

PhD thesis

‘A gem in the water’: a contribution to contemporary Pentecostal theology on Baptism of the Holy Spirit from a study of Willis Hoover’s Chilean Methodist Pentecostalism
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‘A Gem in the Water’

A Contribution to contemporary Pentecostal Theology on Baptism of the Holy Spirit from a Study of Willis Hoover’s Chilean Methodist Pentecostalism

Alfred Cooper

OCMS, MPhil./Ph.D

January 2024

ABSTRACT

This thesis defines and categorises the theology of Willis Hoover, with particular emphasis on his understanding of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and his theological transition from sanctification Methodism through an initial Azusa-style Pentecostalism to his eventual Methodist Pentecostal position. This theological transition, hitherto only partially explored and explained, was germinal to Chilean Pentecostalism and uniquely conducive to fomenting and enabling the spread and influential growth of the revival, pioneer to Latin America, which began under his pastorate in Valparaiso in 1909.

The study moves through, examines, and analyses four historical stages of Hoover’s encounter with Baptism of the Holy Spirit: Seeking, Receiving, Developing, and Administering, between 1895 (arrival in Chile) and 1936 (Hoover’s death). The demarcation of these four historical stages are related chronologically, and explains how Hoover developed his uniquely Chilean theology on the Pentecostal Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Founded on his Methodist inheritance, he was influenced by Pentecostalism, particularly from Mukti, India, the Stone church in Chicago, and the Azusa Street Revival.

From this Methodist Pentecostal pneumatological base, examined with theological and historical hermeneutic methodology (especially Bernardo Campos’ principle of Pentecostality), the study will also offer a proposed solution to the problems related to Hoover’s subsequentialist Pentecostal teaching. In so doing, it proposes an emphasis on a personal relationship with the Holy Spirit and formulates a pneumatological theory of ‘Pneuma plasticity’. The thesis seeks to discover how this Hooverian transition could open and contribute to a valuable missional and ecumenical conversation concerning the Pentecostal phenomenon in Chile and beyond.

‘A Gem in the Water’

A Contribution to contemporary Pentecostal Theology on Baptism of the Holy Spirit
from a study of Willis Hoover’s Chilean Methodist Pentecostalism

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Middlesex University

Main Supervisor: Dr Luis Orellana

Second Supervisor: Dr Andrew Kirk

Director of Studies: Dr David Singh

Oxford Centre for Mission Studies

DECLARATIONS

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.



Signed _____ (Candidate)

Date _____ 8th of January, 2024

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote.

Other sources are acknowledged by midnotes or footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.



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Date _____ 8th of January, 2024

STATEMENT 2

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if approved, to be available for photocopying by the British Library and for Inter-Library Loan, for open access to the Electronic Theses Online Service (EthoS) linked to the British Library, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organizations.



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DEDICATION

To my wife, Hilary Joy, who always ‘packed my parachute’ with her sweet nature, kind attitudes, helpful comments, and encouragement when energy and stamina waned. She was always there for me with a constant belief in my ability to rise to the impossible task of finishing this project saying, ‘I’m proud of you!’.

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Ad maiorem Dei gloriam – My thanks and worship to God, three in One, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, who helped me write this thesis relating to the nature and work of the Third Person.

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My supervisors:

Dr Max Turner who pointed me in every right direction and important literature to get me off the ground understanding the ‘wider conversation’ on Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Ill health did not permit his continuing but to him I owe the conceptual term ‘Pneuma plasticity’ central to my final contribution.

Dr Luis Orellana, a major authority in Pentecostalism in Chile, who was always a close friend and kind thesis companion. He gave me the relevant knowledge and Spanish reading, even whole sets of books from his personal library to aid me on my way. His excellence shines through in his writings and his Christlike love in his approximation to this student with ever a helpful counsel. He encouraged me to engage in the Guarilhue project that resulted in the publishing of my paper in Wonsuk Ma’s edited book, *Good News to the Poor*.

Dr Andrew Kirk, much-beloved mission partner and theological consultant in the Latin American community during his days as a South American Missionary Society mission partner in Argentina and now expert advisor and shaper of my thesis. I could not have

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Dr Florrie Snow (widow of Dr Arturo Chacón) who kindly gave me access to documents pertaining to the Methodist church at the beginning of my studies.

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Dr Darrin Rodgers, Assembly of God Archives who gave me access to the Assembly of God church and missionary archives. He gave me a clearer understanding of the Radical Holiness Movement and of the Hoovers' most probable connections with Oak Park Methodist and Stone Pentecostal churches in Chicago.

Dr David Bundy, Methodist researcher and Associate Director for the Manchester Wesley Research Centre, who gave me a closer understanding of the Radical Holiness Movement and Hoover's participation. His knowledge of Chilean Methodism and Pentecostalism (gained from visits to Chile) proved extremely illuminating and confirmatory of many of my developing views.

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Our **OCMS community**, designed for on-the-field practitioners like me, who they turn into academics. Paul and Liz, Tom Harvey, always loving and able in leadership. My House Tutors, Bill Prevette, Marina Ngursangzeli and David Singh who give us the sense of being cared for. Paul Woods, Damon So, Guichun Jun, Tim Keene, and (newly arrived but so helpful) Sara Afshari, especially for those extra time and effort conversations, mails and special advice that made the difference. Ralph Bates, pub and library crawler and friend, Rachel and Elizabeth, are always helpful and cheery. There were many others with whom I did not enter much into closer contact but who were always loving and generous with their time and advice.

Techno-helpers. Where would we be if it were not for outstanding people who helped us with the technological side of computing and internet skills, sometimes in moments of absolute panic? Andrew Buck and Felipe and Claudine Estay (Chile) were three such God sent people.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND EDITORIAL NOTES

- AG – Assemblies of God
- ASR – Azusa Street Revival
- BHS – Baptism of the Spirit
- CTS – Chicago Christian Training School for City Home and Foreign Missions
- CMS – Christian and Missionary Alliance
- IME – Iglesia Metodista Episcopal
- IMP – Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal
- IEP – Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal
- MEC – Methodist Episcopal Church

Pentecostal Periodicals:

- ChEv* – *Chile Evangélico*, edited by Moran and Koppmann (1909-15)
- ChPent* – *Chile Pentecostal*, edited by Hoover from 1915 onwards
- FdeP* – *Fuego de Pentecostés*, edited by Hoover from 1928 onwards
- LREv* – The Latter Rain Evangel
- RHM – Radical Holiness Movement
- REEM – Russian East European Mission
- USA – United States of America

BIBLE VERSIONS

I will generally use the New International Version (NIV) 2011 version for all English quotes from the Bible. Unless otherwise stated, I will favour the *Reina Valera* (RV) 1960 version in Spanish.

Abbreviations of Biblical Books follow the Handbook of the Society of Biblical Literature (Collins 2014). OT for Old Testament and NT for New Testament quotes will be assumed.

SPELLING AND GRAMMAR

I will follow the Oxford English Dictionary for spelling and grammatical format. However, when I quote authors who use other formats, such as American spelling, I have maintained the exact text I am quoting. This will sometimes produce discrepancies with the rest of my text that is in the Oxford grammatical format.

I will normally place foreign words into italics except when referring to the very central and oft-mentioned names such as ‘Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal’ or Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal’.

GLOSSARY

‘Evangélicos’: The name given generally to all non-Catholic Christian churches.

‘Canutos’: A pejorative nickname given to public-preaching evangelical Christians (now mostly Pentecostal). The name comes from Juan Canut de Bon, a converted Jesuit priest.

Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal: The church that Hoover founded on the 25th of May in 1910 after the rupture with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Other Methodist churches in Santiago also joined the IMP.

Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal: The breakaway group that left IMP with Hoover in 1932 after the bitter rivalry and power-mongering that involved the leader of the IMP, Bishop Manuel Umaña.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 THE RESEARCH TOPIC

This thesis explores how Pastor Willis Hoover arrived at the experience and understanding of the Pentecostal Baptism of the Spirit and developed his ‘Methodist Pentecostal theology’ in the context of the Chilean Pentecostal revival of 1909. Further, the study will investigate how Methodist Pentecostal theology might contribute today, to the wider conversation on Baptism of the Holy Spirit (BHS)¹.

1.1.1 WILLIS AND MARY LOUISE HOOVER²

Willis Collins Hoover was born on the July 20, 1858 in Freeport, Illinois to parents David Hoover and Rebecca Kurt, and died on the May 26, 1936 in Valparaíso, Chile. He was a Methodist missionary who, together with his wife, Mary Louise Hilton, travelled with their Methodist Episcopal Mission to Chile in 1889. Mary Louise was born in 1864 and is known by many names: sometimes shortened to May Louise (as on her ordination certificate) or even May, Mary Louise, or ‘La Missy Hoover’³. I have chosen the name Mary Louise, her given name.

The couple were recruited by William Taylor, a noted pioneer missiologist in Africa, India and Chile, and promoter of renewed Second Blessing holiness revivalism

¹ Although the terms ‘Baptism with the Spirit’, ‘Baptism in the Spirit’, ‘Baptism of the Holy Spirit’ are used interchangeably in the reflections on the subject I choose the latter as it was the phrase Hoover used most, translating ‘*Bautismo del Espíritu Santo*’. I will usually, though not always (depending on the emphasis required in each context), refer to the Baptism of the Spirit as the BHS).

² For Willis Hoover’s full Curriculum Vitae see Appendix B.

³ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 178.

arising again in Europe and the USA at the end of the nineteenth century (further expounded in Chapters Two and Three⁴).

Hoover is recognised, almost universally, within and beyond Chile, as the main pastoral figure who initiated and led the 1909 Pentecostal revival for 34 27 years, from (19029 to 1936 (the dates include the seven years of seeking previous to the outbreak of the revival in 1909). David Bundy, Associate Director of the Manchester Wesleyan Research Centre⁵, sums up his impact:

In the midst of the events of 1909-1911 (and until his death in 1936) was the towering figure of Willis Collins Hoover. Hoover had gone to Chile as a missionary with the Holiness “Self-Supporting Mission of William Taylor.” This was a Wesleyan/Holiness mission enterprise that was later incorporated into the Methodist Episcopal Church under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Mission Board. After the revival broke out, Hoover was forced to leave the Methodist Episcopal Church. Then, influenced by the Chileans who had experienced Pentecostal Baptism of the Holy Spirit, and encouraged by his wife, Hoover accepted the call to pastor the fledgling Pentecostal church and to guide it in its new reality.⁶

His faithful wife, Mary Louise, was by his side until she was forced to return to Chicago in 1919 on account of ill health and remained there until her death from cancer in 1921.

Their movements as a missionary couple, and later, a family of four children, Helen, Rebecca, Ernest, and Paul (they lost their first child, Arthur at birth in Chile in 1892, two years after their arrival in Iquique) gave them interaction between the two cultures of revivalism that were gathering momentum in the United States of America (USA), Chicago, Azusa, and Chile, Valparaiso. They went on furloughs together in 1895 and 1904⁷. Later, Mary Louise, travelled without Willis and stayed between 1913-1915,

⁴ See Chapter Two (2.5.1) and Chapter Three (3.4).

⁵ The Manchester Wesley Research Centre is a partnership of institutions and a community of scholars working together to promote research in the Methodist, Wesleyan, Evangelical, Holiness, and Pentecostal traditions. It serves as a resource for students, scholars, and the church, particularly those at MWRC (from the website www.mwrc.ac.uk).

⁶ Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research. Review of Willis Collins Hoover’s *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* by Dr David Bundy, Associate Professor of Church History, Christian Theological Seminary. Cyber Journal 8, September 2000.

⁷ After 1910, they were no longer eligible for official furlough since they were no longer members of the IME mission. After that they travelled, self-financed.

when she took her children to school in Chicago. They journeyed to USA together in 1919 as with Mary Louise was afflicted with cancer. They remained there until 1921 when she died on the seventh of January. Willis obtained a passport and returned to Chile on October 14 of the same year, after a marriage proposal was turned down.⁸

1.1.2 THE CHILEAN PENTECOSTAL REVIVAL OF 1909

A study of Willis Hoover's theological development, therefore, correlates closely with an examination of the 1909 revival itself. In the forward to a centenary volume re-published by La Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal⁹ (IEP) in 2010, he is recognised in hagiographic rhetoric for the leader he was over the period between 1892 to 1936, during which he exercised his ministry in the Methodist church and later (1910 on) in the Pentecostal Church.

Almost half a century lasted the indefatigable work that this great pioneer, anointed of God, carried out on behalf of Chile. He was [motivated] by a great sense of liveliness, an undisputed moral equilibrium; conviction, testimony, and the glorious experience that Jesus Christ is the Lord and Saviour of all men.¹⁰

The Chilean Pentecostal revival has been situated historically at the beginning of what has been called the 'Century of the Holy Spirit'¹¹. The concept of 'revival'¹² (though

⁸ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 194.

⁹ Even though the names of churches are in Spanish I have chosen not to italicise them as I will be in much usage throughout the study.

¹⁰ Manuel Francisco González, *Historia Del Avivamiento, Origen y Desarrollo de La Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal*, 1st ed. (Santiago: Imprenta Ebenezer, 1978).

¹¹ Vinson Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit: A Hundred Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901-2001* (Nashville, USA: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2012).

¹² 'Revival' is not a word that is found in the OT, although derivatives of it are: 'revive', 'revived', 'revives', and so on. In the OT, it translates the Hebrew word הָיָא *hāyâ*. NIV occurrences: Ps. 80:18, 85:6; Is. 57:15; Ho. 6:2; Hab. 3:2, but other translations use similar or derived words up to 12 times (New Revised Standard Version) and even 16 times (Word English Bible). The Olive Tree Dictionary defines the Hebrew word: H2649 הָיָא *hāyâ* as: to live; recover, revive; [P] to keep alive, preserve life; [H] to keep alive, save a life, spare a life, restore a life:— live (90), lived (43), surely live (18 [+2649]), preserve life (11), spared (10), long live (9), keep alive (8), let live (7), recover (6), revive (5), certainly recover (4 [+2649]), save life (4), kept alive (3), leave alive (3), preserve (3), restored to life (3), allowed to live (2), bring back to. In the NT the only near references to the word or concept of 'revival' are in

biblically seldom named) may stem from Old Testament pictures of Israel's periodic spiritual rise and fall, and comes into ordinary parlance towards the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, when it began to signify a renewal of the state of the church through God's sovereign intervention. Several key revivals of different expression had been manifesting around the globe (the Welsh, 1904-05; the Korean 1903-07; India 1905)¹³. However, there exists controversy as to whether these would classify fully as 'Pentecostal' revivals *in toto*, despite sporadic Pentecostal manifestations, as their characteristics conformed more to Wesleyanism sanctification with an emphasis on Second Blessing. Some had begun applying the term 'Baptism of the Spirit' that Fletcher had originally used together with John Wesley to denote the experience¹⁴. However, mixed into this search for Christian perfection, there is evidence that Pentecostal phenomena, as part of a growing search for Baptism of the Spirit, were known as far back as the ministry of Edward Irving (1792–1834)¹⁵.

In the USA during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, American society experienced several 'Awakenings' during the years 1727, 1792, 1830, 1857 and 1882. These culminated in a period of Radical Holiness Methodist revivals with a Wesleyan concept towards the end of the century.¹⁶

Pentecostal historians would most probably maintain that it was at the dawn of the twentieth century that the definitive Rubicon was crossed, heralding and establishing

Acts 3:19,20 ἀνάψυξις, 'refresh', Rom. 12.1,2 ἀνακαίνωσις, 'renew', Eph. 5:1 ἐγείρω, awaken, 2 Tim 2:7 ἀναζωοποιέω, 'fan into life'.

¹³ See Allan Anderson's account outlined in Chapter Four (4.2).

¹⁴ See Chapter Three (3.3.1.1).

¹⁵ Edward Irving was a Scottish clergyman who founded the Catholic Apostolic Church in 1831 by gathering members excluded from other churches on account of the exercise of spiritual gifts. See Nyika, Felix Chimera (2008). *Restore the Primitive Church Once More: A Survey of Post Reformation Christian Restorationism*. Kachere Series, 14.

¹⁶ See Chapter Three (3.5.1; 3.5.2).

what are usually known as the ‘Pentecostal revivals’. These were characterised by the Baptism of the Spirit with spiritual gifts evidencing the reception of Acts of the Apostles empowerment for mission. In 1900 it was registered that Agnes Osman spoke in tongues on New Year’s Eve at Parham Bible Institute.¹⁷ Their origin is often associated with the Azusa Street Revival (ASR) in Los Angeles, California, from 1906 on, under William Seymour.¹⁸

1.1.3 THE PENTECOSTAL TRIANGLE OF REVIVAL

From Mukti, North India (1905), Azusa, California USA (1906), and Valparaiso, Chile (1909), there emerged a Pentecostal Triangle of three more or less concurrent and autochthonous revival movements. Allan Anderson has related the extraordinary spread of Pentecostalism in the early part of the twentieth century in his classic book *Spreading Fires*¹⁹. These Pentecostal movements were characterised by what became known as ‘the Baptism of the Spirit’ as understood in the Book of Acts, with signs following, including tongues, prophecy, miracles, healing and other supernatural manifestations. Although they quickly influenced other world centres for revival, such as Thomas Barratt’s Norwegian revival (later to be a significant influence in Europe and on Hoover)²⁰, these three points of the Triangle were mainly indigenous, *sparked off by their own seeking after the BHS*. They caught flame within their own nations and cultures in diverse ways with little outside stimulus. Anderson gives a well-researched picture of the many revivals that had sprung up before Azusa in his study of Pandita Ramabai, giving greater

¹⁷ See Chapter Four (4.4; 4.5).

¹⁸ See Chapter Four (4.3).

¹⁹ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 1st Edition (New York: Orbis, 2007).

²⁰ See Chapter Three (3.5.1).

importance to the Mukti revival, both for its precedence to Azusa as also for its far-reaching influence, including in Chile.²¹

According to Allan Anderson, the even lesser-known Chilean Pentecostal revival, was, ‘especially successful’ in mission to indigenous people and ‘among the first churches in the Majority World in the 20th Century to flourish without the assistance from Western agencies’²².

The Taylorian principles of self-supporting and self-propagating churches were aided by their geographic isolation as well as from mission agency policy²³. Interestingly, the same principles were being developed in the China Inland Mission under Hudson Taylor and later Dixon Edward Hoste, and would prepare the Chinese church for the entire exodus of missionary personnel by 1950.

Shut away between the Andes and the Pacific, literally, the ‘uttermost part of the earth’ from Jerusalem (Acts 1:8), Chile’s relative geographic isolation makes it a ‘Pentecostal Galapagos’²⁴ for study. Although we will explore some influences in Chapter Three²⁵ that may have sparked it off, the movement spread rapidly beyond its borders, in large measure on account of its *sui generis* development. Luis Orellana²⁶ has written of the Chilean revival:

²¹ Allan Anderson, ‘Pandita Ramabai, the Mukti Revival and Global Pentecostalism’, *Transformation* 23/1, January, 2006.

²² Allan Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 67.

²³ See Chapter Three (3.4).

²⁴ The isolated Galapagos Islands became central to Charles Darwin’s studies in evolutionary bio development. He spent 5 weeks there and his observations can be read in the book *The Galápagos Islands: Galápagos archipelago; Tahiti*, UK, Penguin Publishers, 1995.

²⁵ See Chapter Three (Taylor 3.4, Mukti 3.6).

²⁶ Dr Luis Orellana Urtubia, one of Chile’s major authorities on Pentecostalism, is the founding Director of the Centro Evangélico de Estudios Pentecostales (CEEP) and a member of the Red Latinoamericana de Estudios Pentecostales (RELEP). He studied at the *Comunidad Teológica de Chile* and obtained his degree in Theology at the *Universidad Bíblica Latino Americana*. He teaches History of the Church at CEEP. He will be a major consultant to me as one of my supervisors.

The impact created by the [Chilean] Pentecostal movement in its almost 100 years of trajectory in society, has undoubtedly modified substantially the religious map of Chile of the 20th century, generating the interest of researchers of religion, to discover in detail, its development, considered the oldest [first and original] one of the continent.²⁷

This impact is also my focus of interest, how it was sparked off by the BHS and how such a study might contribute today to Pentecostal theology.

1.2 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

My Research Question follows up this interest:

What contribution to contemporary Pentecostal theology could be derived from a study of Willis Hoover's experience and understanding of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, in the context of the Chilean Methodist Pentecostal revival?

Three related **Sub-questions** support the thesis question:

1. What influences led the Hoovers to experience the BHS in 1909?
2. In the light of doubts regarding the authenticity of his Pentecostalism, how did Willis Hoover's Methodist Pentecostal theology finally formulate around BHS in a Methodist revival context?
3. What could Hoover's experience and understanding of BHS contribute to the wider conversation and controversies associated with Spirit baptism in contemporary Pentecostal theology?

²⁷ Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006), 11.

1.3 CLASSIC PENTECOSTAL ‘BAPTISM OF THE HOLY SPIRIT’

Millions of Pentecostals will testify to an experience of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Here, a testimony by William Durham²⁸:

I was overcome by the mighty fulness of power and went down under it. For three hours He wrought wonderfully in me. My body was worked in sections, a section at a time. And even the skin on my face was jerked and shaken, and finally I felt my lower jaw begin to quiver in a strange way. This continued for some little time when finally, my throat began to enlarge and I felt my vocal organs being, as it were, drawn into a different shape. O how strange and wonderful it was, and how blessed it was to be thus in the hands of God! And last of all I felt my tongue begin to move and my lips to produce strange sounds which did not originate in my mind.²⁹

Better known is Charles Finney’s experience related in his books and pamphlets:

I received a mighty baptism of the Holy Spirit. Without any expectation of it, without ever having the word in my mind, that there was any such thing for me, without any recollection that I had ever heard the thing mentioned by any person in the world, the Holy Spirit descended upon me in a manner that seemed to go through me, body, and soul. I could feel the impression, like a wave of electricity, no words can express the wonderful love that was shared abroad in my heart. I wept allowed with joy and love.³⁰

This classic ‘Pentecostal baptism’ and many other descriptions like it cause many to seek the *experience* of Baptism of the Spirit.

It would be wrong, of course, to universalise the experience of BHS around one or two such descriptions. However, the BHS is usually associated with an emotional and spiritual crisis immersion in the Holy Spirit’s presence and power.

Much as it is a desirable and fruitful experience according to Pentecostal testimony, nevertheless, I became aware of the theological difficulties that emerge with the doctrine (if not with the *experiences*) of a second or subsequential blessing as an expected Christian norm. Indeed, when invited occasionally to speak at Pentecostal gatherings and I challenge my audiences to openly signal whether they have been ‘baptised in the Spirit’ or ‘spoken in tongues’ or not, I am surprised at how often less than half the congregation raises a hand. At times, after biblical teaching and prayer ministry,

²⁸ William Durham was one of the early leaders of the Pentecostal movement, a pastor from Chicago who visited the Azusa Street Revival and helped spread Pentecostalism throughout the USA.

²⁹ Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003, 1.

³⁰ Charles Finney, *Autobiography of Charles G. Finney: Memoirs of Revivals of Religion*, USA, Create Space, 2014.

despite my outsider status as an Anglican minister, many of them *do* receive further blessings in the Spirit of empowerment and gifts including tongues!

This phenomenon further incited me to discover whether Hoover's initial theology was remembered and understood and to what extent it continues to influence today's churches. By first tracing Hoover's theological development and exploring his teachings critically, enlisting, furthermore, the help of Bernardo Campo's Principle of Pentecostality, I intend to show how some of these difficulties, particularly that of subsequentialism, can be overcome.

1.4 MY POSITIONALITY

A clarification of my own positionality and motivation for the research would be in order here.

Close association with the Pentecostal churches in Chile began in 2019¹⁰ when I was named Evangelical Chaplain in the *Palacio de La Moneda*³¹ (2010-2013)³², and later Protocol Representative (2020-2022), by Chilean President Piñera. As I interacted in the planning before and after the large concentrations of Pastoral meetings in the Palace, I became interested in the apparently 'non-theological' Pentecostal movements that came through *La Moneda* Chapel. Their characteristically fiery preaching was not launched from a systematically expounded theological platform. They often declared that they 'did not believe in theology', that their 'seminary was the streets'. They seemed to be expressing their suspicion of the kind of theological structures that rendered 'sleeping' or even 'dead', the Catholic, Orthodox, and traditional Protestant churches.

³¹ Chile's Presidential Palace and scene for large gatherings of evangelical meetings especially during October, the Month of the Reformation.

³² Alfred Cooper, *Inside the Palacio* (UK: Amperative Publishers, 2022).

This exposure, particularly with relation to what I call ‘the gem’, their constant reference to the ‘Baptism of the Holy Spirit’, which they declared was the reason for their manifest *dunamis*³³, love for God and fruitfulness in mission, captured my interest. What was the foundation of their understanding and how far could it be traced back to the revival of 1909 and Hoover’s theology?

Then, too, I personally have a question for which I have often sought answers from Pentecostal theological thinking: ‘*When was I baptised in the Holy Spirit?*’. As I read Hoover and related evaluations of his theology, I began to look specifically to him and to Chilean Methodist Pentecostalism for the answer which I hope to unearth and elaborate in this thesis.

As a Christian I became clearly aware that the Holy Spirit had entered my life, had shown me who Jesus is and later led me through Baptist, Methodist, Pentecostal, and finally Anglican churches. This journey, in consecutive moments and manners, transformed my beliefs, my ethics, my thinking, my world vision by his invisible, mysterious but powerful working in me. At every stage I had to repent, turn, renounce old ways and surrender, take on, put on the new ways of Christ.

At successive steps along this walk with the living God, I was ‘re-baptised’ by immersion, and from the Holy Spirit, received various visitations, empowerments, gifting, tongues, miracles, prophecies, healings, though I am unable to identify particularly, any one of these experiences as emblematic Baptism in the Holy Spirit that Pentecostals would espouse. Fire, baptisms, blessed anointing, fullness and so many of the glorious Pentecostal experiences that I could recognise as I fraternised with Pentecostal brethren, had become mine as well. I shared fellowship in ‘pneumatic’³⁴

³³ *Dunamis*, the Greek word for ‘power’ as promised to the church by Jesus in Acts 1:8 to effect world mission.

³⁴ I will sometimes use this term to refer to churches that are beyond merely ‘charismatic’ in experience and manifest a sense of relational Holy Spirit Pentecostality in their lifestyles.

churches over the next two years after my conversion. Pentecostal, charismatic or neo-charismatic in nature, they all assured me that I was, indeed, baptised in the Holy Spirit.

1.5 HOOVER'S THEOLOGY

1.5.1 HOOVER'S 'REAL SECRET', THE BAPTISM OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

Hoover became convinced that Baptism of the Holy Spirit, as experienced in the Acts of the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, resulted in a renewed *knowledge and relationship* with the person of the Holy Spirit that would bring the church to the place Acts of the Apostles had always testified to as normative. He believed that this was the prime cause and sustaining motor of the 1909 Pentecostal revival he oversaw and administered in Chile over the period of 1909 to the year of his death in 1936. In a serialised version of his book³⁵ in the periodical *Chile Pentecostal*, published in 1926 (and subsequently in five editions), he speaks of 'the secret' behind the revival in these *relational* terms about the Holy Spirit:

I believe the real secret of all this is that now we really and truly believe in the Holy Spirit - we truly trust him - we truly *know*³⁶ him - we truly obey him - we truly give him liberty (italics mine). We believe truly that the promise in Acts 1:4 and Joel 2:28,29 is for us. We have ceased to merely believe and speak of the doctrine while continuing on without hope in our usual routine. Thus, now we believe, wait and pray and He has done these things before our eyes. Blessed be his name.³⁷

³⁵ Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006), 12. This book was first serialised in the *Chile Pentecostal* and *Fuego de Pentecostés* periodicals during the years 1926 and 1930, and later published as a book in 1931.

³⁶ Mario G. Hoover's (see footnote 4) translates his grandfather Willis' original Spanish '*reconocemos*' as 'recognise'. However, I have chosen 'know' as the Spanish is thus better represented: the meaning is more like 'we now know and recognise him'.

³⁷ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000, 33. Though North American, Hoover wrote his book in Spanish. Mario Hoover, his grandson, produced his excellent and very useful English translation (especially to English researchers). I will therefore use his translated version for most of my quotes of Willis Hoover's book as also of several of the other important documents he cites and I use as primary sources. In order to maintain a sense of historicity and chronological understanding for the reader, I will also cite, where pertinent, the *original reference* and dating of these documents that Mario Hoover quotes (as they would otherwise be obscured by the one date of Mario's book edition). Where I cite Spanish documents additional to Mario

The ‘real secret’, for him, was the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, fervently sought after over the years 1902-1909, observed and studied in testimonials and letters from other parts of the world, particularly from the Mukti, India revival and Stone Pentecostal Church, Chicago³⁸. It was eventually received and prioritised as an *experience of the Holy Spirit’s empowering* between January and June of 1909. It was seldom theologised systematically. It was, rather, *lived out* in missional experience. As Bernardo Campos³⁹, one of Perú’s more influential Pentecostal theologians (and with whom we will converse more fully in Chapters Six and Seven) will validate, *Pentecostal theology grows out of Pentecostal, relational experience of God*:

Pentecostal theologising emanates from an experience of God, a primarily relational knowledge of Him through the Holy Spirit’s agency, teaching and guidance. So, what we are here referring to is a theology birthed in our experience of Jesus Christ, with the word of God. Our experience of Jesus, the Christ, is the basis for our theological reflection. Our experience of faith founded in the word of God, is the basis for our understanding of theology.’⁴⁰

The challenges facing the formulation of Pentecostal theology will be explored more substantially in Chapters Three, Four and Five. Juan Sepúlveda, himself one of Chile’s foremost Pentecostal theologians refers to the tension between Pentecostal experience and doctrinal ‘formalisation’:

Hoover’s translation I will transcribe these from their original Spanish myself and reference them according to protocol.

³⁸ See Chapter Two (2.3; 2.3.1; 2.3.2).

³⁹ Dr Bernardo Campos is a Peruvian, Pentecostal Pastor and Theologian since 1975. He obtained his Bachelor’s degree in Theology, in the Evangelical Seminary of Lima. His further studies were conducted in Buenos Aires in ISEDET (1989) and a Master’s in Science of Religion at San Marcos National University in 1998. He obtained his doctorate in 2008 at Rhema University, USA. He has been and is Professor of Contemporary Theology, Religious Sciences, History of Dogma, Missiology and Ministries at the Peruvian Evangelical Seminary (Presbyterian), The Wesleyan Seminary of Peru (Methodist), The Alliance Bible Seminary of Peru (AC & MP), and more recently in the Davar School of the Church, The Tabernacle of God. He has authored over 10 books the most important of which are *El Principio Pentecostal* and *Experiencias del Espíritu* quoted in this thesis.

⁴⁰ Bernardo Campos, *Experiencia Del Espíritu*, CLAI, 2002, 124.

The attempts to formalize⁴¹ the Pentecostal experience doctrinally, which have been made since the very beginnings of the North American ‘Holiness Movement’ (by establishing stages of action of the Spirit, and categorizing the forms of its expression, etc.), run the great risk of forgetting, and thereby mutilating, what is essential, viz. the primacy of experience over doctrine, and of relationship over belief; in other words, the freedom of the Spirit, who does not permit himself to be confined by doctrinal categories which are in the end rational.⁴²

I seek to contribute through this study a more systematised formulation of Hoover’s theology that does not ‘mutilate’ the Pentecostal experience.

1.5.2 THE ‘GEM’

I compare the academic study of Hoover’s understanding and experience of the BHS to a ‘gem’⁴³ falling into a pond of water and creating a series of ripples. It could be said that academic research has primarily majored on the *ripples* of social rehabilitation, marital and family restoration, economic flourishing⁴⁴, community building⁴⁵, educational and social mobility⁴⁶, massified communicational expression and, lately, incursions into the nation's political mainstream.

Hoover believed, I will maintain, that these ‘ripples’ originated *in* and were *caused by* the initial falling of the gem into the waters ... and yet the doctrine of the

⁴¹ See the note on discrepancies of spelling and grammar when quoting texts that follow an American format (page xvii).

⁴² Juan Sepúlveda, ‘Reflections on the Pentecostal Contribution to the Mission of the Church in Latin America.’, *Journal of Pentecostal Theology (JPT)*. 1992, 92–108.

⁴³ I borrow from Ricoeur’s concept of ‘living metaphor’ as a ‘stimulus to thinking’ Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-Disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language* (London: Routledge, 1978). I will prefer the analogy of a gem to that of a pebble, referring, as I am, to the multifaceted work of the Holy Spirit. I will not capitalise the word Gem but will sometimes draw attention to it with inverted commas, ‘gem’.

⁴⁴ Christian D’Epinay, *Lalive, Haven of the Masses - a Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile*, 1st edition (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969).

⁴⁵ Miguel Ángel Mansilla, Sandra Leiva, and Muñoz, Wilson, ‘Pospentecostalismo: Del Fundacionalismo al Postfundacionalismo Pentecostal Chileno’, *Cinta Moebio* 59: 172-185 Doi: 10.4067/S0717-554X2017000200172, 2018, 172–85.

⁴⁶ See my chapter ‘Pentecost in Guarilhue’ in Wonsuk Ma, Opoku Onyinah, and Rebekah Bled, published in *Good News to the Poor - Spirit Empowered Responses to Poverty* (Tulsa, USA: Oru Press, 2022).

Baptism of the Spirit and its application, some maintain, have been largely forgotten or side-lined in today's Chilean theological reflection⁴⁷.

While these studies are extremely useful expositions of the effects of revival, they are not germinal in that they largely ignore the origin of the revival itself as Hoover understood it in terms of the 'real secret', the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and ensuing power for mission. Having secured the gem for himself and his followers, how did he maintain the conviction and courage to promote and give away the blessing to others in effective transmission? Building on Sepúlveda, I will examine whether part of his success may have been due to the way he became less rigid, more pastoral, in the way the BHS was received and more biblical in seeking the varied manifestation of the Spirit in a relationship with him⁴⁸.

Did Hoover ever expound systematically this 'gem', this 'real secret' and his transition theologically? Not exactly. However, his explanation in 1929 at the end of the first edition of his serialised book⁴⁹ (his story was first carried in the Pentecostal periodicals *Chile Pentecostal* and *Fuego de Pentecostés*⁵⁰ which he edited between 1915 and 1928, and then to 1936, respectively) on why their church had been renamed, 'La Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal' (the first consolidated Chilean Pentecostal Church) after the 1910 split with their mother Iglesia Metodista Episcopal, reveals that he was, at least, conscious of their theological shift:

⁴⁷ See Chapter Seven (7.3), the Conversation between Campos, Macchia, Hoover and myself, particularly Macchia's intervention on page 257.

⁴⁸ See Chapter Five and Six (5.5; 5.6.2; 6.3).

⁴⁹ Hoover, Willis, *Historia del Avivamiento Pentecostal en Chile*, 5th Edition, Centro Evangélico de Estudios Pentecostales (CEEP), ed Ediciones, 2000, 91–92.

⁵⁰ Mario Hoover refers to this serialised version of the book he would one day translate: 'I was aware that every month the book-format columns appeared on the back page of the official magazine [*Chile Evangélico*], although I didn't read it. I was too young to be interested. After the serialisation ended, in 1930 the story was published in book form.'

It is called 'Methodist' because: it had its origins in the Methodist Episcopal church where the Word of God was preached (then) with more fervour. Its practices were infused with the teachings of John Wesley the founder of Methodism.

It is called 'Pentecostal' because: it believes the happenings on the day of Pentecost were the inauguration by the Holy Spirit of the church Christ wanted, permanently, until his return in person. It believes that the book of Acts of the Apostles does not represent the end of the workings of the Holy Spirit in the church, but rather establishes the norm set up by Christ by which the church ought to be guided in fulfilling its great mission on earth. GO INTO ALL THE WORLD AND PREACH THE GOSPEL TO EVERY CREATURE, LO I AM WITH YOU ALWAYS, TO THE END OF THE WORLD. All the evangelists confirm this belief: St. John 14:16-31, 15:26, 27; 16:7-24. St. Luke 24:47-49, St. Mark 16:15-20. St. Matthew 28:18-20, Acts 1:8.⁵¹

This description will form a foundational springboard to which I will return at times to help us trace this development and arrive (as far as possible) at an eventual theological corpus.

Hoover's theological shift has been noted and studied previously (Sepúlveda⁵², Lalive⁵³, Bullón⁵⁴) but never expounded in a more systematic theological format. There is, in this, an important contribution to make: that of clarifying an area of knowledge that could help educate the coming generations. However, the justification for focusing more carefully on Hoover's theological development, for me, also lies in at least five other directions.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

1.6.1 THE CONTINUED STUDY OF THE CHILEAN MOVEMENT

That something remarkable occurred in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Valparaíso in 1909 with lasting missional effects in Chile over the 30 years following, is now accepted

⁵¹ Mario G. Hoover, 119.

⁵² Juan Sepúlveda, *The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective in 'Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities'*, (New York: Néstor Medina and Sammy Alfaro, 2014).

⁵³ D'Epinay, Lalive, *Haven of the Masses - a Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile*.

⁵⁴ Dorothy Bullón, *Hacia Una Teología de Avivamiento*, Editorial CLIE (Barcelona, 1998).

and has been amply documented and analysed⁵⁵. According to Luis Orellana, this was ‘the first autonomous Pentecostal movement in Latin America’⁵⁶, and became impossible to ignore simply because the revival grew in numbers and social influence to such a degree⁵⁷ (see below the growth statistics), that it warrants continuing study. Chilean Pentecostalism is part of a broader phenomenon, of course, from which the universal church, I maintain, can learn much. David Stoll’s book (and question) *Is Latin America turning Protestant?*⁵⁸, explores what had become an observable sociological and historical reality by 1991: ‘The fastest growing church movement in Latin America over the last 50 years of the twentieth century was Pentecostalism. The International Board of Mission estimates that the Pentecostal population in Latin America, by the year 2025, will have swelled to 680 million.’⁵⁹

In 2020 (after which it is difficult to find reliable figures) the third edition of the World Christian Encyclopaedia counts 644 million Pentecostals/Charismatics worldwide and 19.300 denominations and fellowships. Paul Freston confirmed this observation in 2008 in his book *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Latin America*⁶⁰:

According to 2006 figures from the World Christian Database, Pentecostals and Charismatics now represent around 30 percent, or around 150 million, of the Latin American population of 360 million people, whereas they represented only 4 percent in

⁵⁵ Walter Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 1972). *Pentecostalismo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Aurora, 1976). Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 1st Edition (New York: Orbis, 2007). John Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Perú and Chile* (Goes, The Netherlands: Oosterbaan & Le Contre N.V.) 1967.

⁵⁶ Luis Orellana Urtubia, ‘La Matriz Religiosa del Pentecostalismo en Chile: La Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile y La Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal (1909-1973)’, 1.

⁵⁷ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*.

⁵⁸ David Stoll, 1991. *Is Latin America turning Protestant?* UCC Press, California.

⁵⁹ Research Gate Christianity 2016: Latin America and Projecting Religions to 2050, January 2016, International Bulletin of Mission Research 40 (1):22-29.

⁶⁰ Paul Freston, 2008. *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

1970... the conclusion that evangelicalism has become the dominant form of Christian practice in the global south is inescapable.’⁶¹

Similarly, Miguel Alvarez in his book *Integral Mission*, a study of Latin American *Mission Dei* of Pentecostal churches, builds the challenge of his book on their very significant growth rate, that they should engage more thoroughly in the political and social aspects hitherto neglected⁶². To study Pentecostalism in Latin America today, therefore, is to seek to understand one of the main forces affecting Latin culture and society.

The Pentecostal revival that broke out in Chile in 1909 was the first to show signs of this unprecedented growth in Latin America. Anderson comments: ‘Many of the first Pentecostals in Latin America were Chileans, and in the early years, this was the most successful of the different Pentecostal nations in the continent.’⁶³

Various National Census readings give percentages for the population of Protestants/Evangélicos: in 1920 at 1,45%⁶⁴, at 5,6% in 1960⁶⁵, later 15,14% in 2002, reaching 16,62% in 2012⁶⁶, out of a national population of 17.574.003 Chileans, 2.145.092 called themselves *evangélicos*⁶⁷. The *evangélicos* have been the object of much study over the last 60 years, from anthropological (Moulian⁶⁸), historical (Luis

⁶¹ Paul Freston, 2008. Preface, p.xi.

⁶² Miguel Alvarez, 2016. *Integral Mission*. Regnum, Oxford.

⁶³ Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 201.

⁶⁴ Dirección de Estadística y Censos, 30 junio, 1920.

⁶⁵ Empadronamiento de 1960.

⁶⁶ Censo Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2012, 2017.

⁶⁷ Though the term ‘*Evangélicos*’ refers to all non-Catholic Christians in Chile, a majority of these, calculated by national census at over 80% are Pentecostals.

⁶⁸ Rodrigo Moulian, 2017. *El Sello del Espíritu derramado sobre la Carne*. Ediciones Kultrun, Valdivia, Chile.

Orellana⁶⁹) and sociological (Fediakova⁷⁰) viewpoints. These studies have majored mostly on the effects of the movement on Chilean underclasses, the social effects of Pentecostal mission to the poorest and most marginalised and their gradual rise to cultural and political influence over the last century. They are mainly historical and anthropological studies that look at Pentecostal characteristics from political, work culture, gender conception, organisational, and religious identity viewpoints (Lalive⁷¹, Lagos⁷², Chacón and Lagos⁷³, Galilea⁷⁴, Van Kessel⁷⁵).

I add my own conclusions⁷⁶ on the effects of Pentecostalism in a study on Guarilhue portraying how the Pentecostal Gospel spread to and affected an entire town, drawing almost the entire population to the enormous Evangélica Pentecostal '*templo*'⁷⁷, built to the size of Solomon's Temple. Similar testimonies to the ones we will hear of from Valparaíso in 1909 (Chapters Two to Five) were the cause of the growth and of the social upward mobility. My study⁷⁸, using Max Weber's theories of social influence,

⁶⁹ Luis Orellana, 2006. *El Fuego y la Nieve*. CEEP Ediciones, Santiago.

⁷⁰ Eugenia Fediakova, 2004. *Somos Parte de esta Sociedad. Evangélicos y política en el Chile post autoritario*. En los sectores populares y lo político: acción colectiva, políticas públicas y comportamiento electoral de Revista Política, volume 43, Primavera, Santiago, Chile.

⁷¹ Christian Lalive Dépinay, *El Refugio de la Masas* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacifico, 1966).

⁷² Humberto Lagos, *Crisis de la Esperanza. Religión y Autoritarismo en Chile*, (Santiago: Editorial Presor, 1988).

⁷³ Arturo Chacón, Humberto Lagos, 1987. *La religión en las fuerzas Armadas y de Orden*. Edición Rehue, Presor., Santiago de Chile.

⁷⁴ Carmen Galilea, *Sectas Modernas y El Contexto Socio-Religioso en Chile*. (Santiago. Chile: Centro Bellarmino, 1988).

⁷⁵ Juan, Van Kessel, *Holocausto al Progreso. Los Aymaras de Tarapacá* (Lima. Perú: Editorial Hisbol, 1992).

