had been mistaken, and confessing it, concurred in Paul's decision. What a precious example this gives us of the Pentecostal way of settling differences: not for the workers to talk against one another, but quietly wait on God for His plan to be unfolded more clearly, and then for those who have been mistaken to confess it openly, and follow wholeheartedly as the Lord guides. Many brethren showed himself self-willed and obstinate, as Barnabas did, they quietly let him depart; and it would be well for us to do likewise.

5. He received his support partly from his own labor and partly from the churches of his converts. Acts 18:1-3 and 20:34, 35; Phil. 4:10-16; 2 Cor. 11:7-12; 1 Thess. 2:9. These passages clearly show the spirit in which he labored. While strenuously maintaining the right of the worker to be supported by those to whom he ministers, he often preferred to work with his own hands in order to "cut off occasion" from those who sought an opportunity to accuse him of seeking to enrich himself at the expense of his flock.

We must bear in mind the differing conditions of the various Jewish and Gentile churches of that day. The saints in Jerusalem, persecuted and scattered by the fiercest persecutions, seem to have been the very poorest of all, recipients of the bounty of the Gentile assemblies, and entirely unable to support their missionaries. Another point is that when he first went to a new place there was no church there to support him. We read, however, of the churches already founded sending gifts to him when he was breaking up new ground; and this may be taken as a parallel case with that of our home assemblies sending support to their missionaries who go to heathen lands, or who work among poor foreigners in this land. And it seems that this support will always be needed, for Paul's example shows us the missionary always a pioneer. He found a church, established it with deacons and elders, leaves it to support them (which will usually be the utmost they can do), and goes on himself to take the message where it has never yet been preached.

7. He returned from time to time to rehearse all that God had done, Acts 11:24-28 and 15:2, 4 and 18:28, 23 and 20:16 and 21:17-24. This forms a most important link between the home assembly and its daughter churches in the Mission field. As the missionary returns to visit his home land he gains fresh inspiration and power, while at the same time those who support him hear by word of mouth of the details of his work, and are thus able to pray for it more definitely.—Alice R. Lane.

(To be continued.)

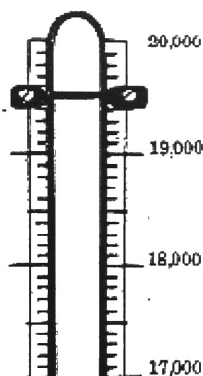
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## PAUL'S MISSIONARY METHODS

In our former article we traced some of the points of the missionary's methods in connection with his home church. Let us now see how Paul worked and witnessed.

### II. IN RELATION TO THE MISSIONARY FIELD.

"I am ordained a preacher, and an apostle (I speak the truth in Christ, and lie not); a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity," (1 Tim. 2:7). We see here that the model missionary possessed the three greatest gifts of the Spirit, as given us in 1 Cor. 12:28 and Eph. 4:11, namely those of an apostle, a prophet (or preacher) and a teacher. May the Lord raise up such missionaries from every assembly!

What then was the Message with which he went to the heathen?

1. He preached CHRIST first, last and all the time, Acts 9:20, 29 and 17:18 and 20:18-21, 25, 26, 31. This was always his primary work, and though he made arrangements for the collections for the poor saints, yet the details seem always to have been left to the deacons, as well as the care of widows, orphans, etc. All the way through, the spirit of the missionary seems to have been, "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down," (Neh. 4:3). "It is not reason that we should leave the Word of God, and serve tables."

After 24 years of work as a missionary, I mourn to think of how much time I have spent in serving tables, when I might have been all the time preaching the Gospel. Since receiving the Baptism of the Holy Ghost this impression has been ever deepening in my soul, and the desire to be able to keep first things first in all my future work. Beloved fellow missionaries, we have a message of the Full Gospel, with a vast field before us, and we are a very little flock. Shall we not then realize the greatness of our high calling, and leave to others the works of mercy, philanthropy, etc., which would divert our time and our energies from God's best, viz. the preaching of the glorious Gospel in all its fulness in the little time which yet remains before Jesus comes?

2. He gave forth the Word with such power and demonstration of the Spirit, that everywhere the people were stirred up, either to acceptance or to opposition, Acts 13:42-52 and 14:1-7 and 17:4, 5, 11-14 and 19:8-10, 20, 26; 1 Thess. 1:5 and 2:13; 1 Cor. 2:4; 2 Cor. 2:14-16.