⁷⁶ 'The Guarilhue Project', See Wonsuk Ma, Opoku Onyinah, and Rebekah Bled, *Good News to the Poor - Spirit Empowered Responses to Poverty* (Tulsa, USA: Oru Press, 2022).

⁷⁷ Although purists object to the use of the word 'temple' to refer to church buildings, it has become standard usage in Chile for most evangelical denominations.

⁷⁸ Wonsuk Ma, Opoku Onyinah, and Rebekah Bled, *Good News to the Poor - Spirit Empowered Responses to Poverty*, 2022.

portrays, I think, a realistic picture of how the Pentecostal community can prosper today, in a fairly isolated context, after almost a century of growth.

1.6.2 THE TASK OF SYSTEMATISING HOOVER'S THEOLOGY

In the words of Miguel Ángel Mansilla 'there are no existing investigations of the Chilean Pentecostals from theoretic or epistemological analyses'⁷⁹. In his abstract for the same paper, he adds:

During the forty years of socio-anthropological research of Chilean Pentecostalism the study has been addressed under three main theoretical models that can be characterised as apocalyptic, culturalist and secularization theories. These theoretical models have looked at Pentecostalism, both positively and negatively, as a religious group that is transformational of individuals and society. However, we notice a clear decline in research of Pentecostalism especially since 1990, and stagnating after 2000.⁸⁰

One of the reasons he puts forward is that most investigative initiatives applied to Pentecostalism are either from the structural-functionalist viewpoint, or from theoretical references linked to Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim, Max Weber and Sigmund Freud, but not theological.

This was a task, then, became clearly necessary to me, a gap in the research worked up until the present that could be further filled with a more detailed enquiry and analysis aiming at a more complete corpus of Hoover's theology. Juan Sepúlveda, who has himself researched this area, agrees with Christian Lalive on the 'poverty of Pentecostal theology'.

From this perspective, the supposed theological poverty of Chilean Pentecostalism is explained by its youth (less than 100 years of existence), its scant institutionalization, and the way it thrives in social sectors with no access to higher education. But d'Epinay seems to point to something deeper: Pentecostalism is founded more on the subjective experience of God than on God's objective revelation. Pentecostalism presents itself as a movement originating in the experience of God, not a church structure concerned with the objective revelation of Christian dogma. For a Protestantism influenced by

⁷⁹ Miguel Ángel Mansilla, 'Pentecostalism and Social Sciences: Reflection concerning Research on Chilean Pentecostalism (1968-2008)', *Revista Cultura y Religión*, 2009.

⁸⁰ Miguel Ángel Mansilla, 'Pentecostalismo and Social Sciences: Reflection concerning Research on Chilean Pentecostalism (1968-2008)', 2009.

dialectical theology (Barth), with its emphasis on the radical discontinuity between divine revelation and human experience, it is difficult to see an acceptable theology issuing from Chilean Pentecostalism.⁸¹

Walter Hollenweger also notes provocatively in a commentary on the Chilean Pentecostal revival that there is little hope in trying to formulate a Pentecostal theology in the traditional way. The need is for a new ‘narrative’ form of universal theologising:

It seems to me that there are two ways ahead. Either they [Pentecostals] learn our language, or we learn theirs. The first one has been tried for over 100 years. We call it theological education, but in fact it is a process of epistemological brainwashing and cultural imperialism... we should try the second way. It is here, that efforts to develop a ‘*narrative theology*’ becomes academically necessary (*italics mine*). Theology should either become universal and intercultural or it does not merit the title of an academic discipline.⁸²

So, any attempt at ‘theologising’ Pentecostalism faces significant challenges of a diversity of concepts and languages, stemming from the roots of Pentecostal experience. For an in-depth study of these cultural origins of Pentecostalism, see Hollenweger’s illuminating analysis of the roots of Pentecostalism in Azusa out of the Afro-American culture⁸³.

I believe, however, that following scholars like Bernardo Campos and Frank Macchia⁸⁴ we *can* attempt to construct a theology that arises from the ‘narrative’ and testimonial of Pentecostal experience.

⁸¹ Juan Sepúlveda, Dennis Smith, and B.F. Gutierrez, ‘Chapter 2: Theological Characteristics of an Indigenous Pentecostalism: Chile’, in *In the Power of the Spirit* (PC (USA)WMD AIPRAL/CELEP, 1996), 49–61.

⁸² Walter Hollenweger ‘Methodsims's past in Pentecostalism's present’, *Methodist History* 20,7 (1982) 169-182.

⁸³ Walter Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 1972).

⁸⁴ See Chapters Six and Seven where an in-depth study of this proposal will be covered.

As mentioned above, this Chilean revival has been much studied and categorised through multiple anthropological⁸⁵, religious⁸⁶, gender⁸⁷, political⁸⁸, historical⁸⁹, psychological⁹⁰ analyses of what has been increasingly labelled as ‘progressive Pentecostalism’⁹¹. My endeavour will seek to fill the need for a closer examination and analysis of Hoover’s ‘gem’ and ‘real secret’, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, in his historical context and his understanding.

1.6.3 EXAMINING THE ISSUE OF ‘SUBSEQUENTIALISM’

I will also examine more closely the Pentecostal emphasis on ‘subsequentialism’ (also referred to as ‘the doctrine of subsequence’) and seek answers to resolving the theological conflicts and divisions it provokes. By ‘subsequentialism’ I refer to the term that is attributed by Pentecostals and Pentecostal pneumatology (the theology of the Holy Spirit) to experiences from the Holy Spirit, *subsequent* to conversion or regeneration. The term has been used to refer to experiences related to holiness or ‘Second Blessing’ or Pentecostal ‘Baptism of the Spirit’. Hoover clearly sought a subsequential experience of

⁸⁵ Luis Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*.

⁸⁶ Ignacio Vergara, *El protestantismo en Chile* (Editorial del Pacífico, 1962).

⁸⁷ Miguel Ángel Mansilla et al., ‘El Drama de Una Fundadora. Exclusión y Omisión de Una Líder Del Movimiento Pentecostal Chileno (1909-1910): Elena Laidlaw. The Drama of a Founder. Exclusion and Omission of a Leader of the Chilean Pentecostal Movement (1909-1910): Elena Laidlaw Septiembre’, *Memoria y Sociedad* 22, n.º 44 (2018): 102-117. <https://doi.org/10.11144/Jave-Riana.Mys22-44.Moem>, 2018, 102–17.

⁸⁸ Eugenia Fediakova, *Evangélicos, Política y Sociedad en Chile: Dejando ‘El Refugio de las Masas’ 1990-2010*. (Concepción, Chile: CEEP, 2013).

⁸⁹ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Perú and Chile*.

⁹⁰ Elizabeth Salazar, “‘Silver and Gold Have I None’: Healing and Restoration in Pentecostalism”, *Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series*, Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series, Volume 20 (2014): 124–38.

⁹¹ Donald Miller, and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism The New Face of Christian Social Engagement*. (University of California Press, 2007).

the Holy Spirit Baptism⁹² and believed it to be central to the revival he saw birthed in 1909 in line with most Pentecostal thinking of the time. I hope to analyse this long-standing issue critically and resolve it, borrowing from Hoover's understanding and teaching that grew out of the 1909 revival⁹³.

1.6.4 THE EXPLORATION OF 'THE PRINCIPLE OF PENTECOSTALITY'⁹⁴

The principle of Pentecostality, a term Sepúlveda and particularly, Campos, have brought to the Latin American theological table, helps us understand Hoover from a new perspective. As he developed, what seems to me, a soundly biblical expression for the BHS, Hoover may well have taken the concept on board without ever consciously theologising it. This principle with application to Hoover comprises a wider and more generous understanding of BHS. Could this principle, applied to Hoover, help us understand his management of the movement *pastorally* and *missiologically* with the resulting unity and *unhampered freedom* that facilitated its growth?

1.6.5 EXAMINING HOOVER'S CONTRIBUTION TO TODAY'S DISCUSSION AMONG CHILEAN PENTECOSTALS

As I seek to identify and expound more clearly Hoover's Methodist Pentecostal theology, a further and vital question emerges as to how much his theology continues to exert influence today in Chile's Pentecostal churches and what his Methodist Pentecostalism contributes to the wider theological questions relating to BHS today.

⁹² See Chapter Two (2.4).

⁹³ The subject appears throughout the thesis as a 'problem' and is resolved in Chapters Six (6.2) and Seven in the Conversation (7.3).

⁹⁴ Bernardo Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad* (Salem, Oregon: Kergma Publications, 2016).

The churches he founded in 1910 have proliferated by multiplication (planned missional extension) and also, less ideally, by division. An article in Chile's leading newspaper, *El Mercurio*, in 2017 registered over 3.200 Evangelical denominations in Chile⁹⁵. Despite this undeniable numerical and territorial growth, some leading Pentecostal theologians like Luis Orellana and Miguel Angel Mansilla warn that not all is right with the Pentecostal churches. In their recent book *Pensando el Pentecostalismo*⁹⁶ ('Thinking through Pentecostalism'), they explore how Pentecostalism has been increasingly rejected and scorned on social media (they coin the phrase '*pentecostophobia*') due, on the one hand to the 'devastating increase of secularisation' pervading Latin American countries and cultures, but also on account of unwise identification with conservative political figures traditionally associated with right-wing politics. Though this investigation will focus primarily on how Hoover's BHS theology speaks into the present theological conversation, I will also briefly review questions relating to how a fresh examination of Hoover's BHS theology could rekindle Pentecostal revival and exert effective *influence* in today's scenario⁹⁷.

I am primarily interested by how Hoover's singular devotion to the Pentecostal movement in Chile maintained his theological position and even led to an entire church being founded with the name of his hybrid theology: 'Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal'. Following the pattern of multiplication and division mentioned above, the church has also subsequently branched out into at least five Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal churches in Chile⁹⁸. Interestingly, though, their schisms have resulted from leadership, power, and property issues, but in hardly a single case, over *theology*. They mostly maintain Hoover's

⁹⁵ *El Mercurio*, 24th of September, 2017.

⁹⁶ Miguel Ángel Mansilla and Luis Orellana Uribe, *Pensando El Pentecostalismo* (Valparaíso, Chile: RIL Editores, 2021). See Introduction, 12,13.

⁹⁷ See Chapter Seven, when the conversation examines 'Progressive Pentecostalism' (7.4).

⁹⁸ See Chapter Five (5.8.2) for a fuller breakdown of the divisions, together with APPENDIX C.

original theological position on Baptism of the Spirit and his basic Methodist ecclesiology.

1.7 A LITERATURE REVIEW

1.7.1 THE WIDER THEOLOGICAL CONVERSATION ON BHS

Since this will be primarily a theological study, it was necessary to begin with reading on the ‘wider conversation’ on the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. I am indebted to my early supervisor, Dr Max Turner, for introducing me to the ‘parlour’ of other classic theologians on the subject: James Dunn⁹⁹, William and Robert and Menzies¹⁰⁰, Walter Hollenweger¹⁰¹, Allan Anderson¹⁰², Harvey Cox¹⁰³, Gordon Fee¹⁰⁴, to name the ones who open the conversation. The debate maintained in articles and their main books brought to theological attention again in the seventies (as the charismatic renewal began to permeate main-line churches) the pneumatological issue of ‘subsequence’. Gordon Fee’s direct handling of the issue of subsequence in his article ‘Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The issue of separability and subsequence’¹⁰⁵ relates centrally to the theological aspect of my study. I agree with his argument that Pentecostals are scripturally right in their longing after Acts of the Apostles dynamic Christianity contrasted with the traditional forms of their times, if scripturally wrong in their proposal of normative subsequence in BHS. His theological

⁹⁹ James Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM Press, 2010).

¹⁰⁰ Robert Menzies, ‘The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology With Special Reference to Luke-Acts’, *Sheffield, SAP*, 1991.

¹⁰¹ Walter Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism. El Pentecostalismo*.

¹⁰² Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 1st Edition (New York: Orbis, 2007); *Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹⁰³ Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven - The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty First Century* (New York: Addison Wesley, 1995).

¹⁰⁴ Gordon Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence* (USA: Baker Academic, 2009).

¹⁰⁵ Gordon Fee, ‘Baptism in the Holy Spirit: the issue of Separability and Subsequence’, *Pneuma* 7:2, 1985.

conclusions, mostly taking the stand of Protestant reformed teaching, however, leave an open debate with relation to subsequence. I hope to address this issue with a pneumatological theory related to the nature of the Holy Spirit.

Dunn's *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, the Menzies'¹⁰⁶ *Empowered for Witness*, and Max Turner's¹⁰⁷ *Power from on High -The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts* discussed subsequentialism in the context of Luke-Acts, contrasting the AG Pentecostal position (Menzies) with the more reformed and Anglican doctrine (Dunn and Turner). The debate interested me personally and I look to resolve the questions raised in this literature as to *when* a person is baptised in the Spirit.

I have engaged with Anderson's *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, which brought interest and respect to the extraordinary way Pentecostal mission had spread; his other books and articles relating to the origins and development in world Pentecostalism were also central to my reading. *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and Transformation of World Christianity*¹⁰⁸. Hollenweger was particularly penetrating in his examination of the roots of Pentecostalism in his *Pentecostalism* as was Cox's surprising emphasis on the Holy Spirit for the church today, *Fire from Heaven*.

I will need to base my theological analysis and referencing on known contributors in systematic and biblical theology. My main *theological references* for this study will be Gordon Fee, Frank Macchia, Donald Dayton and Bernardo Campos, who speaks from the Latin American viewpoint. Fee's *God's Empowering Presence* has now become a recognised, classic study of Paul's understanding of Holy Spirit power in his

¹⁰⁶ Robert Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991).

¹⁰⁷ Max Turner, *Power from on High -The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts*. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

¹⁰⁸ Allan Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and Transformation of World Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

epistles and serves to analyse Hoover's understanding of New Testament theology, whether it be Lukan or Pauline.

Dayton's *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* lays out a well-known Four Square categorisation of Pentecostal Theology with which we can trace Hoover's similarities and differences to Pentecostal post Azusa theology. Macchia's *Baptized in the Spirit* seeks to draw up a 'globalised Pentecostal theology', and his challenges ring out to today's Pentecostal churches, reemphasising the doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

As mentioned above, Bernardo Campos¹⁰⁹ has offered very useful research into Latin American and Caribbean Pentecostalism. He studies the history and mission of these Pentecostal movements, proposing his 'Principle of Pentecostality'¹¹⁰ categorising theology and practice in a useful measuring stick for what he calls 'Pentecostalisms', the multiplying Pentecostal churches that have and specialised in modern day Pentecostality in all its spiritual, ecclesiological, social and political expressions. I will use his principle (or theory) of Pentecostality as a central tool for analysis of Hoover's Pentecostalism. Campos, from a hindsight not afforded to Hoover, concludes (in private email correspondence to me) that Hoover was 'never really *fully* a Pentecostal' per se, but rather a 'Pentecostalised Methodist'! I will question Campos on this issue¹¹¹, for even if I find his insights useful for the categorisation of Pentecostalism in Latin America, I may take

¹⁰⁹ Bernardo Campos. Lately, several Latin American theologians, notably Bernardo Campos, have entered the field of theological categorization of what was unfairly regarded previously in the Western theological circles, as 'a movement of illiterates, hillbillies, rednecks, snake-handlers or holy rollers who were at the margins of culture.' Campos traces how Pentecostal theology, as in the book of Acts, *born of a genuine experience with the Holy Spirit*, draws the church dynamically along the path of transformational mission as, indeed, occurred in Chile between the years of 1909 and 1932. Campos defines his Theory of Pentecostality' in relation to the 'Pentecostalisms', as 'a study of the social, collective identities from which he we can construct and rationalise an objective systematization of the global Pentecostal identity.'¹⁰⁹ He says 'We must define Pentecostality as that universal experience that expresses the Pentecost event as an over-arching, ordering principle of the life of those who identify with the Pentecostal revival and who build from it a Pentecostal identity.'¹⁰⁹

¹¹⁰ Bernardo Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad*.

¹¹¹ See Chapter Seven, the Conversation.

issue with him on this point! Using Campos' concept, we can build a view of how Hoover developed the peculiarly Chilean Pentecostality and identity out of their Pentecostal experience.

1.7.2 STUDIES OF THE CHILEAN PENTECOSTAL REVIVAL

Studies of the Chilean Pentecostal revival and its historical and sociological influence will be necessary to set the context of the study to better understand the waters into which Hoover's theology fell.

I will walk with three primary references for the *historical survey* of Hoover's Pentecostal experience and understanding: Luis Orellana, Juan Sepúlveda, and John Kessler. Kessler, himself a missionary, is the original narrator and father of the classic history of the Protestant churches in Latin America¹¹². Orellana is a socio-historian and probably the foremost authority on Chilean Pentecostalism today, publishing regularly fresh and updated insights into the history of the movement¹¹³. Juan Sepúlveda's articles, with which I will engage later¹¹⁴, are the most helpful I have found in relation to my topic. I describe one of his papers, 'The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective' as 'ground-breaking'¹¹⁵, for it first threw light on the reasons

¹¹² Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Perú and Chile*.

¹¹³ Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*. Luis Orellana, 'El Futuro del Pentecostalismo en América Latina. Daniel y Orellana Luis (Editores)', *Red Latinoamérica de Estudios Pentecostales (RELEP)*, Voces del Pentecostalismo Latinoamericano, IV (2011): 141–56. Luis Orellana, Claudio Colombo, and Zicri Rojas, 'Los Pentecostales en Chile- Sus Principales Representaciones Sociales en el Siglo XX.', *Religiao e Sociedad*, no. Introducción DOI: <http://tinyurl.com/3hmkacm3>, 82–89. Luis Orellana and Miguel Ángel Mansilla, 'El Obispo Durán y la Jaula de Hierro', *Instituto de Estudios Internacionales*, 2017, Le Monde Diplomatique edition.

¹¹⁴ Sepúlveda, Smith, and Gutierrez, 'Chapter 2: Theological Characteristics of an Indigenous Pentecostalism: Chile'. Sepúlveda, Juan, 'The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective' Chapter in 'Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities'. See Chapter Five (5.3).

¹¹⁵ Juan Sepúlveda, 'Características Teológicas de Un Pentecostalismo Autóctono: El Caso Chileno', in *En la Fuerza del Espíritu*, ed. Benjamín Gutierrez (Guatemala: AIPRAL/CELEP, 1995).

for The Methodist Pentecostal identity as a movement. What he covers in terms of *identity* I would try to interpret *theologically*. I will engage with both these important windows on Chilean Pentecostalism in Chapter Five.

My bibliography inevitably includes books and articles in Spanish that allow me to examine the historical, social, political and religious context in which the 1909 revival was sparked off¹¹⁶. Various *historical and social analyses* have been written of the movement, that, in the understanding of Orellana, Colombo and Rojas, ‘after a century of growth became a viable alternative to the Roman Catholic church and European and North American Protestant religions’¹¹⁷. These analyses will enable an understanding of the *context* in which Hoover’s theology affected the prevailing Methodist mission concepts.

My reading of the earliest studies of the Pentecostals in Chile, first undertaken by Roman Catholics: Hurtado¹¹⁸, Muñoz¹¹⁹, Piñera¹²⁰, Vergara¹²¹ y Poblete y Galilea¹²²; later by foreign Protestant researchers and historians like Willems¹²³, Kessler¹²⁴,

¹¹⁶ Luis Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*. Pablo Hoff, ‘El Avivamiento Pentecostal en Chile.’ A Chapter from an intended book to be published soon, *Grandes Avivamientos y Poderosos Ganadores de Almas*. (Santiago de Chile: Difusión Cristiana, 2009).

¹¹⁷ Luis Orellana, Colombo, and Rojas, ‘Los Pentecostales en Chile- Sus Principales Representaciones Sociales en el Siglo XX.’

¹¹⁸ Alberto Hurtado, *¿Es Chile Un País Católico?* (Santiago: Ediciones Splendor, 1941).

¹¹⁹ Humberto Muñoz, *Sociología Religiosa de Chile*, vol. Sociología religiosa de Chile (Santiago: Ediciones Paulina, 1957).

¹²⁰ Bernardino Piñera, ‘Piñera, B. 1961. La Iglesia Chilena en Medio de las Corrientes Ideológicas Actuales.’, *Pastoral Popular*, 66, p. 12., 1961.

¹²¹ Ignacio Vergara, *El protestantismo en Chile*, Editorial del Pacífico, 1962.

¹²² Renato Poblete and Carmen Galilea, *El Movimiento Pentecostal e Iglesia Católica en Medios Populares*. Santiago: Centro Bellarmine, 1984.

¹²³ Emile Willems, *Followers of the New Faith. Culture and Rise of Protestantism in Brazil and Chile*. Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967.

¹²⁴ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Perú and Chile*.

D'Épinay¹²⁵, Tennekes¹²⁶, Droogers, Boudewijnse y Kamsteeg¹²⁷, brought me to see the distance that has developed between progressive Pentecostal research and the theology of Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Later, during the last two decades of the twentieth century, Chilean researchers have emerged with a wide range of theories: Palma¹²⁸, Ossa, Canales, Villela y Palma¹²⁹, Fontaine y Beyer¹³⁰, Juan Sepúlveda¹³¹, Herrera¹³², Orellana¹³³, Mansilla¹³⁴, Víctor Sepúlveda Corvalán¹³⁵, Moulian¹³⁶, Vidal¹³⁷; Valdivia¹³⁸. All these provide fascinating literary reviews and analyses of the historical, social and cultural causes and effects of Chilean Pentecostalism during the period I will study, 1889-1936. Particularly interesting are those analyses by Roman Catholics, at the outset of the movement, who see it on the one hand as a 'revival sect' and a 'grave problem' (Bishop

¹²⁵ Lalive D'Épinay, *El Refugio de la Masas*.

¹²⁶ Hans Tennekes, *El Movimiento Pentecostal en la Sociedad Chilena*, Ciren (Iquique, Chile, 1985).

¹²⁷ Bárbara Boudewijnse, André Droogers, and Franz Kamsteeg, *Algo Más Que Opio* San José, Costa Rica: Departamento Ecuménico de Investigaciones (DEI), 1991.

¹²⁸ Irma Palma, *En Tierra Extraña: Itinerario Del Pueblo Pentecostal Chileno*. Santiago: Editorial Amerindia, 1988.

¹²⁹ Manuel Canales, Hugo Villela, and Samuel Palma, *En Tierra Extraña II*. (Amerinda, 1991).

¹³⁰ Arturo Fontaine and Harold Beyer, 'Retrato Del Movimiento Evangélico a La Luz de las Encuestas de Opinión Pública. Estudios Públicos, n. 44:63 - 134.', *Estudios Públicos*, 1991.

¹³¹ Juan Sepúlveda, *De Peregrinos a Ciudadanos* (Santiago: Comunidad Teológica Evangélica de Chile, 1999).

¹³² Manuel Herrera, *El Avivamiento de 1909*, 2001.

¹³³ Luis Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*.

¹³⁴ Miguel Mansilla, 'Nacidos en la Calle: De la Construcción Bestial del Predicador Callejero a su Construcción Como Patrimonio Cultural. *Si Somos Americanos*: Revista de Estudios Transfronterizos, v. VII, n. 1:187 – 206.', *Revista de Estudios Transfronterizos* v. VII, n (2005): 1:187-206.

¹³⁵ Víctor Sepúlveda, *La Pentecostalidad en Chile*. (Concepción: CEEP Ediciones, 2009).

¹³⁶ Rodrigo Moulian Tesmer, *El Sello del Espíritu Derramado sobre la Carne* (Valdivia, Chile: Ediciones Kultrún, 2017).

¹³⁷ Rodrigo Vidal, *Entender el templo pentecostal*. Concepción (Santiago: CEEP, Universidad de Santiago, 2012).

¹³⁸ Gerardo Valdivia, *Misión en Libre Asociación: Relatos de los Orígenes del Acuerdo Fraternal Entre La Iglesia Unida de Cristo y La Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile* (Concepción: CEEP Ediciones, 2013).

Piñera)¹³⁹, although Ignacio Vergara's¹⁴⁰ portrayal of Pentecostal evangelicals, sees them in a much more favourable light and as 'a third reformation'¹⁴¹, as D'Epinay Lalive, describes it, as a 'Haven of the Masses'¹⁴² at the publication of the classic book in 1969. Conservative Protestants like Kessler, never quite knew how to properly situate the movement. He sides, on the one hand, with the slighted Episcopal Methodists who blamed Hoover's pride and divisiveness: 'he [Hoover] boasted that they were the ones who really believed the Holy Spirit'¹⁴³; yet he also acknowledges in the same book, one feels somewhat grudgingly, that the movement had become extremely successful. Writing in 1967 he says:

The considered opinion at the time, even of those Methodist contemporaries of Hoover most able to appreciate the good points in the Pentecostal revival in Chile, was that the movement was doomed to become a struggling sect which would probably collapse within a few years under the weight of its own divisiveness. Instead today the Pentecostal churches outnumber all the other protestant churches in Chile together by a ratio of more than four to one.¹⁴⁴

Later, Chilean theologians, like Juan Sepúlveda, often brought up as Pentecostals themselves, bring to bear their evaluation from a far more indigenous understanding 'from the inside' and are able to chart its development assuming their identity as mature Christian churches:

¹³⁹ Bernardino Piñera, 'Piñera, B. 1961. La Iglesia Chilena en medio de Las Corrientes Ideológicas Actuales.', 10.

¹⁴⁰ Ignacio Vergara, *El Protestantismo en Chile*.

¹⁴¹ Juan Sepúlveda, 'El "Principio Pentecostal" Reflexiones desde los Orígenes del Pentecostalismo en Chile.', in *Voces Del Pentecostalismo Latinoamericano* (Concepción: Red Latinoamericana de Estudios Pentecostales RELEP, 2003).

¹⁴² D'Epinay, Lalive, *Haven of the Masses - a Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile*.

¹⁴³ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Perú and Chile*, 130.

¹⁴⁴ Kessler, 130.

Despite Hoover's rejection of nationalism within a church context, nonetheless the Pentecostal church he helped found became the first self-governing and self-supporting denomination in Chile, and new signs of indigenization would soon become evident.¹⁴⁵

Christian Lalive¹⁴⁶ was the first to analyse and give an exhaustive sociological evaluation as to why the movement spread so rapidly, adding to Hoover's mostly spiritual and biblical interpretation. His proposals were that the displaced masses move into the cities needing a home, a refuge, and find it in the lively embrace of Pentecostals who met them in street preaching and healing encounters. They were later adopted into what he compares as the 'pastor's living room', a family of believers from the underworld who finds a common cause and community, education, and discipling for survival in the big city.

Orellana will propose a theory relating to the oppressive religious structures that prevailed in Valparaíso at the time, hegemonic, conservative Catholicism and foreign Protestantism that was gradually extending through Spanish-speaking mission to the populace. His sociological viewpoint is that the Pentecostal churches provided during the three decades following the 1909 beginnings, an alternative democratic social order that gave individual identity and import to the otherwise disenfranchised classes¹⁴⁷.

Three initial steps towards a formulation of Hoover's theology were Juan Sepúlveda's study 'Características Teológicas de un Pentecostalismo Autóctono: El caso Chileno'¹⁴⁸, Hollenweger's paper 'Methodism's past in Pentecostalism's present'¹⁴⁹, and

¹⁴⁵ Juan Sepúlveda, 'The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective' Chapter in 'Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities'. 12.

¹⁴⁶ Christian D'Epinay, Lalive, *Haven of the Masses - a Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile*.

¹⁴⁷ Luis Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*.

¹⁴⁸ Juan Sepúlveda, 'Características Teológicas de Un Pentecostalismo Autóctono: El Caso Chileno', in *En La Fuerza del Espíritu*, ed. Benjamín Gutierrez (Guatemala: AIPRAL/CELEP, 1995).

¹⁴⁹ Walter Hollenweger, 'Methodism's past in Pentecostalism's present.', *Methodist History* 20,7 (1982) 169-182.

Bullón's book *Toward a theology of revival*¹⁵⁰. I hope to build on their excellent initial work with a further, detailed, chronological development of his theological understanding, evaluating his possible contribution to contemporary Pentecostal theology.

Another important and insightful paper by Sepulveda, 'The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective'¹⁵¹ on the subject of Chilean Pentecostalism's uniquely national characteristics, distanced from Azusa and resistant to assimilation into the international Pentecostal movement, majors more on sociological *identity* and also begs a fuller *theological* study of the Chilean phenomenon.

1.7.3 TWO CRITICAL AREAS REQUIRING FURTHER STUDY

This relevant literature reveals two important areas that require further study to which I hope to contribute.

First, the theology that Hoover himself developed on the BHS as Latin America's pioneer Pentecostal revivalist. This doctrine has suffered neglect in favour of the growing interest in the 'ripples', the relevance of the Pentecostal revival to Chile's social and political life.

Second, the application of Hoover's theology to the present-day conversation regarding some Pentecostal controversies like subsequentialism.

The extensive literature covered will help me understand the context wherein the Chilean Pentecostal movement spread so rapidly. However, my focus will be on the primary sources, Hoover's understanding of BHS and its relevance to contemporary Pentecostal Theology.

¹⁵⁰ Dorothy Bullón, *Hacia una Teología de Avivamiento*.

¹⁵¹ Juan Sepúlveda, 'The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective' Chapter in 'Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities'.

1.8 THE NATURE AND COVERAGE OF THE STUDY

1.8.1 A HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

As becomes apparent, *history* and *theology* intertwine closely in this study. I will, therefore, begin with a review of the historical setting in which the revival began under Hoover and how it developed in and then beyond his Valparaiso church. It will only be as his theological development is related to the relevant contextual history that the emerging theology will become clear and take shape.

Since this is a much-traversed territory by researchers and faithful alike, I will devote Chapter Two to a closer look at the specific circumstances and events that tie in with his theological development. I believe I can locate these historic events into four stages: Seeking, Receiving, Developing and Administering the BHS. Chapters Three, Four and Five will then revisit these Four Stages with a *theological* analysis and trace how and why his theology evolved from Methodist to Pentecostal and finally to Methodist Pentecostal (Chapters Three, Four and Five).

Chapter Six will be devoted to an exploration and application of my findings on Methodist Pentecostal theology, extrapolating possible contributions from Hoover that could go towards resolving the divisive issue of subsequentialism, as well as offer a basis for greater unity between traditional and Pentecostal churches.

Chapter Seven stages an evocative conversation between Hoover (figuratively brought to life), myself and two major authorities in Pentecostalism, Dr Bernardo Campos and Dr Frank Macchia. My aim is to effect an *aggiornamento*¹⁵² with Hoover's theology. I will substantiate the validity of the somewhat unusual methodology at the beginning of

¹⁵² *Aggiornamento* was the word used Pope John XII on October 11th 1962, when convening the 2nd Vatican Council to 'bring the church up to date' with modern times.

Chapter Seven as also the permission from both living professors for reproduction of its content.

My concluding Chapter Eight looks to answer the questions my study raised and outline my contributions.

1.8.2 THE TIME FRAME

The study will examine the period before the 1909 breakout of the revival, from the arrival of the Hoovers in 1889, until Hoover's death in 1936, since his life was so entirely interwoven with the revival movement that began in his church in 1909. This is a significant time frame for several reasons as the period it covers brings my three Sub-questions into relevant application:

1. What *kind* of Methodists did the Hoovers arrive as in Chile (Chapter Three)?

What influenced them to seek, receive, develop, and administer the experience and understanding of the BHS as a new factor incorporated into their Methodist theology? These influences must also include their home territory in the USA, specifically in Chicago, where they had originally been members of the Oak Park Methodist Church.

2. To what extent did they relate their Chilean search for BHS to the revivalist culture of other Pentecostal outbreaks during the Azusa years, 1905 to 1906 and especially, as I hope to establish, the Stone Church in Chicago, their home city? Their furloughs and their subscriptions to the Pentecostal periodical, 'The Latter Rain Evangel', brought them into contact and a close relationship with Stone church, especially in the case of Mary Louise who was baptised by immersion and 'ordained' there. Stone developed out of and akin to the Azusa revival and yet did not follow fully in the Assembly of God doctrine of initial evidence until later in 1939. Could we surmise that this was one of the reasons Hoover did not follow the Assembly of God line either in Chile (further developed in Chapters Two, Three and Four)? As mentioned in sub-

question 2, given the doubts sometimes expressed as to the authenticity of the Hoovers' Pentecostalism, I will also analyse the question: 'What *kind of Pentecostals* were the Hoovers?

3. The interaction with the Stone/Azusa revivals from the Hoovers' Chilean setting, had been preceded by the news of the Mukti revival of north India. Was the pamphlet received from the Mukti revival in 1907, led by the formidable Pandita Ramabai (see Chapters Two and Three), from Mary Louise' former classmate who worked with Ramabai, Minnie Abrams, the primary influence on Hoover's search for revival as has generally been considered?

4. The foundational development of the 1909 revival within a Methodist setting which had *already been experiencing sanctification revivals*, needs some analysis. In Chapter Two we will trace this evolution through the history of Hoover's departure from the Methodist church in 1910, and Chapters, Three, Four and Five will explore the Methodist culture he considered compatible with Pentecostalism.

This period was one of much-threatening cultural and social change in Chile. The Stone Church published in June 1914, an interview with Mary Louise who spoke about 'the horrors of the Chilean Civil War in 1891, when the town they lived, Iquique, in was blockaded; of a typhoid fever pandemic where they were both infected; then another smallpox epidemic in 1905; a terrifying earthquake in 1906.'¹⁵³ What factors led the Hoovers to remain in Chile, nonetheless, and assume the helm of leadership of the revival as foreigners at this period of the nation's history? Why was Hoover the missionary accepted as a leader, indeed, named as Superintendent of the Pentecostal movement in Chile from 1910 to 1932, when the church finally divided?

¹⁵³ The Latter Rain Evangel, June 1914.

1.9 SOURCES FOR THE RESEARCH

1.9.1 PRIMARY SOURCES

Willis Hoover's Book

The observations that usually best serve researchers in the *historical* and *theological* development of the revival for this study are found in a detailed examination of Hoover's book¹⁵⁴, *Historia del Avivamiento Pentecostal en Chile* ('History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile'). I will explore his account critically. The events recorded by Hoover serve to piece together his chronological journey and his developing understanding of seeking and receiving the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, what influenced him, how he and his band of followers diligently sought after the experience of the BHS, finally came to it and with what results.

This *subjective* historical account of his spiritual journey cannot be seen, however, as valid historiography *per se*. The fact that he pins experiences to objective events: the earthquake in 1906, the split in the Methodist church in 1910, the Wesley-like annotations of visits to other churches as the revival develops, serve to locate the history of the events.

Newspaper articles of the time

It will be necessary to bring to bear other triangulating viewpoints, such as newspaper articles of the time as also the opinions of the IME church left behind after the division in 1910. I will seek to journey with Hoover through his history in as fair an interpretative manner as possible.

¹⁵⁴ Hoover published his book in 1930, and it has now been through several editions. When I quote from it I use this latest edition of 2000.

Pentecostal periodical articles, Chilean and foreign

Several articles that appeared in three evangelical and Pentecostal periodicals¹⁵⁵, *Chile Evangélico*, *Chile Pentecostal*, *Fuego de Pentecostés* that were published from September 11, 1909 on for over 35 years, provide valuable insight into the movement's growth and thinking. The weekly, *Chile Evangélico*, initiated by Tulio Morán, a Presbyterian pastor in Concepción who joined Hoover as a Pentecostal expelled from his church, was later edited by a layman, Enrique Koppman in 1910 and then by Hoover in 1915. The name changes were related to how the movement wished to be understood, first Chilean, born in the nationalistic spirit of Concepción, (*Chile Evangélico*, 1909), then as unashamedly Pentecostal (*Chile Pentecostal*, 1910), and later as internationally Pentecostal (*Fuego de Pentecostés*, 1928) as the Spanish readership ventured across the frontiers to Argentina and Perú. Hoover continued to edit *Fuego de Pentecostés* from 1928 until 1934, and it is the main organ of the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal up until the present day. A detailed reading of the entirety of these unedited periodicals has served me as an evocative picture of Pentecostal history. Some of Hoover's own articles and translations of contributions to other periodicals are expressive of his theological and missiological thinking¹⁵⁶.

Hoover did not contribute in written form as much as could have been expected from one who was to become the Superintendent of the entire Methodist Pentecostal movement, but the fact that he became the editor of *Chile Pentecostal* from 1915 and the later *Fuego Pentecostal*, from 1928 on until 1934, gives us interesting insight into the theological and missiological content he regarded as important to encourage, nourish,

¹⁵⁵ *Chile Evangélico*, *Chile Pentecostal*, *Fuego de Pentecostés*. I will italicise (as is the Chilean academic tradition) but also to identify them as primary sources.

¹⁵⁶ *Fuego de Pentecostés* n° 7, pp.2-5; n° 26, p. 2; n° 28, p. 7; n° 45, p. 3; n° 47, pp. 1-2; n° 54, Pp. 1-4. These deal with holiness in the church, spiritual manifestations as signs of the presence of the Spirit, mission as an expression of the BHS.

admonish and motivate the revival. My search will entail a complete study of a compilation of 100 editions of the periodical with a view to discovering the fundamental values Hoover sought to diffuse as important to the developing Pentecostal theology at the time through that organ.

These are largely testimonies to the extraordinary growth of the movement in Chile during the years 1909 to 1932 when it finally split into two factions, la 'Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal' (IMP) led by Manuel Umaña, one of Hoover's earliest disciples and collaborators, and la 'Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal' (IEP) which stayed loyal to Hoover and remained under his leadership.

The Stone periodical, 'The Latter Rain Evangel', 'Bridegroom Messenger' and, 'Confidence', 'Sunday School Times' (S.S.T.), 'The Pentecostal Evangel' 'The Apostolic Light', 'The Apostolic Faith', 'The Moody Monthly', were all periodicals that shared testimonies, news from mission fields, Pentecostal teaching with each other, and from which Hoover will pick regularly to fill the Chilean periodicals. Mission news from faraway places came mainly through the Russian East European Mission (REEM), with which Stone church was closely associated, can also be studied through this periodic literature.

Mario Hoover's book

The very useful English edition¹⁵⁷ by Mario Hoover of his grandfather's book (see footnote 11 above) also collects letters, documents, reflections and articles by Hoover related to the revival, making primary sources readily available.

¹⁵⁷ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*.

This was a period when the revival was maturing and reflexive of its growth. It is in these documents where I find the first-hand testimony of how Hoover sought, received, and later began to formulate theology about the BHS.

Original family letters and documents

A visit to Chicago and email contact with Ronald Hoover (Willis' great-grandson, now living in the USA) gave me access to original family letters and documents written by Hoover¹⁵⁸. These reveal his developing thought and theology, the influences upon him from Azusa, the possible reasons why he did not go the Azusa 'initial evidence' way, the Hoovers, home churches, Oak Park, Methodist Episcopal Church (now called the United Methodist Church) and the Stone Church they visited.

Church Archives

Similarly, letters and documents are accessible from the Chilean Methodist archives that testify to the tensions of a church in division at the time. These serve as an *alternative view* of what was occurring in Valparaiso. Florrie Snow, a Methodist researcher provided me with a letter from pastor Campbell who took over from Hoover after his church departed from the Methodist Episcopal church, which gives useful (and angry!) insight into how the ones who were left behind felt after the storm of the 1910 division. In it, Mr Campbell to the then presiding bishop of the Methodist church, Bishop Homer Stuntz¹⁵⁹, on June 25, 1910, paints a different story, showing Hoover to be spiritually arrogant and divisive:

¹⁵⁸ See APPENDIX D.

¹⁵⁹ See APPENDIX A for a copy of the entire text.

In regard to the separation, Dr Hoover, long before the Conference, had instilled into them the idea that the Bishop, Mr Rice and other members of this Conference were unconverted men and that they should be converted... that the bishop should be taken by the Spirit and roll around on the floor with them. They supposed themselves filled to overflowing with the Holy Spirit, but they were mad at the church, the Bishop and all who could not pronounce the Shibboleth.¹⁶⁰

As mentioned above, not all Methodists were pleased with the revival manifestations and their hurt expressions need evaluating as well in the study to answer how much of Hoover's theology proposed unnecessary divisiveness. He will prove sectarian especially when his insistence on purity will begin to judge them in terms of lesser spirituality:

They are ignorant. And in the effort to educate themselves they began to attach too much importance to education and to trust in it with the result that the power of the Spirit has left them. They will deny it but the facts demonstrate it. This is the conflict which God has with the church. He always wants that our faith be not in the wisdom of men but in the power of God.¹⁶¹

This will mean pointing out some of Hoover's less salutary theological emphases that remain to this day in Chilean Pentecostal theology and practice: a limited theological base and divisiveness derived from overemphasis on one particular experience of the Holy Spirit. These would be truer of the earlier Hoover, aspects that the later Hoover begins to remedy¹⁶².

1.9.2 SECONDARY SOURCES

Local press reports

The local press reports at the time of the revival became a valuable source of insight. Initial Roman Catholic and Protestant sources are wary of the movement, as Mario Herrera captures in his exhaustive recompilation of newspaper articles written of the

¹⁶⁰ Florrie Snow, *Historiografía de la Iglesia Metodista de Chile 1878-1918*, vol. 2 (Concepción: Ediciones Metodistas, 1999).

¹⁶¹ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 150.

¹⁶² See Chapter Five (5.6.2).

movement¹⁶³. The local newspaper, *El Chileno* wrote: ‘This is the work of a lunatic or confidence trickster... shouts, fainting fits, slaps, tragic comic scenes, reports to the police, intervention from tribunals’¹⁶⁴. However, the Catholic and Protestant prejudices began to wane as the fruit of the revival became more apparent. Herrera notes in an article published in *Fuego de Pentecostés*, No. 830¹⁶⁵, how they gradually change their tune as they see as the beneficial results of ‘strange occurrences’ on the ‘low life’ of Valparaíso in 1909: ‘The “riff-raff” have come to the church to seek their own good, their peace of mind, their hope, their horizon which is Jesus Christ’.

Most of my Secondary Sources will coincide with the Literature Review above. Theological sources that have studied the ‘wider conversation’ and historical-sociological studies of the Chilean revival will constitute secondary textual sources throughout the study.

1.10 METHODOLOGY

1.10.1 TEXTUAL RESEARCH

As can be seen from the literature review listed above there is significant and sufficient material available to enable me to carry out textual research on my subject, mainly on Hoover’s writings and the supplementary Primary Sources mentioned above. In order to isolate his theology on the BHS, my coverage of Hoover’s writings will therefore examine both *historical* and *theological* texts making use of appropriate hermeneutical and historiographic tools.

¹⁶³ Manuel Herrera, *El Avivamiento de 1909* (Santiago: Eben Ezer, 2001).

¹⁶⁴ Manuel Herrera, *El Avivamiento de 1909* (La Cisterna Santiago: Imprenta Ebenezer, 2001), 25.

¹⁶⁵ Manuel Herrera, *El Avivamiento de 1909* Santiago: Imprenta Eben Ezer, 2001, 36 *Fuego de Pentecostés* No.830, October, 1998.