3. God confirmed His message by signs and wonders, Acts 14:3 and 19:11, 18; 2 Cor. 12:12; Heb. 2:3, 4. When we go forth to preach the Full Gospel, are we going to expect an experience like that of the denominational missionaries, or shall we look for the signs to follow? "According to your faith, be it unto you." A practical student of the mission field has written of us Pentecostal missionaries as follows: "If they would

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bringing a Pauline Gospel, they would get Pauline results."

4. He preached the Full Gospel in every place, never compromising nor catering to the prejudices of the people, their customs or their social position, Acts 13:38-41, 46 and 14:14, 15 and 16:54-29; Gal. 3:11-18; Acts 17:2, 3, 32 and 19:1-8, 17-20 and 20:20, 27; 1 Thess. 2:4-6; Rom. 1:14-16. In those days the Cross was the stigma of Christianity, even as the speaking in other tongues is the stigma of the Full Gospel to-day. And is it necessary to mention it? Does it not antagonize people unnecessarily? Shall we not be wiser to omit mentioning what we know arouses people's prejudices, at any rate until they have accepted more of the truth?

Such reasoning may sound very plausible to the natural man, but it will burn up instantly if subjected to the Fire of the Holy Ghost. See Paul's attitude in 1 Cor. 1:18 to 2:16, and note how he absolutely refused to keep back any part of the message through fear of giving offence. Yes! ever there in Corinth, the city of the cultured, aesthetic Greeks, he said, "I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified;" perhaps specially because the Cross was the one thing which was so despised and rejected there. He might have preached the beautiful life of Jesus, and His substitutionary death. He might have lifted Him up as the one only Sacrifice for sin, and urged all men to look to Him for salvation, without mentioning the fact that He died on the Cross seeing that that ignominy and shame was so repulsive to the cultured Greeks. But not in Corinth is everywhere, it was Christ crucified whom Paul lifted up, and he refused to water down his message from any motives of expediency.

The enemy tries hard to make us compromise with our message in these days also. He will advise us to bring it out gradually, to educate people up to receiving it, and not tell them too much at once. He will show us how much wiser it will be for us to merely speak of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, and to tell the Christians that He will

come in and take possession of His temple, without mentioning that He will speak for Himself. But those who followed Paul as he followed Christ will be able to say of each place where they have preached the Word, "I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you. I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God."

5. The keynote of his evangelism were,

(a) Repentance toward God, and  
(b) Faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, Acts 20:31 and 14:16; 1 Thess. 1:9.

6. He ever lifted up Jesus as  
(a) The Son of God, and God, the Son, Acts 9:20; Rom. 9:5.

(b) The Messiah of the Jews, Acts 9:22 and 17:3 and 18:5.

(c) The only Saviour from sin, Acts 13:23, 35, 39 and 16:30, 31.

(d) Crucified, 1 Cor. 1:23-35, and 2:2; Gal. 3:13 and 6:14.

(e) Risen from the dead, Acts 17:18, 32 and 25:19 and 26:8.

(f) Coming in glory, Acts 17:31; 1 Thess. 1:10 and 4:13-18; Col. 3:4.

7. He boldly proclaimed the wrath of God against sin, Acts 24:25; Rom. 1:18 and 2:1-16; Col. 3:6.

8. He preached salvation by free grace alone, never to be earned by good works, Rom. 3:20-28; Eph. 2:8, 9; Gal. 2:16.

9. He emphasized the necessity of a life of holiness, Rom. 6:1-19 and 8:4, 13; 2 Cor. 6:14 to 7:1; Eph. 4:20-32; Col. 3:8-17; 1 Thess. 4:1-7, 12.

10. He expected all converts to receive the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, and was surprised when he found those who had not, Acts 19:1-6; 1 Cor. 12:13; Eph. 1:13.

11. He showed how this Full Salvation is for the body, as well as for soul and spirit; healing in the Atonement on the cross, and health by the Resurrection and the indwelling Spirit; 1 Cor. 6:13-20 and 11:29, 30; 2 Cor. 6:8 to 6:6; Rom. 8:2, 11.