1.10.2 HISTORICAL TOOLS

Given these objectives, it became very important, to embark on historiographic studies in how to analyse, categorise and interpret history. Michael Stanford's *A companion to the study of History*, Eric Hobsbawm's *On History*, and Michael Bentley's *Modern Historiography*, have provided interesting and helpful accompaniment to textual historical research. Quotes like Stanford's remind us to focus and analyse carefully any historical data, avoiding the bias of preferences of interpretation instead of letting the data speak for itself:

We should remind ourselves that in history we have only evidence and judgements about the evidence. Neither fact nor interpretation is a solid, determinate object to be unearthed like a dinosaur's bones. Neither is more than an agreed judgement. Unless we bear this in mind we are in danger of wasting a lot of energy arguing about what is and what is not affect, or in searching for the one exact interpretation of every piece of evidence.¹⁶⁶

This alert is applicable in the case of Pentecostalism and the description of Pentecostal phenomenology, such as we will describe and discuss in Chapter Two on history. Here, the principles of Practical Theology (see below) help to evaluate contextual history as understood by Christian participants of it, such as Willis Hoover. His criteria will always be subjective and therefore will need to be challenged through historiographical measurement and duly referenced to historical analysis.

1.10.3 THEOLOGICAL TOOLS

This study will be primarily theological (though researched historically). I will therefore use theological tools of hermeneutics and biblical theology as laid out by a scholar like Wayne Grudem¹⁶⁷, founded on the inerrancy of Scripture, faithfulness to the text and primary comparison with other biblical passages.

¹⁶⁶ Michael Stanford, *A Companion to the Study of History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 158.

¹⁶⁷ Wayne Grudem, *Systematic Theology* (Iowa, USA: Bits and Bytes, 2004).

1.10.4 PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

I have chosen Swinton and Mowat's *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*¹⁶⁸ 'a theologically oriented ethnography'¹⁶⁹, as an overarching methodological approach. Although my study is textual and not ethnographic in the full sense of sociological study, Practical Theology helps orient my *historical* and *theological* analysis with three basic concepts: First, the study of the actual praxis observed (in this case, through texts), second, the cultural analysis of that observed, and third, the theological reflection that arises from such observations.

Practical Theology seeks to be both theological and critical. Practical Theology differs from systematic and biblical theologies:

In the same way that systematic theology can be understood as the interpreter of doctrine and tradition, and biblical studies as the interpreter of sacred scripture and the Christian faith, Practical Theology can be understood as that aspect of the theological enterprise that focuses on the interpretation of church and world as an ongoing source of theological interpretation and understanding.¹⁷⁰

In this sense Practical theology allows for the study of such a theologically diverse subject as Pentecostalism, seeking out continuity and commonality¹⁷¹. This will be important as we look at Pentecostalism over a period of nearly 40 years as it interrelates to its non-Pentecostal foundational structure of Methodism in Chile.

Swinton and Mowat are unapologetic in their seeking for the 'possibility of truth and normativity', a refreshing search for objectivity that I can apply to a movement that will define itself within these Christian ontological parameters.

¹⁶⁸ John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research* (London, UK: SCM Press, 2006).

¹⁶⁹ Pete Ward, Durham University, MF Norwegian School of Theology, in his cover appreciation for the second edition.

¹⁷⁰ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, 10.

¹⁷¹ Swinton and Mowat, xi.

Pentecostalism is, of course, a very faithful expression of a theology taken to the streets in practice and action, in that sense also, a ‘practical theology’. Although Pentecostalism, as mentioned above, can be understood as a theology emanating from experience (see Campos’ principle of Pentecostality expounded in Chapter Six), in fact, it is also an *expression of theological understanding of the risen and experienced Christ*, taken to a practical expression of testimony and Kingdom advancement as testified to in Acts of the Apostles. First came the experience of Pentecost (Acts 2:1-13), then came practical preaching in and from the event (Acts 2:14-21), then theologising from the practice (Acts 2:22-40), and further, the continuing practice of their theology (Acts 2:41-47).

1.10.5 METHODOLOGICAL ETHIC

Finally, under ‘methodological ethic’, I need to include C. S. Lewis’ essay ‘On criticism’ (even if it is a small work) as it underlined again to me the need for *careful reading* of a text as well as basic, *decent honesty* in its analysis¹⁷².

1.11 MY CONTRIBUTIONS

I intend my contributions to build on previous research on Hoover and Chilean Pentecostalism in the following ways:

1. Trace and categorise the development of Hoover’s theology in greater detail than has been drawn up before, starting from his original revivalist Methodist position to a Methodist Pentecostal theology, discovering and describing his Methodist foundational roots as well as the uniquely Pentecostal columns of the Methodist Pentecostal edifice he bequeathed on Chile’s ecclesiological communities (Chapters Three, Four and Five).

¹⁷² C.S. Lewis ‘On criticism’ *Of This and other worlds, Essays and Stories* (California, Harper One, 2017).

2. Explore an initial classification of some salient features of Hoover's theology that emerge as I analyse his most prominent teachings during the years of the revival, manifested in a growing relationship with the Third Person of the Trinity. These doctrines, discovered and further elaborated, relate to the sovereignty, the manifestation, sanctification and mission of the Holy Spirit and have remained in place down the years among Chilean Pentecostals, albeit not in the systematised theological expression I wish to bring to them (Chapters Four and Five).

3. Show in what way Hoover's theological understanding relates today to the wider conversation on Baptism of the Spirit and global Pentecostal theology (Chapter Six). Making use of Bernardo Campos' Principle of Pentecostality (Chapters Six and Seven) and my own theory of Pneuma plasticity, developed during my study of Hoover (Chapters Six and Seven)¹⁷³. I hope to offer contributions that spring directly out of Hoover's thinking and practice to the debate on subsequentialism and other difficulties ascribed (often with scant knowledge) to Pentecostalist theology.

4. I will seek to engage critically as to how Hoover develops his theology, his somewhat limited use of Scripture, his absorption (or rejection) of the prevailing Pentecostal theologies coming out of Azusa, the emphases he brings from a pastoral rather than theological application of the BHS, in order to analyse and categorise these. I sustain that as he encourages his people to seek the manifestations of the Spirit, he develops, albeit apparently unawares, a *biblical theology on a relationship with the Holy Spirit*. As I interact with biblical texts that he used such as the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, 1 Corinthians 12-14, I will need to note how Hoover's theology, developed initially from the prevailing Pentecostal theologies of the time, remains true or departs from biblical theology he purports to espouse. I will be understanding of his *initial subsequentialist*

¹⁷³ In Chapters Six and Seven I move from an analysis of Hoover's theology to my contributions to the conversation on the Baptism of the Holy Spirit applied to the present day.

position but offer what, I believe, could be a better resolution to the confusion of Second Blessing subsequentialism while retaining the fullness of Pentecostal experience and empowerment in a way that can emerge from and relate to Hoover's Pentecostality.

5. After the analysis and interaction with Hoover's theology I will hope to propose a pneumatological theory that answers the question I ask myself above. The various threads that make up this enquiry will inevitably be drawn together as I answer the Research Question and three related **Sub-questions**. These will be resolved together in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

1.12 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis, expanded over eight chapters, seeks to ask and determine how Pastor Willis Hoover, the perpetrating agent and later Superintendent of the Pentecostal revival movement that was birthed under his pastorate in the Methodist church in Valparaíso in 1909, developed his Methodist Pentecostal Theology. The inquiry will centre on how, out of an *experiential*, Wesleyan, sanctification understanding, moving through an initially ambivalent Azusa position of 'tongues as the initial evidence or sign of the BHS'¹⁷⁴, he arrives later to his proposals in terms of the 'manifestations of the person of the Holy Spirit'. This I will call Hoover's 'theology of manifestations' (in line with Sepúlveda's¹⁷⁵ thesis), and trace how it will later become an integrated doctrine of his Methodist Pentecostal theology.

¹⁷⁴ I will examine Sepúlveda's affirmation that Hoover, never espoused or expounded this Azusa position officially. See Chapter Four (4.7). I sustain that at first both Willis and his wife did believe and seek tongues as a confirmatory sign of the BHS. However, despite publishing articles in line with this teaching as late as 1930 (*FdeP* 26, February 1930) this was never his official position and later explicitly rejected. See Chapter Four (4.7.3).

¹⁷⁵ Juan Sepúlveda, *The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective* Chapter in *Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities*. (New York: Néstor Medina and Sammy Alfaro, 2014).

With Campos and Sepúlveda, I agree that theology, particularly Pentecostal theology, *can grow out of biblical interaction with Christian experience* in foundational ways and will examine how I believe it occurred with Methodist Pentecostal theology. Further, given the wider conversation today on the BHS, it will be important to ask what contribution it affords to today's Pentecostal theology in Chile and beyond.

We will need to begin, then, with the history of the rise and development of the 1909 Chilean Pentecostal revival and the significance Hoover attached to the events and the setting, the waters into which the gem fell.

Chapter Two: A History of the 1909 Chilean Pentecostal revival

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the history of how the journey Willis Hoover and his wife Mary Louise undertook to Chile in 1889 led to their receiving the BHS and then into the 1909 Chilean Pentecostal revival. My focus will be on the salient historical features that relate to the developing theology of the BHS, ordering these into Four Stages 1. Seeking, 2. Receiving, 3. Developing, 4. Administering the BHS. The Stages are related to the Baptism of the Holy Spirit which will figure centrally for Hoover throughout the historical narrative, even in his final reflections.

Since this is a much-recounted and well-known story, my input will prefer the style of analytical comment as I observe key historical events in order to later build on these into the ensuing Chapters Three, Four and Five, where I will explore how the Hoovers shifted *theologically* from Methodism to Pentecostalism and later to Methodist Pentecostalism. I will also examine critically opinions for and against the oft-recounted primary narratives, referencing these to the reactions (often violently opposed) to the BHS and Hoover's own perception of these.

My study, as explained in Introductory Chapter One, will be based primarily on Willis Hoover's account in his book and on the letters and articles in the leading Pentecostal periodicals of the time.

In order to obtain as objective an historiographic view as possible, I also resource four known and reliable authors, Luis Orellana, John Kessler, Christian Lalive, and Herrera-Farfán¹, to complement and comment Hoover's accounts.

¹ Manuel Herrera Farfán. Some of Hoover's descendants became 'Herrera' by surname, after Mario's mother remarried Antonio Herrera. Manuel is not related.

Kessler and Lalive are the original foreign researchers into Chilean Pentecostalism, and their monumental works, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*, and *Haven of the Masses*², necessarily form a backdrop to such a study.

Luis Orellana's analysis in *El Fuego y la Nieve*³ helps me describe essential characteristics of the *developmental history* of the new revival churches against the backdrop of the Catholic hegemony written into the Constitution of 1833.

Manuel Herrera⁴ will also allow us additional historical glimpses from a compilation of positive and negative reactions to the revival that spring out of newspaper articles, judicial documents, letters and early Methodist and Pentecostal church periodicals of the time. These give a view of the historical events from different angles to Hoover's, all the while gauging the impact the revival had on Valparaíso and church opinion at the time.

2.2 PENTECOSTALISM AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Observed through the lens of Practical theology, Pentecostalism needs to be analysed in its historical context to come as near to what historian Eric Hobsbawm says we should seek: 'what historians investigate is real.'⁵

Herrera comments in his Introduction that historiography, as a social science, seeks to show events in their historical, geographical, and social contexts as near to objective reality as possible. However, he believes the task becomes doubly difficult and

² John Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile* (Goes, The Netherlands: Oosterbann & le Cointre N.V., 1967). Lalive D'Epinay Christian, *Haven of the Masses - a Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile*, 1st edition (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969).

³ Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006).

⁴ Manuel Herrera, *El Avivamiento de 1909* (La Cisterna Santiago: Imprenta Ebenezer, 2001).

⁵ Eric Hobsbaum, *On History* (London: Abacus, 1998), Preface viii.

demands great integrity as we study Pentecostalism, since the narrative will fill up with extraordinary manifestations and supernatural stories that may lose the historical thread altogether.

On the other hand, Herrera notes how several who have studied Pentecostalism have made the mistake of explaining the movement, its origins, and its particular phenomenology *only* through the lens of the social sciences, logic, reason, psychology, sociology and historical analysis. Pentecostalism, he maintains, resists exhaustive classification of this kind as it claims a divine origin and spiritual characteristics that can only be explained using biblical categories. He does see, however, a possible compromise whereby, ‘without demeriting the spiritual fount, and without over emphasising the scientific interpretation, an equilibrium can be reached for an historical portrayal’⁶. He makes use of a valuable optic through his balanced treatment of the contextual press reports to which I will refer intermittently.

2.3 THE HOOVERS’ PREPARATION IN CHICAGO BEFORE CHILE

We have some indication as to the Hoovers’ secular and theological education before they left for Chile. Willis Collins Hoover was born in Freeport, Illinois, July 20, 1858. We do not have information as to his transfer to Chicago. We have some clues, though, that he did study at the University of Chicago where he graduated in 1884.

He studied medicine in Chicago, but, according to his own confession, when he began to exercise as a doctor, he was not satisfied. At the University, he became friends of William Boomer, who studied theology, and was later a missionary in Chile, for several years, with the Presbyterian Church. Hoover presented himself to William Taylor, and offered as a voluntary for his missionary work.⁷

There is another mention of his studies in Architecture.

⁶ Herrera, *El Avivamiento de 1909*, 10.

⁷ Eugenio Araya, ‘La posible imposibilidad’, *Crónicas históricas de Iglesias Evangélicas en Chile*, 1999.

He graduated as a doctor in 1884, as well as in some architectural studies. Later, he felt the call to be a missionary. He said that in his breast, he felt a burden that he could not ignore. It was like a voice that repeated day after day, 'South America, South America, South America.' He applied and was accepted as a missionary of his church. As soon as he was accepted, he began his studies in an induction school of preparation for mission.⁸

There is no mention of Willis' theological studies, apart from the assumption that he trained in the same Bible college his future wife attended, Chicago Christian Training School for City Home and Foreign Missions (CTS)⁹. There he met and married Mary Louise Hilton in 1887.

Mary Louise was born in Ontario Canada in 1864, but was later reared in Chicago where she and her family attended the Oak Park Methodist Episcopal Church.

Her grandson, Mario, tells of her old, annotated Bible where she dates:

... her conversion, joining the Methodist Episcopal Church in Oak Park, Illinois; *when she felt sanctified*; *when she received greater blessing*, when she entered the Chicago Training School for City Home and Foreign Missions; when she entered the Chicago Deaconess Home; when she married Dr W.C. Hoover (December 27, 1887); when they arrived in Iquique, Chile (October 28, 1889) "under Bishop William Taylor"; the birth of their first child Helen, 36 days after arriving in Iquique; the Revolution in Chile, 1891 (italics mine).¹⁰

She met Willis while at the CTS between 1884 and 1887 and considered missionary service with him after marriage. There are some claims that she also attended Moody Bible College¹¹ where she became friendly with Minnie Abrams, but these are

⁸ Dean Holland and Alice Rasmussen, 'Raíces Pentecostales de Chile.' Plan mundial de Asistencia Misionera en Chile. 1987, 126-7.

⁹ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 179. The CTS was a training school that prepared the candidates for mission at a time when churches like the Stone Pentecostal Church were linking with organisations like Russian and European Evangelical Mission (REEM). The Hoovers, later reconnect to Stone where Mary Louise is 'ordained' a Missionary (Contributing Institution: Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary).

¹⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 178.

¹¹ See report in '1909 Beautiful Feet Revival', 'her former 1887 classmate at Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, IL, informing her of the revival that was spreading across India in over one hundred locations.' (at webpage: romans10:15@outlook.com).

unsubstantiated and more likely a confusion with the CTS,¹² or a possible further training period at the Stone Church during 1913¹³.

They left for Chile in 1889. As she later worked very closely with Willis, Mary Louise will also often be central in the development of the revival, not least through her contacts with Mukti and the Stone Pentecostal church, where, very intriguingly, she will later be baptised by immersion and ordained. She also provides valuable theological comment (she may have been a more able theologian than Willis!) in her dedicated support of Hoover and the IMP, discernible in her letters and interviews printed in Pentecostal periodicals like ‘The Latter Rain Evangel’ and ‘Confidence’¹⁴.

2.3.1 METHODIST CONNECTIONS

The Hoovers had been seeking revival for some time under the Wesleyan manner of the ‘Radical Holiness Movement’, a grouping that sought a further experience of the Holy Spirit in ‘perfecting holiness’¹⁵. This we know from Hoover’s comment at the beginning of his book where he mentions how he had been impressed by a church in 1895 that was in ‘continual revival’, as, too, the fact that they sought enrolment with William Taylor, choosing a revivalist Methodist mission society (see below).

¹² Mario G. Hoover, 178.

¹³ See Chapter Four (4.7.2).

¹⁴ See Chapter Four (4.7.2.1).

¹⁵ Laurence W. Wood, *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism* (USA: Scarecrow Press, 2002). Joel Beeke and Michael Barrett, *A Radical Comprehensive Call to Holiness* (UK: Christian Focus Publications Ltd., 2021).

Hoover was inspired, after college, to do ‘something great for God’. Always a devout man, sensitive to the Spirit, he had been stirred by reports from David Livingstone to offer himself as a missionary to Africa. When the mission board replied, instead, with an offer of an assignment to Chile, he accepted it as God's will¹⁶.

Although it meant leaving his practice as a homeopathic physician in the Chicago area, both he and his young wife were committed to a life of service as the Lord would direct. These details are remembered and valued at Willis’ anniversary of 45 years of ministry in Chile in 1934:

... as can be seen his ministry [Mary Louise had passed away in 1921] was no mean activity, but the vigorous action of a worker who was constantly full of love and good intentions for us compatriots, since, now 76 years old he has given over half of these in the ministry for our country.¹⁷

2.3.2 EARLY PENTECOSTAL AND MUKTI CONNECTIONS

The fact that they left for Chile in 1889 would mean that they would not have had much contact with Pentecostal churches in Chicago at that stage, even if the issue of Baptism of the Spirit was becoming central in the Radical Holiness Movement (RHM) that included several denominations who were seeking the Higher Life, or similar holiness teachings (see Chapters Three and Four).

It will be in Chicago, however, which city they would later visit on furloughs, that they became further influenced by the ‘new’ Pentecostal movement and Pentecostal mission to which the Stone Church would commit radically in 1906 and in the Second Assemblies of God Conference in 1914 held there¹⁸.

¹⁶ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*. Preface, xiv.

¹⁷ *FdeP* No.74, p.9.

¹⁸ See Chapter Four (4.7.2).

As David Bundy has shown¹⁹, there is a traceable line from the Methodist sanctification movement (RHM) through the Azusa Street Revival (ASR) and later the developing Pentecostal movement all over the USA and beyond, including the Stone and Mukti revival events which would have influenced the Hoovers. Minnie Abrams, Mary Louise' classmate who influenced the Hoovers, we know, went to Mukti, India and later maintained connections to Stone Church²⁰.

2.4 PREVIOUS PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN CHILE

In his classic survey of Protestant missionary activity in Latin America, specifically in Chile and Peru²¹, John Kessler's detailed main thesis explored nationalism and division in the growing mission churches as they were turning over to autochthonous leadership. His documentation of how churches became Pentecostal in Chile serves the purposes of this study well.

The Protestant work of mission in Valparaíso, previous to Hoover, had been in place for at least some 70 years before his arrival if one dates from the earliest colporteur work in 1821 of Diego Thomson (see below). Though small in numbers, it was a noble effort initiated by the expatriate Christians who had settled in Valparaíso, Santiago, Concepción and in the saltpetre mines of the north.

Kessler outlines the ground-breaking work of foreign missionaries such as Diego Thomson of the British and Foreign Bible Society who under the patronage of Bernardo

¹⁹ David Bundy, 'Unintended Consequences: The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society and the Beginnings of Pentecostalism in Norway and Chile' (An essay was originally presented to the Yale-Edinburgh Mission History Project, Yale Divinity School, NewHaven, Connecticut, June 1996, 1996).

²⁰ Explored in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

²¹ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*, 1967.

O'Higgins, Chile's first Supreme Director, introduced the Lancaster²² model of teaching in 1821. He established chaplaincies and laid the groundwork for national congregations of Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican denominations.

There had been several earlier missions to Chile and Argentina, a project of the Anglican mission through the Patagonia Missionary Society during the nineteenth century since the arrival of Allen Gardiner in 1838²³. Awakened to the need of the indigenous people of the area while accompanying Charles Darwin on his exploratory voyages to the Galápagos on the Beagle, Captain Robert Fitzroy (who, it appears, experienced a religious conversion²⁴ during the journeys) later encouraged mission work to Patagonia and the southern people who dwelled on Tierra del Fuego.

The Anglicans, thus inspired, concentrated an extraordinarily sacrificial work for over a century on the 'people of the earth' the *Mapuche*, *Ona*, *Alacalufe* nomadic tribes, the original native peoples of the south²⁵. Famously, Captain Allen Gardiner founded the Patagonia Mission and died from famine in Spanish Harbour on September 6, 1851.

Juan Canut de Bonn, a Spanish Jesuit priest converted to biblical Presbyterianism and later to Methodism. The latter was a fiery public preacher who

²² Joseph Lancaster, (born Nov. 25, 1778, London, Eng.—died Oct. 24, 1838, New York, N.Y., U.S.), British-born educator who developed the system of mass education known as the Lancastrian method, a monitorial, or 'mutual', approach in which brighter or more proficient children were used to teach other children under the direction of an adult. In the early nineteenth century the system, as developed by Lancaster, Andrew Bell, and Jean-Baptiste Girard, was widely used to provide the rudiments of education for numbers of poor children in Europe and North America (Encyclopedia Britanica). See Chapters Two to Four in Kessler's *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*, 1967.

²³ For a detailed and personalised narration of the early Anglican missions to Latin America, see E.L. Bridges, *The Uttermost Part of the Earth* (Overlook Press, 1948).

²⁴ R.D. Keynes, *Charles Darwin's Beagle Diary*. University Press. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 21–22.

²⁵ Barbara Bazely, *Somos Anglicanos* (Santiago: Editorial Interamericana, 1995). E.L. Bridges, *The Uttermost Part of the Earth* (Overlook Press, 1948).

bequeathed his surname as a derisive but permanent nickname for evangelicals in Chile, ‘*los canutos*’²⁶.

This work serves as the backdrop to the revival, for what Luis Orellana has described as ‘the finalised entry of Protestantism into Chile between 1879 and 1909’²⁷. English and German Chaplaincies had come to Chile with the migration of expatriate people and founded small churches for themselves, families and next of kin arriving in Chile. Today’s Anglican Cathedral, St. Paul’s²⁸ in Cerro Concepción, scene of the founding of the fortieth Anglican Province on the fourth of November, 2018, is just such a plant.

Despite these efforts, however, there had been relatively little Protestant headway in the predominantly Hispano-Catholic society and culture in the rest of urban and rural Chile by the beginning of the twentieth century. They faced stern opposition from the Roman Catholic Church and its Inquisition, and their battle banner became the ‘freedom of religion’. A census in 1920 numbered 54000 protestants in Chile of whom 10000 were naturalised German Lutherans and 17000 were foreigners.²⁹

As Humberto Lagos notes in his overview of the period: ‘During this century it fell to them to break the Counter-Reformation dogmatism of the Catholic Church, a task in which they found important anticlerical allies in the country’³⁰. He does not specify but

²⁶ Luis Orellana, Claudio Colombo, and Zicri Rojas, ‘Los Pentecostales en Chile - Sus Principales Representaciones Sociales en el Siglo XX’, *Religiao e Sociedad*, no. Introducción DOI: <http://tinyurl.com/3hmkacm3>, 82–89.

²⁷ Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*, 26.

²⁸ Catedral St. Paul’s, Cerro Concepción, Valparaíso, built in 1858 by English speaking ex patriot Anglicans, was consecrated and inaugurated as a Cathedral church of La Iglesia Anglicana de Chile by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 2016.

²⁹ Christian Lalive Dépinay, *El Refugio de la Masas* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1966), 36.

³⁰ Humberto Lagos, *Crisis de la Esperanza. Religión y Autoritarismo en Chile*. (Santiago: Editorial Presor, 1988), 18.

by ‘anti-clerical allies’ he is probably referring to Masonic orders from abroad that worked secretly to establish freedom of religion in Catholic Latin America. Javier Castro³¹ explains how the same Dr Rev. David Trumbull (b.1819, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey – d.1889, Valparaiso) American Missionary, a graduate of Yale and influenced by ‘New Haven’ theology³², found no contradiction in forming a part of a tripartite alliance between Presbyterians, Liberals and Masons that stood up to this Catholic hegemony and sought to shape liberal freedoms for the adolescent Chilean republic during the nineteenth century years of independence.

2.4.1 REV DAVID TRUMBULL AND REFORM IN CHILE

Trumbull, who arrived in Chile in 1845, was the point of inflexion that spearheaded the forming of the new Civil Code of 1855 thereby gaining freedoms for Protestantism, even while the Constitution of 1833 continued to say in its article 5 that ‘The religion of the Republic of Chile is Apostolic Roman Catholicism, exempting the public exercise of any other’³³. Certain rights were guaranteed that had not been enjoyed before: Freedom of Conscience (religion), freedom to hold Services (albeit behind closed doors), freedom to Protestant education (Thomson’s Lancaster system, using the Bible), marriage and burial rights where previously the ‘infidel dead’ were thrown on rubbish heaps on Cerro San Cristóbal, Santiago, or awaited ships with foreign laws and pastors operating who could officiate matrimonial bonds. It would take another half century before the separation of Church and State was declared in the Constitution of 1925 and then another 74 years

³¹ Javier Castro, ‘David Trumbull, between Freemasonry and Protestantism: The Configuration of Anticlerical Front in Chile in the Late Nineteenth Century.’, *Religiao y Sociedad Religião e Sociedade, Rio de Janeiro*, 33(1): 98-121, 2013 33, no. 1 (2013): 98–121.

³² Linked to the 2nd Great Awakening in USA and to William Taylor, New Haven Theology merged Calvinism and revivalism.

³³ La Constitución Política de la República de Chile de 1833.

before the *Ley de Cultos* was proclaimed in 1999, declaring equality before the law of all faiths.

During these struggles for freedom of religion and instrumental toward these gains would be added the extraordinary growth of the Pentecostal movement that burst into life in the revival of 1909 under Hoover's ministry in the Valparaíso Episcopal Methodist Church of *El Olivar* street. Catholic researcher Vergara said in 1962 'It is a fact that the Protestant movement has grown in Chile at a faster rate than in any other South American country.'³⁴ Also, Anderson: 'Many of the first Pentecostals in Latin America with Chileans, and in the early years, this was the most successful of the different Pentecostal nations in the continent.'³⁵

2.5 THE METHODIST CHURCH IN CHILE BEFORE HOOVER

The first Methodist missions were planted in 1878 by William Taylor (see below) whose two-month visit along the western coast of Latin America was like 'an intelligent cyclone'³⁶. Work started in Copiapó, Coquimbo, Concepción, Valparaíso. In 1886, the Revd. W.F. Griewe and his wife arrived and travelled to Angol where they started the first Methodist College. A pattern was established there that was to shape the future mission of the denomination: to found schools and then start churches. The Methodist annual conference of 1911 registered four churches in Santiago and one in Valparaíso, totalling 1724 members and another 3000 members in the rest of Chile³⁷. There had been

³⁴ Ignacio Vergara, *El Protestantismo en Chile* (Editorial del Pacífico, Santiago, 1962), 7.

³⁵ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 1st Edition (New York: Orbis, 2007), 201.

³⁶ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*, 98.

³⁷ Florrie Snow, *Histografía Iglesia Metodista de Chile 1878-1918*, vol. 2 (Concepción: Ediciones Metodistas, 1999).

sustained growth among Chilean Methodist churches between 1893 and 1907. Kessler surmises: on account of ‘the development of lay ministry’, and the self-sustaining movement.³⁸

2.5.1 WILLIAM TAYLOR’S ‘SELF-SUPPORTING CHURCHES’ RECRUITMENT

The Hoovers were recruited in the USA in 1889 by the mission statesman of the time, William Taylor (May 2, 1821 – May 18, 1902) under the Taylorian missiological, self-governing vision³⁹. Hoover was chosen for the work in Chile because he and his wife had experienced the Methodist revivalist school of holiness⁴⁰ and were more inclined toward pursuing evangelism than theological education⁴¹.

2.6 THE HOOVERS’ ARRIVAL IN CHILE

Once recruited in 1889⁴², and settled in Iquique, Willis was placed as director of the Methodist School, el *Colegio Inglés de Iquique*. He built up the school’s infrastructure and also later, the church on *Amunátegui Street*⁴³. However, he soon began to yearn for pastoral work and became involved in two small towns around Iquique planting small Methodist groups⁴⁴.

³⁸ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile.*, 106–7.

³⁹ David Bundy, ‘Legacy of Willian Taylor’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research.*, n.d., 172–76.

⁴⁰ Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*, 140.

⁴¹ Walter Hollenweger and Juan Sepúlveda, ‘El Pasado del Metodismo en el Presente del Pentecostalismo’, *Antología del Pentecostalismo*, Comunidad Teológica Evangélica de Chile, 1985.

⁴² Mario Hoover, from the Assemblies of God Flower Heritage Magazine, Fall 1988; also Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 179.

⁴³ *Fuego de Pentecostés No.93, June 1936, p.2.*

⁴⁴ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile.*, 101.

Willis was ordained as a deacon by Bishop⁴⁵ John Newman in Iquique on the April 25, 1893, and later presbyter and pastor of the Iquique church in 1894. Bundy records a series of difficulties relating to missionary tensions, monies, and policy that the Hoovers found themselves caught up with.⁴⁶ It seems they were not happy there. They suffered the loss of their one-year-old second child, Arthur. There seemed good reason, therefore, for Bishop Bristol to move them to the Valparaiso church to cover the furlough period of the then-pastor Rev. E. E. Wilson. Willis was given this vacant pastoral position at the Valparaiso Methodist Episcopal Church in 1902.

2.7 THE FOUR HISTORICAL STAGES: SEEKING, RECEIVING, DEVELOPING, ADMINISTERING

The dating used to mark these successive Stages, relates to the Hoovers' encounter with BHS and the changes ensuing in their lives and ministry. The dates will overlap when some events occur in the same year.

2.7.1 THE SEEKING STAGE (1902 – 09)

Hoover asks in his Introduction where the roots of the revival were to be found.

Did it begin in 1909 when the whole Episcopal Church of Valparaiso determined to *seek* the Baptism of the Holy Spirit (italics mine)? Or was it in 1907 when the pastor received news of the baptism of fire that took place among the child widows cared for by Pandita Ramabai in India? Or was it [before] in 1895 when the pastor was stirred by the spectacle of one church in Chicago that lived in constant revival? Or, in 1889 when in company of his young wife ... he took ship for Chile? Or - the thought continues to rise, and it will not rest until the end of its journey, in the heart of God, where without a doubt it had its origin and thrust (Jeremiah 1:5).⁴⁷

⁴⁵ It can confuse some readers to find in Chilean Methodism, both bishops and superintendents. Bishops were incorporated in USA Methodism when Thomas Coke, sent by John Wesley in 1784 as a general superintendent, a position considered on par with a bishop, later chose to use the term bishop despite Wesley's objections. In December of that same year, Francis Asbury also took the title of bishop in Baltimore. Bishops were understood to oversee the work of superintendents who had the care of the itinerant ministry of the churches. See Chapter Three (3.3.1)

⁴⁶ Bundy, 'Unintended Consequences: The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society and the Beginnings of Pentecostalism in Norway and Chile'.

⁴⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 3.

What becomes clear is that there was a seeking for more of the Holy Spirit and his mission from the outset and before the revival broke.

The church Hoover inherited in 1902 on the departure of the former pastor Wilson had been studying the Acts of the Apostles, a study he continued at the request of the congregation. A key question was posed to the pastor by one of his new flock soon after his arrival, motivated by these studies: *'What prevents our being a church like the Early Church?'* Hoover's answer charted the theological direction for the coming revival: *'Nothing prevents it, except whatever impedes it from within, ourselves.'*⁴⁸ One of Hoover's persistent motivations would be this expectation of living out the book of Acts of the Apostles in the power of the Holy Spirit. One of Hoover's persistent motivations would be this expectation of living out the book of Acts of the Apostles in the power of the Holy Spirit. His theological journey of discovery is based on the actualising of the Book of Acts in the present day, an actualisation that he will understand can be caused only by the Holy Spirit through the portal of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

...the book of Acts of the Apostles does not represent the end of the workings of the Holy Spirit in the church, but rather establishes the norm set up by Christ by which the church ought to be guided in fulfilling its great mission on earth.⁴⁹

During this Seeking Stage the church lived several critical events that most probably heightened their sense of dependence and a deepened need for prayer.

In February 1903 the property on *Olivar* Street was purchased by the IME anticipating the building of a larger temple than the one they had in *Chacabuco* and *Doce de Febrero*. Hoover mentions the importance of 'the spirit of giving'⁵⁰ that developed as a result. During the years 1904 and 1905 (while the Hoovers went on furlough) the church members were afflicted by a smallpox plague that infected the city.

⁴⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 4.

⁴⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 119.

⁵⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 7.

Then, in 1906, Valparaiso was struck by one of the worst earthquakes in Chile's history and as a result the building that had served as a venue was destroyed. The catastrophe forced the congregation to meet in homes. A new group of preachers was raised up in '*locales*', so-called, small home groups modelled on the Wesleyan classes. The new construction on Olivares was also destroyed and burned by fire during the earthquake.

Carlos Gomez, in the periodical *El Cristiano* testifies to Valparaiso 'in ruins'. Hoover's report in the yearly Conference tells of how the Christians were able to help and minister to each other amid the crisis⁵¹: 'This terrible disaster gave us a beautiful and tender demonstration of Christian love from our brothers throughout Chile and throughout North and South America.'⁵²

In 1907, after six months of meeting in the home *locales*, the church finally came together to gather in a tent erected with money sent from the Mission Society.

During these turbulent months, the seeking continued for a deeper, more radical experience of the Holy Spirit. On returning from the Annual Conference in Temuco in February 1909, he found a moving hunger among the congregation: 'The same Holy

⁵¹ Perhaps 60 or more families were personally affected, some of their real property and others of their furniture. The pastor's wife, family and everything belonging to them were wonderfully preserved that night and cared for in our absence by brother Carlos Gómez. Later, under his guidance and assistance, the furniture was all carried and cared for in the street by the faithful hands of our loving brothers, to the great admiration of worldly onlookers, who marveled at the safety of all things, the absence of the owner ... This terrible disaster gave us a beautiful and tender demonstration of Christian love from our brothers throughout Chile and throughout North and South America. Our brothers in Argentina generously helped us and various sums were received from the churches in the United States. From our brothers in Chile we have received the amount of \$3,104, most of it from our own Church. The Baptists in Valdivia, the mission to the Araucanians and our schools in Concepción and Santiago contributed to the labor of love towards us.

⁵² Florrie Snow B., *Actas: Conferencia Anual de Los Andes 1907*, Directora Centro Documentación Histórica Iglesia Metodista de Chile, Sargento Aldea 1041.

Spirit we were seeking so fervently was already manifesting himself in the preparation of willing the hearts.’⁵³

2.7.1.1 MINNIE ABRAMS MUKTI TRACT

During 1907 the pastor received the well-known Mukti pamphlet telling ‘a marvellous story’. The Holy Spirit, accompanied with fire, was being poured out at Pandita Ramabai’s home of the child widows in India, where she cared for hundreds of these girls.’⁵⁴

The history of Pandita Ramabai was extraordinary in itself. A Brahmin scholar and social reformer who worked in India for women’s rights to education, her disillusionment⁵⁵ with Hinduism and encounter with Christianity led to her conversion and eventual baptism in St. Mary’s Wantage on a trip to England.

The school she eventually founded in 1898, the Mukti Mission, in Kedgaon near Pune, was intended to save young girls from slavery and prostitution. She also encountered the Holy Spirit powerfully and experienced a remarkable revival in the school.

The pamphlet that reached the Hoovers, written by Mary Louise’ friend, Minnie Abrams who worked with Pandita, narrated the revival manifesting in the Mukti Mission and how, after their own seeking for the revival experiences Pandita had read about in the Welsh revivals (1904-5), they had experienced definite outpourings of the Holy Spirit in

⁵³ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 16.

⁵⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 9.

⁵⁵ Pandita Ramabai, *A Testimony* (Kedgaon: Ramabai Mukti Mission, 1907). Among the causes she gave for her disillusionment with orthodox Hinduism was its low regard for women. In her *Testimony* she writes: ‘...only two things on which all those books, the Dharma Shastras, the sacred epics, the Puranas and modern poets, the popular preachers of the present day and orthodox high-caste men, were agreed, that women of high and low caste, as a class were bad, very bad, worse than demons, as unholy as untruth.’

1905. An article of Hoover's in June 1932, *Fuego de Pentecostés*, tells the story in his own words quoting the paragraphs that had so awakened him and his wife to a similar search describing how 'volunteers would meet daily asking for the "anointing of power from on high" when suddenly the revival began'.⁵⁶

The fact that they knew the author caused the Hoovers to examine the story more closely.

The marvel for us was that the pamphlet spoke of a clear and definite baptism in the Holy Spirit and fire, as *something in addition to justification and sanctification* (italics mine) ... Until then we had believed that these two elements encompass the totality of the Christian experience⁵⁷.

This noting of subsequence, a *third* experience of the Spirit, appears to have confused the Hoovers at first⁵⁸. Their growing interest soon became the conviction: '... that there were deeper Christian experiences we had not reached. A new hunger was awakened in us to have everything God had for us.'⁵⁹

Later, after a further testimony from a visiting church member testifying to tongues coincided with yet another letter received that very day, they conclude:

This notable concurrence of testimonies seemed to us so providential that it went a long way toward confirming the already growing conviction that this experience was the legitimate inheritance for the whole church to the end of time.⁶⁰

As they gradually recovered, over two years, from the earthquake's destruction, there grew an urgency, to get the new building finished during 1908. In an incomplete edifice, an emblematic New Year prayer meeting at the commencement of 1909 was held.

⁵⁶ Willis Hoover, 'Pentecostés en Chile', *Fuego de Pentecostés*, 1932, N° 54 edition, <http://www.sendas.cl/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/sendas.cl-fuego-de-pentecostes-ed-54.pdf>.

⁵⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 9.

⁵⁸ See Chapters Four, Five and Six, for the in-depth study of this issue.

⁵⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 10.

⁶⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 11, 12.

Starting at that New Year meeting on 31st of December 1908, Hoover records ‘with no pulpit nor lights from 8 p.m. to midnight we praised the Lord in sermon, testimonies, prayer and singing. We were entering the promised land. Glory to God!’⁶¹ He records how the 100 or so who met suddenly,

...broke out in a loud prayer as though in a concerted pre-arranged plan. It was as if the prayers of a year had been bottled up... and spilled out. That noise, as “the sound of many waters” lasted ten or fifteen minutes, then gradually subsided as we rose from our knees.... We recognised it as a manifestation of the Spirit of God.⁶²

Hoover marks this event as the beginning of ‘unusual happenings’ that encouraged them in the search for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Several of these ‘manifestations’ showed that their prayers were receiving an answer. The services continued for a second week.

During those days a night watchman came to the pastor telling how the Lord had spoken to him: ‘Go to your pastor and tell him to call some of the more spiritual brothers and tell them to pray every day because I am going to baptize them with tongues of fire.’⁶³

Hoover took this as guidance and recorded that from the January 15, 5 persons met daily at 5:00 o’clock in the pastor’s home to pray specifically for full-blown Mukti-style revival.

Meditating upon this account, it was easy to see God’s direct response to our petitions that for so long had been in that direction. We did according to those words, and from the following day there met at the pastor’s house at 5:00 in the afternoon, five persons. We prayed in turns and separated. The length of our prayer was sometimes longer, sometimes shorter. The point was to put our petition before the Lord.⁶⁴

The manifestations continued over the period of the Annual Conference in Temuco, for while the Pastor was at the Conference, back in Valparaiso, a meeting that focused on Joel 2 (‘our favourite topic’⁶⁵), led to repentance and reconciliation. The meeting lasted

⁶¹ Mario G. Hoover, 14.

⁶² Mario G. Hoover, 14–15.

⁶³ Mario G. Hoover, 15.

⁶⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 15.

⁶⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 16.

until three o'clock in the morning on Monday. While they were kneeling around the altar, they felt that 'Jesus walked inside around the altar and placed His hand upon their heads. A brother saw what appeared to be a brazier of fire in the midst of the platform.'

This had occurred in Hoover's absence, so upon his return he agreed to hold another service on the following Saturday. Illustrative of the *urgency of the seeking* was Hoover's reply:

We are engaged in seeking the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, and we should not forego any sacrifice. If ordinary means are not sufficient, we will have to use extraordinary ones. All-night prayer meetings have taken us forward. We'll continue with them.⁶⁶

The Seeking Stage moves suddenly into a very welcome and dramatic Receiving stage for the Hoovers. This style of intense seeking, weeping, loud groans and cries of repentance is a characteristic expression of Pentecostal churches' meetings to this day, night vigils and loud prayer meetings to seek the person of the Holy Spirit and 'tarry' on him for the BHS. For the Hoovers *seeking* the BHS would always be central: 'Did it begin in 1909 when the entire Methodist Church of Valparaiso *determined to seek* the Baptism of the Holy Spirit?'⁶⁷

2.7.2 THE RECEIVING STAGE (1909-1910)

That following Saturday, February 20, marked the beginning of a new spiritual breakthrough, as Hoover became aware that he had now *received* what he was seeking. Again, the theology is preceded by experience. He relates it in the following way (speaking of himself in the third person as 'the pastor'):

The pastor began to pace in front of the altar wondering whether anything had been gained. He had to sing him in a low tone. His voice soon broke and, unable to continue, he began weeping and shaking. At the same time, he felt himself filling up to [from] the tip of his toes with an indescribable sweetness. In the midst of his weeping these words came out:

⁶⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 18.

⁶⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 3.

‘My Saviour! My Saviour!’ The weeping lasted a long while, and when it ceased the pastor continued walking. This time he no longer asked if he had gained something, but continued, interrupted by singing, now filled with an ineffable sweetness. This time a laughter so strong and uncontrollable [took hold of him] that he had to sit and give free reign to it, unable to suppress it. After some minutes the laughter subsided, and we went our separate ways.⁶⁸

From then on, as Hoover relates in his Chapters 5 to 8⁶⁹, the prayer meetings became frequent and populated, and the seeking turned increasingly to focus on the various manifestations that indicated reception of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit or of his presence and work:

Confessions and restitutions, awakened consciences, return of stolen goods, unceasing laughter, became part of the continuing sense of a special visitation of God among them and an increase of the Holy Spirit’s activity. Sunday, April 11 became a day of fasting for many who stayed the entire day in the building, fasting and renouncing tobacco, with more uncontrolled and lengthy spells of laughter for over 1/2 hour periods. On that same Sunday night, at 7 o’clock, after Hoover had visited the sick and returned somewhat dejected and had prostrated himself on the floor in the 5:00 afternoon prayer, now moved to a small room in the church, praying for two hours in most urgent tones: ‘Destroy this pastor; do not permit that your work be hindered because of this man; destroy him. Destroy him.’⁷⁰

This notable longing for ‘destruction’ signals a deep need for deliverance of personal fleshly tendencies and is in harmony with sanctification and perfection teaching⁷¹, which will remain inherent to Hoover’s later theology; there seems to be in Hoover a desperation to seek deliverance personally. Was this a hunger for God, the need for personal transformation, or both?

He received another confirmatory word with relation to the authenticity of his experience from one of the ladies that had been praying with them. ‘Pastor, as we were going home, the Lord told me to return and tell you that you have the blessing you were looking for ... The pastor responded, ‘Thank you sister: I feel nothing but tranquility that I have laid my petition before the Lord.’ They left and the service proceeded.⁷²

⁶⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 18.

⁶⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 18-38.

⁷⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 22.

⁷¹ John Wesley, *A Plain Man’s Guide to Holiness* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988). A full treatment of the doctrine of perfection can be found in Wesley’s reflections that must have influenced Hoover.

⁷² Mario G. Hoover, 22.

Their perception now accentuates the reception of the BHS in the same kind as they had read about from Mukti and in the Latter Rain Evangel. They are bold to recount manifestations that are not recorded in Scripture but became part of their experiences:

Four days later on April 15th, Hoover was in his study and was visited by his assistant, Brother Castillo. They began to pray before anything else, as their custom was. The pastor prayed about half an hour as a sweet conversation with the Lord. Then brother Castillo prayed placing his hand on the pastor's shoulders, he gave thanks for the bond that exist between the two in the work, 'Because,' he said, 'this work is not human.' On hearing these words, he felt like a dart piercing the heart, and violent and irresistible laughter seized the pastor. Both of them were held in the power of the Spirit for 15 minutes. Sitting up, they began to converse about the sweetness of communion with God, when suddenly words began to come out of the pastor's mouth in blows and shouts, as from a volcano in eruption. The family came to see, and were astonished. After a while the force of the manifestation subsided, but during the whole day his speaking came in blows as if being pushed by an intense force from inside, accompanied by tears.⁷³

It is not clear whether Hoover spoke in tongues in this experience, or, in fact, if he ever manifested glossalalia beyond these 'blows and shouts' expressed. The issue of 'initial evidence', so central to AG and many groups within Pentecostalism, will later be examined in Chapters Three, Four and Five, although in passing we note this emphasis on tongues at this initial stage.

The next day, April 19, finds him in La Serena at a Quarterly Conference where he begins to expound on the blessing *as one who has received* and recommends it: 'after finishing with the business in hand, I began to talk with them about the Holy Spirit, encouraging them to seek Him.'⁷⁴ Then, continuing his circuit from Ovalle to Vallenar, he expresses a new-found sense of anointing:

There came to me forcefully the words: 'But ye have an unction from the Holy One and ye know all things' (1 John 2:20). I could not fathom all the Lord wanted to tell me in that moment, but felt as if I had been armed or empowered in a new way for the work.⁷⁵

On that same trip, Hoover recounts a remarkable dream he was given while spending two nights in Chihuinto.

⁷³ Mario G. Hoover, 23.

⁷⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 27.

⁷⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 23.

I was in a large church in Valparaiso, unknown to me. It seemed I was a spectator, but nevertheless had something to do with what was happening there. It seemed as though a great revival, was happening, people crawling like ants everywhere, moving unceasingly to and fro; I was given to understand that this would come about in two or three weeks. The following words came to my mind, although I cannot say I heard them[aloud]: ‘AND THE PASTORS OF 200 OTHER CHURCHES CAME TO SEE HOW IT WAS DONE.’⁷⁶

It is important for the later theological analysis to understand that at this Receiving Stage they may well have acquired, through their contacts and reading of the ‘The Latter Rain Evangel’ and ‘The Apostolic Faith’, a view of the Baptism of the Spirit that included Acts of the Apostles, signs-following, tongues as initial evidence. Although they experienced a variety of manifestations of the Spirit, they appear to have been seeking tongues as a confirmatory sign. These accounts of words ‘coming out of mouths’ and of tongues being spoken could be understood as their desire to authenticate the Azusa and Indian experiences (see above, Hoover’s experience).

2.7.2.1 SOME ADVERSE REACTIONS

Herrera documents how two secular newspapers, *El Chileno* (a gossip newspaper) and *El Mercurio* (Valparaiso and Chile’s main official news organ) became involved in the public analysis of the occurrences, as did, earlier on, the Methodist *El Cristiano* and the Presbyterian *El Heraldo Evangélico*. Soon *Chile Evangélico* and *Chile Pentecostal* were to enter the fray from an urgent desire to bring understanding to the occurrences.

Hoover comments, ‘the press has occupied itself with us in these days ... *El Chileno*, in the style that feeds the vices and passions of the people. *El Mercurio*, with a serious and dignified, almost favorable way.’⁷⁷ He makes special mention of the denigration of his person in a series of headlines appearing in *El Chileno*: ‘The Work of

⁷⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 24.

⁷⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 48.

a Swindler, or a Huckster'; 'Shouts, Swoosings, and Slaps'; 'Tragi-Comic Scenes. Full details'; 'Police Complaints'; 'Intervention by Justice Officials'.⁷⁸

Once the conversation was in the press, the Christian newspapers took it on board, each wielding its own viewpoint. The Methodist *El Cristiano* kept reflective silence, while it could but eventually inveighed negatively in its assessment of what was occurring in *El Olivar*. Hoover also observes that,

El Cristiano, whose editor was the pastor of the Second Church of Santiago, refused to publish any news whatsoever of our church in Valparaíso⁷⁹.

Hoover could only resort to making known his defence through the two (non-Methodist) journals, *Chile Evangélico* and *El Heraldo Evangélico*. For this he was criticised by his Methodist church who felt he was being unfaithful to his denomination⁸⁰.

This denigration, defence and later acceptance of the Valparaíso events gives useful insights for better understanding the tensions that came to crisis. The culmination of the tensions ended in the separation of Hoover's band of followers from the IME. When the breach occurred in 1910 the Methodist Superintendent published in the Valparaíso *Mercurio* that Hoover 'had been removed from the leadership of the church'. This led to Hoover publishing a differing account:

The pastor, in the interests of the truth, published a simple denial of that statement, citing the actual words of the resignation saying: 'As a minister, fully in my faculties, I have retired from my church. 'In this way the public could be better informed of the truth of the events.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 43.

⁷⁹ Herrera, *El Avivamiento de 1909*, 26.

⁸⁰ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 43–46.

⁸¹ Mario G. Hoover, 99.

Hoover later declared in the Introduction to his book his intentions to clear the work of false charges: 'My purpose is not to cause pain but only to leave printed in a permanent way the most salient features of the events – events that have been judged in such different ways by friends and foes.'⁸²

2.7.2.2 Dr A.B. SIMPSON'S VISIT 1910 – AN OUTSIDE EVALUATION

At a very precise, almost 'bridging' moment, in the historical account, as the revival was in full development, still in the newly built *El Olivar* church in 1910, they received the well-known missionary statesman, Dr A. B. Simpson⁸³. His main purpose was to visit the CMA work. While he was there, he heard of the Pentecostal revival in the Valparaíso church and wished to form his own opinion of the furious controversy brewing since the end of 1909. The visit must have occurred, therefore, just before the time of the fateful April Quarterly Conference which led to the resignation of the Hoovers. He notes that the Santiago churches had been 'disciplined out of the church' and comments that the 'work is, therefore, at a crisis, and the gravest issues are hanging in the balance.'⁸⁴ He describes Hoover's church:

It was a most memorable service. The church, holding nearly 1000 persons, was almost filled. The people were attentive and earnest, and after our address on the Holy Spirit, they broke loose in such a torrent of prayer as we have seldom heard or seen. Five or six hundred voices burst into simultaneous prayer like the sound of many waters, and yet one's spirit witnessed to the deep, still presence of the Lord in perfect peace and harmony ... a number spoke in tongues ... There were several cases of divine healing, and there were many extraordinary conversions. The good pastor, Dr Hoover, a man of God *who had long been seeking such a blessing for his church*, opened his heart fully to God and

⁸² Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 2.

⁸³ Dr Simpson was founder and leader of the Christian Missionary Alliance (CMA) and was recognised at the time for his ministry of world evangelism and Spirit empowered healing. He formed part of the Radical Holiness Movement in USA and was a close observer of revivals in the world.

⁸⁴ Simpson, A. B. "Revival in Valparaíso, Chile." *The Upper Room* 1(10):5 1910.

identified himself with all these things (*italics mine*). We find it overflowing with the love of God and unction of the Spirit, and yet sane and Scriptural in his views and methods.⁸⁵

He emits a final favourable evaluation of Hoover's work that he recognises as a genuine work of God: 'Dr Hoover has been the most successful missionary in Chile.'⁸⁶

2.7.3 THE DEVELOPING STAGE (1910-1920)

I follow Luis Orellana who sees 1920 as a year when in profound changes in Chile affected the nation and the beginnings of the institutionalisation of the IMP church. The intermediate period, the Developing Stage, beginning in 1910, will lead from the immediate events of the painful separation from the IME mother church to the formation of the IMP and Hoover's early Superintendency focussing the pastoral needs that will also later guide his theological development.

Hoover's account of the seeking and receiving of the BHS between the years 1902 and 1909 will lead to the 1910 transition between receiving the BHS in new, surprising and fruitful ways to the sudden opposition that forced the crisis. First, Hoover's description of how events in 1909 'shook the city of Valparaiso'.⁸⁷

The numerous public that crowded into the entrance of the church were witnesses of the facts that occurred from July 1909 forward, as for example the open confession of sins by the brethren, the conversion of hardened blackguards and the reconciliation of people whose interpersonal relationships were broken. Thanks to the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the persons in the congregation and others out of it, the church grew in a phenomenal way. For example, the attendance at the Sunday School swelled as follows: July, 365; August, 425; September, 527.⁸⁸

By now, the Hoovers were convinced that God had also visited Valparaiso with the same kind of revival as had come to Mukti, USA Stone, and Azusa.

⁸⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 126-7.

⁸⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 126-7.

⁸⁷ Luis Orellana, 30-1.

⁸⁸ Luis Orellana, 30-1.

2.7.3.1 OPPOSITION SETS IN

Soon the revival began to draw friend and foe alike as Herrera reports. The curious and rather tragic event of Nellie Laidlaw's visit to Santiago marred this growth with scandal, and yet marked a turning point that could not be reversed. Documented by Juan Sepúlveda, this narrative of the events led to the forced separation from the Methodist Episcopal Church and the assumption of the new identity as the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal (IMP). It is worth citing the report in full:

In the sharpening of the conflict an important role was played by Nelly Laidlaw, known as 'sister Elena', a woman who had recently been converted and was recognised for her gift of prophecy. On the 12th of September 1909, while participating in the Sunday morning service at the Second [Methodist] Church of Santiago (*Sargento Aldea*), sister Elena asked authorisation of the local pastor, WT Robinson, to speak to the congregation. The pastor refused even though some of the brothers and sisters wanted to hear her speak. In the afternoon the same situation occurred in *Montel*, a local dependency of the Second Church. This time, at the pastor's refusal, the people who wanted to hear sister Elena went into the patio; a confusing incident ensued where the pastor fell and cut his head. Pastor W.F. Rice of the First Church, fearing that the situation would repeat itself in the evening service, asked for police presence. Effectively sister Elena tried, despite the pastor's prohibitions to speak to the congregation, with the result that she was arrested. The arrest required further police reinforcement, since those who were in favour of the revival tried to impede the arrest of the prophetess.⁸⁹

Various evaluations of her 'prophetic invasion' which involved interrupting the services, scuffles and injury to the pastor, arrests, have been discussed elsewhere. Some like Bullón⁹⁰ and Kessler⁹¹ appear *unfavourable*, while others like Mansilla take a surprising alternative view, attributing to her the true prophetic leadership of the revival, though later discriminated and side-lined on account of her gender⁹².

⁸⁹ Juan Sepúlveda, *De Peregrinos a Ciudadanos* (Santiago: Comunidad Teológica Evangélica de Chile, 1999), 95.

⁹⁰ Dorothy Bullón, *Hacia Un Teología de Avivamiento*, Editorial CLIE Barcelona, 1998, 64–65.

⁹¹ John Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Perú and Chile* (Goes, The Netherlands: Oosterbaan & Le Contre N.V., 1967), 116–23.

⁹² Miguel Ángel Mansilla et al., 'El Drama de Una Fundadora. Exclusión y Omisión de Una Líder Del Movimiento Pentecostal Chileno (1909-1910): Elena Laidlaw', *The Drama of a Founder. Exclusion and Omission of a Leader of the Chilean Pentecostal Movement (1909-1910): Elena Laidlaw Septiembre*, *Memoria y Sociedad* 22, n.º 44 (2018): 102–117. <https://doi.org/10.11144/Jave-Riana.Mys22-44.Moem>, 2018, 102–17.

The upshot was that Hoover was further denigrated in Episcopal Methodist eyes. The consequences of Nelly's visit soon created an official storm that culminated in Hoover's trial and eventual distancing from the Episcopal Methodist Church. September 12, 1909, the day that Nelly was arrested and later released, marked the beginning of the schism from the mother church. That day, curiously, is still celebrated by Chilean Pentecostals as the breaking free for the IMP (as Hollenweger puts it) 'probably the first theologically and economically independent church in the Third World'⁹³.

Herrera picks up the negative perceptions of a journalist who infiltrated the services, pretending to be a convert. Pastor Hoover had, he relates: 'all the necessary elements ... in place ... public expectation is prepared in order that every cry and every sob of one of the members will turn into a few coins.'⁹⁴ And later, in full vitriolic criticism, the same 'spy' describes the scenario he sees:

the people who live by emotions, on hearing such gut-wrenching laments, are moved, and when they see men and women who fall to the ground and appear to weep bitterly, also weep. At this point the pastor with the dramatic gestures announces that it is the Spirit of God who has taken hold of the brethren. Many believe and feel generous impulses toward those unfortunates. Immediately, a series of baskets are presented to receive the offerings for those brothers who in this way turn their pockets inside out with all enthusiasm.⁹⁵

Despite this unexpected backlash, Hoover, allowed the revival, nonetheless, to move ahead and to *develop*. He was convinced that the Holy Spirit is sovereign and must be allowed to exercise his influence with no impediment. With the finality of further seeking infillings and visitations of the Holy Spirit, the church began all-night prayer meetings where more and more attended.

The Christian press divided into antagonistic and favourable reporting. *El Heraldo*, at first hesitant, eventually came out in opposition to the movement. It fell to

⁹³ Walter Hollenweger, 'Methodism's Past in Pentecostalism's Present', *Methodist History* 20,7, 1982, 169–82.

⁹⁴ *El Chileno*, Valparaiso, 25th September, 1909.

⁹⁵ *El Chileno*, Valparaiso, 25th September, 1909.

Chile Evangélico to offer the sympathetic voice and the platform for Hoover to refute the attacks from the Santiago Presbyterians. When the Methodist paper *El Cristiano* closed its publications to the revival churches, *Chile Evangélico* became the main medium by which the movement's news was communicated. One such article expounds a defence by a visitor who describes his initial antipathy yet later conversion to the manifestations:

At first, I was angered by the noise and bedlam ... then I began to echo the 'amens' and the 'yes, Lords' and similar expressions ... I began to learn about the Baptism of the Spirit and Fire.'

He then relates a list of nine positive points before finally exhorting the brethren not to stray from the path they have chosen.

'Let no one take your crown' (Revelation 3:11).⁹⁶

Despite the obvious fruit noted, the ecclesiastical winds had turned against Hoover.

2.7.3.2 THE FEBRUARY 1910 CONFERENCE

The 1910 February National Methodist Conference was convened in an atmosphere of inquiry and great anticipation, to a large extent, because it was convened in 'Hoover's revival church' itself. The building seated 1500 and it was known that the congregations had grown to almost 1000 members after the outbreak of revival. It became obvious that the business agenda that Bishop Bristol had planned for the Conference was 'to deal with the matter of the Valparaíso pastor and the direction of the revival he was leading.'⁹⁷ Some pastors had levelled accusations and, no doubt, among them, those whose churches were visited by Nelly Laidlaw in Santiago. Charges were formulated.

Allegations against the revival ministry in the church ranged from accusations about the 'conduct of the pastor', 'conduct gravely imprudent', his 'doctrinal error' and

⁹⁶ Herrera, *El Avivamiento de 1909*, 77.

⁹⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 66.

the disciplinary measures he should have taken, particularly in the case of Nelly Laidlaw, but never did. Hoover's understanding of the procedures was that they 'tried to convince him that he was in error and to induce him to put out the fire that burned in the church.'⁹⁸ Hoover's theology, they indicated, deviated from Methodism.

Hoover records his impression that 'the fervent disposition of the whole church' would be 'propitious toward a great blessing' and that his defence would arise as when the visitors saw 'the marvellous things that God was doing, the pastors would be convinced that the work was of God'⁹⁹. In fact, the adverse criticism of his ministry meant that 'the bishop himself came with a marked predisposition against the pastor.'¹⁰⁰

The trial went against Hoover¹⁰¹. When the pastoral assignments were published, the Hoover was re-assigned to Valparaiso, but with the proviso that he would prepare the church for his successor and that during the year he should return to the United States.

Hoover spent a sleepless night and the following day announced to the bishop that he would not accept the resolution. Mary Hoover's much-remembered phrase was shouted out at the Conference: 'No, Mr Hoover! Let's rather eat "hard bread" with the Chilean brethren, but continue forward with the revival of the Holy Spirit!'¹⁰² may well have been the turning point for the future of the movement and the Hoovers' leadership of it.

The hostility brought against Hoover caused his congregation to approach him and say: 'Pastor, we're going to separate from the church.' These words struck Hoover 'like a dagger' and when he found himself in 'the untenable position of remaining to pastor his opponents when his friends left' he and Mary joined the decision to leave that

⁹⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 67.

⁹⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 65.

¹⁰⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 66.

¹⁰¹ See Chapter Three (3.7).

¹⁰² Mario G. Hoover, 180.

night. On April 9, Mrs. Hoover said to the pastor, 'Let's leave with them!' and he answered, 'Very well; let's do it!' Hoover sent his letter of resignation to Bishop Bristol on April 15, 1910, to become effective on May 1.

The following Sunday, April 17, the decision was confirmed to Hoover with manifestations of the Spirit at the Communion Service and in a long letter to his congregation, he explained the reasons why he and his wife had chosen to stay in Chile. By Thursday the Superintendent had replaced Hoover and the church divided into two congregations. Hoover was forced to abandon his post and house, and more than 400 left with him; 'the fervent, the active, full of faith, generous in their offerings to the Lord said, "God who gave us this house, can give us another."' ¹⁰³ In fact, they would not have another church building until 1919, the *Retamo* church.

Those who had left the IME asked Hoover to be their pastor¹⁰⁴. On April 17, 1910, he openly declared that he was not separating from Wesley nor from Methodism, simply from the government of the church, on account of conscience¹⁰⁵. *Chile Evangélico's* editor Enrique Koppman describes the emotive leaving of the church, calculating that 'about 500 people' abandoned the church to continue the revival independently together with Pastor Hoover and his wife¹⁰⁶.

Two perceptions of the same events, however, come to light on further investigation. From Hoover's point of view, the division came about gradually, over a year of intense and wholehearted searching for revival, followed by a heady, almost spiritually violent period of Baptism of the Holy Spirit followed by persecution. A letter

¹⁰³ Mario G. Hoover, 99.

¹⁰⁴ Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*, 1:34–38.

¹⁰⁵ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 87.

¹⁰⁶ Enrique Koppman. "Una rectificación". *Chile Evangélico*, No. 32, Feb 19, 1910, p.2.

from Pastor Campbell to Bishop Stuntz¹⁰⁷ however, accused him of having the entire departure planned: ‘He prepared his people to follow him in the step he was planning to take’¹⁰⁸.

These conflicting views appear from time to time and further highlight the importance of getting behind the historical events, both as Hoover saw them, as well as that of the church left behind. Despite Hoover’s triumphalism, it was, nevertheless, a sad day for the Methodists when the congregation (some 500 says Campbell) left ‘having taken all the exhorters leaders and local preachers as well as the greater part of the young people so that we are without material for the reorganization.’¹⁰⁹ For Hoover, however, it would be a providential sign that God wanted them out of the IME in order to move in the new Pentecostal way.

The separation, as it can be seen, was not something planned, nor was there any way we could expect help from abroad to help finance us. It was completely spontaneous and sustained itself completely. The church that separated itself in Valparaiso, proposed to pay for its pastor and has maintained him and his family for the more than twenty-one years that have passed since then.¹¹⁰

On May 25, 1910, the two Santiago groups that had previously separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church, hearing of the Valparaiso division, invited Hoover to become their Superintendent. He accepted despite his rejection of the proposed name for the new church ‘Iglesia Metodista Nacional’¹¹¹ and they reconstituted themselves under the name of ‘Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal’.

¹⁰⁷ It has fallen to researchers like Florrie Snow to record the very different reactions of the IME, of Pastor Campbell and Bishop Stuntz (as also Mr Rice before him who took the blows of the separation). One can admire their perseverance in what were very difficult circumstances.

¹⁰⁸ See APPENDIX A, 10, 11.

¹⁰⁹ See APPENDIX A, 3.

¹¹⁰ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, No. 54, p.3.

¹¹¹ See Chapter Five (5.3.1).

Kessler details that at the beginning of 1911, the majority of five churches, two in the central region and three in the southern region, together with their pastors also left a Methodist conference to join the (by then) four Pentecostal churches, three which had separated from the Methodist churches in Santiago and Valparaíso, and one of which had been formed mostly from the Independent Presbyterian Church in Concepción. Finally, in 1913 six Methodist Churches in Santiago, which were then just being formed, went over to the Pentecostals.¹¹² ‘*Chile Evangélico*’ records that they began with ‘23 preaching points in 1910, approximately one thousand members and adherents with an ample supply of exhorters and guides for the classes.’¹¹³

Studies by Lalive, after the break with the Methodist Church in 1909, show how the Methodist Pentecostal Church grew, at an accelerated rate¹¹⁴. By 1932, the Methodist Pentecostals had grown to 152 congregations in 23 years¹¹⁵. This vigorous and unusual missionary expansion traceable from the 1909 revival has provoked worldwide missiological interest and is normally related to the intervention of Willis Hoover and his wife into the Catholic and Protestant context described in Chile at the turn of the nineteenth century¹¹⁶.

2.7.4 THE ADMINISTERING STAGE (1920-1936)

By 1920, Hoover’s theology, I sustain, had basically evolved to its Methodist Pentecostal hybrid format: ‘It is called Methodist... it is called Pentecostal’¹¹⁷.

¹¹² Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Perú and Chile*, 130.

¹¹³ *Chile Evangélico*, no. 25, 10th March 1910.

¹¹⁴ Christian Lalive DÉpinay, *El Refugio de la Masas* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1968), 47–62.

¹¹⁵ Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*, pp. 100–102.

¹¹⁶ Bundy, ‘Unintended Consequences: The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society and the Beginnings of Pentecostalism in Norway and Chile’.

¹¹⁷ See Chapters Three to Five.

A description of how Hoover went about his normal ministry, administering the IMP as her Superintendent helps us perceive his pastoral and itinerant style that would mark the church's essential, Wesleyan missiological model.

Pastor Hoover would visit every congregation in the country every three months. During his visits he would ordain pastors, confirm the official *Juntas* (church councils), celebrate Holy Communion, orient and stimulate the work of the local churches. His presence always promoted enthusiasm and joy among the local brethren. Towards the end of 1910 the movement had four communities and in 1919, 27, in a geographical extension from north to south of 3000 kilometres. All these communities, at one moment or other were visited by Pastor Hoover, even the most distant, at least once a year. The links, therefore, between the local communities and the movement nationally, were sustained by three pillars: spontaneous missionary journeys, of men and women, the circulation of the periodical *Chile Pentecostal*, and Hoover's periodic visits. There existed no national organism apart from Pastor Hoover. Nevertheless, the bonds of brotherhood and a sense of family community sustained the different congregations in all the country.¹¹⁸

It was from this eminently *pastoral* style, reminiscent of John Wesley, that Hoover understood the need to remove all doctrinal impediments from the spread and reception of the BHS. William Taylor's 'three self' sustainability system of churches, became especially useful since they would not have a church building to work from for several years. Like Thomas Barratt¹¹⁹ who encouraged Hoover in this direction, he will see it as his responsibility to defend and proliferate the doctrine of the BHS by establishing a revival movement that became incarnate in local churches.

2.7.4.1 THE SPREADING MOVEMENT

The growth over the next years up until the division of the church in 1932 was constant. Lalive and Orellana analyse this period of growth, consolidation, and institutionalization of the Pentecostal movement. Orellana has documented amply the way new Pentecostal churches were springing up all over Chile¹²⁰, reaching 150 congregations by 1932. Some splinter groups also broke off and formed new Pentecostal churches: *La Iglesia de los*

¹¹⁸ Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*, 76.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter Five (Chapter 5.4).

¹²⁰ Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*, 1:96–100.

Hermanos which was later to leave Hoover's church, the *Misión Wesleyana Nacional* under the famed Pastor Mora¹²¹, *La Misión Evangélica Nacional* who split off from the IMP but who united with the other schismatic Pentecostals, came together to achieve (the third church to do so) legal status¹²².

Both authors regard the social, political, and economic circumstances as key factors for the explosive spread of the movement. Lalive made popular his thesis from a Marxian viewpoint, seeking to explain why the masses had sought Pentecostalism as a 'haven' instead of joining the growing left-wing socialist movements. He is obviously impressed by these new social expressions of the populace and writes sympathetically:

Let not the explosions of emotion that tend to accompany Pentecostal services be judged with undue frivolity... As to the forms of their participation, these are the language of those who have no language, it is, the medium by which they express their life experience, the meeting with something that is larger than they, the manifestation of liberation that operates in the individual through the action of the Pentecostal communities... The observer remains impressed by the marches of the faithful [in street evangelism], whose clothes are sometimes ragged, shoes repaired and even fabricated with pieces of old tires, with their faces marked by a deficient diet and who, nevertheless, go forward to the offering table, some with 50 pesos others with 100, and some with more. This is the proof of the giving the Pentecostalism knows how to engender among its faithful, as also the secret of their economic autonomy.¹²³

Orellana also situates in his analysis, the drastic social changes taking place in early twentieth century Chile, as a setting for the growth of the movement. By 1925 the social transformation that had begun to manifest itself as a mobilisation of the masses under Presidente Alessandri¹²⁴ brought about economic stimulus and educational and cultural reform and development. 1925 also issued in the new Constitution that finally separated church and state, opening new freedoms and recognition to the non-Catholic churches.

¹²¹ Pastor Mora began his work in Lota in 1926 and soon was involved with a Trade Union movement and imbued some branches of Pentecostalism with a marked social conscience. He was later opposed by the Communist Party who saw in him a rival political force. Manuel Ossa, *Espiritualidad Popular y Acción Política. Santiago: Rehue*. (Santiago: Rehue, 1990).

¹²² Orellana, 98.

¹²³ Lalive DÉpinay, *El Refugio de la Masas*, 86.

¹²⁴ Luis Orellana *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006), 84–86.

During this period of economic hardship brought about by the nitrates crash¹²⁵, the Pentecostal movement continued to grow all over the country especially among the poorer and more marginalised sectors. Against the backdrop of a dependent and mostly foreign Protestant missionary movement Juan Sepúlveda cites a report by the Missionary Education Movement in 1917 that explains why the gulf between Protestants and Pentecostals had widened:

... three movements have arisen that are separatist and independent ... The last corresponds to a movement calling itself Pentecostal, in which the Pastor of one of the largest missionary churches, has sadly allowed himself to fall into imbalance [a possible reference to the 'explosions of emotion' Lalive mentions above] in the religious sphere and has been overcome by ignorant fanatics ... This movement has attracted a large number of sincere followers who are now spread across 2/3 of the country. It is entirely self-sufficient and throughout its six years of existence has shown an ardent enthusiasm which has allowed it to survive.¹²⁶

This jaundiced vision, accusing Hoover of fanatical imbalance clarifies why Pentecostals moved away from Protestant missions. Jean Pierre Bastián concludes:

Here, in fact, we had two antagonistic religious cultures: the one, historic, traditional Protestantism, born of political and religious liberalism; [the other] Pentecostalism, the expression of a popular Latin American religious culture.¹²⁷

2.7.4.2 THE PAINFUL DIVISION, IMP AND IEP

Finally, and in a daring political move, the Santiago group related to Bishop Umaña, who had jostled for the leadership of the movement and took over the IMP in 1932, forcing Hoover to leave and form La Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal. Among the accusations levelled were 'homosexual tendencies.'¹²⁸ An internal trial in 1932 exonerated Hoover in the eyes of his Valparaíso congregation. However, the followers of Umaña insisted in

¹²⁵ The nitrates crash of the time brought Chile unexpected economic hardship and a loss of international financial opportunity and prestige.

¹²⁶ Sepúlveda, *De Peregrinos a Ciudadanos*, 123.

¹²⁷ Jean Pierre Bastián, *Protestantismo y Modernidad Latinoamericana*. (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994), 202.

¹²⁸ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*, 307.

their cause and over the period of two Conferences between 1932 and 1934, the hostility became increasingly public and the split, irreconcilable. At the final united Conference in January of 1934 in San Bernardo the division was made effective.

After the schism¹²⁹, for a time, Hoover's followers continued to see themselves as the true Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal, but later were forced to change their name and legal status as Umaña won legal rights. In April 1935 those loyal to Hoover's held their separate Conference and Guillermo Castillo was elected as assistant superintendent. After Hoover's death in 1936 Castillo became overall superintendent of the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal, the name, by now, in general use for Hoover's break-away church¹³⁰.

By 1932 when the schism came, Pentecostalism had become an agile and dynamic movement, covering over 70% of urban and peripheral city localities in the country. In Santiago two churches had arisen additional to Valparaíso with a capacity for over 1000 people in each. Although the movement organised itself in 1910 under the name of Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal it was only able to achieve legal status in 1929. The new groups that had known church life only in cells, by 1932 became five denominations with different names entirely autonomous among themselves. An eight-page newspaper with 3000 editions a month kept 10,000 followers informed in a country of 4,365,000 inhabitants. Steps were taken to start missionary congregations in Argentina and later in the USA. Between 1921 and 1932, we agree with Orellana, that the movement became the first authentically national church.¹³¹

¹²⁹ See Chapter Two (2.7.4.2).

¹³⁰ Kessler, 311–12.

¹³¹ Orellana, 100–102.

2.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Administering Stage as Superintendent of the wider Pentecostal movement which saw him as an apostle and founder, was not easy for Hoover. His grandson, Mario speaks honestly of the strengths and weaknesses he saw Hoover bring to the flourishing church. He saw as strengths the conservation of the gains, doctrinal purity, joyful worship, zealous witness, sacrificial service and leadership training, all instilled into the discipleship under Hoover's Superintendency. As weaknesses he detected: He was a foreigner, a '*gringo*' at the head of an ever-growing church. He was vulnerable before the gradually increasing request for a fully Chilean leadership. Hoover maintained a strict Wesleyan autocratic approach to discipline, refusing to allow participation in soccer or cinema. He also opposed the use of folk guitars in church. These flaws, as well as moral accusations (which to this day have never been proved), brought about the final diminishing of his leadership role.¹³² Mario will vouch strongly, nevertheless, for his grandfather's righteous moral standing regarding the charges questioning his sexual inclinations¹³³.

After the split, Hoover's health began to fail, and he finally died of a stroke on May 27, 1936. Mario comments how the last few years of his life were saddened by the internal conflicts and divisions¹³⁴, as well as family differences. In a letter to his brother George, he laments how his daughter Rebecca, a missionary for the CMA in Costa Rica

¹³² Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 240.

¹³³ Mario G. Hoover, 238-241.

¹³⁴ Division became normalised in the Pentecostal church, especially in the Methodist Pentecostal Church. The IMP under Bishop Eduardo Durán later split again in 2007 into two factions the IMP (private rights) and the IMP (public rights). Later in 2019, another split on account of scandalous use of monies and a divorce, the Central Cathedral Church was divided off again from its roots. Effectively there are now five Iglesias Metodista Pentecostal in existence, of private and public usage, and the Cathedral church. are in course to bring unity back and some successful reconciliation has been achieved at a personal level. See APPENDIX C for a fuller account of the divisions from IMP and IEP.

is ‘very unsympathetic to my work’ (which she refers to as ‘the Pentecostal queerness’¹³⁵) and expresses hurt by her rejection of his offer of a monthly copy of *Fuego de Pentecostés*.¹³⁶

Hoover’s reflects in 1930 how, after 30 years, the movement has grown:

... the three congregations of the first year have multiplied into more than 120 today, under the care of 20 or so pastors, 10 without ordination, and other lay workers ... all the growth has been through natural means, by the work of the Holy Spirit, and through its own members, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word in signs following.¹³⁷

From a rushing torrent that no one controlled Hoover had, by that year, gradually led the IMP to develop and administer what would become an institutionalised Pentecostal Movement, a wider, slower-flowing river that in fact, began to touch, it seemed, every nook and cranny of Chile¹³⁸.

However, there has been little theological elaboration of the movement. Hollenweger mentions an exchange with a Methodist Pentecostal pastor relating to Pentecostal theology:

The Pentecostal Methodist Church of Chile categorically declares that it is a faithful Methodist church ... They practice infant baptism, they continue with the Methodist class system, Methodist episcopacy, they use liberally the Methodist liturgies, their hymnbook alters in no way the 25 Methodist principles of doctrine. They told me: ‘The differences between the Methodists and us are not found in a different doctrine. It is simply that they merely hold to the doctrines, while we experience them.’¹³⁹

He concludes that a theological interchange is fruitless as they have not really developed a ‘typical Pentecostal doctrine, as say, the Assemblies of God had.’¹⁴⁰ The underlying challenge he lays out is that such a theology be elaborated.

¹³⁵ Personal letter from Rebecca to her aunt Clara, Turrialba, Costa Rica. Oct. 15, 1929 (Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center Archives).

¹³⁶ Personal letter to George, July 1930. ("Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center Archives.") See APPENDIX D.

¹³⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 123.

¹³⁸ Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*, 100–102.

¹³⁹ Walter Hollenweger, ‘Methodism’s Past in Pentecostalism’s Present’, *Methodist History* 20,7, 1982.

¹⁴⁰ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Perú and Chile*.

The following Chapters, Three, Four and Five, will seek to respond to Hollenweger's challenge.

Chapter Three: Hoover the Methodist

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Over the next three chapters I will answer **Sub-questions 1 and 2** by tracing the theological transition of Willis Hoover's understanding before and after encounter with BHS, first, Methodist (Chapter Three), then Pentecostal (Chapter Four), and finally, Methodist Pentecostal (Chapter Five). This chapter will explore Hoover's foundational theology as a Methodist.

Juan Sepúlveda first contributed in Spanish his important theses¹ exploring the *identity* shift of the Pentecostalism that emerged in Chile after the revival. I will agree with Sepulveda's very clarifying work in almost every area and will further endeavour to add information that may help understand the sources and influences behind aspects of Hoover's theological transition. This, especially in relation to the Chicago Stone Church. I will travel in much the same direction that Sepúlveda maps out relating to the identity of the IMP. My main interest, however, will focus on the *theology* that gradually emerges from the experience of Baptism of the Holy Spirit, which Hoover calls the 'real secret', and the theological influences and contexts through which he will interpret the BHS.

3.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF A THEOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF PENTECOSTALISM

I will assume that there are good reasons for seeking to write a more systematic theology for the Pentecostal movement in Chile in order to better understand and evaluate the

¹ Juan Sepúlveda, 'Características Teológicas de Un Pentecostalismo Autóctono: El Caso Chileno', in *En La Fuerza Del Espíritu*, ed. Benjamín Gutierrez (Guatemala: AIPRAL/CELEP, 1995). Juan Sepúlveda, 'The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective' Chapter in *Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities*. (New York: Néstor Medina and Sammy Alfaro, 2014).

ecclesiology and integral nature of mission of the movement and to relate it to Pentecostal posterity. Arturo Chacón pleads:

The Pentecostal movement does not have what is generally known as a 'theology', at least not a systematic one... Few were concerned about this lack of a theology during the period of rapid expansion, but today this is recognised as one of its shortcomings. It has no way of dealing with the problems of 'establishment' and 'institutionalisation'... or the political power that arises with its numbers that exposes the pastors to temptations that they did not previously face.²

What Chacón looks for is a theologised social, historical, political application of the Pentecostal Gospel.

However, how do we begin formulating a *systematic theology* of Chilean Pentecostalism? Indeed, of wider Pentecostalism? Some baptise infants; others do not. Some get involved in politics, and others eschew any worldly affairs. Some ordain women as '*pastoras*', and others only consecrate '*diaconisas*'.

As mentioned in the Introduction, it seems that the more the Pentecostal 'ripples' and the effects of Pentecostalism on the social order are studied, the more the movement appears divided and diverse³.

One of the results of a non-theologised Pentecostalism is that, to this day among the major Chilean Pentecostal churches, the published declarations of faith and doctrine on Baptism of the Holy Spirit are not clearly defined. Neither the IMP, with its three officially separated branches⁴, nor the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal, publish doctrinal elaboration of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit beyond simple creedal statements inherited mostly from Methodist sources. Methodism, like Pentecostalism, at its inception, was

² Arturo Chacón, '*The Pentecostal Movement in Chile*' (World Student Christian Federation, Geneva, 1964), 87–88.

³ Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006), 125–27. Note particularly how the factors relating to the offerings and authority abuses created division in the later church.

⁴ Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile (Derecho Público), Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile (Derecho Privado), Primera Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal. There have been many other breakaway groups (See APPENDIX C).

essentially a *movement* that worked to discipline and mission strategies but derived its fundamental theology from English Anglicanism. Any faith statements on the BHS produced by Chilean Pentecostals will often appear under their definition of the Trinity, with a brief mention of the Holy Spirit. These contrast with the more theologically elaborate doctrines of the Assemblies of God and their associated churches.

What follows are the official statements of faith of the IMP, the IEP, the IME and the AG.

La Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal:

Biblical Foundations: Article 2 numeral E E.

Pentecostal Methodists believe in the Holy Spirit, the Third Person of the Divine Trinity, who is present and effectively active in and with the Church, convicting the world of sin, justice, judgment, and regenerating those who repent and believe, sanctifying the believers and leading to all truth which is in Jesus Christ and powerfully anointing the members of the church to fulfil the great commission. John 7:39; 14:15-18, 26; 16:7-15; Acts 1:8; 2:1-4; 33; 15:8-9; Romans 8:1-27; Galatians 3:1-14; 4:6; Ephesians 3:14-21; 1 Thessalonians 4:7-8; 2 Thessalonians 2:13; *1 Peter 1:2; 1 John 3:24; 4:13.*⁵

One of the branches of the IMP, called Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile, does add the following statement:

We believe in the Baptism of the Holy Spirit as the regenerating and creative power of the new life accompanied with joy and happiness.⁶

La Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal:

Adherents of this church (IEP) believe in the Trinity of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, as well as in Jesus Christ (whom they consider to be the son of God by the work of the Holy Spirit) as the only saviour of humanity. Their beliefs are based on the texts of the Bible, made up of sixty-six canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, from Genesis to Revelation.

Since they come from the Methodist Episcopal Church their theology is Methodist and considered a holiness church. After leaving the Methodist Episcopal Church, they joined the Pentecostal movement, which is why they believe in the baptism of the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts.⁷

⁵ [www.Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile \(de derecho público\) – Doctrinas Oficiales](http://www.Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile (de derecho público) – Doctrinas Oficiales).

⁶ [www.Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile \(de derecho público\) – Doctrina](http://www.Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile (de derecho público) – Doctrina).

⁷ www.Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal de Chile.

Their original mother church in Chile the Episcopal Methodist (IME) Church does not give them much foundational pneumatology and hardly goes further.

The Iglesia Metodista Episcopal:

IV. The Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, is of the same substance, majesty, and glory with the Father and with the Son, true and eternal God.⁸

By contrast the Assemblies of God's Statement of Fundamental Truths, still in force today reads:

The Bible is inspired by God and is "the infallible, authoritative rule of faith and conduct".

There is only one true God who exists as a Trinity.

Baptism in the Holy Spirit is a separate and subsequent experience following conversion. Spirit baptism brings empowerment to live an overcoming Christian life and to be an effective witness.

Speaking in tongues is the initial physical evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Sanctification is 'an act of separation from that which is evil, and of dedication unto God'. It occurs when the believer identifies with, and has faith in, Christ in his death and resurrection. It is understood to be a process in that it requires continual yielding to the Holy Spirit.

Divine healing of the sick is provided for in the atonement.

There is room, then, for further theological definition and clarification.

3.2.1 REDISCOVERING THE BAPTISM OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

According to Luis Aránguiz⁹ it is useful to isolate the doctrine of the Baptism of the Spirit as a helpful step toward the systematised theology that Chacón implies is missing and

⁸ [www.metodistachile.cl/doctrina/Articles of Faith](http://www.metodistachile.cl/doctrina/Articles%20of%20Faith), Article IV on the Holy Spirit.

⁹ Luis Aránguiz, '¿Sobrevivirá El Pentecostalismo Clásico?', *Pensamiento Pentecostal*, 2016.

that is at the centre of all Pentecostal belief, life and endeavour. My thesis will acknowledge this and ascribe that level of importance to the doctrine, while trying to analyse the ways this Pentecostal *theology from experience* can be formulated usefully so as to contribute to the wider conversation today on BHS.

As Frank Macchia and, closer to home from Latin America, Bernardo Campos suggest¹⁰, it may be possible to elaborate a generalised Pentecostal theology that allows for ecumenical approximations, within and beyond Pentecostalism. This provided some concepts are widened and harmonised with traditional Christian doctrine in an exercise of Christian unity in the Spirit, in love and truth as expressed by the Apostle Paul in Eph. 4:1-6, 11-13, 15-16, 30-32. Until that time, unity may be better served around the topic that all *are* untied on, the centrality of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit (expounded in books by Macchia¹¹, Campos¹², Anderson¹³, Cox¹⁴) as an empowering experience and ministry of the Holy Spirit. Even if degrees of diversity define the exact nature of the BHS, all appear to agree that without BHS, there would be no Pentecostal movement.

3.2.2 THE ISSUE OF SUBSEQUENTIALISM

There are problems, as well, that need a *theological solution*. Sepulveda's work points to a pastoral solution to the problem. The confusion continues today, however, for many

¹⁰ I wish to explore the theology proposed by both Campos and Macchia in their books *Baptized in the Spirit*, and *El Principio Pentecostalidad*, where they lay out possible routes for a more extensive Pentecostal Theology.

¹¹ Frank D. Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology* (Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982).

¹² Bernardo Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad* (Salem, Oregon: K erigma Publications, 2016).

¹³ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 1st Edition (New York: Orbis, 2007).

¹⁴ Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven - The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the reshaping of Religion in the Twenty First Century* (New York: Addison Wesley, 1995).

Chilean Pentecostals, indeed, for many Christian persuasions. Laurence Wood localises the roots of the issue in Methodism itself, especially with Wesley and Fletcher who, in turn, caused the emergence of Pentecostalism's theology on Baptism of the Spirit¹⁵.