12. In his approach to the people he ever made himself their servant, coming down to their level in order to win them to Christ, 1 Cor. 9:19-23; Phil. 2:5-8; 1 Thess. 2:5-12. There is a deep lesson here which only the Spirit Himself can teach us and work out in our lives. It is not necessary to waste our time in a great deal of social intercourse; rather it seems best to let our dealings with those among whom we work remain exclusively of a spiritual character. But they will invariably sense it if we go among them in the spirit of a servant. It has often been a cause of surprise to me among the heathen, how very quickly they recognized the difference between those who went to them with a hidden sense of their own superiority and those who really had the spirit of a servant. The

(Continued on Page Eleven.)

## The Lord the Same in Japan.

By Mrs. Eijima Kimi

"Praise be to the Lord for His mighty acts. Praise Him according to His excellent greatness." Psal. 102.

After I lost my husband I had to work hard in the farm yard in order to support my family, but I was in grief for the lost one and yet no one could I get consolation from my sorrow. Just at that time one of my acquaintances asked me to come over to her place and work together in the silk spinning factory, so I thought it quite a change, and went for my family. Finally we started for that town with bag and baggage, away from our native village, two hundred miles. That town was called Kiyu Maru in Gammun-ken, and there were many factories spinning raw silk, and I could get work easily for the silk business was pretty good. Thus I started my new life in a different community. For two or three months all were getting used and everybody enjoyed very much. Not long afterwards my son took sick and went to bed, thinking he was slightly attacked by cold; but he could not get up for a few days. His head by his companions to feel a great pain in the side, so I did not know what to do. One day I was so frightened and first thing for me to do was to go to "Ojiza sama," who is generally called a god of healing. When we feel headache they put our hand in our forehead, and then I said, "If we do that he will heal us. That is what people were told from ancient time. So I rubbed my hand to my son's thigh, and then to his several times. I didn't know any better, for I had heard Christian preaching at all, but that "Ojiza sama," who was made out of stone could not heal my son in any measure. So then I tried so-called eight million gods in Japan, one after another, but all of them failed in answering our prayer. At last I had to put him into a hospital where many surgeons were waiting for the next operation. They examined him closely and tried to cure him by medicine, but it did not affect him at all. Finally they shook their heads and said, "This is an incurable disease and no way to go at it." By this time my health went down and could not stand any more. My savings were gone and yet no strength to work in the factory. I was awfully troubled over the matter and I did not know which way to go. Poor woman I was, not knowing there is a true and living God between heaven and earth. But this thing we must say, wonderful, truly wonderful it was. One day, on that night after I had gone to bed some one came and woke me up, and he said His name is called Jesus (Yesu sama) and He saves and heals men from sin in this cursed world. "Rise up and bring your children to your native country, where you will find something." It was a dream, but no dream at all. Next morning as early as I woke up, I went to the hospital and told about it to doctors. They laughed and laughed, and said, "If you take your son on the train we are sure you and your son both will die before you get through your journey. Leave the boy here a little while." But the dream was so inspired and I couldn't obey them, simply rise up and take the train for home. But it was early "Yesu sama" speaking to me though I was not acquainted with Him. Therefore I determined in my mind to go back to my own native country where that unknown Being gave me a great hope, although I did not know what it was. On the train I was looking at my son's skinny face which looked as if he were breathing the last breath himself, tired and sick in body. Almost knocked down by thinking God. He was watching over us all through our journey, and brought us to our home station, "Sodo" safely. As such as we arrived there I took my son to the doctor for examination of his pulse. His pulse said, "That he is going out; take him to your own home quickly and

let him die on the soft bed." His lips were very cold and when I put my cheek upon his forehead I felt a cold shuddering pass all through me. At this time my hope disappeared and dark clouds surrounded me, and I felt I must die with him; but the soft, tender and merciful voice called my attention, saying suddenly, "Be not afraid, I am with thee." Suddenly I took a great courage and cried out, "Help us." Answer came again to my ears, "I am with thee." Soon after we arrived at my own home, a friend came and told us, "Great Christian preachers named American Moore, sensei (teacher) came to our village and holding a meeting, and also healing the sick in the name of Yamsu (Jesus). I felt this is what I longed to see when I was young. So then I took him on the wagon and laid him before teachers. They told me what to do. Fortunately, I believed on the Lord Jesus Christ and fully surrendered all to Him. They anointed with oil upon his head and prayed for him. My heart beamed with joy that we were found out by the Heavenly God. The next morning as we woke up I found myself strong as ever before, and my dying son got healed instantaneously, which made me mad for God and His righteousness. Hallelujah! Since then it has past three years; old disease never came on him again and now he is attending to the higher course of the common school here in this village. I am so grateful to God for His healing and saving virtue which made my heart rejoice in Him at all times. My whole family is converted to Christianity and trusting in Him. Glory be to His name! I shall never forget this fact that my son is healed and I am saved, so I am telling this truth to everybody whom I meet. On the 21st (November) 1920, Moore Sensei came over to our village for the establishment of believers into a deeper faith. So I had a chance to testify to the above mentioned testimony before the congregation for the glory of God. A. M. Translated by T. J. Machida, with H. S. Moore and wife, Yokohama, Japan.