3.3 HOOVER, WHAT KIND OF METHODIST?

Hoover emitted his foundational definition of the IMP in 1930, as he reflected back on the brief history of the IMP church and the division from the IME, explaining, first, her *Methodist* identity (here revisited):

It is called *Methodist* because: it had its origins in the Methodist Episcopal church where the Word of God was preached (then) with more fervour. Its practices were infused with the teachings of John Wesley the founder of Methodism.¹⁶

The definition points us in the direction of his loyalties and priorities. He will identify with Methodism but of a *certain kind*. The roots of this duality, already inherent to the IME as the revival was breaking, are found further back in the history of nineteenth century Methodism.

In the Introduction to his book, Hoover mentions early experiences of revival in Chicago in 1895. These could refer to an unidentified Chicago church in revival visited during furlough. However, according to Darrin Rodgers, (Director of Research at the AOC Heritage Flower Centre), these *may* have referred to their own local Methodist church, Oak Park, First Methodist Church of Chicago, founded in 1892. The church became involved with the Radical Holiness Movement (RHS) as did most if not all Methodist churches in Chicago¹⁷, and it was where Mary Louise was brought up and later

¹⁵ Laurence W. Wood, *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism* (USA: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 6–8.

¹⁶ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 119.

¹⁷ Source: conversation with Darrin Rodgers, Director of Research at the AOC Heritage Flower Centre.

married Willis. She mentioned in an annotation in her Bible that it was there that she ‘felt sanctified’ and received ‘further blessing’¹⁸. Whichever the case, it was clear that an early revivalist experience of the RHS within Methodism seems to have stirred Hoover’s heart, ‘the spectacle of a church in constant revival’¹⁹. This, of course, would have been a pre-Pentecostal revival.

David Bundy, who has researched the roots of the American Holiness movement in Chilean Methodism says of Hoover, ‘Hoover is one of the mythic figures of the beginnings of Pentecostalism. His name is honoured throughout the world as the founder of that tradition in Chile ... the founder of the first indigenous church of the modern missionary movement.’ Then, in the same paper: ‘He also was one of that enigmatic group of Holiness missionaries who signed on with the William Taylor Self-supporting Mission and, without support, went to South America inspired by that missionary vision.’ He confirms that both he and Mary Louise ‘had been active in Holiness oriented Methodist Episcopal churches and camp meetings.’²⁰ Here, we trace a remarkable series of links between Taylor, Mukti, Barratt and the Hoovers, all of which intertwined behind the igniting of the Chilean Pentecostal revival.

Allan Anderson argues convincingly for a diversified beginning to worldwide Pentecostalism in contrast to the widespread credence given to Azusa-centricism²¹. For Sepúlveda, even the insistence on the ‘initial evidence’ was a form of Pentecostal imperialism that Hoover resisted when he took a more autochthonous and pluralist theological line on the manifestations of the Holy Spirit²². The many influences behind

¹⁸ See Chapter Four (4.7.1).

¹⁹ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 3.

²⁰ Society for Pentecostal Studies Papers, 1998.

²¹ See Chapter Four (4.7.3)

²² I call this departure from Azusa theology Hoover’s ‘theology of manifestations’. See Chapter Four (4.7.3).

Chilean Pentecostalism, some for and others against ‘initial evidence’, give Anderson and his observations credence. An interpersonal and diversified intertwining can be traced in the roots of the Chilean revival, connecting Minnie Abrams, T.B. Barratt and the Hoovers, who, in turn, were all influenced by William Taylor.

The roots are first found in Methodism at the end of the nineteenth century in the USA.

3.3.1 TWO BRANCHES OF METHODISM

The enquiry needs to first investigate which branch of Methodism the Hoovers identified with when they came to Chile. It will be important to inquire into the influences on them from Mary Louise’ home church, Oak Park Methodist church in Chicago (later, Willis’ also, after they married there in 1887) and the Radical Holiness Movement that the church was part of.

The two branches of Methodism that had emerged in the USA were first, the formal and liberalising Methodist Episcopal Church that had, by now, institutionalised Bishops and became a more established and, according to David Bundy²³ ‘more respectable’ Methodism.

Secondly, there had been rising in USA and Europe the Methodism that is considered by many as precursor and cause of the Pentecostal movement, the Radical Holiness Movement that sought a revival of Wesleyan Christian Holiness perfectionism. It was this branch of Methodism that both Taylor and the Hoovers identified with.

This ‘experiential theology’ from the RHM will prove to be a useful antecedent to the Pentecostal theology that emerged in Chile in 1909.

²³ Quoted by me, from an informal interview on the tenth of June, 2023.

3.3.1.1 Formal Methodism in USA in the Nineteenth Century

Laurence Wood has shown in his book, *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism*²⁴, how foundational Methodism in the USA, heavily influenced by Fletcher, had originally espoused holiness. ‘When Wesley ordained, Thomas Coke, in 1784, at the Leeds conference with instructions for him to go to America to ordain Francis Asbury, he arranged for them to become the first general superintendent of American Methodism. Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, became the first elected bishops in America, and they were highly influential in the founding of the Methodist Episcopal church in America. Both are also deeply indebted to Fletcher.’

However, Walter Hollenweger in the Foreward to Wood’s book, sums up the historical sequel:

In the United States, early Methodism promoted Fletcher’s theology of holiness. When mainline Methodists gave it up, Wesleyans, Holiness people, and later Pentecostals adopted it. Most of the Pentecostals took up *Fletcher’s language of the baptism with the Holy Spirit* (italics mine) but the majority of them changed its content. For this majority, baptism with the Holy Spirit is a kind of empowerment for service and therefore, mainly connected to the gifts of the Spirit.²⁵

Wood shows how revisionism and liberalism set in when,

a radical change in Methodist leadership took place between 1885 and 1900, involving a shift in theological perspective... it was a time when Fletcher’s writings were no longer being published or studied.... When Wesley was being dislodged from the role as the primary source of Methodist doctrine.²⁶

So, the scene was set for the theological shift that occurred, says Wood:

The erosion of the Wesleyan doctrinal heritage occurred, almost overnight (from 1885 to 1900). When the leadership of the Methodist Episcopal Church changed hands, from those committed to its Wesleyan heritage to those who were open to the newer ideas associated with liberal theology imported from Germany.²⁷

²⁴ Laurence W. Wood, *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism* (USA: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 293.

²⁵ Laurence W. Wood, ix.

²⁶ Laurence W. Wood, 314.

²⁷ Laurence W. Wood, 332.

Wood therefore clarifies how the earlier Methodist revivalist and sanctification interpretations of the work of the Spirit that Wesley and Fletcher sustained, were later to decline in acceptance by large sectors of the Methodist church in USA during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

3.3.1.2 Wesleyan Holiness Methodism as part of the RHM

While one branch of Methodism was liberalising the other was radicalising. The Christian perfection doctrine of Fletcher and Wesleyanism that was gradually receding from sectors of the EMC was being revived on both sides of the Atlantic. Contributors to the doctrine of Christian perfection referred to it as ‘holiness perfection’, the ‘Second Blessing’, the ‘complete rest in Christ’, ‘a second work of Grace’, ‘Higher Life’. Edward Irving (1792 – 1834), an Anglican in England, Asa Mahan²⁸ (1799 – 1889), Charles Finney (1792 – 1875), William Boardman (1810–86), William Arthur (from Belfast, Ireland) 1819 – 1901, Phoebe Palmer (1807 – 74), Amanda Berry Smith (1837-1915) from the African Episcopal Methodist churches and who later worked with the leader of the Azusa movement, William Seymour, were some of its most prominent exponents.

3.3.1.3 Methodist Holiness Conferences 1874

Holiness Conferences were held in and around 1874 that give evidence to these developments. In 1874 Hannah Whithall Smith and Robert Pearsall Smith spoke at the ecumenical Broadlands and Oxford meetings in England for the promotion of holiness.

The minutes of the Oxford Meeting in 1874²⁹ were made accessible to me at Worcester College while I was resident in Oxford. They express a preoccupation with

²⁸ Asa Mahan, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost* (New York: Palmer and Hughes, 1870), is a good example of a basic textbook that inspired the RHM in the nineteenth century.

²⁹ Minutes of the 1874 Oxford Radical Holiness Conference. Worcester College archives.

three theological aspects: 1. The return of Israel to their land, 2. The Baptism of the Holy Spirit in terms of entire sanctification, and 3. The second coming of Christ.

Hoover shows few leanings in his articles toward eschatology. These doctrines he would normally translate verbatim from ‘The Latter Rain Evangel’ (Stone church) and ‘The Christian Herald’ (London, Spurgeon) which carried many such end-time Pentecostal eschatological emphases, and later publish these in his periodical *Fuego de Pentecostés*³⁰.

This is the path that the Hoovers will tread, between the two Methodisms. At first, they are clearly situated in the Taylorian Wesleyan Holiness tradition. This branch of Methodism at the end of the nineteenth century³¹, in a renewed search for ‘Second Blessing’ holiness, began to equate it to the ‘Baptism of the Spirit’ inspired by the theology of Fletcher and Wesley³². These roots of theological development would later link up with the Mukti tract received by the Hoovers. Minnie Abram’s understanding of the Baptism of the Spirit will grow out of this Sanctification understanding of the BHS being propounded (see below 3.3.1.4, and 3.6).

Allan Anderson argues convincingly for a diversified beginning to worldwide Pentecostalism in contrast to the popular credence given to Azusa-centrism³³. For Sepúlveda, even the insistence on the ‘initial evidence’ was a form of Pentecostal imperialism that Hoover resisted when he took a more autochthonous and pluralist

³⁰ A whole issue of *FdeP* 77, Feb. 1935, is devoted to the theme of Hell and the dangers of liberal theology as a path to it.

³¹ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots o Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), 100.

³² Laurence W. Wood, *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism* (USA: Scarecrow Press, 2002), xix.

³³ See Chapter Four (4.7.3)

theological line on the manifestations of the Holy Spirit³⁴. The many influences behind Chilean Pentecostalism, some for and others against ‘initial evidence’, give credence to Anderson and his observations. A remarkable and diversified intertwining can be traced, in the roots of the Chilean revival, connecting Minnie Abrams, T.B. Barratt and the Hoovers, who, in turn, were all influenced by William Taylor³⁵.

3.3.1.4 Methodism that explores ‘the Baptism of the Holy Spirit’

Donald Dayton has dedicated a chapter (‘The Triumph of the Pentecostal Spirit Baptism’) to the way in which Christian perfectionism began to merge into future Pentecostalism through the phrase ‘Baptism of the Spirit’³⁶. What was a ‘second experience’ of holiness became a language that sought after a ‘third experience’. There was a blurring, however, between concepts of ‘holiness’ and ‘power’ in the way Torrey, Charles Finney and D. L. Moody, all affiliated with the RHM, spoke of the ‘Baptism of the Holy Spirit’.

Fletcher, against Wesley’s preferences, used the phrase to refer to this Christian perfection when received as an experience, although John Wesley had not ever referred to sanctification as a ‘Baptism of the Spirit’. Dayton explains how this is true of Fletcher:

Fletcher pushes Methodism further out of a Christocentric pattern of thought, and closer to a Pneumatocentric one ... there is a tendency to separate the reception of the Holy Spirit from conversion in the way that began to trouble Wesley. Fletcher did not separate the Spirit from earlier stages, but did focus the role of the Spirit in a third stage, *inaugurated by the baptism of the Holy Spirit* in such a way as to begin to raise these questions. When this scheme was later used by less subtle minds, the tendency toward separation would be accentuated.³⁷

³⁴ I call this departure from Azusa theology Hoover’s ‘theology of manifestations’. See Chapter Four (4.7.3).

³⁵ See Chapter Three (3.4) with reference from David Bundy, ‘Legacy of William Taylor’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 18, no. 4 (First published Online 2016 1994): 172–76.

³⁶ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), Chapter IV.

³⁷ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), 52.

In 1877 Moody, slightly reticent to use the BHS phrase, expressed the ‘power’ concept which would later gain credence in Pentecostalism. He wrote:

In some sense, and to some extent, the Holy Spirit dwells with every believer; there is another gift, which may be called the gift of the Holy Spirit for service. This gift, it strikes me, is entirely distinct and separate from conversion and assurance. God has a great many children that have no power and the reason is, they have not the gift of the holy ghost of service.³⁸

It was this theological background, renewed Wesleyan Christian perfection revivalism, that shaped Hoover’s Methodist theology, as also, William Taylor’s who recruited him.

3.4 WILLIAM TAYLOR (1821–1902)

Taylor was an innovative missiologist more than a theologian. However, his influence was felt mainly in the revivalist movements, particularly the RHM (see below) from where he drew much support. He was later to interact with Abrams, Barratt, and Hoover, providing the ‘three self’ church system that served many revivals, particularly the Chilean 1909 IMP movement that was left with no church building.

He was a camp meeting convert and later an itinerant Methodist preacher, and when he went to Canada, worked with Wesleyan Methodists and Baptists.

David Bundy locates William Taylor in the RHM Wesleyan Methodist revivalist camp theologically:

Many Methodist and Wesleyan/Holiness periodicals carried at least one article on Taylor or a letter from him in nearly every fascicle. Among the Wesleyan/Holiness advocates alienated from the Methodist post-Civil War bureaucracy, "Pauline missions" became a code for self-supporting and independent mission work. Taylor became a folk hero known around the world because of his opposition to the imperial mission model of the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society.³⁹

³⁸ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 102.

³⁹ David Bundy, ‘Unintended Consequences: The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society and the Beginnings of Pentecostalism in Norway and Chile’ (An essay was originally presented to the Yale-Edinburgh Mission History Project, Yale Divinity School, NewHaven, Connecticut, June, 1996).

As Bundy points out, Taylor's main gifting was as a missionary strategist. He developed the 'self-sustaining, self-governing, self-propagating' missionary methods that later made him fall foul of the more conservative Methodist Episcopal Church Mission church vision and successfully planted churches in a long missionary career throughout India, Central America, Africa and later, of course, South America and Chile.

Before Rolland Allen's *'Missionary Methods St. Paul's or Ours?'* (1912) he had already enshrined the Pauline Principles in his own *'Pauline Methods of Missionary Work'* (1879)⁴⁰.

In his classic contribution, *Legacy of Willian Taylor*⁴¹, as his biographer, Bundy places his theological platform fully in the holiness, revivalist tradition. Quoting from some of Taylor's basic tenets for the recruitment of missionaries he reveals the high value placed on the biblical gospel, the role of the Holy Spirit in the development of the new 'native' churches, and the development of holiness of character:

1. To plant nothing but pure gospel seeds.
2. Paul laid the entire responsibility of Church work and Church government upon his native converts, under the immediate supervision of the Holy Spirit.
3. Paul 'endeavoured to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' with the home Jerusalem Churches by all possible means, short of corrupting the gospel, keeping their members up to the standard of holiness.

Unfortunately for Taylor the Methodist Missionary Society responded negatively to Taylor as Bundy's study analyses:

The concepts later known as the "three self" were unthinkable to the wealthy confident American church (Barclay 1957).¹² Therefore, from 1870, the Missionary Society worked to silence Taylor. They forced him to "locate" (withdraw from appointed ministry to be a member of a local congregation) and insisted

⁴⁰ William Taylor, *Pauline Methods of Missionary Work*. (Philadelphia: National Association for the Promotion of Holiness., 1897).

⁴¹ David Bundy, 'Legacy of Willian Taylor', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*., n.d., 174.

that the South India Conference accept mission funds. They elected him (1884) Missionary Bishop of Africa (because the Missionary Society had had no success there). Eventually (1896), they changed the agreement made with Taylor (1884) that the Methodist churches founded as "self-supporting" in Latin America could remain "self-supporting" (Bundy 1989:3-13). It must also be noted that in the United States, Taylor's mission theory received most of its support from those Wesleyan/Holiness associations and individuals who felt alienated from the newly bourgeois post-Civil War Methodist Episcopal Church.⁴²

We can surmise, then, that both Hoover and Taylor were on the same track of Wesleyan Methodism, associating with the RHM by preference. As Bundy points out, Taylor found 'most of his support' from this group, who were also ardently seeking revival in the Wesleyan style and would have found Taylor's mission theory and practice aligned to this style of mission.

3.4.1 HOOVER AND TAYLOR

It is easy to understand from the above why the Hoovers sought out Taylorian Methodism for missionary service. Taylor's theology, linked to the Radical Holiness Movement, as well as his innovative missionary strategies, were a sound and innovative missionary strategy for the Methodist revivalism that was in the atmosphere. The Hoovers would, therefore, have expected to plant self-sustaining mission churches funded by the Taylorian self-sustaining schools.

When the Hoovers arrived in 1889, having left behind Willis's medical career, they began work in the Iquique College where he worked until 1893, when he was ordained. They expected missional fruit among the public that the schools gave access to. However, since there was little such fruit, disillusioned, they dedicated themselves to preaching the Gospel directly from the local church to surrounding towns.

⁴² David Bundy, 'Unintended Consequences: The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society and the Beginnings of Pentecostalism in Norway and Chile' (An essay was originally presented to the Yale-Edinburgh Mission History Project, Yale Divinity School, NewHaven, Connecticut, June 1996., 1996).

3.5 METHODIST SANCTIFICATION REVIVALS IN CHILE PREVIOUS TO 1909

When they took on the Pastorate at the Methodist Episcopal church of Valparaíso in 1902, the Hoovers understood themselves to be, at last, in a situation where they could seek after the revival that had inspired them since their acquaintance with Chicago's RHS churches, in the that was sweeping Methodism. They begin the intense Seeking Stage for what most RHM Methodists were seeking in USA and Europe: Baptism of the Spirit in terms of *perfecting holiness*. There were several outbreaks of such revivals before 1909.

Florrie Snow⁴³ has documented aspects of these from records of Methodist reports of the time given at yearly Conferences:

Antofagasta -1902 - Wilber Albright 200 people lay prostrate before God in brokenness of heart crying out for forgiveness.

Antofagasta -1902 – Roberto Olave a special class of prayer that meets at 7 am on Sunday mornings in which the Holy Spirit is manifest in a *baptism of his fulness* upon many people.

Punta Arenas – 1903 – Tiburcio Rojas – From one moment to the other there came a crying out with tears and laughter in such joy and happiness that cannot be told. This is the demonstration of the promised gift. Glory to God!

A spirit of Wesleyan Methodist revival was abroad *within* the IME church in Chile when the Hoovers arrived. Hoover mentions these extraordinary outpourings in 1902 under his own ministry as a 'preparation' for what was to come in 1909.

During a Liga meeting one Sunday, a young policeman was taken by an intense spirit of prayer. He burst out in such loud cries that people gathered at the door to see the marvel. Some brothers, imbued by an intense desire to receive the whole sanctification experience, met together on Sunday afternoons, and several received the expected experience. One of them had such a manifestation of the Spirit that his cries were heard from afar. In a testimony meeting, a sister started to tell her experience, when

⁴³ Florrie Snow (wife of exiled Arturo Chacón, active Chilean theologian until his death in 2014) has documented patiently the main events in the history of Chile's Missions churches founded by Methodist missionaries in her exhaustive research: Florrie Snow, *Histografía Iglesia Metodista de Chile 1878-1918*, vol. 2 (Concepción: Ediciones Metodistas, 1999).

suddenly she raised her arms and gave out a cry, “Oh!” she remained as if in an ecstasy for a few moments. These incidents are mentioned to show that the 1909 revival had its antecedents in 1902, and that in this way the church was somewhat prepared. People waited for the manifestations of God. There were several cases of conversion and sanctification, so notable they did not take much to equal those of 1909.⁴⁴

Methodist critics of Hoover’s revivals will sometimes point to the fact that Hoover was no initiator of revival in Chile. He himself will admit this:

That year was actually notable everywhere in Chile. Four other churches had a gain of 80 or more during the year. The gain of the whole conference was 44%, a phenomenal increase, even though the number at the beginning of the year was not that much.⁴⁵

However, they were still seeking ‘something additional to regeneration and sanctification’. It was in these circumstances that they received Minnie Abram’s tract from the revival in Mukti. This would be the threshold at which their Wesleyan Methodism would be enlarged experientially and hence, theologically. The Seeking stage turned even more intense for them after receiving the pamphlet. Mary Louise writes to Mrs. A. A. Boddy from Sunderland, England, on March 24, 1909, a letter printed in his *Confidence* periodical that reveals how the Hoovers’ experience and understanding of sanctification, theologically, is in line with the RHM:

I have taken on a new life, and I can see with grateful heart that God has truly sanctified me, and I can say that ‘sin has no longer dominion over me, that I am dead indeed, and a sin and the live under God...’⁴⁶

However, in the same letter, she speaks of a further seeking beyond sanctification for the Pentecostal BHS, with signs of ‘approval’:

Those at the altar remained all night until 6 am., confessing, asking each other’s pardon. Toward morning, all seemed to be conscious of the presence of the Lord. Since then, the meetings continue. Saturday night is an all-night of prayer and God is always with us at times in great power. A number have received sanctification, blessing and pardon of sin,

⁴⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 5.

⁴⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 6.

⁴⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 181–83.

*but we are still anxiously waiting for the Pentecostal baptism, or perhaps the signing of God's approval upon us (italics mine).*⁴⁷

The next chapter will examine how the Hoovers finally 'cross the Rubicon' into the full Pentecostal baptism they were seeking. The ember that would further inflame their neo-Wesleyan sanctification Methodism came from India, from Pandita Ramabai's Mukti. Debate as to whether the Pentecostal BHS is 'different' from the previous sanctification experiences will also be examined in Chapter Four. However, clearly Mukti set them on a new path in their understanding.

Barely a year after the events in Azusa (1906) were reaching the ears of the world church, the Hoovers read the Mukti pamphlet (1907), *The Baptism of the Holy Spirit and Fire* which brought them to the frontiers of their Wesleyan Methodism and persuaded them that there was more beyond.

3.5.1 METHODISM, SEEKING PENTECOST IN CHILE

I will define the kind of Pentecostalism that the Hoovers would seek and embrace over the years 1907 and 1910 and beyond in Chapter Four⁴⁸. However, to the research sub-question 1, 'What were the influences upon Hoover that led him to the experience of BHS in 1909?', Mukti figures large as the *main cause* that motivated them to consider more definitely an experiential and theological pneumatological shift *beyond* Methodism.

We have already noted that RHM Methodism was embracing the concept and phraseology of BHS as a further experience of Christian perfection. By the time the Hoovers are made aware of BHS, it will be in terms of a rather more advanced Pentecostal experience proposed by the new movement, a step further from normative Methodist holiness experience.

⁴⁷ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 182–83.

⁴⁸ See Chapter Four (4.1.1).

Their search led them to seek out the advice of Minnie Abrams, from whom they would receive ‘more literature on this theme of such supreme importance’. Their correspondence would extend to ‘every place from which they might receive more light’. As previously noted, the list included Thomas Bailey⁴⁹, Thomas Barratt, Max Wood Morehead from Venezuela, Norway, and Bombay⁵⁰.

T.B. Barratt himself had come to consider Methodist doctrine and structure to be in accord with Pentecostalism⁵¹. He may well have been determinant, through correspondence, in Hoover’s decision to remain within Methodist parameters. However, with relation to the new Pentecostality they were suddenly encountering, beyond even sanctification Methodism, it is necessary to analyse why and how the main influence came from Pandita Ramabai’s revival in India.

3.6 MUKTI, HOOVER’S METHODISM INFLAMED

It is probable that the Mukti revival that started a year before Azusa in 1905 was also a bridging revival, a hybrid of RHM sanctification, emblazoned with the spiritual gifts and Acts of the Apostles power for mission that the Hoovers were seeking. Minnie Abrams, a mouthpiece for the Mukti revival, had written the pamphlet sent to the Hoovers herself, and later travelled extensively, spreading the news and testimony of the Mukti revival.

Thomas Barratt visited Mukti in 1908 amidst doubts as to whether it was a genuine Pentecostal revival or not. Rakel Alegre’s doctoral thesis⁵² explores the nature of Mukti and through the eyes and ears of an observant Barratt, clarifies the issue. She

⁴⁹ Mary Louise identifies him as Rev. Gerard Bailey, an Alliance missionary from Venezuela in her letter to Mr Studd. Mario G. Hoover, 185.

⁵⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 9.

⁵¹ I will consider Barratt’s influence on Hoover in Chapter Five.

⁵² Rakel Alegre, ‘The Pentecostal Apologetics of T. B. Barratt: Defining and defending the Faith 1906-1909.’ (Regent, 2019), 190–93.

describes Barratt's encounter with 'simultaneous prayer' of 'praying bands' and 'speaking in tongues in great intensity'. He meets with Pandita herself calling her an 'amazing woman' and comes away encouraged by Minnie Abrams, 'Pandita's co-worker', as to the nature of the battle and the need to persevere in it:

Just a few lines to bid you welcome to India, and state that we are praying for blessing upon Bombay. You will meet much opposition, as the "Pentecostal-Baptism" is not pleasant to the flesh. Even beloved therefore surprised if you find your way entrenched. The Lord has again commenced to pour forth His Spirit here in Mukti, for which we praise Him. We would be delighted to come to Bombay, but are children of God, because of ignorance, have stood foremost in this opposition against the Lord. Be not fighting a great battle here, and will help you with our prayers. The Lord bless His work there and keep man hid away, Yours in the Lord, Minnie T. Abrams.⁵³

Barratt printed later in his periodical *Byposten* how evidence of true Baptism of the Holy Spirit was being 'poured out over mission stations all over India'. Interestingly, Barratt noted that she did also confirm that they disagreed on whether speaking in tongues was the only sign of the baptism. Abrams and others at Mukti took the position that people could be baptised in the Spirit without speaking in tongues, but she argued that this little difference of opinion as to the evidence of Spirit baptism should not hinder them from a united effort.⁵⁴

This earlier ambivalence in Minnie Abrams concerning tongues, as initial evidence, will also be seen in Hoover at the beginning of the revival in Chile⁵⁵. Influence from Thomas Barratt later modified Hoover's persuasion. He will begin to affirm his Methodist fundamentals and Wesleyan compatibility with Pentecostalism.⁵⁶

The significant uniting of Mukti and Barratt (within two years of each other, 1907 and 1910) will be seen in the influence they have on the Hoovers' theological development, the hybrid co-existence of Methodism with Pentecostalism.

⁵³ Rakel Alegre, 2019, 191.

⁵⁴ Rakel Alegre, 2019, 192.

⁵⁵ See Chapter Two (2.7.2) and Chapter Four (4.9).

⁵⁶ See Chapter Five (5.4).

The Hoovers received what Abrams narrated of the Mukti Mission and how, after seeking the revival manifestations Pandita had read about in Wales, they had experienced definite outpourings of the Holy Spirit in 1905. A newspaper article that Hoover wrote in June 1932 in *Fuego de Pentecostés* tells the story in his own words, quoting the paragraphs that had so awakened him and his wife to a similar search. From the Introduction, we read:

In January of 1905, Pandita Ramabai spoke to the girls of Mukti about the need of revival and asked for volunteers who could meet daily with her to seek it. 70 volunteered and from time to time so did others up until the revival began. Then 550 would meet twice a day. In June Pandita Ramabai asked for volunteers who would leave their secular studies and go to preach the gospel in the surrounding villages. 30 young girls offered their service... They would meet daily asking for the “anointing of power from on high” when suddenly the revival began. On the 29th of June at 3:30 am the Holy Spirit came upon one of these volunteers.⁵⁷

Then a detailed account from Hoover of how a girl had seen another girl enveloped in flames, had run to fetch water to douse the flames but had returned to find the girl preaching repentance to the rest.

The following night, the 30th of June, while explaining the eighth chapter of St John in her normal tranquil voice, the Holy Spirit descended, and all the girls began to pray in a loud voice in such a way as to silence her. They were all weeping and praying some on their knees, some sitting, some standing many with their hands raised to God.⁵⁸

As noted in Chapter Two, the testimony also pointed them to a further subsequentialism. The pamphlet spoke of ‘a clear and definite baptism in the Holy Spirit and fire, as *something in addition to justification and sanctification ...*’ This appears to have been the historical point at which the Hoovers became willing to step out beyond what they had known up until the moment in their Methodist experience.

By juxtaposing the Hoovers’ descriptions of the Chilean revival from 1926, parallel to those from the Mukti pamphlet, having experienced, by then, almost 20 years of revival since its reception in 1907, it is possible to determine those aspects of RHM Methodism that began to transcend into this, for them, revelatory pneumatology. The

⁵⁷ Willis Hoover, ‘Pentecostés en Chile’, *Fuego de Pentecostés*, 1932, N° 54 edition.

⁵⁸ ‘Pentecostés en Chile’, *Fuego de Pentecostés*, 1932, N° 54 edition.

Hoovers felt that their doctrine of Christian holiness had not fully experienced this new understanding of the Baptism of the Spirit before the ‘initial evidence’ of tongues and the gifts of power that the first church lived out in Acts of the Apostles and that they had been studying in Valparaiso.

A closer look at the document itself, will suggest that Hoover’s earliest theological formation in the revival, while still a professing Methodist minister, took on definite Pentecostal BHS after Minnie Abram’s exposition.

Hoover remembers the influence the Mukti account had on him when he translated for *FdeP* in June 1932, an article he had written for the World Survey. He will link it definitely with the start of the Valparaiso revival in a preamble. He writes: ‘This is a translation of an article written by me at the invitation of the editor of World Survey, a world missionary magazine, and that was published in this magazine. I reproduce it in *Fuego* because a great many of our readers do not know the very interesting history of the origin of the Chilean Pentecostal church.’ He explains the effect of the tract on him and his small band of seekers:

What could a sincere person do? Certainly, before this veritable cloud of witnesses... the only logical step that lay before the sincere child of God was to abandon theories, follow facts and “taste and see that the Lord is good”, prove for ourselves “how much your heavenly father will give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him”. So, we turned our faces like Daniel, to seek God with fasting and prayer.⁵⁹

Since Abrams was using a tract written by her but used by Mukti I will refer to that as the Mukti Tract (**MT**) and comment on my findings on the comparisons with Hoover’s experiences and pneumatology. (*All highlighting italics in the quotes are mine. In some cases I will revisit some of the key texts that highlight the Hooverian parallels to Mukti.*).

⁵⁹ *FdeP* No.54, 1932.

MT: The revival in Mukti as the Spirit is poured out. Tongues accompanying the BHS:

Glory to God! He is teaching the Indian Christians to know and understand spiritual things. Many are being anointed in a spirit of intercessory prayer, using tongues, raising rogation for those lost around them. Young lads and girls are receiving the gifts of the Spirit, speaking in tongues, interpreting tongues that were previously unknown to them, the sick are being healed and unclean spirits are being cast out in response to prayer.⁶⁰

Hoover:

This brother [the one who initiated the *Tres Glorias a Dios*]⁶¹ came to the pastor's home the morning after his unusual experience. He arrived so possessed by the Spirit that while his mind was completely normal, his demeanour was unusual. He walked in with praises, and speaking with strange tongues. He was three or four days under this control almost constantly.⁶²

Hoover also mentions the initial controversy that tongues produced:

Probably the chief point of controversy has been the manifestation of strange tongues, and the fact that it accompanied and was evidence of the baptism with the Holy Spirit. This fact led many Christians to question whether they themselves had the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. The doubt hurt their self-esteem. And if this did not result in a hunger to seek the Baptism, it would awaken a resistance in their hearts. But we, basing our position on Acts, chapters, 2, 10, and 19, continued on our way. The church went on growing in a notable manner, while the pastor continued to be the target of criticism and opposition.⁶³

There is a noticeable focus on tongues as the initial evidence at this stage. They base themselves on those Acts passages where tongues do appear initially with the BHS and they 'continued on' their way, presumably believing this despite the doubts. Hoover's identification of tongues as a 'controversy' here does not, at this stage, cause them to adopt the later 'theology of manifestations' position that would characterise more developed Methodist Pentecostal theology. But certainly, at this initial stage the expectancy for tongues was high and they were prepared to pay the price for it. This

⁶⁰ All MT references below are to be found in that original document I am calling the Mukti Tract. This Tract is found in its original format, translated and serialised in the first editions of Chile

⁶¹ This Pentecostal liturgical cry meaning 'Glory to God!' that rings throughout services, before and after readings of Scripture or notices, began when 'this brother' would be moved by the Spirit during the services and say 'Brothers let's give three "*¡Glorias a Dios!*"' See Mario G. Hoover, p.57

⁶² Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 57.

⁶³ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 37.

would move the Hoovers beyond even Wesleyan Methodism, in the Pentecostal direction.

Later, however, Hoover makes his position clearer making use of Durham's article on Manifestations⁶⁴.

MT: The importance of repentance for salvation and for reception of the BHS:

Where there is continued prayer and faith in teaching of the word people proceed to experience repentance for salvation, also repentance for the baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire and receive power in prayer and gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Hoover:

The same Holy Spirit we were seeking so fervently was already manifesting himself in the preparation of individual hearts. The brother leading the service in Valparaiso used our favourite topic, found in Joel 2. to call the brothers of the official board to come and occupy the front benches. Addressing them and including himself as one of them he put upon on the responsibility of the condition of the church and *called him to repentance and to get right with God*. They stood around the altar together with others and called upon the Lord. When the service ended the leader asked the boardroom please remain with him to fix things up even if it took all night. Myriam stayed along with others. About two 3 o'clock in the morning on Monday as around the altar ... they felt Jesus walked inside around the altar and lay his hand upon their heads. A brother saw what appeared to be a brazier of fire in the midst of the platform. So great was the blessing - so much had they won in the night of communion with the Lord that someone asked the leader to announce a similar service, which was done. The meeting was set for the following Saturday.⁶⁵

We note, at this stage, Hoover's pastoral rather than theological interest in the events and the effects of the BHS. He looks for the *fruit of repentance, consistent with Wesleyan revival*, from the earliest stages of the revival.⁶⁶

MT: The importance of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit accompanied by the fire of holiness:

A good number of the foreign missionaries and workers in Mukti, and in other places, are convinced that, unless the fire has really worked on us for purification and unless He who is a consuming fire, works into us humility, the love for souls, and the compassion that Jesus had, unless the holiness, the power, the grace, the love and the long-suffering of God has been revealed to us through the fire of the Holy Spirit, overcoming any understanding

⁶⁴ See Chapter Four (4.8 - 4.10)

⁶⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 16.

⁶⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 153, 154.

reached through intellectual means, the fullness of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit not has not been obtained.

Hoover:

There were about 100 people. One of our girls from the choir, *seeking sanctification* fell to the floor and was prostrated for several hours. She was sometimes praying, singing, laughing, weeping. Suddenly she rose in a fervent tone gave a message that moved the whole congregation. It was as if she was drunk laughing, weeping, crying out, standing to her feet - an indescribable scene!⁶⁷

Holiness will continue to emerge in most of Hoover's writings and pastoral concern for the church. In *FdeP* No. 47, November 1931, Hoover wrote a strident article about holiness and decried the 'sensuality' that was appearing in the churches.

MT: Spiritual hunger a necessary condition for the BHS:

We [the Mukti mission] hope that this simple narration of what we have discovered in the word of God about this baptism, reach many *hungry hearts* the desire the perfect victory over sin and the power for service.

Hoover:

Some brothers, imbued via an intense desire to receive the whole sanctification experience, got together on Sunday afternoons, and several receive the experience. One of them is such a manifestation of the spirit that his cries were heard from afar. These incidents are mentioned to show that the 1909 revival had its antecedents in 1902. And that in this way the church was somewhat prepared. People waited for the manifestations of God. There were several cases of conversion and sanctification some notable they did not take much to equal those of 1909.⁶⁸

Methodist sanctification revivals had been occurring in Chile, as Florrie Snow charts.

Hoover will always consider holiness a mark of the true work of the Spirit.

MT: New Birth:

Jesus came to give life to those who were dead in their trespasses and sins Eph.2:1. "In him was life and the life was the light of men". John 1:4. Those who receive him are born of God and receive the power to be made into children of God. John 1:12, 13. *Jesus poured out his life so that his life could be poured out into us.* Through his death he overcame sin and death for those who receive him, and by his resurrection he is powerful to pour out on

⁶⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 30.

⁶⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 5.

those he saves from sin, the divine life that enables us to live forever. This freedom from sin and reception of life, through our Lord, is the *New Birth*. *This new birth is worked in us by the power of the Holy Spirit*.

Hoover:

...the Z- are in flames, the whole family. P- and J- are converted. And talking of the work in schools in the north before he went to Valparaiso: 32 years ago I went to South America as a teacher in one of the Mission schools, and I found the congregation which had been gathered had been rather educated into Christianity then converted into it but it didn't satisfy, and I began to work and teach and preach the power of salvation. I found the Lord *could convert them just as well* as to educate them, and it was blessed to see them when I was blest to see *the work of the Spirit in their hearts*. I did not know anything about Pentecost then. I found out what they needed *was the testimony of the Spirit of Jesus and preaching his gospel*.⁶⁹

For Hoover, the New Birth was fundamental and previous to further experiences in the Holy Spirit. As with Wesley, Mukti and Azusa, and all succeeding Pentecostal theology, the Holy Spirit first enters a person at regeneration.

MT: The Baptism of the Spirit as a subsequent experience after the New Birth:

The baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire promised in Matthew 3:11 is for those who have been born again and who already have the Spirit guiding them searching them out and teaching them. But if we receive the Holy Spirit at our new birth, *what is the second experience? This Baptism of the Holy Spirit?* Jesus, when he was about to ascend to heaven, sent his disciples that they should go out into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. Jesus said to them you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come to you and you will be my witnesses.

Mary Hoover: (Record of a letter was published in January 1910 in 'The Upper Room'⁷⁰)

Those at the altar remained all night until 6 am confessing, asking each other's pardon. Toward morning all seem to be conscious of the presence of the Lord. Since then the meetings continue. Saturday night is an all-night prayer meeting, when God is always with us, at times in great power. A number have received sanctification, blessing, and pardon for sin, *but we are still anxiously waiting for the Pentecostal baptism* or perhaps the sign [in all likeness, she was referring to the gift of tongues] of God's approval upon us.⁷¹

We ourselves also received great blessing *but*

⁶⁹ The Latter Rain Evangel, December, 1921, 21.

⁷⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 183.

⁷¹ Mario G. Hoover, 182.

; confession, reconciliation restitution... at the end of June the Lord began manifesting his power and soon a number *were baptized with the accompanying sign*. Our hearts rejoiced greatly and the blessed work has been going on. We are in the midst of a powerful revival such as we have never seen or felt in our lives and best of all it continues... my husband and I are still pleading for the promise of the heavenly Father⁷².

It is curious to note, and a remarkable testimony to their spiritual hunger, how the obvious workings of the Spirit in sanctification were, to them, *insufficient* spiritually. They were intensely eager for the BHS as a further experience. This seeking for an experience, I would maintain, deepened their relationship with the Holy Spirit's person, thereby opening them up to a further work of Pentecostality. 'The accompanying sign' refers, quite clearly, to tongues. At this early stage, the Hoovers had been persuaded that tongues was the BHS initial evidence, although they were later to abandon this pneumatological position.

MT: The BHS as an experience beyond the New Birth and Sanctification for all the church for all time. Manifestations as in Acts with tongues:

We are also informed that when Paul placed his hands on the Ephesians, the Holy Spirit came upon them and they spoke in tongues and prophesied. Acts 19:6. According to Acts 2:17-20 the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and the fire *would continue in the church of Christ with all its signs and gifts until the sun turned to darkness and the moon to blood, on the day of the coming of the Lord*.

Hoover:

One day the conversation touched upon the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the manifestation of speaking in new tongues. He told us of a letter he had received from a friend⁷³ who had this experience. The friend pointed out the strangeness of feeling his jaws and tongue moving without his volition, emitting sounds in words which he did not understand. At that moment, brother Gómez arrived to the post office bring a letter for Mrs. Hoover from a friend of ours of many years. In it she told how, when praying in her bedroom the baptism in the Holy Spirit came to her and she spoke in tongues and sang for some two hours, unable to speak in her own tongue. In her ecstasy she went to the room of her elderly mother so that she could see what the Lord was doing. Until then the friend had not seen any other person having a similar experience.⁷⁴

⁷² Mario G. Hoover, 184.

⁷³ The friend was, according to Cecil Roebeck, Fredrik Franson a visiting evangelist and missionary. See "Pentecostalism and Mission. From Azusa Street to the Ends of the Earth". *Missiology: An International Review* 35,1 (2010) 75-92.

⁷⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 11.

And, as mentioned above, the controversy of tongues as the evidence of the BHS later to be downplayed as it seems it was also in Mukti.

Probably the chief point of controversy has been the manifestation of strange tongues, and the fact that it accompanied and was evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit (italics mine). This fact led many Christians to question whether they themselves had the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. The doubt hurt their self-esteem. And if this did not result in a hunger to seek the baptism, it would awaken the resistance in their hearts. But we, basing our position on Acts 2:10 and 19 continued on our way.⁷⁵

Tongues continued to be a central aspect to Pentecostality with Hoover and Mukti mission, but it no longer became the significant factor for reception of the BHS for either.

MT: Power for mission as in Acts:

The persecuted Christians were spread abroad to strange places, by their testimony new believers were added daily to the church. As we read Acts of the Apostles we see that they were invested with the power of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire in order to resist persecution for the cause of Christ, to glorify Christ, living out holy lives, and preaching the death and resurrection of Christ as the remedy for sin and the only way of salvation. With what authority and power did they preach the word!

Hoover:

Taking courage from these beginnings, the brothers started to go out in groups to preach on the streets. They did not wait now for a supernatural or irresistible impulse, but they recognise the injunction from the Lord, "Go... and preach gospel to every creature." It weighed on them now more than ever since they had received the "power from on the high"; so that from that time on, this function has been an integral part of the activities of the church. Many souls credit their salvation to the message first heard in the streets.⁷⁶

Hoover places before the church, as will worldwide Pentecostalism, a crucial theological position regarding the Book of Acts. Acts is to be lived out today through the power of the Holy Spirit.

MT: Power for suffering:

Have you received the peace that surpasses all understanding? Are you able to suffer the persecution and ridicule for the love of Christ with benign tolerance? Are you capable of testifying day after day in your life through your words, the power of Jesus to save? If not

⁷⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 37.

⁷⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 60.

then you need to be invested with the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire in order to live a victorious life and obey the commands of Jesus to make disciples Mat 28:19,20...it is only the Baptism of fire of the love of God that will give you the valour to suffer the pain of the work of the soul so that sinners can be saved and become like Christ.

Hoover:

Taking courage... the brother started to go out in groups to preach on the streets. They did not wait now for supernatural or irresistible impulse, but they recognised the injunction from the Lord," Go... and preach the gospel to every creature. "It weighed on them now more than ever since they had received the power from on high"; so that from that time on, this function has been an integral part of the activities of the church. Many souls credit their salvation to the message first heard in the streets. Several times these groups were arrested and taken to the nearest police station. This gave them the opportunity to give their testimony is there of what God had done for them and what he could do for those who repented. Sometimes the authorities looked upon these activities favourably. At other times they opposed them. But they never found cause for punishment for something that was intended only for the good of the people so they set them free.⁷⁷

One of the more remarkable Pentecostal traits was the understanding that suffering would accompany the mission of the Gospel and was to be a necessary part of the spread of revival. Both in Mukti as in Chile, this concept prevailed nobly and fruitfully.