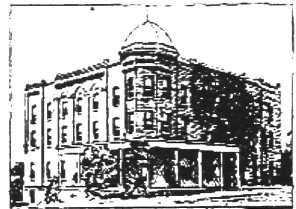
### JOY.

"True wisdom is in rejoicing always in the Lord, receiving and reflecting the sunlight from above, and neutralizing, to the extent of its influence, the devil's lie, that the service of God is a gloomy thing."

"There are few things more attractive than joy, and few more are as communicative. We are intuitively drawn to persons possessed of a happy countenance, and a bright, cheery manner. They scatter beams of sunshine around them, before which gloom and depression disappear."

"The birds of the air, the flowers of the field, the wide rolling ocean, and the glorious, stable hills are all sources of joy; and every social and domestic relationship of life tends to increase the sum of human happiness, when we are in harmony with the God of creation, who would have all His creatures joyful."

"It is one of the striking evidences of the love of God that He has so secured the existence and wide diffusion of joy that even in this sin-stricken world it is everywhere in a measure to be found, and the lawful exercise of every faculty with which God hath endowed us, tends to the increase of our joy."—Selected.



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### Paul's Missionary Methods.

(Continued from Page Six.)

way they expressed it was, "He loves us"; or "He does not really love us"; whereas the second worker probably did love them truly, only he had not lost the inward sense of how superior he was to them. Let us study the message of the Incarnation as given us in Phil. 2:5-8, until the Spirit can burn it into our souls and make it part of the very fiber of our being. Those poor heathen have never seen Jesus in the flesh, they have never read His Word; but we are His letter to them, and by what they see in us they will judge of Him. It is only as the Word becomes flesh in us by the power of the indwelling Spirit teaching us to empty ourselves and become of no reputation, that the heathen will be able to see the great love of Jesus and be drawn to His feet.

13. He announced as a divine revelation the mystery of the Church, a called-out Body from Jews and Gentiles alike. Eph. 2:14-18 and 3:1-7; Col. 1:24-29 and 3:11. This is very important, especially in India, where the tendency has always been to connect the Christian religion with the British Government, and to style it a white man's religion, all very good for him, perhaps, but nothing to do with them. In fact it would be an unpatriotic thing for them to become Christians. This conviction is stronger than ever since the recent awakening of the national or racial consciousness among them. How necessary then for us to show them clearly the universality of the Message we bring, and how all nations are alike before God. This fact also redoubles our desire to train native workers to evangelize their own countries, for they are the only ones who will ever accomplish it, and they have many advantages over the foreigner.

14. He declared His faith in the ultimate salvation of all Israel, Rom. 11: 12, 25-27.

Office. E. Luce.

(To be concluded.)

## PAUL'S MISSIONARY METHODS

We have looked at the relationship of the missionary to his home church, and also to the heathen among whom he goes to preach the Gospel. Let us now trace the methods of Paul, the great missionary.

### III. IN RELATION TO THE CHURCHES OF HIS CONVERTS.

"That which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches", 2 Cor. 11:28.

When our blessed Lord commissioned His disciples to go and make converts in all the nations and baptize them in the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, He added, "teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you". (Matt. 28:20). This shows us that the work of the missionary is by no means ended when he has made disciples and baptized them. Then begins the important task of teaching them, of feeding and tending the lambs of the flock, that they may grow up and become strong. We shall see in the experience of Paul what are the scriptural methods of dealing with these newly-converted heathen, the first assemblies formed in a formerly Christless land.