MT: Victory for evangelism and over demonic spirits:

Jesus said that this gospel of the Kingdom would be preached in all the world, as a testimony to all Gentiles. Mat. 24:14. How can we accomplish this? The church has sufficient workers but the workers are lacking in power. We still have not received power over all the strength of the enemy Luke 10:9.

Hoover (citing T.B.Barratt's letter⁷⁸):

...it is evident that many instances of the so-called mental cases have been demon possession. Very sad. Some, no doubt, have had the demons for a long time, and I've only been exposed to the light through this revival of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, without the manifestations of satanic character. But the revival... has been able to bring the light the sickness, the sins, the demons and the evil influences already there, but unrecognised before, inside the church and in the lives and bodies of many persons even Christians!⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 60-1.

⁷⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 115-8.

⁷⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 117.

Early evidence of the power of the Spirit that paralleled the Book of Acts for Hoover was the confronting and overpowering of demonic spirits. The BHS, for him, enhances the discernment and liberation from the powers of darkness.

MT: BHS and entire sanctification:

In order to maintain this holy life, created it as well the death and resurrection of Christ, we must be of his death, conform to his death. When he was on the cross, the father placed on him, not only our sins committed, but also our sinful nature... a work remains to be done so that we can be holy. We must take by faith our position on the cross as though dead to sin, but alive to righteousness by the power of his life of resurrection. I must consider myself dead to the sins of the flesh into the world as Jesus was dead to them and then he will pour out upon me his holy spirit, and will really working me the death that I accepted by faith. Even the internal *operations of sin must be destroyed (Rom. 6:6)*. This purification is affected by the fire of the Holy Spirit after having experienced the washing by the blood. Christ does all his work in us by the power of the Holy Spirit.

Hoover: (On leaving the house of a dying brother on Easter evening).

The pastor (Hoover was referring to himself) left the house deeply dejected. He began to muse: What a sad picture! But what can be expected from such a pastor? Thus, the words came out of his mouth, talking to himself, or with God. On hearing the last sentence, it seems as if God had spoken them in answer to his laments. So that when walking toward the house, he continued, as if answering the Lord, 'True, Lord. What can be expected from such a pastor? That is, destroy this Pastor; destroy this pastor'⁸⁰

Hoover is intensely taken up with a desire for holiness. This undoubtedly will spring from his Methodist roots, which will never separate from his concept of the BHS but will be enhanced in it.

Mukti, it would seem, then, proposed to the Hoovers a Baptism of the Holy Spirit that merged Wesleyan holiness experiences with an empowering baptism for Acts of the Apostles' mission.

3.7 HOOVER'S METHODISM TRIED AND FOUND WANTING

This chapter will end on a sour note for the very BHS the Hoovers were beginning to experience led to the Hoover's trial. His loyalty to Methodism is not absolute. Just how

⁸⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 21.

Methodist and what kind of Methodism Hoover regarded as his fundamental theological position became clear in his defence during his trial in 1910.

3.7.1 THE DOCTRINAL CHARGES AGAINST HOOVER:

These charges were later withdrawn and only Hoover's record of them remains since they were never officially recorded in the minutes of the Conference⁸¹.

The trial took place approximately a year after the initial manifestations of Pentecostal phenomena in Valparaiso. The charges against Hoover were:

'First charge: Teaching and disseminating false and anti-Methodist doctrines, publicly and privately.'

The six specifications of this charge included:

1. 'he has declared that the Holy Spirit manifested itself by visions, rolling on the floor, the gift of tongues and prophecies.'
2. Reprimanding people for 'not accepting the prophecy' that someone had uttered.
3. That about a certain José Soto, 'who was said to have been mentally deranged...Hoover said the sick person was possessed of a dumb spirit.'
4. That in his church persons had brought messages from heaven, had seen visions, spoken out loud in strange tongues, and practised the imposition of hands.
5. Many fell under the power of God, some had visions, some had dreams, some spoke languages not their own, some struggled with evil spirits.
6. That Hoover had disseminated literature that teaches '*false and anti-Methodist doctrines* (italics mine) such as the 'The Latter Rain Evangel', Pentecostal

⁸¹ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 72–73.

testimony and tracts published in the United States and in India, teaching the doctrines of the raising of hands, baptism with fire, miracles of healing by faith, visions, gift of tongues, prophecies, fixing the date of the Second Coming of Christ, falling under the power of the Holy Spirit, and opposition to the organized churches.’

Hoover did not have the opportunity to defend himself until the end of the hearings, on the sixth day, when he was able to present his report⁸². His defence came first from his congregation who expressed their dissent with their feet. The consequences of the February tribunal were that both the Valparaíso and Santiago Methodist churches split at the local level. The reasons for this division were clearly doctrinal, related to the rejection of the Pentecostal Baptism and manifestations. The Official Board of the seceding churches leaving the IME wrote the following letter to Hoover.

In view of the fact that the Official Church in the Annual Conference held in that city pronounced itself openly against the spiritual awakening and the regenerative work of the Holy Spirit on souls, rejecting all manifestations of it; *Rejecting at the same time the truth of the Pentecostal baptism, with diverse manifestations of gifts be they gifts of tongues, healings, interpretations, ...* (italics mine) we solemnly declare ourselves before our Lord and our brothers, to have broken all relations and loosened ourselves from the bonds of friendship between us and the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁸³

3.7.2 HOOVER’S LOYALTY TO WESLEYAN METHODISM

It is doubtful, in fact, that the Conference would have disagreed with the ‘regenerative work’ of the Spirit, yet the perception was a theological one related theologically to the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Although it is not clear to whom he wrote (possibly an open letter to those loyal to the revival), Hoover’s reply provided a firm belief in the correct

⁸² Mario G. Hoover, 73.

⁸³ Mario G. Hoover, 76–77.

and sound biblical doctrine of the seceding churches, as adhering to the Wesleyan doctrine of the mother church.

I believe Gods providence has committed this church, and its members to the only step they had left, to take the step of [separation]. I believe its doctrines and practices as far as I know them are pure and according to the Word of God.⁸⁴

Later, in the same letter, he gives advice to the two separating churches in Santiago:

Always abide by the sermons of Wesley. They are a sure foundation for doctrine and practice. We are 100% with him in all his movement and God is showing us his favoured pleasure just as he did to him. I shall give you two or three points as evidence for this: First: in the great personal awakening of our own souls. Second: in the great transformation of our souls, and the great and solid peace that is following this awakening. Third: in the abundant fruit that he has lavished upon our subsequent work. Fourth: in the great war Satan is waging against us; using our brothers and collaborators and bringing upon us this day, opprobrium, calumny, persecution, as Christ himself promised.

Hoover then states clearly his continued adherence to Wesleyan doctrine in his letter of resignation, on April 15, 1910.

I am breaking relations with a church organisation I have served all my life. Nevertheless, I want my brothers to know I have not ceased being a Methodist. I follow Wesley faithfully. I have not separated myself from Wesley's doctrines, nor those of the church... Those who believe my teachings have drawn closer to the Lord, and tend to have become more Christlike. They will accompany me... This is not a separation note from Methodism, but simply from the government of the Methodist Church, because of conscience.⁸⁵

This loyalty, then, to Methodist doctrine will encompass for him all the basic tenets of Salvation, Christology, Redemption, Faith, the Trinity, the Scriptures, the Creeds, the Anglican/Methodist practices and liturgies of Holy Communion, baptism, marriage and funerals⁸⁶. Hoover's basic, foundational pneumatology was Wesleyan and Methodist as he himself would claim. The Holy Spirit as the third divine person of the Godhead, present in Creation (Genesis 1:1-3), manifest prophetically (2 Peter 1:20,21) in revelation of Scripture (2 Timothy 3:16), promised in the Old Testament (Ezekiel 37:24-28, Joel 2:28,29), and received fully in the New (Acts 1:8, 2:1-3), where he is active in the

⁸⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 79-80.

⁸⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 85-89. Extracts from Hoover's letter to his brethren upon leaving the IME.

⁸⁶ This use of Methodism as a setting for the Pentecostal gem will be explored in Chapter Five.

extension of the church everywhere (Acts 19:1-20) and present at the Second Coming of Christ calling out 'Maranatha!' (Revelation 22:20).

About the authority of the Methodist Bishops that tried him, accused him and found him guilty, he states wryly in a letter to Bishop Arms in 1910 that Episcopal authority was not sufficient to convict him, but rather only Scripture could, and how his accusers had not been able to press charges on doctrinal grounds.

In matters of error in doctrine, the word of the Bishop is not final neither is the word of any bishop. They had to show me a clear declaration of the doctrine in question and then demonstrate where or on what I have taught the contrary.

And he further comments:

Evidently these words disconcerted them... everything was moving me away from the doctrinal ground, where they saw I had the advantage, and placing me on the authority ground, where they could proceed against me for disobedience to some order from a superior.⁸⁷

3.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Hoover, then, inflamed by Mukti holiness Pentecostalism remains faithful to that branch of Methodism we identify as Wesleyan Holiness Methodism as it seems to be in line with the Indian revival. Yet he will not see it as his duty to remain loyal to the more formal IME. Thus, we see how the tensions in the USA had now begun to affect Chilean Methodism. As Bundy relates:

Efforts to enforce American missionary control of the Chile mission began in earnest even as Chilean nationalism within the Methodist Episcopal congregations (and indeed throughout Chile) began to increase. Revivalism was discounted as an approach to ministry and evangelism. The mission sought to stress education over conversion.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 97.

⁸⁸ David Bundy, 'Unintended Consequences: The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society and the Beginnings of Pentecostalism in Norway and Chile' (An essay was originally presented to the Yale-Edinburgh Mission History Project, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut, June 1996., 1996).

He records more local frictions relating to Hoover and financial irregularities, a charge later disproved, but which further isolated Hoover and the more Taylorian grouping (Taylor had been moved as a Bishop to Africa), and how most of Hoover's friends internal to the IME in 1902 – 1909 were the now 'disenfranchised' Chilean lay and local preachers, who were even more removed from access to power and influence.

In this chapter we defined the type of Methodism that influenced the Hoovers. We can now ask how they became Pentecostal and whether it can be sustained that they experienced something beyond Wesleyan holiness, a new understanding of the Baptism of the Spirit beyond 'Fletcherism'.

The debate over whether Pentecostalism is merely a further development of Methodist RHM emphases or whether Pentecostals discovered a new experience of the Spirit, is still relevant. Wood takes it for granted in the Preface to his book: 'It is well known that theology of the baptism with the Holy Spirit figured prominently in the Wesleyan holiness movement'⁸⁹ and in the next paragraph: 'Pentecostalism originated from within the Wesleyan Holiness tradition in 1906, giving rise to the largest Protestant body in the world which now claims 500 million members worldwide.'

As Dayton comments at the end of his chapter on 'The triumph of the Pentecostal Spirit Baptism': 'It is no accident that Pentecostalism emerged when it did. All that was needed was the spark that would ignite this volatile tinder.'

We have begun to answer the question as to *how Methodist* the Hoovers' theology remained after the Seeking and Receiving stages. The scenario will blur considerably on their corner of the Pentecostal Triangle as they both now become fully immersed in Pentecostalism. It will take the connection with Thomas Ball Barratt to reaffirm Methodism for Hoover⁹⁰. In Chapter Five we will also note how Hoover will also

⁸⁹ Laurence W. Wood, *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism* (USA: Scarecrow Press, 2002), xv.

⁹⁰ Will be explored more thoroughly in Chapter Five, 'Hoover the Methodist Pentecostal'.

be loyal to the original Methodist liturgies and ecclesiastical formats inherited from John Wesley.

But now we can ask: How *Pentecostal* was Willis Hoover?

Chapter Four: Hoover the Pentecostal

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I examine Hoover's Pentecostalism as I did his Methodism. How familiar was his background knowledge of the movement, the nature of his BHS experience, the theology he built around the BHS, the influences in Chicago and elsewhere that took him in that direction?

In a private conversation with Dr Campos he let slip a phrase that is frequently heard among Pentecostals familiar with Hoover's Methodist Pentecostal theology: 'Well, we know that Hoover was *never really* a Pentecostal'. By this he was clarifying the opinion of those who think that the Methodist identity he wove into the church precluded *full* Pentecostalism. Was Hoover ever a *real* Pentecostal? My sub-question 2 picks up this oft-repeated doubt, usually expressed by those not familiar with Chilean Pentecostalism. As we have enquired into his Methodism, so we need to examine his Pentecostalism.

4.2 HOOVER, WHAT KIND OF PENTECOSTAL?

The historical survey in Chapter Two covered how he and Mary Louise and their congregation sought and received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. How much did they know of what they were seeking? What influenced them to 'deeper Christian experiences we had not reached'?¹

What became a clear antecedent to BHS for the Hoovers, as has already been noted, was their perseverant spiritual hunger: 'A new hunger was awakened in us to have everything God had for us. When we say "for us" in this connection, we refer to the pastor's home and the brothers who came more frequently.'²

¹ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 10.

² Mario G. Hoover, 10.

4.3 THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT

Anderson says, ‘Pentecostalism is probably the fastest-growing religious movement ever.’³ Yet, it was difficult to categorise the movement adequately. Dayton explains in the Introduction to his book, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, how the efforts to classify Pentecostalism soon encountered the inadequacy of seeing it primarily as a ‘Tongues movement’. This emphasis came on account of the Azusa revival, considered by many as the birth or launching pad of world-wide Pentecostalism. Anderson cites Parham’s Azusa-centric assumption: ‘The present world-wide revival was rocked in the cradle of little Wales. It was brought up in India [Mukti], following; becoming full-grown in Los Angeles later.’⁴

This seems not to have been the case. Before Azusa, revivals of various kinds and manifestations had been occurring in several parts of the world. The revival in Wales, connected with Evan Roberts, between 1904 and 1906, though short-lived, set a model for those seeking a further experience of the Holy Spirit. Anderson makes mention of pre-Azusa revivals with Pentecostal manifestations in Korea, Africa, China, and India, before Azusa in his paper ‘The Origins of Pentecostalism and its Global Spread in the Early 20th Century’⁵.

However, it cannot be denied that the ASR played a very significant role as a progenitor of the Pentecostal revival. According to Martin Marty, ‘it can be said that Pentecostalism can be traced to the Parham Bible Institute in Topeka, Kansas, on New

³ Allan Anderson, ‘Spreading Fires: The Globalization of Pentecostalism in the Twentieth Century.’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 31, No. 1 (2006).

⁴ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 1st Edition (New York: Orbis, 2007), 27.

⁵ Allan Anderson, ‘The Origins of Pentecostalism and Its Global Spread in the Early 20th Century’, *Transformation*, no. 22 (3 July 2005): 175–84.

Year's Eve in 1900 when Miss Agnes Ozman was heard speaking in other tongues as the disciples of Jesus did on the first day of Pentecost'⁶.

In 1906 Pentecostalism certainly came to worldwide attention thanks to the Azusa Revival in Los Angeles led by Pastor William Joseph Seymour. Seymour learned of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit with the gift of tongues in 1905 at the Bible school directed by Parham. In 1906 Seymour was invited to pastor a Black Holiness church in Los Angeles. The historic Azusa meetings began in April 1906 in the former African Methodist Episcopal Church building at 312 Azusa Street.

Daily meetings commenced at about 10 in the morning, and usually lasted until late at night, completely spontaneous and emotional, without programs or speakers. Singing, tongues and people falling to the ground 'under the power', or slain in the Spirit, were common phenomena. By mid-July five to seven hundred people were in regular attendance.⁷

The meetings at the Azusa Street Temple were notable for their interracial and inter gender harmony. Seymour was African American, and his collaborators were sometimes African American women, like Lucy Farrow, a leader in the movement who later would be one of the first missionaries to Africa, Liberia. Pentecost brought with it a new understanding of the role of women. Attributed to Seymour: 'It is contrary to the Scriptures, that woman should not have her part in the salvation work to which God has called her' ... Men had 'no right to lay a straw in her way, but to be men of holiness, purity, and virtue, to hold up the standard, and encourage the woman in her work, and God will honor and bless us as never before' ... 'It is the same Holy Spirit in the woman is in the man ... All the women received the anointed oil of the Holy Ghost, and we're

⁶ Donald Dayton, 9.

⁷ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 48-49, cites Faupel, *Everlasting Gospel*, 194-7, and Robeck, *Azusa Street*, 60-9

able to preach the same as the men.’⁸ Prejudice and discrimination were overcome, as with the original Pentecostal community (Acts 1:13-14).

From Azusa, Pentecostalism quickly spread throughout the world and became a major force within Christianity. Dayton describes the origins and growth. He sees the Azusa movement as a

confluence of white American religion emphasizing holiness and styles of worship derived from the African-American Christian tradition developed during the days of slavery in the South. The expressive worship and praise of Azusa, with shouts and dances, was already common among white Appalachian and southern blacks. Thanks to this, the first wave of pilgrims from Azusa travelled throughout the United States and spread the Pentecostal fire, mainly in churches, missions and holiness camps.⁹

Since the gift of tongues was seen as a sign of reception of the BHS, it became a benchmark of the early Pentecostal revivals around the world. The Assemblies of God churches, to this day, will assume the theological position that glossolalia is the sign of the BHS. Thus, many American Pentecostal pioneers who received the gift of tongues in Azusa in 1906 returned to their places of origin to spread the movement among their own people.

As a result of the ‘Topeka Pentecost’ Parham formulated the doctrine that the gift of tongues was the ‘biblical evidence’ of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Parham taught that tongues were human languages imparted for the purpose of serving world evangelization. From this assumption he argued that missionaries need not learn foreign languages, since they could miraculously speak in tongues in all parts of the world. Anderson describes colourfully how the early missionaries spread over the world convinced that their tongues would be understood by the un-evangelised nations. Some

⁸ Allan Anderson, 272.

⁹ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), 20.

remarkable cases were recorded of *xenolalia*¹⁰, or ‘missionary tongues’, being understood. At other times, even when there was disappointment, local missionaries conversant in local languages would receive BHS from the Pentecostal missionaries and continue the spread of the Pentecostal gospel.¹¹

4.4 THE BAPTISM OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

Frank Macchia sees the Baptism of the Spirit as the Pentecostal’s ‘central distinctive’¹².

Finish Pentecostal theologian Veli-Matti Karkkannen wrote correctly that the Pentecostal movement has placed the doctrine of spirit baptism at the forefront of the theological agenda in modern theology. He also noted rightly that the doctrine is still in the making; “the final word has not yet been said.”¹³

The ‘final word’ has been attempted, nonetheless, from time to time. Dayton summarises Torrey’s teaching in the mid-1890s in his classic *The baptism with the Holy Spirit*¹⁴.

1) ... that there are a number of designations in the Bible, for this one experience... Baptised with the Holy Ghost... Filled with the holy ghost... Indued with power from on high... The Holy Spirit fell on them... The gift of the Holy Ghost... And receive the Holy Ghost...

2) ... that the baptism of the Holy Spirit is a definite experience of which one may know whether he has received it or not...

3)... the baptism of the Holy Spirit is a work of the Holy Spirit, separate and distinct from his regenerating work...

4) ... the baptism of the Holy Spirit is always connected with testimony and service.¹⁵

¹⁰ Xenolalia refers to speaking known tongues supernaturally.

¹¹ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 40–42.

¹² Frank D. Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit : A Global Pentecostal Theology* (Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982).

¹³ Macchia, 19, Chapter Two is called ‘Spirit Baptism And Pentecostal Theology: Returning To Our Central Distinctive’.

¹⁴ R. A. Torrey, *The Baptism with the Holy Spirit* (New York: Flemming H Revel., 1895).

¹⁵ Torrey, 9–14.

Torrey's holiness interpretation of the BHS at that date, later will become the full Pentecostal BHS as the century turns. Dayton continues to trace the theological development from the 'three works of grace' to the 'five works of grace' strands of Pentecostalism. He says, 'this constellation of motifs recurs throughout the whole Pentecostal tradition' and then quotes Parham (reporting on Bethel Bible College student examinations) as an example:

In December 1900 we had our examination upon the subject of repentance, conversion, consecration, sanctification, healing, and soon coming of the Lord. We had reached in our studies, a problem. What about the second chapter of Acts? ... I set the students at work studying out diligently what was the Bible evidence for the baptism of the Holy Ghost.¹⁶

This led to the well-known event of Agnes Ozman's receiving the Holy Spirit and purportedly speaking in a Chinese language.

The Apostolic Faith Mission would later launch Pentecostalism from the Azusa Street Revival with the statement:

The church... places a special emphasis on the need of having three definite, separate, spiritual experiences, wrought out in the heart and life: JUSTIFICATION, SANCTIFICATION, THE BAPTISM OF THE HOLY GHOST... These doctrines concerning special experiences, together with the teachings on Divine Healing, the Imminent Second Coming of Jesus – premillennial ... provide the solid, scriptural foundation on which the church stands.¹⁷

Finally, a simpler formula from Aimee Semple McPherson, founder of the International Church of the Four-Square Gospel, remained as more basic a Pentecostal theological creed:

Jesus saves us according to John 3:16. He baptizes us with the Holy Spirit according to act 2:4. He heals our bodies according to James 5:14-15. And Jesus is coming again to receive us unto Himself according to 1 Thessalonians 4:16-17.¹⁸

¹⁶ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 20.

¹⁷ Dayton, 21.

¹⁸ Raymond Cox, *The Four-Square Gospel* (Los Angeles, California: Four Square Publications, 1969).

Despite the diverse interpretations that also arise during the period as the Holiness Movement began to speak of the Baptism of the Spirit and confusion arose as to whether there were two or three experiences related to Christian initiation. For a fuller description, see Anderson's analysis of Pentecostal beginnings in his book, *To the ends of the earth*¹⁹.

4.4.1 THE INITIAL CONFUSION ON TONGUES AND SUBSEQUENTIALISM

Hoover would probably have agreed with the entirety of Torrey's description of BHS. Nevertheless, he admits to confusion as well. 'I was confused, and my wife and I talked it over. But the facts were there, so plain, so wonderful, so desirable, that we began to think and seek.'²⁰ This confusion appears to have remained with him until he could authenticate, at first with the sign of tongues, that he really had come into the experience of the BHS 'like a volcano in eruption, speaking came in blows as if being pushed forcefully from inside, accompanied by tears.'²¹ Hoover, it seems finally speaks in tongues after a fashion with 'blows and shouts'²².

We have already examined already how Hoover became Pentecostalist under the initial influence of the Mukti revival. Both Mukti and Hoover could be said to have 'taken on Wesleyan sanctification theology *enhanced by the Baptism of the Spirit*'. Both see regeneration, sanctification and empowerment as works of the same Holy Spirit. Yet they sometimes create theological compartmentalism in terms of the reception of these workings of the Spirit as strictly separate experiences. Commenting on his initial reaction after reading Minnie Abram's tract he says:

¹⁹ Allan Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and Transformation of World Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

²⁰ 'The Wonderful Works of God in Chili', *The Latter Rain Evangel*, April 1911.

²¹ Mario G. Hoover, 23.

²² See section Receiving Stage, Chapter Two (2.7.2).

The question raised was, then are there three steps to Christian initiation life - pardon, cleansing and baptism of the Holy Spirit, instead of two as I had been taught?²³

Mukti inflamed Hoover's Methodism and also shaped his initial Pentecostalism.

4.5 WHAT WAS 'PENTECOSTALISM' TO HOOVER?

I revisit the second part of Hoover's foundational declaration in 1930:

It is called 'Pentecostal' because: it believes the happenings on the day of Pentecost were the inauguration by the Holy Spirit of the church Christ wanted, permanently, until his return in person. It believes that the book of Acts of the Apostles does not represent the end of the workings of the Holy Spirit in the church, but rather establishes the norm set up by Christ by which the church ought to be guided in fulfilling its great mission on earth.²⁴

The emphasis on the permanence of Pentecost, the outworking of the Acts mission events and the work of the Holy Spirit that enables it, the strong emphasis on mission, rang true of most of the Pentecostal movements emerging in the world. Hoover's documentation describes their implementation as they *experience for themselves* the BHS.

In an emblematic article Hoover wrote in 1928, in *FdeP*, 'Who are these Pentecostals?'²⁵, he outlines his view of Chilean Pentecostalism. He first bases himself on the foundational Pentecost event, the seeking of Mary and the disciples, the reception of the Spirit to the amazement of the crowd, and then how in world history, the way Pentecostal manifestations have occurred over the centuries in the church. He moves on to describe his contemporary world Pentecostal scenario, and how, since 1900 'in the United States there began in several areas, the same manifestations. It is extending all over the world, so that in India, China, Africa, England, Norway, Germany, etc., there are many Pentecostal churches.'²⁶

²³ Article in *The Latter Rain Evangel*, 'The Wonderful Works of God in Chili', April 1911.

²⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 119.

²⁵ *FdeP* No 7, July 1928.

²⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 164.

When he describes the Chilean experience he emphasises the praying, the seeking: ‘In the year 1907, from India, there arrived to help raise the news of these happenings. And after examining the Scriptures, and finding the promises, the Methodist Episcopal congregation, asking God in prayer, *also received the baptism in the Holy Spirit* (italics mine).’²⁷ He will clearly identify an experience that they sought and received in a *subsequent* mode that began the revival for the church. Hoover then confirms its authenticity, vital for him, by the fruits of the revival:

... spread in Chile all the way to Punta Arenas, counting on that list more than 100 congregations and many thousands of adherents ... In its very beginning the movement caused so much surprise that to the Oliva Street temple, people came in multitudes to see. Some came to criticise and oppose; others to stay. The authorities took note of the thing. Commissioners came, as well as judges, mayors, doctors, and examined everything thoroughly. The pastor was hauled before a court, a prosecutor, and the medical examiner of the city. All these persons recognised, how strange this was, but found nothing to condemn. Many men of felonious background were converted... In the 18 years since, the church has occupied several old and dilapidated halls ... and today, we are completing nine years in our own temple in Retamo street, 557 - 561.²⁸

This growth is verified by serious historians, Kessler, Lalive, Hollenweger. Let Anderson represent them:

Within the first year, Hoovers Valparaiso congregation received 150 new members. Five years later, they were congregations of the new denomination in 12 different cities, some 1200 members, and several other groups affiliated with the MPC [IMP]. Chilean missionaries also planted MPC congregations in Argentina and Perú in the 1920s and by 1925, they were fully 3000 self-supporting members in 40 towns across Chile. Significantly this Chilean movement with origins in India was not connected to American Pentecostal churches.²⁹

This ‘significant’ noting that the movement was not connected to the American Pentecostal churches was one of the elements that historians like Sepúlveda³⁰ and Orellana have studied: the autochthonous nature of the Chilean Movement. Orellana discovers that ‘the interpretation of the conflict as a cultural clash has solid foundations when it bears on the explanations that caused the rupture of 1909 to 1910, between the

²⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 164.

²⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 165.

²⁹ Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and Transformation of World Christianity*, 174.

³⁰ Juan Sepúlveda, ‘Características Teológicas de Un Pentecostalismo Autóctono: El Caso Chileno’, in *En La Fuerza Del Espíritu*, ed. Benjamín Gutierrez (Guatemala: AIPRAL/CELEP, 1995).

followers of the move of the Pentecostal and Protestant movements.’³¹ For Hoover, however, Chilean Pentecostalism had arisen spontaneously as they had sought and received ‘the promises of God’ in situ in Valparaíso and the rest of Chile. It was a Chilean Pentecostalism.

This independent Chilean Pentecostalism will mark the movement Hoover developed, even if he does continually note the influences he received from others, particularly Mukti³².

Hoover’s article (*FdeP*, 1928) explains one of Pentecostals’ characteristics, distinguished from other denominations:

... the fact that the Spirit of God is manifest among them, according to the promise of the word of God. The manner of the manifestation, neither is sought by the person who receives it, nor by the one who leads the service ... Some services pass with no manifestations ... But these things come something like that, “rushing mighty wind on the day of Pentecost”. They feel many with emotion for some minutes or even an hour, then it passes, and the service continues its course.³³

Here Hoover can clearly be perceived as taking his stand among the Pentecostals. Despite the novelty of the Chilean movement, he has clearly identified his churches together with the Pentecostal manifestations appearing at the time in all the emerging Pentecostal world movement.

4.6 WHAT WAS THE ‘BAPTISM OF THE HOLY SPIRIT’ TO HOOVER?

Hoover will take pains to describe how his own Baptism in the Spirit came in the Chilean context of the Valparaíso church’s seeking. Although Mukti had catalysed them and given them a vision of the BHS they were to seek, in addition to previous holiness experiences

³¹ Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006), 41.citing *Chile Evangélico*, No.28, March 31, 1910.

³² See section on Mukti, Hoover’s Methodism inflamed, Chapter Three (3.7).

³³ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 167.

of the Spirit, his own reception of the BHS was on home territory, unlike those who had travelled to Azusa to receive the BHS. Already described it is worth noting again some of the salient features he describes in his Baptism of the Holy Spirit³⁴, the supernatural visitation that is expressed in physical manifestations, laughter, weeping, a loss of control, ecstatic worship, a 'filling up', submission and rest in the Spirit. It was important that the BHS had come genuinely to Chile. The testimonies recorded in the Chilean periodicals, *Ch.Ev*, *Ch.Pent*, *FdP*, during the Seeking and Receiving Stage (1909-1910), gave similar testimony. The BHS came to Valdivia:

God sent two humble sisters from Valparaíso that they might communicate to us, and we also be recipients of the great blessings that the brothers in Valparaíso and Santiago were enjoying. From the beginning, the Lord worked in such a manner, for we had reconciliations, and we were forgiving one another in a way we will never forget. Even the pastors were humbled to the ground. It is the pastors who are usually the first to resist the Holy Spirit and the last to be humbled to the dust. In amidst the weeping and crying of the sinners, the 'Glories' and 'Hallelujahs' of the brothers and the worshipping as we were receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit, there existed a marvellous harmony through everything. Yes, because it was all from the Spirit, and we didn't mind if they took us as crazy. The souls of being cleansed, the sinners were being converted, some sick people were healed, and all gave glory to God! The love of God was poured out in our hearts and what we were yesterday we no longer are today.³⁵

Similarly, the periodicals give testimonies of the revival reaching Temuco, Gorbea, Osorno, La Unión, Chillán, Talcahuano, Traiguén, by the end of 1909. Through the many years, even in the remarkable report of the mission to Mendoza and Córdoba of Elías Lopez in 1936, Hoover's missionary to Argentina, the narrative is full of Pentecostal events that could only have been learned in the Chilean context under Hoover's influence:

we set out filled with the Gospel ... we crossed many towns announcing repentance...on bicycle... A Cornelius' heart was filled with the Holy Spirit. they testified with tears to the salvation of their souls... we battled against the hosts of Satan... returned to the joy of the brethren.³⁶

³⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 18.

³⁵ *Ch.Ev* No.14, December, 1909.

³⁶ *FdeP* No. 90, March 1936.

Then, too, how the movement was spreading spontaneously due to the spiritual power and joy that had come to the church through the BHS. From a letter to the editor Enrique Koppmann in April 1910, from his Santiago correspondent:

The Holy Spirit of God is giving us ever more blessings and the spiritual temperature of the church is growing glory to God. We are working in two places south of Santiago, Paine and San Francisco, where the Lord is giving many blessings to his children who are seeking him with a simple heart. In this last time 12 people have been converted to the gospel and we pray to the Father that he free these souls from the temptations of Satan so they can stand firm to the end of their lives ... Saturday night was a vigil, and even though we prayed until dawn, I felt an inevitable joy in my heart experiencing so closely the presence of the Lord in his church, and in myself! Oh, what delights are the moments of prayer! What joy it is to feel the glory of God!³⁷

At this early date in the world Pentecostal calendar, then, it is clear that Hoover clearly positioned himself within the emerging Pentecostal movement. A later description written in hindsight, most probably written by Hoover, in *FdeP* No.57, confirms his earlier appraisal of Pentecostal beginnings and revival spreading over Chile.

For a space of several weeks, they were prayer meetings, where sins and weaknesses were confessed, and the presence of the Holy Spirit was implored. The fire came and caused terror, among lukewarm, Christians and intellectuals, who always see to catalogue the blessings of God. This blessing was born in the Pentecostal church, formed by simple and humble people with the sole ambition of being filled with the Holy Spirit. This divine anointing produced in each member who received it an activity superior to all the work they had previously known, with the resulting conversion of many souls and the formation of the churches in the north and south of the country.³⁸

4.7 THE INFLUENCE AND INTERACTION FROM THE USA

4.7.1 THE OAK PARK CHURCH

After my Chicago visit in May 2023 and research into the Oak Park and Stone churches I will venture to suggest that the Oak Park MEC church, the Hoover's home Methodist church, had become influenced by the RHM, and was probably that church³⁹ in 'constant

³⁷ *Ch.Ev* No. 29, April 1910.

³⁸ *FdeP* No. 57, June 1933.

³⁹ Darrin Rodgers of the Heritage Pentecostal research centre for the Assemblies of God informed me accordingly, in a Zoom conversation, May 2023.

revival' that Hoover was impressed with. Mary Louise annotates in her Bible⁴⁰ that it was there that she 'felt sanctified' and received 'further blessing'⁴¹. Further investigation with David Bundy and Roger Darrin indicated that the RHM was influencing practically all Methodist churches in Chicago at the turn of the century and that the Oak Park church would be no exception. An enquiry at the Oak Park History Museum confirmed the church's existence as the first Methodist Episcopal church of Oak Park, established in 1873 coinciding with Mary Louise' childhood years (born in 1864). Her obituary mentions that 'Dr and Mrs. Hoover have been well known in Oak Park and Austin for many years.' (See Figs. 4.1,2) It would be highly probable, therefore, that the Hoover's experience of Wesleyan revivalist Methodism was modelled and further inspired at their own home church, or at some other Methodist churches in Chicago.

Here, then, lay some of the reasons for the Hoovers' Radical Holiness Methodist leanings, understood in Chapter Three as the doorway into their later Pentecostalism as well as to their later contact with William Taylor.

⁴⁰ See Chapter Three (3.3).

⁴¹ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 178.

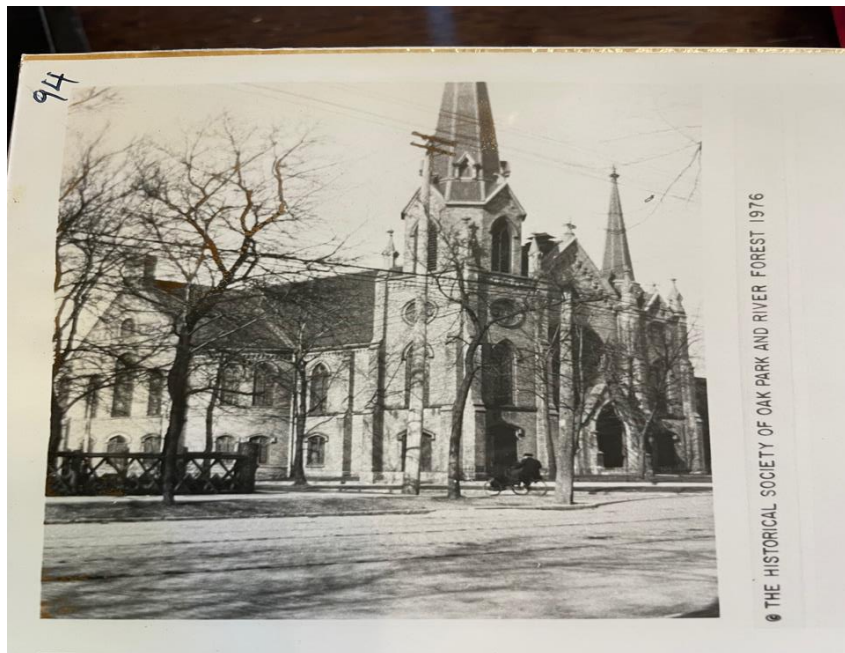


Figure 1: Photograph of the Oak Park Church 1873-1923 attended by the Hoovers⁴².

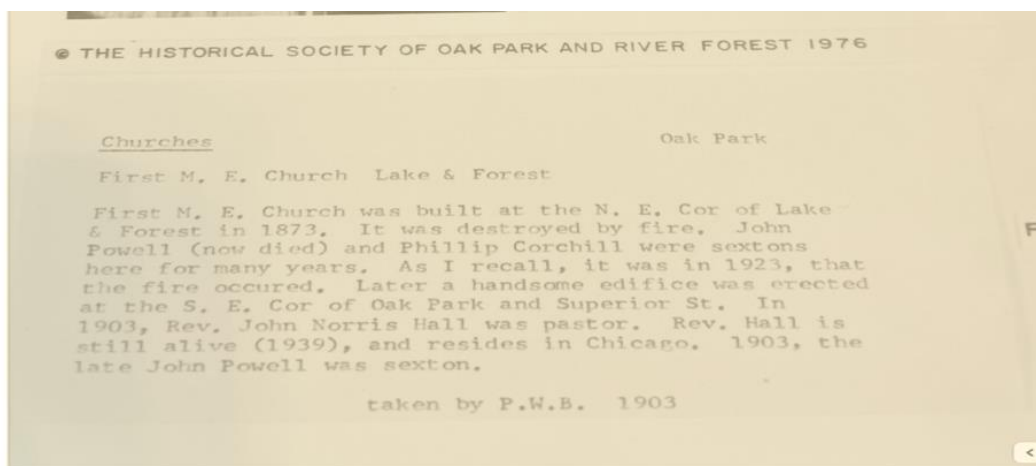


Figure 2: An inscription from 1903 (unfortunately barely legible)

4.7.2 THE STONE CHURCH

We must look at the significant Pentecostal movement developing in another Chicago church, the Stone Church (see figure 4.3), linked to the Assemblies of God and the

⁴² The Church burned down in 1923. The Hoovers married there in 1887 and Mary Louise was buried there in 1821 (Philanderer Barclay Collection, Oak Tree Village Museum).

Russian and Eastern European Mission, for further clues regarding the Hoovers' Pentecostalism. Substantial information can be added to their motivation and newly found Pentecostal leanings by understanding their (or at least Mary Louise') contact with the Stone Church Chicago⁴³.

Pastor William Piper founded the Stone Church in December 1906 and became a Pentecostal church in 1907 (beyond the date, therefore, that would allow a possible identification with 'the church in constant revival') under the influence of the ASR. As Pastor William Carr told me on a telephone conversation (he was on the eve of his birthday, reaching the age of 100 and had pastored the church in the revival years in the 20s and 30s), 'It was a move of God'. The church began to grow significantly and had to relocate to new premises. They reached out to the immigrant communities: Italians, Russians, Germans, and Scandinavians, who had flooded into Chicago at the turn of the twentieth century and World War One⁴⁴. This dedication to the poor and immigrants led to their enormous missionary endeavour, especially after the 1914 Second AG Conference held in Stone. They began to publish 'The Latter Rain Evangel' in 1908, which spread news of the revival to the entire world (including Chile). It seems that Willis and Mary Louise became aware of those heady revival days in Stone Church at first through the 'The Latter Rain Evangel' they subscribed to, but later, in the case of Mary Louise, who came in 1913 to bring her children to school, with her presence in Conventions and probably a Missionary Training course.

A *LREv* article in June 1914⁴⁵ tells the Hoovers' story. It clarifies that they were close enough to Stone Church to take notice of the missionary enterprise in 'Chili': 'Mrs

⁴³ Documentary on Stone Church. <https://ag.org/en/Resources/Other/Media-Archives/History/Historical-Films/Stone-Church?> <http://tinyurl.com/mpnf2zae>.

⁴⁴ William A Mirola, *Redeeming Time - Protestantism and Chicago's Eight Hour Movement 1866-1912* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

⁴⁵ 'Through perils and Hardships to Crowning Days', *The Latter Rain Evangel*, Chicago, June, 1914.

Hoover has been in the country for some time and has been attending the convention.’ The trials of epidemics, earthquakes and persecution are reported as also their crowning revival recompenses: ‘it was worth it all to have the Holy Spirit poured out in such mighty power upon the native church.’

Their furlough periods (both in 1895, 1904 and 1919-1921; Mary Louise alone in 1913-1915 and 1919-1921 when she died) would not have coincided with the development of the Stone revival in the earliest years, although news of Stone would. However, the interest they would have shared in the revival in Chicago, their home city, must have drawn Mary Louise to the Convention in 1913 and later in 1914, after which she was baptised by immersion and ordained as a ‘Missionary’ (see Figure 4.3).

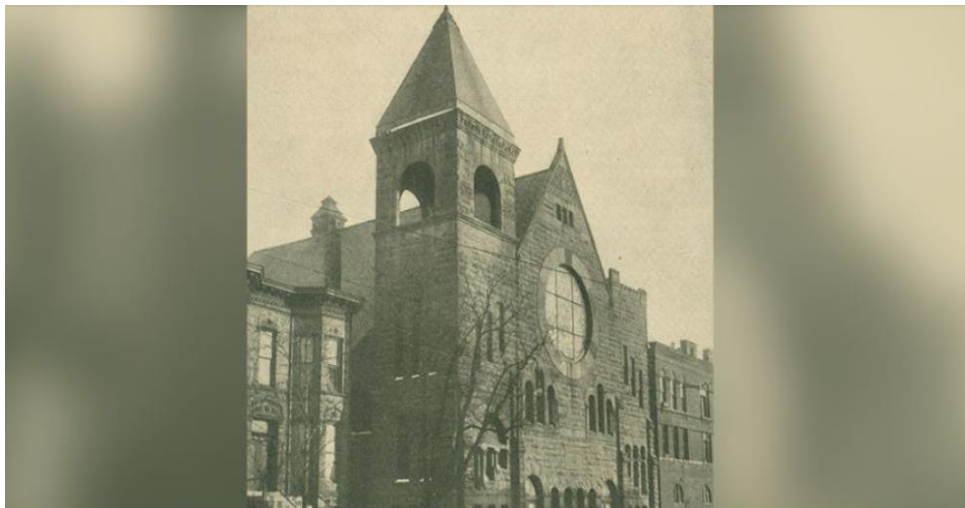


Figure 3: The Stone church in Chicago⁴⁶, where Mary was ordained.

4.7.2.1 MARY LOUISE’ BAPTISM BY IMMERSION AND ‘ORDINATION’

⁴⁶ The scene of a revival that began in 1906 and continued training, ‘ordaining’ and sending missionaries, one of which was Mary Louise Hoover in 1914.

Mary Louise' baptism and ordination at the Stone church have been much commented on and questioned. Why is it registered that in 1914, Mary Louise Hoover was baptised by immersion and later ordained in the Stone Church? She had already been ordained as 'Deaconess' after her CTS training⁴⁷.

There is a simple explanation that demythologises suggestions that she 'left the Methodist church', 'became an AG member by conviction' or that a rift had appeared between her and Willis on account of seeking women's ordination.

In 1913, a revivalist called María Wood came to the church over 18 months, culminating with a Missionary Conference. There seems to have been a short missionary course she also took part in during 1913. In 1914, at an AG Conference, Certificates for 'Ordination as Missionary' (were awarded to those who had successfully finished the course and were prepared to be consecrated (some might prefer the word 'commissioned') to Mission (see Fig.4). The difficulty arose over the fact that a Methodist had only been 'sprinkled' as a child, and an AG affiliation would demand baptism by immersion. The measure of familiarity and identification that the Hoovers felt by now, fully part of the world Pentecostal movement, is evidenced by the ease with which she proceeded with the rituals. While the hypothesis is hard to prove, it is likely that she went back to Chile as a fully commissioned AG missionary, having completed the necessary qualifications at Stone. The Stone Church's extraordinary record of missionary work, in a close relationship at the time with the Russian and Eastern European Mission (REEM), would undoubtedly have stirred missionary zeal in the Hoovers while on a probable furlough period. Willis, of course, was already 'ordained'.

This affiliation with Stone would also concur with the Hoovers' theological understanding of BHS as subsequential but not requiring tongues as initial evidence. The

⁴⁷ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 178.

dates also agree with the consolidation of Hoover's Methodist Pentecostal 'theology of manifestations'.

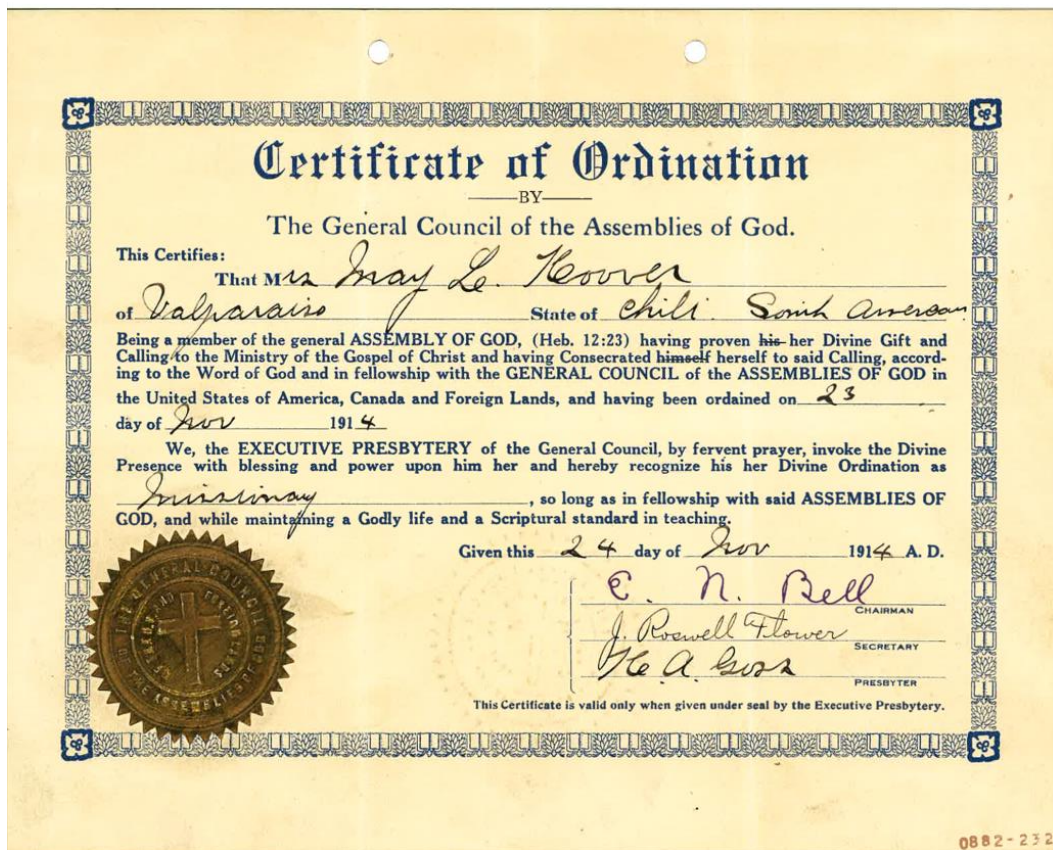


Figure 4: Mary Louise' Certificate of Ordination as a Missionary.

4.7.3 AZUSA INFLUENCE ON HOOVER

Having proposed that the Stone Church was the primary Pentecostal influence, after Mukti, on the Hoovers, the picture would not be complete if the influence of Azusa were not added to their theological formation. At the time, Azusa was seen by many as the centre for world Pentecostal dissemination. The interaction with Chile mainly came by letter or periodicals like the 'The Latter Rain Evangel' containing the testimonies of these

many informal missionaries of Pentecost⁴⁸ who travelled from Azusa and Stone and were often recorded in *FdeP*⁴⁹. There were also occasional visits of missionaries moving to and from Azusa, even as far as Chile⁵⁰. Similarly, the records of Mary Louise' writing to the 'Confidence' periodicals indicate their regular readership of such journals. The Stone Church published a long 'conversation with Mrs Hoover' in 1914 that testifies to her 'valorous spirit' as she and Willis set their hearts, 'determined to have a revival', and very much in search of the BHS with tongues as initial evidence⁵¹. However, it cannot be verified that she returned to Chile with this AG theology. I have searched for letters between her and Willis at that time with no positive results. These would undoubtedly be invaluable as a reflection of Chilean Hooverian Pentecostal theology. However, there is no evidence that she changed Hoover's fundamental Methodist Pentecostal Theology, including what I am calling his 'theology of manifestations' ⁵², whereby the BHS can be manifested through multiple signs.

The extent of the Azusa influence five years after the beginning of the Chilean revival shows how forceful the Californian revival had become all over the USA and worldwide. Since Pentecostal missionaries fanned out worldwide, thinking that their tongues would be understood in foreign parts of the world⁵³, it has often been assumed

⁴⁸ For a fuller account of this extraordinarily sacrificial and effective early Pentecostal missionary enterprise, see Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 45-68.

⁴⁹ *FdeP* 33 Sept.30, for a miraculous intervention in Africa, cited from the LREv (with no referencing).

⁵⁰ Hoover, when he was 63 years old and ill, invited Lief Erikson to Chile in 1921, to see if he would consider taking over the movement. However, the issue of infant baptism blocked the AG from assuming the responsibility.

⁵¹ Mario G. Hoover, 190.

⁵² Juan Sepúlveda, 'The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective' Chapter in 'Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities'. (New York: Néstor Medina and Sammy Alfaro, 2014), 9-11.

⁵³ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 46-65.

that Chilean Pentecostalism was another extension of the ASR. However, as Juan Sepúlveda shows, this was not the case⁵⁴. In a section, ‘The myth of Azusa Street’, as part of a larger paper, Anderson lays to rest the assumption that Pentecost was initiated worldwide from Azusa⁵⁵. The growing AG influence in Azusa and later Stone (Stone was not convinced of tongues as initial evidence, despite the close relationship with Azusa AG in the earlier days⁵⁶) marked out initial proof for the BHS as ‘tongues’. Hoover, however, interacting with Barratt and possibly even Abrams, both of whom no longer insisted on tongues as they had earlier, developed his own emphases as the revival progressed in Chile.

4.8 CHILEAN PENTECOSTALISM

After Mukti and the Receiving Stage (1910), the Hoovers can be seen as consciously moving from Taylorian Methodist revivalism (much of which will be retained in Methodist Pentecostalism) to Chicago and Azusa-style Pentecostalism. As he is immersed in the Pentecostal waters, Willis is interested in fanning the fires of the revival, the experience of the BHS, rather than theological preoccupations. However, there are signs that he begins to search out how his Methodist theology will be affected. Hoover mentions his written interaction with other sources experiencing the Pentecostal phenomena⁵⁷. Over the Developing Stage, we will see him spreading the Pentecostal Gospel all over Chile in his adopted Wesleyan circuit preacher strategy derived from the

⁵⁴ Juan Sepúlveda, *The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective* Chapter in *Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities*. (New York: Néstor Medina and Sammy Alfaro, 2014).

⁵⁵ Allan Anderson, ‘The Origins of Pentecostalism and Its Global Spread in the Early 20th Century’, *Transformation*, no. 22 (3 July 2005): 175–84.

⁵⁶ See above, Mary Louise baptism (4.7.2.1), my ‘demythologising’ of the AG influence on her.

⁵⁷ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 9.

Libro de Disciplina, Wesley's translated Book of Disciplines⁵⁸. The Pentecostal influences that will formulate Chilean Pentecostal theology will come from their visits to Chicago, periodicals and correspondence previously mentioned and cited in this study.

Chilean Pentecostalism was too isolated to be said to have 'copied' a revival style. Instead, as the experience of the BHS and revival spread genuinely, Hoover saw it as his role, like T. Barratt in Europe⁵⁹, to be an apologist for the revival and its theology. His theology, from experience, would take the shape of contextual praxis that was later theologised. I will, therefore, propose four theological emphases I see arising out of Hoover's experience as he developed and administered Chilean Pentecostalism.

4.9 HOOVER'S FOUR THEOLOGICAL EMPHASES RELATING TO THE BAPTISM OF THE SPIRIT

Practical Theology's stages of work involve observation, reflection, analysis, and action. A careful reading of Hoover's book, as well as all the *Chile Evangélico*, *Chile Pentecostal* and *Fuego de Pentecostés* periodicals, allowed me to analyse the articles, some written by Hoover, but others chosen by him and gradually build a picture of his prominent themes.

Bearing in mind that we are seeking to systematise a Pentecostal theology *from experience*, I identify and elaborate on four Pentecostal emphases that Hoover developed. These emerge as he pastors the churches in the revival experience and are valuable examples of how Pentecostal theology is narrated and outworked. In some cases, these convictions were previously held. Now, under the influence of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, they are augmented into the missing proportion he believes should be normative to Christian life and mission. Out of his renewed understanding of Scripture, particularly

⁵⁸ This Methodist strategy is adopted by Hoover and will be further examined in Chapter Five as he builds Methodist Pentecostal ecclesiology.

⁵⁹ Rakel Alegre, 'The Pentecostal Apologetics of T. B. Barratt: Defining and Defending the Faith 1906-1909 2019.' (REgent, 2019), ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

of the Acts of the Apostles, in the light of his spiritual experience, we can formulate the following four pneumatological doctrines:

Presence, Power, Purity and Proclamation that emerge out of the Holy Spirit Baptism.

These sprang directly from his understanding of the revival that burst upon Chile in 1909 and continues to be central in Pentecostal *experience theology* today.

These theological convictions are not explicitly expounded in every case (although very clearly in some), but though not expressed in theological but rather pastoral terms, they can be detected as Hoover's main Pentecostal theological contributions to the movement. Other theological doctrines, beliefs, and creeds, less pneumatological, such as his view of the Scriptures and related teaching, will be addressed in Chapter Six.

Hoover's conviction concerning the BHS remained firm to the end, certain that it was 'an inheritance for all time and for all the church'. It is this doctrine that we are examining more closely. We have noted their search for the added dimension of the BHS, expressed by Mary Louise' letter to the editor of The Upper Room undated 1909, later published in the January 1910 edition of the paper in the continued longing for 'baptism'.

There came great conviction of sin, which brought great fruit in confession, reconciliation, restitution. This continued for some months we ourselves also received great blessing *but no baptism*. At the end of June, the Lord began manifesting his power, and soon a number *were baptized with the accompanying sign* (italics mine). Our hearts rejoiced greatly, and the blessed work has been going on. We are in the midst of a powerful revival such as we have never seen or felt in our lives, and best of all, it continues.⁶⁰

The two things to note here are that, even if they had previously been familiar with it, they now experience Methodist holiness as 'the most powerful revival' of holiness they have ever seen. Second, they are still seeking a *further* Pentecostal Baptism of the Spirit. This confusion of Pentecostal themes, some enjoyed in the past and others new, that many were living out theologically in the Pentecostal world scenario, was always insistent on

⁶⁰ Letters of Mary Hoover, Mario G. Hoover, 184.

the experience of the Spirit. This, above all, was BHS to them, even if the confusion persisted. As late as 1930, Hoover published an article citing *La Luz Apostólica* in *FdeP*⁶¹, defining this new theology of tongues as initial evidence and clarifying the confusion between regeneration, sanctification, and BHS, which some were teaching. It is not clear why he published the article when, by that date, he had come down fairly clearly on the side of ‘theology of manifestations’⁶², of which tongues was not necessarily the initial evidence, even if a welcome confirmatory gift. Although it is not Hoover who writes the article, the fact he publishes it denotes his openness on the subject: ‘The biblical evidence of [BHS] is undoubtedly, speaking in tongues.’ But then, correcting those who were saying that BHS was regeneration, the article continues: ‘It is one of the greatest errors to say that the Baptism of the Holy Spirit is salvation, or to say that if one has not spoken in tongues a person is not saved.’ Kessler gives evidence that ‘in an attempt to break out of his isolation and come closer to the North American movement, he did except the distinction between speaking in tongues as the initial sign of the baptism of the spirit, and speaking in tongues as a permanent gift’⁶³ He then adds how it would seem that this doctrine did not widely accepted in Chile. Hoover’s ‘theology of manifestations’ would prevail.

Hoover’s BHS theology has now gone well beyond revival, sanctification Methodism, indeed, as he was told at his trial. He will incorporate from *experience* these four aspects of Pentecostality, which we can discern theologically today. When we focus on Hoover’s understanding of how the BHS enhanced the life of the church and as a manifestation today of the same power recorded in the Book of Acts, we will see him

⁶¹ *FdeP* No. 26, Feb. 1930.

⁶² Juan Sepúlveda, ‘The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective’ Chapter in ‘Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities’. (New York: Néstor Medina and Sammy Alfaro, 2014), 11.

⁶³ John Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Perú and Chile* (Goes, The Netherlands: Oosterbaan & Le Contre N.V., 1967), 300. See *ChPent*, June 1926.

repeatedly refer to these four emphases with which the BHS immersed and imbued Chilean Pentecostal culture and churches. His ‘theology of manifestations’ finds expression in the diverse expression of the Holy Spirit and repeatedly in these four expressions of Pentecostality.

4.9.1 PRESENCE

From the initial days of the revival, as was said above, Hoover developed a conviction of the *personal presence and sovereignty of the Holy Spirit*.

In his exhaustive, exegetical study of the crucial role of the Spirit in Paul’s life and thought, *God’s empowering presence*, Gordon Fee explains how, in his view,

‘the Spirit in Paul’s experience and theology was always thought of in terms of the personal presence of God. The Spirit is God’s way of being present, powerfully present, in our lives and communities as we await the consummation of the kingdom of God.’⁶⁴

He adds: ‘Paul also understood the Spirit always in terms of an empowering presence whatever else, for Paul the Spirit was an *experienced* reality.’⁶⁵

Hoover clearly puts a high value on the conviction of the Holy Spirit as a personal and sovereign God. As such, the Spirit must be honoured and allowed to display the revival as he will. The believers’ prayer after the release of Peter and John (Acts 4:24-31) demonstrates (in this case, through an earthquake) the sovereignty in which Hoover regards the operation of the Spirit.

A constant theme in *the periodicals* will be God’s Sovereign providence in the face of persecution: A letter from Pedro Yañez laments that the pastors of their denomination would not recognise them, but then,

we know that God remembers us as his church through his holy sacrifice on the Cross.
Now we declare God’s richest blessings to continue with this blessed work that he has

⁶⁴ Gordon Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence* (USA: Baker Academic, 2009), xxi.

⁶⁵ Bernardo Campos, *Experiencia Del Espíritu*, CLAI, 2002, 124.

commended to us... He will make us worthy through the baptism of the Spirit and Fire and will smooth out all the obstacles in our path.⁶⁶

From his earliest memories of the revival, April to June 1909, Hoover draws a picture of a sovereign activity of the Spirit and the congregation submitting to these Spirit's manifestations in a new way, even in the preaching.

He who is going to preach no longer holds himself to the theme, but what the Lord wants to say. The one who humbled himself the most is the pastor, for which he has received so many blessings. None of the brothers are the same for they have changed completely. It is a change that hits you at first sight.⁶⁷

The manifest presence of God became a *theological truth experienced*, as were most of the theological convictions Hoover was to arrive at.

This understanding of the sovereignty of the Spirit is often misconstrued as an erroneous laissez-faire or even lazy attitude to the work of God. However, Hoover is serious when he describes how the sense of Presence affects every aspect of church life, at times disruptively, but always for good.

Having dispensed with the choir, he says:

We don't have a choir anymore. The frivolous girls who were in it before are now a marvel of prayer. I break down weeping just to hear them talk. What would others think of a revival without a great choir and music director? Yet we have the greatest director of all - the Lord God Omnipotent, who has sent the Holy Spirit to direct everything. The world looks on and says, scandalous! What disorder and all that. But we have such joy in our Director and such confidence that He knows more than the world, then we have stopped asking the world what pleases it. So, the world and the devil are angry.⁶⁸

He is willing to see such sacrosanct traditions as the choir be sacrificed to the sovereign winds of the Spirit as the new choir styles are later raised up. When the full force of the revival was affecting the city, he again expressed this conviction:

The whole city is moved. Crowds are coming to see continually. We want to remain low where the Lord can continue to work. We have no structure, no committee for advertisement. Nothing but prayer, 'You promised, Lord; we are here waiting the fulfilment.' ... the pastor is nothing but the most humble [servant] ... We seek humility, submission, obedience completely from the Lord, asking that whatever is hidden be revealed to us... No opinions, no criticism, no opposition to what the Spirit is doing. It is

⁶⁶ *Ch.Ev.* No. 29 April 6, 1910.

⁶⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 27.

⁶⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 32.

better to leave some small thing of the devil untouched than by mistake to put our hand on the work of the Lord. We are experiencing increased confidence in the wisdom and capacity of the Holy Spirit to handle these things.⁶⁹

The sovereign action of the Spirit becomes a foundational doctrine for Hoover. It will become part of the IMP's and IEP's Pentecostal culture so that a visitor today can appreciate that respect for the Holy Spirit's sovereignty in the services. What for some is disorder, for Hoover was the order of the Spirit.

From this period, they developed their peculiarly Pentecostal liturgy, now adopted by Pentecostalism all over Chile: the three shouts of '*¡Gloria a Dios!*' Used regularly throughout a service, be it after the readings, sermon, or offerings, or for sending greetings to another congregation, it expresses God's sovereign presence and power over every aspect of life. Often, it will be coupled with another liturgical clarion call to evangelisation and Christian service outside the church services: '*¡Chile para Cristo!*' It was once explained to me that Pentecostals regard services as a celebration. 'The work' consists in sowing the seed of the Gospel outside the church in public preaching and service. Their goals are clearly stated, and their theological understanding of God's sovereign call on their lives for service to win their nation to Christ is uniquely characterised in these two Chilean Pentecostal cries: *¡Gloria a Dios! ¡Chile para Cristo!*

4.9.2 POWER

The added dimension to the work of the Spirit that the Hoovers had previously experienced in Methodist revivalism was that of empowerment to the church by the Spirit's *dunamis* and employing the gifts revealed in Acts of the Apostles and 1 Cor. 12-14:

⁶⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 32–33.

I am as Methodist now as I was before touching the doctrines of salvation and sanctification (better yet [still]). Naturally, the theme of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and the gifts of the Spirit has opened before me since the Spirit has revealed the secret.⁷⁰

In other words, despite the previous experiences of justification and sanctification, they seek beyond for another empowering experience with manifestations, sometimes tongues (but not always), that authenticates the Heavenly experience with power. Miracles become signs of the Kingdom. Macchia agrees:

Pentecostals have long noted that the prevalence of extraordinary acts of the Spirit in the book of Acts were essential to the church's ongoing participation in the life of the Spirit transferred from the life of Jesus at Pentecost (Acts 3:7-8; 8:4-8; 11:28; 13:11-12; 14:8-13; 16:9,18; 19:11-12; 21:8-13).⁷¹

These would have been some of the passages covered and studied together during the seven years of preparation for the revival. One sees their logic and teaching at the heart of Hoover's early Pentecostalism, as well as in his later Methodist Pentecostalism. His choice of passages studied and quoted in his writings would probably adhere to the patterns lived out by the first Chilean Pentecostals, *similar manifestations* and *persecutions* to those recorded in the book of Acts.

Extraordinary miracles of healing in today's church: Acts 3:7-8

The joy in suffering for the Gospel: Acts 5:40-42

Spontaneous evangelism, deep conviction among those hearing, as well as miraculous signs, healings, exorcisms and city-wide gospel joy: Acts 8:4-8

The Spirit of prophecy in today's church: Acts 11:28

Supernatural retributive justice upon the enemies of God's people: Acts 13:11-12

Supernatural public miracles that bring glory to God and not man: Acts 14:8-13

The guidance of God's Spirit manifest in supernatural dreams and visions: Acts 16:9

⁷⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 115.

⁷¹ Frank D. Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology* (Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), 147.

The manifestation of God's supernatural power and public authority over demonic spirits in furthering the spread of evangelism (some not recorded even in Jesus' ministry): Acts 16:18, Acts 19:11-13, Acts 21:8-13.

As noted in the previous chapter, one of the Pentecostal doctrines that is sometimes overlooked is that Hoover espoused the *power to suffer joyfully* under persecution for the Gospel. We saw how the Chilean believers were often arrested, yet we joyfully saw this as an opportunity to testify to the Gospel⁷².

4.9.2.1 MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SPIRIT

Manifestations, tongues, 'taken in the Spirit' prophetically, falling under the power of the Spirit, laughing, healing, the gifts of the Spirit, discerning of demonic spirits and exorcisms, all became a crucial part of Hoover's pneumatological development all related exclusively to the BHS. While he was in touch with other parts of the world where similar occurrences were also taking place, it is remarkable how he ploughed a steady furrow here consonant with biblical teaching (and what Campos later called 'Pentecostality'), the latent *power of the Spirit* in the church that needs to be allowed to manifest.⁷³ In the article 'Who are these Pentecostals?' Hoover describes this manifestation of the power of God:

What most distinguishes the Pentecostals from other denominations and at the same time startles and offends some strangers who attend the services is the fact that the Spirit of God is manifested among them, according to the promise of the word of God. The manner of the manifestation neither is sought by the person who receives it, nor by the one who leads the service. Some services passed with no manifestation: some persons don't ever experience them, or if they do it happens only rarely. Sometimes there is laughter, there is crying, there is shouting, there is dancing. But these things come to something like that rushing mighty wind on the day of Pentecost. They fill many with emotion for several minutes or even an hour then it passes and the service continues its course. These manifestations produce different effects on strangers who witness them: in some cases, they have begun to dance against their will and when they come to, they find themselves converted. Some of them fall on their knees asking

⁷² Mario G. Hoover, 61.

⁷³ Bernardo Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad* (Salem, Oregon: Kerigma Publications, 2016), 87.

God to forgive them. Some have left (the church) impressed enough that they get converted at home: and some have left blaspheming.⁷⁴

This ‘manifestation of the Spirit’⁷⁵, η φανερωσις του πνευματος, or as Fee puts it, ‘a disclosure of the Spirit’s activity in their [the Corinthians] midst’⁷⁶ is mainly expounded in 1 Corinthians 12-14. Hoover will gradually develop his later pneumatology of ‘manifestations’⁷⁷, to which he devotes an entire chapter in his book and several articles in *FdeP*. As we have seen, Hoover broke with the Azusa’s insistence on ‘tongues’ as the mandatory proof of the BHS and turned to a less rigid, more pneuma-plastic view of the manifestations of the Spirit.

What was important was that a believer knew the Holy Spirit, had a living experience of him, thereby proving reception of the BHS. For him, being Pentecostal meant allowing the Holy Spirit the freedom to work without any preconceptions of how the Spirit should manifest, or whether such manifestations are voluble, expressive, or more low-key and gentle. It was people’s openness to the free gifts of the Spirit that allowed them to be touched by God’s transforming power to become new persons.⁷⁸

Hoover also held two other theological convictions essential to his motivation over the years, both previously held but now *augmented* and *empowered* beyond his pre-BHS understanding: the doctrines of Holiness (I label Purity) and of Mission or Proclamation of the Gospel. Both convictions will stem from his original Methodist beliefs and practices, but the BHS brought them to a higher and more complete plane for him and the church, consonant with what he saw and studied in the Acts of the Apostles. He concluded these were among the reasons the church grew so powerfully. I list them among the

⁷⁴ Mario G. Hoover, Article in Fuego de Pentecostés, 1928, cited in *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 167.

⁷⁵ Greek NT: Scrivener 1894 TR.

⁷⁶ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 164.

⁷⁷ See Hoover’s ‘theology of manifestations’, developed in Chapters Three (3.3, footnote 22), Four (4.8, 4.9), Five (5.3, 5.7), Six (6.3, 6.11).

⁷⁸ Juan Sepúlveda, ‘The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective’ Chapter in ‘Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities’. (New York: Néstor Medina and Sammy Alfaro, 2014).

convictions that make up Hoover's essential theology as they help to build a bridge into Pentecostalism's transformation from the revivalist Methodist thinking. Here, we see an incorporation of *new* revival thinking built upon *old* revival thinking.

4.9.3 PURITY

For Hoover, the Sovereign Presence of God was made evident by the apparent transformations effected in people, as the doctrine of holiness, known to Methodists, was augmented and completed in the BHS.

To him, the BHS fulfilled the believer's experience such that all the cumulative blessings of the Kingdom of God, including holiness, were now fully available through that gateway.

When those seeking forgiveness of their sins were united around the altar and bowed down in prayer, the unanimous voice of them drowned out completely the voice of the pastor, much to his surprise.⁷⁹

These scenes, reminiscent of Wesley's diaries, corresponded to an earlier revival experience. Mary Hoover says in a letter to a friend in March 1909 that there was a remarkable outpouring of similar manifestations to the night of the earthquake in 1906.

Toward morning all seemed to be conscious of the presence of the Lord. A number have received sanctification, blessing, and pardon of sin but we are still anxiously waiting for the Pentecostal baptism, or perhaps the sign of God's approval upon us.⁸⁰

This holiness transformation will become central to the revival even after they have certainty about the reception of the BHS. Sepúlveda quotes Hoover:

There are several men in various parts of Chile who are presently leading congregations. In the past they were felons and fearsome men because of their crimes. There are many happy homes, reunited families, many men of trade, a public burden [meaning an expense to the penitentiary and social system]

⁷⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 5.

⁸⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 182.

in the past, are now valuable and productive to the state. The transformation is now to the Pentecostal church.⁸¹

So, holiness, its doctrine and experience, inherited from revivalist Methodism, the transformation of the converts into holy men and women of God continued to be, for Hoover, a sign that the revival was genuine. Hoover documents a series of testimonies received during 1909 on how holiness and transformation have marked the revival, and that dissipates any doubt as to it as a genuine work of God.

April 7th, I have understood that if we don't clear the small things we shall never prosper in the Christian life. I am saving to pay the debts we have, because since they were so old we didn't think it mattered that my conscience is awakened.

April 28th now old and young have repented in the way never seen before. Every Saturday night they have stayed through daybreak, asking for the Holy Spirit. Almost no one is left who has not confessed his sins, even the most hidden. In this regard, the Lord has manifested himself in many ways. J, M and S are such changed women that it is a surprise to see them: now they seek the Lord with all their hearts.

May 19th Glory to God, my little child, your prayer and those of your brothers have been heard, and the father of mercy has seen fit to pick me up from the mayor and dirt in which I was because of my sins, in a manner so notable that it upset a congregation of no less than 600 persons.

He then draws the telling conclusion:

Probably you won't believe me and will laugh at me thinking that this is foolishness and fanaticism, but I don't understand it this way. With the things we are seeing, we cannot doubt that the Lord is near, and we need to prepare so as not to lose our portion. This is the time to give oneself to the Lord. We implore you to seek the Lord with all your heart.⁸²

For Hoover, the *lack of holiness* is also a mark of the impurity of the church and the cause of its diminishing growth. He quotes a 'Voice of Alarm' that appeared in the Methodist periodical *El Heraldo Cristiano* in 1918, illustrating the path of decreasing sanctification he saw in churches.

The truth is that we are being invaded by the worldly spirit that works with greater fury in nowhere else than in the bosom of the church ... our churches are spiritually weak and are being worm-eaten secretly by the moth of the soul. Everywhere, we hear the lament that the churches are not growing in numbers or are decreasing. Is it because those churches

⁸¹ Mario G. Hoover, 168.

⁸² Mario G. Hoover, 27.

have possessed the spiritual attractiveness of grace and sanctification? Or is it because they are dead or mummified? ⁸³

Purity of the church, the Spirit's work of sanctification, continued to be for Hoover a central theological and pastoral conviction, hallmark of the work of the Spirit, now augmented in the revival, where transformations proved it was genuine.

4.9.4 PROCLAMATION

The Acts of the Apostles gave Hoover his missiological motivation as it explained why there was a mission explosion after Pentecost in the early church. His constant reference is to:

Acts 1:8. Similarly, he modelled the lay involvement of the evangelists on passages like Acts 8:4-8.

Undoubtedly, one of the significant characteristics of the Valparaíso revival was Spirit-led evangelism. Hoover describes what he saw happening in his church, again, reminiscent of Wesleyan evangelism but now spontaneous and extensive to most of the church's lay members.

When the Holy Spirit had recently come down with power, the baptized persons, young and old, felt impelled to go out into the streets and proclaim repentance loudly to friends or neighbours. They were moved to take trips to other places with the sole purpose of calling people to repentance. Through personal testimonies they wanted to share the fact that such sublime experience was a privilege within reach of everyone today, such as it was in the days of the apostles. ⁸⁴

Testimonies indicating the fruit of the Spirit's actions in evangelism are theology enough for Hoover:

On a Sunday afternoon, a young man suddenly got up in the service and began to shout, 'God is love'. Then he said he needed to say this in the streets. He took off running down the aisle of the church and out into the street, where he kneeled and shouted again and again 'God is love in the kitchen and God is love in the bar.' He then ran into a bar and

⁸³ Mario G. Hoover, 133.

⁸⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 49.

shouted 'God is love', whereupon he was arrested. He mumbled as the police took him away 'It doesn't matter; the message has been given.'⁸⁵

Hoover thus became convinced from *his observation and experience* that the Baptism of the Spirit was given to strengthen evangelism, a conviction that became part of his theological understanding. In this, of course, he came to the conclusion that many Pentecostal churches hold and Pentecostal theologians like Menzies expound as fundamental.⁸⁶

We should not downgrade a manifestation that has had results of transcendental importance: preaching in the open air. The Spirit that propelled that young man to shout 'God is love!' also moved the baptized (in the Spirit) to go out and proclaim at the top of the voice in the streets the mercies of God, with a notable zeal and courage. The exhortations and messages came forth with a further bravery definitely out of the ordinary for the person concerned. Even timid children and women spoke with a power that captivated the listeners, many times causing them to shake or weep.

Taking courage in these beginnings, the brothers started going out in groups to preach in the streets. They did not wait now for a supernatural or irresistible impulse, but they recognised the injunction from the Lord, 'Go... and preach the gospel to every creature.' It weighed on them now more than ever, since they had received 'the power from on high'; so that from that time on this function has been an integral part of the activities of the church. Many souls credit their salvation to the message first heard in the streets.⁸⁷

All this led to church growth that never again abated, even to the present day. His writings describing the revival growth evoke passages like Acts 2:42-47, Acts 9:31, Acts 19:9-12.

Hoover recorded those first instances of this spontaneous growth as a result of the Holy Spirit moving the church members to testify and evangelise.

May 6th: here the church is growing in a marvellous way God is calling all homes and all our hearts to feel the need to give ourselves to the Lord once and for all.

August 20th: every time there is a service, the church is full, leaving no seats available many had to stand. The balconies get half full on each side I estimated one night about 800.⁸⁸

Meanwhile, the church grew phenomenally as one example will demonstrate:

⁸⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 51.

⁸⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 27.

⁸⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 60.

⁸⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 27.

The Sunday school had an average attendance in July 363 in August, 405: in September 527. The young people's class, taught by the pastor, went up during the quarter from 60 to 105.

Writing some 20 years after the beginning of the revival, Willis Hoover recalls how:

the three congregations of the first year have multiplied into more than 120 today, under the care of 20 ordained pastors, 10 without ordination, and other lay workers.... All of the growth has been through natural means, by the work of the Holy Spirit, and through its own members, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following (Mark 16:20).⁸⁹

In this way, evangelism became an integral part of the teachings of the new revival lifestyle. Answering attacks in a newspaper against them, in his article in 'Who are these Pentecostals?', under a subsection, 'What is their Regime [government]?', after describing the weekly meetings held most nights of the week for Bible Study, prayer, or leadership training and guidance, he adds,

To reach those who do not know of the services or are indifferent, the men and women of the church go through the streets and proclaim the message of the love of God inviting everyone to come to the services. Those also who are far away in the fields, villages, and towns, the men take the message by walking long distances on foot, sacrificing sleep, comfort and money.⁹⁰

Later, in a letter to his brother George on August 18 1925, Hoover describes the now-incorporated practice of constant evangelism:

We have a company of men workers who we call Volunteers, which does street preaching and outdoor preaching under the charge of a leader who divides them into groups. There are over 60. It is a feature of the work which was born in the revival of 1909. They sometimes go out on long trip, walking all night and preaching in the next valley, on the way into small towns where there is no work... Every two weeks a group of seven starts from here Valparaíso on a Saturday night or evening, and travels (walking) all night getting there (Casablanca) in the morning, a distance of above 25 miles. They preach on the street and talk with those who will talk, eat, rest awhile and start back arriving here generally on Monday morning for their work. The group takes turns so that the same group does not repeat the work under two months, more or less.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 123.

⁹⁰ Mario G. Hoover, Hoover article in *Fuego de Pentecostés*, 1928, p.167.

⁹¹ Personal letter to George, July 1930. ("Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center Archives.") See APPENDIX D.

After the Baptism of the Spirit and in later reflections Hoover saw that particular pneumatological understanding as the key to all the growth they had experienced.

Reflecting on the revival in 1936 in another article in *FdeP*, he surmises:

Perhaps one of the secrets of the growth is the intense evangelism that has taken place. It can truly be said of the brothers that they are all occupied and occupied all of the time. A congregation will form a group of brothers who organize themselves into groups of “volunteers” choose a leader, often the pastor himself, and begin to work regularly. They preach on the streets and venture into new territories where the gospel has not been heard before, cycling to villages or nearby cities where they start up new works. When these new communities are formed the volunteers will continue to visit them on a weekly basis even though they be 20, 30 or 40 km away. These new congregations that are thus started up with so much sacrifice, will, in turn continue the work of evangelism themselves.⁹²

In this way, Hoover’s understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit as power for evangelism, though inherited from revival Methodism, is now *activated*, augmented and becomes part of the theology that motivates the church from an actualized understanding of the book of Acts. Passages like Acts 1:8, 8:1-8, 8:26-40, 13:1-3, 19:8-20, where all the persecuted were scattered ‘preached the word wherever they went’, where power evangelism was publicly preached and worked such that ‘all the Jews and Greeks who lived in the province of Asia heard the word of the Lord’, became his models. For Hoover, the Holy Spirit is the one who, through the Baptism of the Spirit, enables such evangelism.

4.10 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Hoover took on, at the Seeking and Receiving stages, Mukti revival teaching, sanctification, a Baptism of the Holy Spirit that is subsequential to regeneration and yet enhanced sanctification to the point he called ‘transformation’. Abrams merges in her concept of the BHS, the power of the Spirit in sanctification (‘Fire’) and the empowering with the gifts and authority of the Spirit. Hoover tends to absorb this same confusion, which he will gradually downplay as he matures into his later Methodist Pentecostalism.

⁹² Willis Hoover, ‘Pentecostés en Chile’, *Fuego de Pentecostés*, 1932, No 54 edition, <http://www.sendas.cl/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/sendas.cl-fuego-de-pentecostes-ed-54.pdf>, p.1.

Hoover's earlier days show a sense of eager participation in the world Pentecostal wave of revival. In this, he will interact with Azusa and other Pentecostal pioneers. In sincere loyalty to the Wesleyan view of revival, and as Sepúlveda rightly notes, he will later preserve a Chilean identity that will give the church projection. He blends revival Methodism with what he is observing in Pentecostalism. His theology springs out of the pastoral and ecclesiological needs that arise particular to the Chilean movement. But in 1910, when they were forced to leave the IME, Hoover had already *begun to identify* with the spreading worldwide Pentecostal movement. He is distanced from the Methodist church and yet will maintain loyalty to Methodist doctrine. In the next chapter, we can elaborate on how he developed Methodist Pentecostal theology as he guided the church as her Superintendent over the next 22 years through the Development and Administration stages. During this period, what was a name for a denomination became a theology: Methodist Pentecostal Theology.

Chapter Five: Hoover the Methodist Pentecostal

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will bring together Hoover's later 'hybrid theology' of Methodist Pentecostalism. Hoover, the Methodist, never abandoned Wesleyan theology and holiness revivalism, nor did he altogether leave behind foundational IME doctrine as his more comprehensive basis for biblical theology and church practice (see below). He was led to Baptism of the Spirit via Mukti and, I maintain, influenced by Stone church Pentecostalism, a church vitally oriented to mission, ministering as it did within its international context and congregation in Chicago (see Mirola's *Redeeming Time* for a fascinating view of how churches were part of the rescue to the city in the great Chicago Fire¹). This influence explains Mary Louise' AG baptism by immersion and ordination and Hoover's tendencies to side with a less schematic, 'tongues as initial evidence', Azusa and AG Pentecostality.

Hoover was never theologically exclusive to either Methodist or Pentecostal pneumatology, but rather amalgamated both, bringing them together as fully compatible: He lowered the Pentecostal expectation of tongues as initial evidence, he worked out of Wesley's disciplines and church strategies, he continued to propose BHS as the doorway to Acts of the Apostles mission. He remained convinced of infant baptism (see below) and referred to the Twenty-Five Methodist Articles of Faith (reduced from the original Thirty-Nine articles of 1571 by Wesley for the nascent Methodist Episcopal Church²)

¹ William A Mirola, *Redeeming Time - Protestantism and Chicago's Eight Hour Movement 1866-1912* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

² For a detailed description of how Fletcher 'coined' the Methodist title and amended canons to give John Wesley fuller powers to ordain the necessary workers for the growing movement in 1775, see Laurence W. Wood, *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism* (USA: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 151–52.

where appropriate, as well as Wesley's *Book of Discipline* (or 'Rules') translated into Spanish.

As I draw together what some would consider conflicting theologies, I have concluded in Chapters Three and Four that Hoover considered himself *primarily a Pentecostal, with foundational roots in a revived Methodism*. He elaborates, in fact, a Methodist setting for the gem of the Pentecostal Baptism of the Spirit.

This section of the historical-theological analysis of my thesis (Chapters Two to Five) will culminate in this chapter with a more systematic description of how Methodist Pentecostal theology that I have been endeavouring to piece together finally formulates and influences the movement. This theology has sustained and guided the Chilean Pentecostal movement up until the present day. In this chapter, I will also briefly include the ritual and dynamics that this theology has produced ecclesiologically and missiologically, as well as some of the 'ripples' discerned in Chapter One.

I will draw from the Wesleyan *Disciplina* Manual and Chilean Pentecostal periodicals. This period, during the Developing and Administering Stages (1910-36), was covered richly in the early issues of *Chile Evangélico* and *Chile Pentecostal* as well as the 100 revised *Fuego de Pentecostés* periodicals that he edited from 1928 until Hoover died in 1936³. These are previously unedited and provide me with appropriate illustrations for my proposal.

³ Enrique Koppman, a lay minister, left the Presbyterian church in Concepción in September 1909 and founds the periodical *Chile Evangélico*. In 1910, given the need for an exclusively Pentecostal newspaper it takes on the name of *Chile Pentecostal* and he will be its director until 1915. From that year, Hoover was asked to be its director. In 1928, Hoover changed the name of the magazine to *Fuego de Pentecostés* in 1928. With the crisis of 1932-1934, the Pentecostal Methodist Church (IMP) resumed publication under the name of *Chile Pentecostal* and Hoover abandoned the IMP to join his followers and create the Evangelical Pentecostal Church (IEP) continuing to publish *Fuego de Pentecostés* until his death in 1936.

I also resource a very useful thesis by Rakel Alegre⁴ on T. Barratt, *The Pentecostal Apologetics of T. B. Barratt*, that allows insight into Barratt's relationship with Mukti and Minnie Abrams as well as his *Pentecostalist* Methodist apologetic.

We are now in a position to better understand the theology behind the quasi-creedal declaration 'It is Methodist'. 'It is Pentecostal'. The narration of the historical events and their theological consequences through the Four Stages have brought together a weaving of Wesleyan Holiness, doctrinally Methodist (even Anglican) in inception, but inflamed and merged by the 'Pentecostal Fire', first received from Mukti and later nurtured by the Stone Church and Pentecostal periodicals the Hoovers subscribed to, 'The Latter Rain Evangel', 'Apostolic Faith', 'Confidence', 'Bridegroom's Messenger' (regularly quoted by Hoover in *ChEv*, *ChPent*, *FdeP*).

5.2 NEW CIRCUMSTANCES AND A NEW IDENTITY: IGLESIA METODISTA PENTECOSTAL

Luke traces the early church's history until its arrival in Antioch (Acts 11:26, 13:1-3). By this time, its members developed a new identity as 'Christians', a new community of God's people that included diverse classes, genders and races: 'slave and free, male and female, Jews and Gentiles'⁵. Luke most probably settles deliberately on this new identity, 'Christian', around the Antiochian church community as by now (c.43 AD) the church has evolved from an exclusively Jewish, Messianic sect to an inclusive, international, 'Christian' mission movement, the people of God in Christ.

As the Pentecostal movements worldwide began to develop their new identity⁶ in the early twentieth century, so did the Chilean revival. Sepúlveda lays out three

⁴ Rakel Alegre, 'The Pentecostal Apologetics of T. B. Barratt: Defining and Defending the Faith 1906-1909 2019.' (Regent, 2019), ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

⁵ Galatians 3:38, Colossians 3:11.

⁶ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), 15-28.

fundamental aspects that he believes created this identity shift in the Chilean movement as a contextualisation of Chilean culture:

First, the sudden influx of Pentecostalism: In this case, the 'origins' were both the primitive church as portrayed in Acts and the early Wesleyan movement in England as described in the journals of John Wesley. However, underneath the surface, there was a much more implicit process towards reshaping the Christian experience and church life into the 'local manner', the local culture.

Second, the necessary 'incarnation' to the Chilean mestizo culture: Although the latter process seems to have already been active in the background of the early Methodist revival, it became dominant after 1910, when the Pentecostal movement was severed from the MEMB, and therefore forced to rely on national resources for its further development. Chilean Pentecostal identity (or identities) can be seen because of this dynamic of continuity and discontinuity ... Pentecostalism has effectively succeeded in incarnating the Gospel into the *mestizo* culture of the Chilean peasantry and the lower-class urban population.

Third, the incarnation as a development of a severing from the missional root: However, this 'incarnational' capacity or tendency of Chilean Pentecostalism has rarely been the fruit of an intentional or conscious strategy. It has rather evolved as a by-product of the early exclusion of the movement from the Methodist Episcopal Church and, therefore, from the missionary 'home base.'⁷

Hoover, thus forcibly 'severed from his Methodist root', the IMP began to develop a new identity and theology. It became a hybrid, not by 'conscious discourse', as

⁷ Juan Sepúlveda, 'Indigenous Pentecostalism and the Chilean Experience', published in Anderson & Hollenweger (eds). *Pentecostals after a Century. Global Perspectives on a Movement in Transition*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999, 111-34.