1. He was to them as a father or a nursing mother, 1 Cor. 4:14, 15; Gal. 4:19; 1 Thess. 2:7-11. What a glimpse these verses give us into the great heart of the missionary, as he yearned over his beloved children in the Lord, striving in prayer for them night and day, that they might be established in the faith and walk worthily of their high calling. Do we really know what it means to travail in birth for those who are our spiritual children, not only at the time of their new birth, but also afterwards, that Christ may be formed in them and manifest Himself through them to others? If we did, would they not grow up faster, and cause us less sorrow and anxiety?

2. His aim was to found in every place a self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating church, Acts 12:42 and 14:3, 21-22 and 16:4, 5 and 20:28; 1 Thess. 1:6-8. As we study these passages prayerfully, we shall see how quickly he trained his converts to become independent of his presence, to stand by themselves and become missionarying in their turn. They made many mistakes, doubtless, as our converts do in these days, but that fact never seems to have caused Paul to change his method, or to cease to delegate to the churches themselves the care of all local matters. There were widows and orphans to be cared for, and at the inevitable "serving of tables"; but this was entrusted to the deacons and elders of each local church, while the missionary remained free to give himself continually to prayer and to the ministry of the Word, Acts 6:1-4 and 14:23 and 20:35; 1 Tim. 5:3, 9, 16; Tit. 1:5 and 3:13, 14.

Cases have been frequently cited of

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this plan's having failed. Certain missionaries have trained the churches of their converts to be self-supporting and then self-governing (note the order), and they have eventually become lifted up with pride and failed to succeed in their task. There are three thoughts that came to me along this line. Firstly, in most of these cases the converts were not Pentecostal, and had never received the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, hence they were manifestly unable to attempt such a task. Secondly, in cases where the Pentecostal churches thus formed may have failed at first, they will doubtless learn by that very failure, and become humbler and wiser in future. Thirdly, I feel as if I would rather work along scriptural lines, even if it did appear to fail, than make a brilliant success with methods that were man made and not God-given.

Owing to lack of space, I will not here enter more fully into the subject of training the infant church, teaching them tithing, the duty of supporting their own pastor, etc. Poor as the people of India are, I believe we could see in that country a self-supporting native church very rapidly manifested, because once saved and filled with the Spirit they will show more self-sacrifice than other oriental people. Among one of the aboriginal tribes out there (the poorest of the poor), every Christian housewife keeps an earthen pot beside her and stove, which is "the Lord's pot." Twice daily she cooks the course rice for the family, and each time she takes out a handful and puts it into the Lord's pot. These pots of rice or grain flour are taken to the meeting house every Sunday and offered to the Lord, and out of them the pastor is supported. There is no assembly too poor to support its leader, if each member really does his or her share.

3. Persecutions and sufferings were no sign to him that he was out of the will of God, Acts 13:50-52 and 14:22 and 20:22-24 and 21:10-14; 1 Cor. 4:8-12 and 16:8, 9; 2 Cor. 6:4-10 and 11:23-28.

4. However, when persecuted and forbidden to preach longer in one place, he passed on to another, Acts 13:50, 51

and 14:5, 6, 19, 20 and 16:34-40 and 17:8-10, 13, 15, 37, 38 and 18:6 and 19:9; 2 Cor. 10:13-16.

5. He concentrated his efforts on large centers (e. g., Antioch in Syria, the mother of the Gentile churches; Corinth, the great commercial city of Greece; and Ephesus, the capital of Roman Asia), Acts 11:25, 26 and 18:9-11 and 19:10, 26 and 20:31.

6. He worked harmoniously with others, whatever their nationality, Acts 11:25, 26 and 13:1, 3, 13 and 15:34, 35, 40 and 16:8 and 17:15 and 18:2, 3, 5 and 19:22 and 20:4, 17-19, 31, 37, 38; 2 Cor. 8:23 and 12:18. This is one of the main secrets of our influence in the mission field, especially among the converts, who come into closer contact with us than the heathen do. If they see any lack of love and harmony in the Spirit, any friction among the workers, they will in their hearts have no more use for our message, and we shall have neglected by our lives the message of our lips. Methinks the blessed Comforter is more grieved by this than by anything else, and that Jesus on the Throne still weeps when He sees His representatives in heathen lands manifesting such a caricature, such a misrepresentation of His life of love and forbearance. Dear reader, shall we not (you and I), leaving all the others with God, make up our minds that from henceforth we will endeavor to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace? Whatever the provocation, the rasping of our nerves due to unhealthy climates, overworked bodies or insufficient food let us resolve that we will let nothing break the bond of love which binds us to our brethren in Christ. As Abram said to Lot, in the presence of the heathen Chaldeans: "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee . . . for we are brethren." (Gen. 13:8).

7. We do not read of his making any distinction whatever founded merely on race or nationality. My humble opinion is that if we Pentecostal missionaries worked entirely along this line we should avoid a great deal of the trouble that has occurred in many of the denominational churches. Many say that these young assemblies need foreign supervision for a long time. Possibly so, but that is not because we are foreigners, but because we are older in the faith, and have experienced more of the Spirit's guidance than they have. If we guard our relationship with them as always of love and leading - not driving - not as being lords over God's heritage, but being examples to the flock, we shall find them very slow to disregard our counsel, when we offer it in the spirit of meekness. The babes in Christ always need the help of those who are older and more spiritual; but let us make our greater experience, or spirituality, or capacity for supervision, the criterion, and not our nationality. And when the Lord raises up spiritually qualified lead-

ers in the native churches themselves, what a joy it will be to us to be subject to them, and to let them take the lead as the Spirit Himself shall guide them.

8. In matters of dispute he appealed to his home church for guidance and counsel, Acts 15:1, 2, 22-31 and 18:4 This kept the link and the fellowship ever fresh and living between the home assembly and his daughter churches in the mission field. Thus we see that there was a system of voluntary co-operation, not only between individuals but also between all the churches. When a great revival began in Antioch, the church at Jerusalem sent Barnabas to help them (and he went when he was sent). The work continued to grow, and one day Barnabas thought, "I realize that this is getting beyond me. Some of the wealthy, educated classes are becoming interested. I believe if Saul would come, he would be able to instruct them better than I can." So off he went to Tarsus saying, "Brother Saul will you not come over to Antioch, and help me in the work?" And immediately Saul went.

Later on, the false teachers came with their erroneous doctrines. Barnabas and Saul withstood them manfully, but in spite of all their efforts many of the converts were led astray. So they said, "Let us go back to the mother church at Jerusalem, and consult them." And the result was great peace and blessing in all the Gentile churches.

I can picture the church in Smyrna having some local difficulties, and sending a message to Ephesus, saying, "Brethren, you have been in the Faith longer than we have, and you have many deacons and elders. Can you not send one of them over to help us in our time of need?" How gladly would Ephesus respond to the appeal, and how precious would be this added link of prayer and fellowship between the two churches. It would not tend to make Ephesus be lifted up, either. She would feel more and more her responsibility to set a good example to the churches, which had received the light through her, and would more and more develop that mother-love, that engendering and forbearance which is an essential part of the true missionary spirit.

How blessed it will be when we Pentecostal missionaries become so absolutely yielded to the Spirit of God, that we shall realize our interdependence in the Body of Christ. Then we shall gladly and spontaneously obey those who have the rule over us and submit ourselves, (Heb. 13:17). Why did God put that verse in the Bible if He never intended to put anybody to rule over us? It sounds as if HE put them there, and so He will certainly call us to account if we do not obey them. We shall also learn to submit ourselves one to another in the fear of God, and to be clothed with humility. This will have more effect than anything else on the churches we establish among the heathen. Having learned from us the spirit of yieldingness and obedience, they will manifest a like spirit in their turn; and we shall find apostolic churches spring-

ing up and bearing much fruit, because they were founded on apostolic lines. May it be so increasingly in every part of the mission field, to the glory of our blessed Lord! Alice E. Luce.

### THREE IN ONE

(Continued from Page One.)

ence to the center, each ending with a point at the center of the disk. Now let us whirl the disk very rapidly. What do we see? The red is invisible. The yellow is invisible. The blue is invisible. The disk appears to be made of burnished silver. The three primary colors are so blended that they produce whiteness. Each of the three primary colors of the sunbeam is essential to the well-being of man in this world. Scientists tell us that from the red in the sunbeam we get our heat, that the yellow furnishes us with illumination, and that the blue effects the chemical changes in living organisms. If it were not for the red we should all freeze to death, if it were not for the yellow we could not see one another, for the light would not be diffused throughout space, and if it were not for the blue we should all shrivel and die. So we see that as the sunbeam comes to us from the great solar luminary which is the center of the system to which our planet belongs, there are three in one and the one is three. Science was not as fully developed at the time the Bible was written as it is developed today, and men were not able at that time to analyze the sunbeam, but God who had made the sun and all the worlds that revolve around it, knew just what elements constituted light, and His Holy Spirit inspired the Apostle to pen these words: the real significance of which the Apostle himself did not fully comprehend. "GOD IS LIGHT" and in Him is no darkness at all" (1 John 1:5).

Each of the primary colors of the sunbeam has its distinctive work, its special mission, and each needs the others, that the sunbeam may be a perfect sunbeam and may accomplish the purpose God has designed it shall accomplish. Each of the Persons who constitute the Godhead, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, has His distinctive work in connection with the great plan of human redemption and divine administration, but as each of the elements of the sunbeam is dependent upon each of the others and as the three elements are in perfect harmony with each other and together constitute a perfect whole, so the three Persons of the Godhead are in perfect union, and work together in such perfect harmony in the accomplishment of the divine purpose that it may well be said that **The Three are One.**

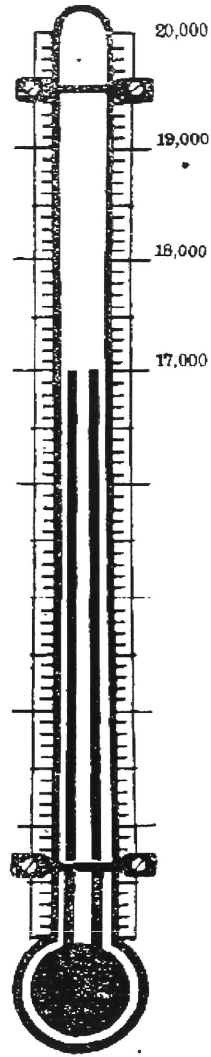
And in the same sense in which the Three are One our blessed Lord would have His people one, for did He not pray "that they all may be one as thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent Me" (John 17:21).

God hasten the day when the unity of God's people shall be as perfect as is the unity of the Godhead!

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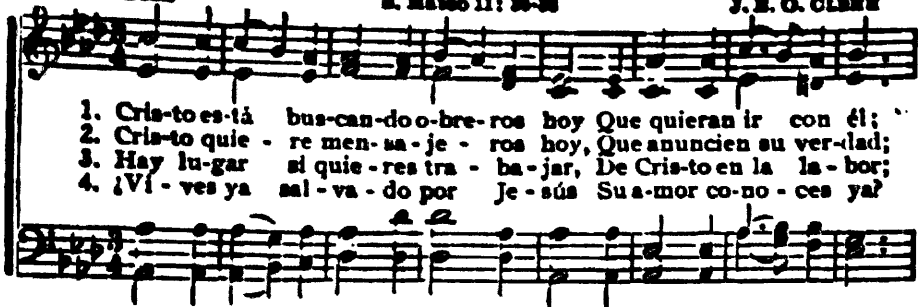
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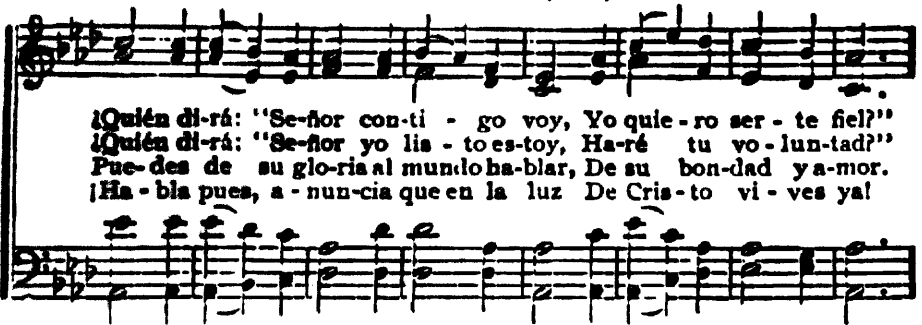
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J. B. O. CLARK

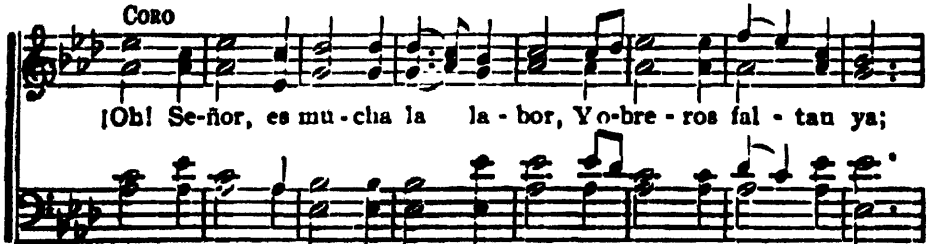


1. Cris-to es-tá bus-can-do o-bre-ros hoy Que quieran ir con él;  
 2. Cris-to quie - re men-sa-je - ros hoy, Que anuncien su ver-dad;  
 3. Hay lu-gar si quie-res tra - ba- jar, De Cris-to en la la - bor;  
 4. ¡Vi - ves ya sal - va - do por Je - sús Su a-mor co-no - ces ya!



¡Quién di-rá: "Se-nor con-ti - go voy, Yo quie-ro ser - te fiel!"  
 ¡Quién di-rá: "Se-nor yo lis - to es-toy, Ha-ré tu vo-lun-tad?"  
 Pue-des de su glo-ria al mun-do ha-blar, De su bon-dad ya-mor.  
 ¡Ha - bla pues, a - nun-cia que en la luz De Cris-to vi - ves ya!

CORO



¡Oh! Se-nor, es mu - cha la la - bor, Y o-bre - ros fal - tan ya;



Da - nos luz, ar-dien-te fe y va - lor, Y obreros siempre ha-brá.

## Selected Publications by Alice E. Luce

Alice E. Luce's life spanned nearly eight decades, from her birth in 1873 to her death in 1955. The follow list contains the books, key articles, and a generalized list of other publications.

### Books

1920. *Pictures of Pentecost in the Old Testament*. First Series (Vol. 1). Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House.
1924. *El Señor para el Cuerpo*. Alice, TX: Cornelio Montes.
1925. *The Messenger and His Message: A handbook for Young Workers on the Preparation of Gospel Addresses*. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House.
1927. *The Little Flock in the Last Days*. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House.
1930. *Pictures of Pentecost in the Old Testament*. Second Series (Vol. 2). Gospel Publishing House. Springfield, MO.
1935. *La Escuela Dominical y Su Importancia*. San Antonio, TX: Casa Evangélica de Publicaciones.
1955. *Estudios en la Introducción Bíblica*. Miami, FL: Editorial Vida. (In Print)
1964. *Estudios en las Evidencias Cristianas*. Miami, FL: Editorial Vida. (In Print)

### Courses

- n. d. *Apacienta Mis Corderos: Un Curso Corto de Estudios para Maestros de la Escuela Dominical*.
- n.d. *Estudios en la Profecía*.
- n.d. *Estudios en los Tipos*.
- n. d. *La Geografía de la Biblia*.

### Articles

1918. "Have You a Passport?". *The Weekly Evangel*, February 16:2-3.
1918. "Physical Manifestations of the Spirit." *The Christian Evangel*, July 27:2- 3.
1920. "What Does the World Demand?." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, April 3:2-3.
1921. "Paul's Missionary Methods." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, January 8:6-7.
1921. "Paul's Missionary Methods." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, January 22:6, 11.
1921. "Paul's Missionary Methods." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, February 5:6-7.



1922. "Portions for Whom Nothing is Prepared." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, December 9:6-7.
1923. "Mexican Work in California." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, September 1:13.
1926. "Bible School Opens at San Diego." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, November 13:8.
1927. "The Latin-American Pentecostal Work." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, June 25:6-7.
1927. "The Strangers within Our Gates." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, August 13:4-5.
- 1931a. "Scriptural Methods in Missionary Work." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, May 9:8-9.
1931. "Does Science Affect Personal Worship?" *The Pentecostal Evangel*, August 1:2-3.
1932. "The Compassion of Jesus: A Plea for Latin America." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, September 24:6-7, 10.
- 1934 "Does Science Affect Faith?". *The Pentecostal Evangel*, November 24:8-9, 16.
1935. "Latin-American Work in California." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, June 15:8.
1939. "Pentecost on the Mexican Border." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, November 11:5.
1942. "Latin American Bible Institute of California." *The Pentecostal Evangel*, June 6:7.

Sunday School Curriculum

1933-1942 Intermediate and Junior Teachers' Quarterly

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