Sepúlveda suggests in the same paper, but by internalising incarnation to the mestizo culture with which the Hoovers chose to identify themselves.

5.3 JUAN SEPÚLVEDA AND IMP IDENTITY

Dr Juan Sepúlveda wrote a ground-breaking paper, ‘The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective’, which became a chapter in ‘Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities’ in 2014⁸. The careful study sheds much initial light on how the IMP in Chile arrived at its peculiarly autonomous identity. His thesis, contradicting Cecil Robeck’s opinion⁹ that Azusa was the chief influence on the Valparaíso revival, is that Hoover’s main inspiration came from India, pre-Azusa, a revival that anteceded Azusa and had looked to the Welsh experience in 1905. He maintains that the Mukti Mission¹⁰ revival had already begun to manifest Pentecostal characteristics as far back as 1905 and that later contact with ASR read back into the movement the Azusa influence.

Did Azusa serve as a primary model? Even if it is clear that Azusa periodicals did come by the Hoovers’ hands, it would have been after their initiation to Pentecost by Mukti. Anderson makes Mukti as important a centre for world Pentecostal advancement as Azusa.

Let me again reinforce the case for the Stone church rather than Azusa as the Hoovers’ prime model for Pentecostalism. The Stone Church was located in Chicago, Hoover’s home city and became a significant centre for Pentecostal propagation as early

⁸ Juan Sepúlveda, ‘The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective’ Chapter in *Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities*. (New York: Néstor Medina and Sammy Alfaro, 2014).

⁹ Cecil Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement*. (Thomas Nelson Inc., 2006), 250ff.

¹⁰ See on Pandita Ramabai’s Mission, Chapters Two and Three.

as 1906. Stone supported Mukti's mission¹¹. The fact that Minnie Abrams spoke there on at least two occasions in 1909 and 1910 and at the Missionary Conference in 1913¹² would further explain the Hoovers' openness to Stone. As noted, the fact that neither Abrams nor Hoover eventually stressed tongues as 'initial evidence'¹³ provides further context to the Stone church (that did not affiliate formally with AG until 1939¹⁴) being their primary Pentecostal model, where 'initial evidence' was not formally required. The fact that Mary Louise was baptised and commissioned as a missionary there indicates the close relationship the Hoovers developed with Stone church. Even if her baptism by immersion was pressured by the AG mission emphasis from Azusa, especially after the Mission Course conducted by María Wood¹⁵, neither at Stone nor in Chile was 'initial evidence' adopted formally. We know that Willis visited the USA in 1920, staying until 1922 when he would more than likely have visited Stone Church while living in Chicago. We know he also contacted Springfield, Missouri's AG centre¹⁶. During the period he encountered the initial evidence controversy in the USA (and was already very much aware of from periodicals and the controversy over tongues that arose in Chile), Hoover never wholeheartedly embraced the AG position. His preference for expressing a 'theology of manifestations' that had become inherent to the Methodist Pentecostal theology would accompany the IMP until today.

¹¹ Allan Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and Transformation of World Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 87.

¹² Allan Anderson, 87.

¹³ Allan Anderson, 88-9.

¹⁴ A conversation with Darrin Rodgers in March 2023, director of the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Centre, informed me of the Stone Church's Pentecostalisation in 1906-7 and their association with the AG even when differing on the 'initial evidence'. They shared the Latter Rain Evangel and worked together on Mission with the REEM movement and finally became formally AG affiliated in 1939.

¹⁵ See Mary Louise' baptism (4.7.2.1).

¹⁶ John Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*. (Goes, The Netherlands: Oosterbann & le Cointre N.V., 1967), 300.

Several influences created the new Methodist Pentecostal identity. As I concur with Sepúlveda, it was Minnie Abrams, helper of Pandita, who indeed had the greater persuasion on the Valparaíso church through her iconic letter sent to her college friend Mary Louise Hoover. However, it would be Stone Church rather than Azusa, with which the Hoovers would be in more significant contact during the formative Developing and Administering Stages. If this was true of formalising their identity, which most probably began and grew into and out of the name they gave the church, *Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal* in 1910, the final theological format was provided by a merging of Mukti, Stone and Barratt. I believe that these were the most formative of Hoover's theology, rooted in Methodism, fired in Pentecost and resettled in Methodist Pentecostalism, as I will sustain below.

Sepúlveda, in the same paper, further highlights that Hoover, even if initially spurred to seek the BHS by the Mukti report and later having the experience confirmed by ASR testimonies, did firmly maintain an autonomous identity for the IMP. This despite an early seeking of tongues as 'initial evidence' in 1909. In a crucial article of William Durham's, 'Manifestations' which Hoover translates, serialises¹⁷ and uses widely, he lays out Durham's testimony of this BHS phenomena:

Hundreds of people have received the Holy Spirit in the last two years, among whom there were young people, and old, rich and poor, educated and ignorant of almost every denomination, including Catholic Lutherans, from those who profess sanctification, and I'm in all these, I have seen not one person, receiving the Holy Spirit without physical manifestations, and also speaking in tongues.¹⁸

It is unclear whether he meant to bring attention to Durham's testimony as a universalised glossolalia and initial evidence or whether he merely includes it as *one* of the manifestations. He will later clarify this conviction and develop his 'theology of

¹⁷ 'Manifestaciones', serialised in *ChEv*, June 16th to July 7th 1910, Nos. 38-40.

¹⁸ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 155.

manifestations’, whereby the fullness of the Spirit requires only substantial manifestations of his power as evidence of BHS¹⁹. Durham defends the position that physical manifestations (falling, trembling, etc.) are as genuine expressions of the BHS as tongues.²⁰ Hoover may well have based his ‘theology of manifestations’ on this testimony, as Sepúlveda maintains²¹, quoting Hoover’s ‘Who are these Pentecostals?’²²

5.3.1 IMP’S ‘THEOLOGY FROM EXPERIENCE’

In another paper related to the theology of Pentecostalism in Chile, ‘*Características Teológicas de un Pentecostalismo Autóctono: El Caso Chileno*’²³, Sepúlveda brings up, again, Chilean Pentecostalism’s autochthonous development and the theology from experience that both Barth and Moltman espouse. He differentiates between autochthonous Pentecostalism, ‘*criollo*’, as he calls it and imported Pentecostalism (‘Las Asambleas de Dios Autónomas’, ‘Asambleas de Dios’ and ‘Iglesia de Dios’) that arrived from 1937 on with more elaborate theologies. He sees the Baptism of the Spirit as an empowering for ministry and the defining factor regarding uniting Pentecostal theology. He will also sum up: ‘In Chilean Pentecostalism, there is a centrality of experience over doctrine, far more than in the foreign Pentecostal denominations.’²⁴ So, like Campos, with whom we will converse in the following two chapters, Sepúlveda was probably the first

¹⁹ See below, Chapter Five (5.6.2).

²⁰ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile* (Santiago: Ebenezer Publishing House, 2000), 154–57.

²¹ Juan Sepúlveda, ‘Reflections on the Pentecostal Contribution to the Mission of the Church in Latin America.’, 1992, 10.

²² See Chapter 4 (4.5, 4.7.3).

²³ Juan Sepúlveda, ‘Características Teológicas de Un Pentecostalismo Autóctono: El Caso Chileno’, in *En La Fuerza Del Espíritu*, ed. Benjamín Gutierrez (Guatemala: AIPRAL/CELEP, 1995).

²⁴ Juan Sepúlveda, ‘Características Teológicas de un Pentecostalismo Autóctono: El Caso Chileno’, in *En La Fuerza Del Espíritu*, 77.

academic in Chile to understand theology from experience as a valid theological reading of Pentecostalism.

Hoover is a prime illustration of the principle, for not only does he renew his theological understanding through his experiences of BHS, but he can later incorporate this experience and teaching into the Wesleyan tradition. In this, he embraces Pentecostal pneumatology in more comprehensive, more traditional frameworks and theological forms.

Sepúlveda defends the ‘supposed theological poverty’ of Chilean Pentecostalism on the grounds that it is young and because the majority of Pentecostal churches are planted among social sectors with little access to formal education. But more importantly, like Campos, he will wager for a religious expression founded more on a subjective experience of God than an objective, doctrinal revelation²⁵.

Later, Bernardo Campos also ties the Latin American Pentecostal experience more to the social setting in which it develops: ‘theology develops in a determined social context’²⁶. Himself a Pentecostal, he specifies how, for them, theology emerges as a testimonial knowing and narrative: ‘Out of the language of Pentecostal religious experience we [shall] attempt to reconstruct an ideal type of experience of the Spirit, which we commonly call the Baptism of the Spirit or Fire.’²⁷ By this, he means that it is essential to construct a Pentecostal theology around the Baptism of the Spirit. As we seek to ‘categorise’ or ‘systematise’ Hoover’s thinking, we need to remember how he was ploughing new ground bravely, breaking with the liberal, theological shackles which hindered the revival and rebuilding theology from *the experience of knowing the Spirit*.

²⁵ Juan Sepúlveda, 7.

²⁶ Bernardo Campos, 132.

²⁷ Bernardo Campos, 132.

In order to arrive at a complete understanding of the development of Hoover's Methodist Pentecostal theology, a schema that has survived even the painful divisions that continue to afflict Chilean Pentecostalism, it is essential to visit the figure of Thomas Ball Barratt. We will note how he proposed a plausible structure for the revival, one that Hoover was already incubating: Methodism *Pentecostalist*.

5.4 THOMAS BALL BARRATT (1862-1940) AND HOOVER

Based on Hollenweger's²⁸ observations, I suggest that Thomas Ball Barratt was Hoover's model for considering Methodism as a viable structure to develop a Pentecostal identity.

At the early stages of the Chilean revival (1909 and 1910), Hoover records correspondence between himself and Thomas Ball Barratt, a Norwegian Pentecostal pastor who, similar to Hoover, was forced to leave his Methodist denomination when Pentecostal phenomena broke out in his Methodist mission church in Cristiania, Oslo. As noted previously, he had been baptised in the Holy Spirit while visiting the USA during the Azusa outpourings in 1906. He later returned to Europe determined to set his land on Pentecostal fire from his church base in Oslo. He was such a catalyst to Pentecostal revival in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, and England that he became known as the 'Apostle of Pentecostalism'. He influenced and later worked alongside central revivalist figures like Lewi Pethrus from Sweden, Alexander Boddy in England and Jonathan Paul from Germany. He became known as a fierce apologist for the movement, defending it against the many charges it faced in the USA and Europe relating to fanaticism, tongues, and wild manifestations²⁹. We can understand Hoover identifying closely with him and probably becoming an avid reader of any writings of Barratt's that

²⁸ Walter Hollenweger, 'Methodism's Past in Pentecostalism's Present', *Methodist History* 20,7, 1982, 169–82.

²⁹ Rakel

came his way in ‘the Latter Rain Evangel’ and similar periodicals. No doubt, hearing of his Methodist background and the opposition he faced, so similar to his, wrote to him, probably in 1910³⁰. His letter of reply is recorded in Mario Hoover’s book in Chapter 16, ‘The next 20 years (1910-1930)’.

Though we do not have Hoover’s questions, Barratt’s replies (to ‘Mr and Mrs. Hoover’) reveal the direction of Hoover’s main preoccupations with how the revival in Chile might relate to Methodism and Methodist theology. The subjects covered are everyday encouragement in the battle for revival, hope for church structures to be renewed, demon possession, the fierce opposition they shared, the danger of false prophesying, sanctification, and the subject of baptism. He shares with Hoover his personal conviction in the letter that Pentecostalism and Methodism are compatible:

But then I found that my Pentecostal friends were going back blindly and with tenacity on the matter of water baptism. So, I’ve had to be firm on this. I still retain my Methodist convictions on this question, and I am as Methodist now as I was before touching the doctrines of salvation and sanctification (better yet). Naturally, the theme of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and the Gifts of the Spirit has opened before me since the Spirit has revealed the secret.³¹

Further links in the chain of influence can be traced here between Barratt, Taylor and Hoover. Barratt also advised Hoover to adopt Taylor’s self-supporting and self-propagating church missiological strategy. Hoover had already been forced into adopting this course of action when the church had necessarily met in house groups after the rift with the IME. Later, during the Developing and Adminstrating Stages, Hoover would continue to apply Taylor’s strategies as well as simply add these to Wesley’s *Disciplinas* and, in so doing, implement such a format for all future autochthonous Pentecostal churches in Chile.

³⁰ Although Mario Hoover does not print a date on the letter, he includes it in a series of correspondence all dated in the Receiving Stage (1909-1910). Hoover will admit to writing to many leaders in search of teaching and guidance in their new Pentecostal experiences after receiving the booklet from Minnie Abrams in 1907, but Barratts answers seem more appropriate to a time after BHS reception for Hoover.

³¹ Mario G. Hoover, 115.

Not only did Barratt maintain Infant Baptism theologically, but he also drew up a list of 10 theological creedal statements which could have served Hoover well as they cover the central tenets of biblical faith as understood in original Methodism and include the Pentecostal teachings related to the Baptism of the Spirit:

1) The Bible is the inspired Word of God. 2) There is a triune God. 3) Jesus Christ is the eternal incarnate Son of God. 4) His atonement on Calvary and his resurrection are the basis for our spiritual, physical and material hope. 5) We are justified by faith and born again by the Spirit. This salvation is an individual experience. 6) Every believer can obtain the experience of the purification of the heart. 7) Everybody can be filled by the Holy Ghost and fire as the Disciples were on the day of Pentecost. 8) Tongues' as well as the other gifts of the Spirit are given to the believers to a greater extent than ever since the days of the apostles, which is a proof that the 'return of the bridegroom is at hand. When the Spirit baptism is accompanied by the speaking with tongues we have a special and precious token of the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. 9) The gifts of the Spirit were never needed more than now, but they alone are useless without the love, the fruit of the Spirit. 10) The Coming of our King is close at hand. It is therefore necessary for the believers to be awake. – 'We don't work for an assembly or a denomination but for Jesus!'³²

These antecedents allow us to consider elaborating a more systematic presentation of Hoover's theology 'derived from experience', both Methodist and Pentecostal and yet run on a Methodist framework derived from the book of *Disciplinas*.

What appears, at first, as an unbridled 'Pentecostalism of manifestations' will be incorporated in a plausible way into the Methodist Pentecostal church. Such effects as the new and curious bodily contortions, the prophetic elements, the dramatic transformations of the most miserable characters in Valparaiso, the discernment and confrontation of the demonic spirits, invigorated evangelism, rapid church planting, all initiated and occurred under Hoover's leadership will come under scrutiny and biblical order as the church matured. In this, I believe Thomas Barratt's own experiences further inspired him.

We know that Barratt travelled to Mukti and related to Minnie Abrams when they exchanged similar viewpoints on tongues, which are not necessarily 'initial

³² Eliecer Hernández, 'John Wesley and Thomas Ball Barratt: An Examination of Wesley's Theological Teachings in England from 1735 to 1791 and the Role They Played in the Pentecostal Mission to Europe through Thomas Ball Barratt in 1906 to 1939.' (Proquest, Ann Arbor, MI USA, Lliberty Baptist Theological Seminary, 2015), 59.

evidence'. She wrote to him several encouraging letters, and one published in *Confidence* in September 1908, Abrams stated that:

At Mukti they had received Spirit-baptized visitors from Calcutta, Coonoor, and other places, and they had themselves visited the Spirit-baptized in Bombay. At Mukti they believed "that all these together with us have been baptized into one baptism." She did however also confirm that they disagreed on whether speaking in tongues was the only sign of the baptism. Abrams and others at Mukti took the position that people could be baptized in the Spirit without speaking in tongues, but she argued that this little difference of opinion as to the evidence of Spirit baptism should not hinder them from a united effort.³³

How long after Barratt's letter did the 'Pentecostalist Hoover' begin to see his way clear to hold to a Methodist theological framework, especially since T. B. Barratt was emphatic that, for him, 'the doctrines of salvation and sanctification remained unscathed'? I suggest that the increasing need in Chile for the administration as Superintendent of the fast-growing movement gave him little time to develop new church structures, and that the Methodist *Disciplinas* gave him the ready rails upon which the revival could be run. Wesleyan Methodism had run before on such rails, and now they were becoming 'the true Methodists' again. Barratt was a confirmation of what he was already experimenting with.

After the reception of the Mukti tract in 1907, an influential correspondence continued between Hoover, Abrams, and Barratt. It is also clear that William Taylor, another devotee of RHM, as noted above, has a profound influence on all three centres of revival, providing the ethos for establishing the self-supporting churches which would enable and extend the holiness turned Pentecostal revival in India, Norway and Chile. Hollenweger, as proposed above, notes this correspondence with Barratt and feels that it may be reasonable to conclude that Hoover began to adapt his early Pentecostal theology to Barratt's Pentecostalist Methodism.³⁴

³³ Minnie Abrams, "India: A Message from Mukti," *Confidence*, September 1908, 14.

³⁴ Walter Hollenweger, 'Methodism's Past in Pentecostalism's Present', *Methodist History* 20,7, 1982.

5.5 METHODIST PENTECOSTAL THEOLOGY

Though developed gradually over the first ten years of the revival, what was at first a new identity, the Methodist Pentecostal Church, became a new church theology. Even if it was a viable ‘theology from experience’ initially, as Hoover managed the merger, a more evident theology began to settle. Based on his convictions, it is discernible, stemming from Wesley, Mukti, and Stone and confirmed by Barratt. The most crucial aspect, the ‘gem’, the Baptism of the Spirit, was centrally placed in the setting of Methodism, amplifying Wesleyanism with the incorporation of full Acts of the Apostles BHS.

This gem sought and received in 1909, caused a bigger splash than had previously been experienced in Chile or Latin America, as the Reverend Doctor Stuntz (later to become the Methodist Bishop of Latin America and the one who ousted Hoover) himself reported in an early evaluation of what was going on in Hoover’s church:

Dr Hoover says that a great number of souls have converted to God with great power, of which there were many mean people, and even criminals. The penitent ones have fallen to the floor where they have remained unconscious for various intervals ... some of the converts believe they have received the gift of tongues in speaking and singing ... There is a truly spiritual power in the movement, very superior to what has been seen in a South American work.³⁵

Stuntz is here essentially quoting what Hoover himself has informed. At the end of the report, he gives his opinion on this early revival stage.

Even though it is very true that there is a strange fire to some extent in the services, the news received has much to compare with the history of the Methodist revival in its primitive times. There is almost no feature in the news we receive that could not be duplicated in our revivals in India, Korea and China.

The spiritual power that came with Baptism of the Spirit was to take them like a swirling, cascading river into a new sphere of missional identity. However, as we saw in Chapter One, the revival also soon ran into novel and difficult circumstances through the Laidlaw affair, the mutual exclusion from the IME, the internal pressure on Hoover to remain with the revival movement as its Superintendent all conspired to form the new churches with

³⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 61–62.

their new identity as ‘Pentecostals’. Hoover sensed, nevertheless, that there was a further need to harmonise the roots of the revival with its new shoots.

In Chapter Four, I noted that Hoover *was* eager to identify as a fully-fledged Pentecostal, as part of God’s worldwide Pentecostal movement that he went discovering in correspondence with others, but more importantly, found to be *emerging* in a parallel and spontaneous, autochthonous Chilean expression around him and his wife.

Why did Hoover soon move away theologically from the ASR regarding ‘initial evidence’? As already cited, Sepúlveda would maintain that Hoover never espoused these Azusa doctrines. I believe, however, that he did initially think these teachings, especially as he and Mary Louise sought ‘the baptism’. It seems to me that the evidence they sought was tongues. I will venture that as the Chilean Pentecostal church progressed throughout the Administering Stage, he accommodated the revival *pastorally* to the Chilean experience, and, as he did so, he did so *theologically* as well. The accommodation was pastoral in that he noticed that the congregations received the power of the Spirit, even when they had not spoken in tongues. This simple acceptance (that he would by now have noticed was supported by Barratt³⁶ and even Abrams³⁷) allowed the revival to spread without tongues becoming an issue for doubt. Sepúlveda points out, ‘it would open a very propitious field for inserting the Pentecostal experience among popular Chilean culture.’³⁸ Therefore, one of Hoover’s main positive influences on the unhindered spread of the Chilean revival came from this pastoral instinct, documented by his own followers³⁹.

³⁶ Rakel Alegre, ‘The Pentecostal Apologetics of T. B. Barratt: Defining and Defending the Faith 1906-1909 2019’, 79.

³⁷ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 88-9.

³⁸ Juan Sepúlveda, ‘Características Teológicas de Un Pentecostalismo Autóctono: El Caso Chileno’, 77.

³⁹ See Chapter Two (2.7.4).

5.6 'IT IS METHODIST'

Anderson comments on the 'closeness to Methodism' as a defining factor that 'differentiates Chilean Pentecostalism from North American classical Pentecostalism,' that it did not follow white American classical Pentecostalism's doctrine of initial evidence.⁴⁰ Speaking in tongues was one of many of the manifestations of Spirit baptism. Whether persuaded by Barratt or for other personal reasons, Hoover decided that Methodism was compatible with the Pentecostality they were discovering.

When the band of revivalist followers in Santiago left the Valparaiso Conference in 1910, they decided on a new name for the new church: *Iglesia Metodista Nacional* (The National Methodist church)⁴¹. Hoover reacted to what he considered a dangerous nationalist spirit, and immediately, he and his wife made the decision. On Saturday, April 9, 1910, Mrs. Hoover's 'Let's leave with them', and Hoover's reply, 'Very well, let's do it.' This led to the formation of the Methodist Pentecostal Church instead of the NMC. As yet, it was a new identity, not a developed theology. However, a few of Methodism's defining tenets became Hoover's declared theology, beginning with the biblical theology of Wesleyanism.

5.6.1 METHODIST BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

Hoover has an apparent theological concern over the Bible and its promises as the fount of authentic teaching and Pentecostal blessing. *Chile Evangélico*, *Chile Pentecostal*, *Fuego de Pentecostés* will publish, with quite some regularity, articles about the Scriptures, their power and devotional usage for personal growth and the spread of the

⁴⁰ Anderson, Allan, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 203–4.

⁴¹ Anderson, Allan, 205.

Gospel under the titles, ‘God is not a God of Confusion’⁴², ‘To any who would like to read the Bible profitably?’⁴³ ‘How to read your Bible’, ‘Know your Bible’, ‘The Bible is still true’, ‘The power of the Word’ ‘The indestructible Word of God’, ‘Bible notes’ (*FdeP*, Nos 19, 22, 79, 85, are some examples). The articles teach the primacy of Scripture over spiritual gifts and regulate it as foundational to doctrine. These will also serve to help class leaders.

A translated series by Lily Yeomans⁴⁴ takes three issues on the *permanence and promises* of the Scriptures (*FdeP* No.31-42 Jul-Sep 1931). Then come warnings about their misuse, apostasy, and atheism: ‘There are certain doctrines that have begun to be known as “modernism” and “unionism”’. They minimise and negate the authority of the Word of God’.⁴⁵

Later, Hoover devoted an entire editorial against Modernism (*FdP Feb 1935*, No.77). Another is dedicated to Christology (*FdP Mar 1936*, No.90). Never far is his rejection of liberal theology that he perceives has crept into the IME (5.5.2).

Hoover’s stepping out into Pentecostal waters will provide another foundation for most Pentecostal churches (see footnote⁴⁶): the vital platform of the *biblical theology* that has stood the test of time.

⁴² *ChEv* No.30, December 1909 ‘Dios no es un Dios de Confusión.’

⁴³ *ChPent* No.1 (their first issue), November 1910 ‘A quien quisiera leer la Biblia con Provecho.’

⁴⁴ Lilian Barbara Yeomans 1864-1942 became associated with the early Pentecostal movements in USA and was later known as a medical doctor who believed in divine miraculous healing.

⁴⁵ *FdP* No.19, July 1929.

⁴⁶ On account of the dearth of theological study in Pentecostal churches, several more promising leaders have had to train in more liberal colleges with a resulting schizophrenia: Pentecostal in worship and Gospel preaching and yet liberal in theology.’ Feminism, Liberation Theology, Abortion, Homosexual Marriage will sometimes be backed by Pentecostal Leaders, also on account of political aspirations to power under liberal governments. Example, Chile’s *La Mesa Ampliada*, under the leadership of Emiliano Soto and Eduardo Cid.

In 1909, confronted by the spread of dangerous rumours concerning the revival, *before* his trial, Hoover had already stated his doctrinal position in a letter he quotes at the end of his book. He begins to make clear that (from what sounds like *biblical literalism*) he must decidedly move away from the liberal position he detects among those Methodists who write to him. In reply, he tells them:

But there is something that occupies me even more, and it is something very difficult to speak about. I feel that your words, especially in your last letter, present a kind of argument that practically tends to naturalism, as opposed to supernaturalism. I don't want to argue. It is only recently that the Word of God has given me the freedom from the ties with which I was being held due to the shadows which modern interpretations cast upon it. Interpretations which, although they do not deny openly that the angel appeared to Paul (Acts 27:33), that Peter saw a vessel... as a great sheet, etc. (Acts 10:11) they get so near denying it that one feels they are searching for an excuse for the mental condition of those persons, in such a way that one almost feels ashamed to say frankly, 'I believe exactly that (emphasis Hoover's).'⁴⁷

And, then, in the same letter, making the theological point that the supernaturalism he sees in Scripture now allows him to *adopt a Methodist Pentecostal theology* as opposed to the liberal Methodist theology he sees beginning to pervade:

Very well, I have the living word now, more than ever. I believe that God wants that I, the church, my brothers - each and every one - be baptized with the Holy Spirit. I believe that he wants us to know it... I believe he did it with the apostles ... I believe that it is our privilege to enjoy much more of the presence of the manifestations of the power of God than we enjoy now.

Hoover clarified, then, as the revival developed, that the movement was to hold to a Wesleyan doctrine *that was based on Biblical Theology* and that also incorporated the Pentecostal phenomena as clearly biblical.

His preaching was 'biblical', consistent with these beliefs, as his grandson records.

His sermons seemed to spring from his daily study of the Bible and prayer. I have an abiding memory of walking past his study and seeing or hearing him often in prayer. I recall that before the evening service as he would sit in his wicker rocking chair, his personal English bible open before him. He would meditate for a few moments of passage. Then he and I would start walking to church, and the rest of the family would soon follow. He was not usually demonstrative in preaching. His was more that of an earnest teacher. He had an open bible and frequently referred to it.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 101.

⁴⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 227.

Mario records how his grandfather put great stock on the Bible School he ran out of his home. As the church grew and flourished even in the first year of its existence, 1909-1910,

WCH saw that to conserve the gains, keep doctrinal purity, and serve new congregations which were springing up, leadership and bible training were important. In an effort to meet this need my grandfather developed an informal means of training without opening a Bible school or seminary. As stated earlier he taught some of the most talented and dedicated young people in weekly Bible classes in their home. He also had a class for the Sunday school teachers each week, to give them guidance for teaching the class on the following Sunday.⁴⁹

This reliance on the Bible and on biblical theology was one of his most important contributions to the Pentecostal movement in Chile. With the Baptism of the Spirit shaping the church, albeit with a lack of systematic theological reflection, he relied on this crucial and central Wesleyan factor expressed every Sunday in their ‘classes’ and hymnody⁵⁰.

From this perspective, he parts company severely with sectors of the Episcopal Methodist church of his day, the liberal theologies of his time. In a blistering attack on those aspects of liberalism, he perceives are infiltrating Methodism, in an article ‘Christian love’, added to his book by Hoover himself⁵¹, he distances himself from these liberal Methodist tendencies, identifying himself, again, instead as a biblical literalist⁵² when he says:

In regard to doctrine, some of the most evangelical churches, in their (Methodist) schools and seminaries teach the Bible, yes, but then they teach that what it says is not true. They teach that the story of creation is a tale that is not true; that the fish could not have swallowed Jonah; the angels do not exist; that the light Saul saw on the road to Damascus was lightning; that the voice he heard was that of his conscience

⁴⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 238.

⁵⁰ The Methodist Pentecostal hymn book is still traceable to their original Methodist one, with several new inspired hymns added. Much of their doctrinal belief will be inspired in favourite hymns like ‘Onward Christian Soldiers’, ‘At the Cross at the Cross’, and ‘How Great Thou Art’

⁵¹ Mario G. Hoover, 138–44.

⁵² By ‘literalist’ I mean a commitment to Scripture as Hoover would have understood it in his time, believing in the total inspiration of the biblical texts. Today it carries a more derogatory meaning of ‘unthinking and naïve belief’. Hoover seeks to establish his separation from the liberal tendencies toward Scripture arising among his Methodist colleagues of the times affirming his commitment to the Scriptures.

and not of Jesus; the Jesus' resurrection was spiritual, not physical, and many other such things. As if the Gospels were the thoughts of those who wrote them and not the truth of what happened.⁵³

In 1929, he adds a note where he cannot resist a jibe: 'Now, after nineteen years, the pastors of the Methodist Episcopal Church say among themselves: "The Pentecostal Churches are the *true Methodists*; we are the ones who have deviated (italics mine)"'.⁵⁴

5.6.1.1 WESLEY RATHER THAN WHITEFIELD

Like most Methodists in Chile, the Wesleyan doctrine espoused a more 'Arminian' position. Even though he was a firm believer in the sovereignty of God, especially when relating to the actions of the person of the Holy Spirit, he would not have understood doctrines like 'the perseverance of the saints' as central to his Wesleyan theology. This tendency produced a feverish orientation to the onus placed on the saints to do, to pray, to seek, to obey, to evangelise, to purify themselves from the world, even if the sovereign hand of God was seen to be active in the transformations of lives testifying to the genuine work of heaven.

To this day, therefore, Methodist Pentecostal theology tends to eschew Calvinism. In a very lucid article, 'La Cautividad Pentecostal Del Cristianismo Pentecostal', Luis Aránguiz argues that the Calvinist Arminian confrontation would not be appropriate to the Pentecostal churches:

By [Pentecostalism] finding its Christocentric, theological, and biblical matrix, it could become even more formidable than it once was. After that you can also discuss how much of other specific theological traditions you can (and should) or should not drink. As Manfred Svensson has already said, the fact that Pentecostals do not come directly from Geneva or Wittenberg does not mean that they cannot hear them. I refer here to of a phenomenon that I would call the 'Calvinization' of Pentecostal believers, who discover Reformed theology in its orthodox form.⁵⁵

⁵³ Mario G. Hoover, 142.

⁵⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 119.

⁵⁵ Luis Aránguiz, 'La Cautividad Pentecostal del Cristianismo Pentecostal.', *Cuestiones Fundamentales*, 2016.

Here, Aránguiz alludes to many younger Pentecostals, a generation growing hungry for a ‘deeper theology’ that will often visit or participate in the more reformed churches and colleges available. Our own Pentecostalist Anglicanism in Santiago de Chile has also served as a helpful bridge in this sense. He continues:

Although there are those who emigrate from Pentecostal churches due to irreconcilable differences in theological thought, there are also those who are interested in “calvinizing” Pentecostalism... Due to its Wesleyan nature with an Arminian emphasis (let's not forget the existence of Calvinist Methodism), Latin American Pentecostalism has obvious problems with concepts such as predestination, especially emphasized by Calvinism. However, due to that same Wesleyan nature, there is still the possibility of bringing it closer, if not to an orthodoxy with a markedly Calvinist character, at least to a more broadly Protestant orthodoxy. In this direction, it seems to me that early Lutheran theology can help, as long as it does not participate in the Calvinism-Arminianism dispute.

Would this ‘Christocentric, theological, and biblical matrix’ be an unexpected, non-Hooverian, eventual outcome of what Luis Aránguiz desired for today’s Pentecostal church?

5.6.2 ‘*EL LIBRO DE DISCIPLINAS*’

John Wesley’s original ‘rules’ were incorporated in a *Book of Discipline* in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784.

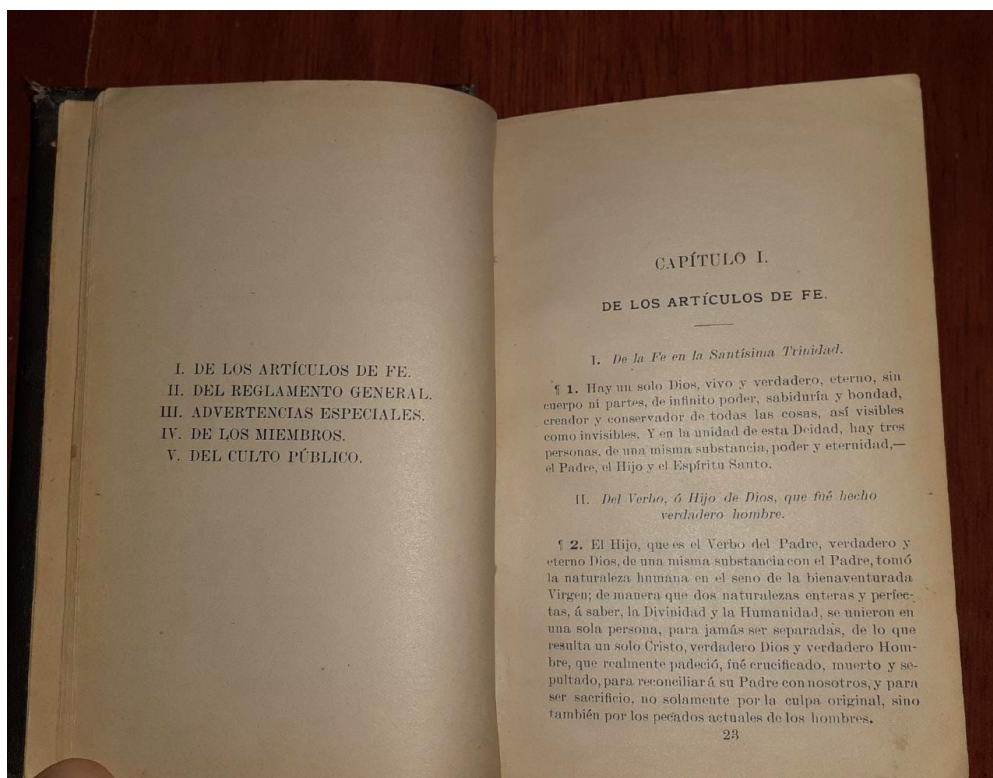


Figure 5: *‘Libro de Disciplinas’.*

Hoover was handed a translated copy on arrival in Iquique. It served as a manual for him as most of the disciplines mentioned by Wesley, circuit preacher practices, and class discipline, formed part of Hoover’s constant pastoral ministry. It contains the Twenty-Five Methodist Articles of Faith, the general rulings, special warnings, criteria for membership and the forms for services that Wesley enjoined on his Methodist movement. Hoover practised these himself. Memories of him were shared at his funeral, which sounds like a portrait of Wesley himself:

His activities as Superintendent of the Pentecostal Work leave a profound mark of self-sacrificial love. In every town where there was a work that needed his services his counsel was never wanting. So, we find him travelling among the churches in the north on horseback, the arid and mountainous regions. And other times in the southern frontier under torrential downpours of rain; or, in the most southerly districts of Magallanes receiving copious snowfall upon him.⁵⁶

These Disciplines, then, he indeed perceived to be revivalist Wesleyanism, encountered in Chicago’s RHM Methodist churches, in the correspondence with Thomas Barratt, and

⁵⁶ *FdePentecostés, Jun. No.93, 1936.*

which he later saw, held no intrinsic contradiction to the *Libro de Disciplina* he and his church continued to use. He saw no need to re-invent a wheel that had already been forged in Wesleyan revival fires. Wesleyan Methodist belief and practice was then the ‘setting’ into which the Pentecostal gem could be easily inserted.

A curious indication of his thinking progressing can be seen on the dedicatory page of his copy of his *Libro de Disciplina*. There are two visible inscriptions, one for the inauguration of the Iquique church that he built on February 2, 1902, and the other for the dedication of the *Retamo* church, which he also built with the help of a large gift from his family in USA of over \$5000 US, dedicated on Christmas Day of 1919. It is discernible how he first writes ‘Valparaiso, Pentecostal Church’ and later inserts the ‘M’, misplaced in relation to the comma. Was it a simple mistake? Or an afterthought? It is not sufficient evidence to build a case, but it does indicate that by 1919, he saw himself wholly as a pastor of a Pentecostal church. However, can one surmise that the M would stand for the Methodism that he felt completed the picture?

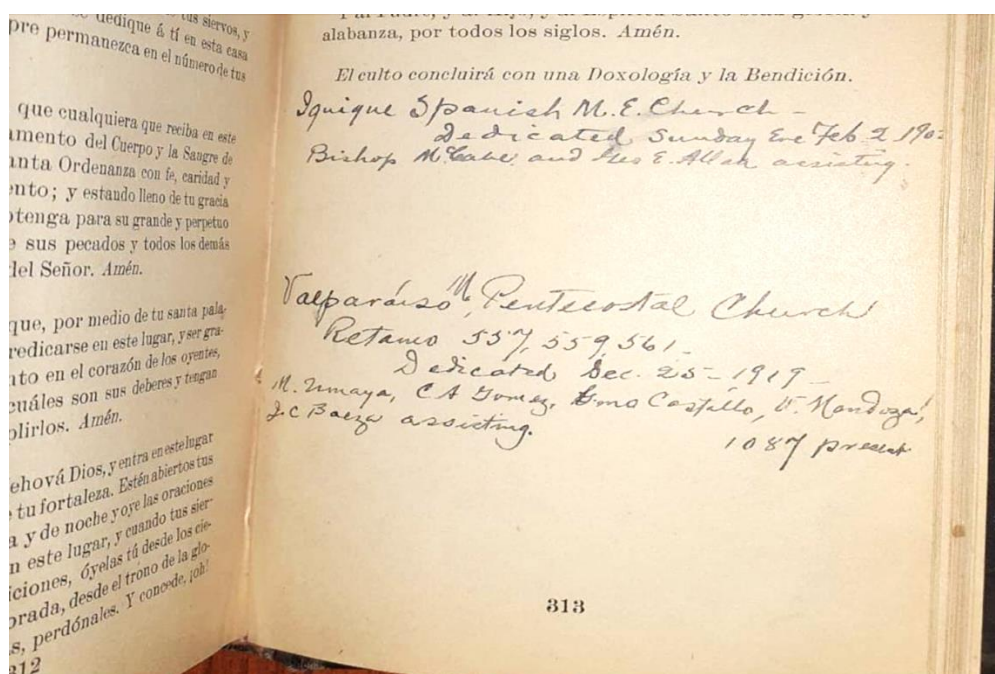


Figure 6: ‘*Libro de Disciplinas*’. Notice the ‘M’ inserted.

This would not be a backward step into traditional Methodism, as has been made clear. Indeed, he will break most severely with what he will consider Methodism's liberal theological and spiritual shift.

5.7 'IT IS PENTECOSTAL'

We saw in the previous chapter how the revival that began under Willis Hoover in 1909 was chiefly (though not exclusively) influenced by the 1905 Mukti revival in India. Since Mukti soon became closely linked to the worldwide Azusa Street Revival in 1906 and epistolary contact was maintained between the Hoovers and Minnie Abrams on account of her own personal experience of Mukti, the initial doctrines to which Hoover adhered, in his search for an authentic Pentecostal Baptism of the Spirit were akin to Azusa subsequentialist teaching. Intense seeking will lead to the BHS. A crisis experience called the BHS, marked by tongues as the sign of reception, was re-introduced as normative of true Christian heritage. The BHS accessed all the gifts of the Spirit, the prophetic Spirit, and missionary power as they understood it. The undeniable Acts of the Apostles type experiences included conviction of sin, repentance, transformation, miracles, and supernatural manifestations that led to many conversions and much church growth and mission expansion. As Hoover began to experience these 'signs', he became Pentecostal.

5.7.1 THE GEM: THE BAPTISM OF THE HOLY SPIRIT INCORPORATED

Hoover and his wife had discovered the Baptism of the Spirit as 'a further experience to New Birth and Sanctification', as they had been seeking, seeing it as an empowering gift, valid for all Christians, to accomplish the task of mission in this generation. So, I believe Hoover wholeheartedly saw himself as part of the worldwide Pentecostal movement to which he was eager to belong. He regarded God's visitation on Valparaiso with the Baptism of the Holy Spirit as a privilege and a responsibility to be protected and encouraged, as was demonstrated at his trial and subsequent skirmishes in a hostile

secular and Christian press. So, Willis and his wife, Mary Louise, laid down their missionary careers and allegiance to the Iglesia Metodista Episcopal church in loyalty to the Pentecostal movement founded in the BHS and originating in their Chilean home and local church.

5.7.2 SUBSEQUENCE AND INITIAL EVIDENCE

In the final analysis, Mukti and Hoover could be said to have ‘taken on Wesleyan sanctification theology *enhanced by the Baptism of the Spirit*’. Both see regeneration, sanctification and empowerment as works of the same Holy Spirit. Yet they create theological confusion regarding the reception of these workings of the Spirit as strictly separate experiences. Commenting on his initial reaction after reading Minnie Abram’s tract, he says:

The question raised was, then are there three steps to Christian initiation life - pardon, cleansing and baptism of the Holy Spirit, instead of two as I had been taught?⁵⁷

Minnie Abrams became a worldwide exponent of Mukti theology, and although she and Thomas Barratt later did not insist on initial evidence, she was sometimes equivocal. As Anderson relates, her earlier expositions, most probably given at Stone church, are evidence:

Minnie Abrams was probably the first to give a detailed exposition of Spirit baptism (within a holiness framework) linking spiritual gifts with missions. 1906 wrote ‘the booklet included the discussion of the restoration of speaking in tongues (the first written Pentecostal theology of spirit baptism), and 30,000 copies were circulated widely. Pentecostals been given the gift to the Spirit in order to engage in service to others. This was their mission to the world. As she put it, the ‘full Pentecostal, baptism of the Holy Ghost had not been received, unless someone had received both the fruit of the Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit as outlined in 1 Cor. 12, these gifts, alone, enabled the early church to spread the knowledge of the gospel and establish the Christian church so rapidly.’⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Article in *The Latter Rain Evangel*, ‘The Wonderful Works of God in Chili’, April 1911.

⁵⁸ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 66.

Stone church did not follow Parham on ‘tongues’ as initial evidence but did concur with Abrams on the manifestation of the gifts.

Mukti and Stone, will give Hoover his Pentecostal ‘theology of manifestations’.⁵⁹ These will both continue, however, to be subsequent to regeneration and sanctification and will therefore, maintain an inevitable theological confusion.

For Hoover, the subsequent reception of the BHS after regeneration and sanctification remained a central doctrine throughout his life and ministry. What did become a stumbling block pastorally was tongues as ‘initial evidence’. He was reaching for a theology that continued to allow subsequence and, therefore, ‘the third experience of the BHS’. However, the controversy over tongues was becoming a pastoral problem in the movement at the early stage of 1910: ‘Probably the chief point of controversy has been the manifestation of strange tongues...’⁶⁰

Hoover was instinctively seeking a theological solution to this pastoral problem. Later, his theology on manifestations will take on many aspects of Sepúlveda and Campos’ principle of Pentecostality⁶¹. He comes very near to expressing such doctrine in his quoting of Durham’s article, *Manifestaciones*⁶², as he appears to apply it to Chile’s ‘present movement’ in 1910:

Now we arrive at the present movement, which, some title to “the Pentecostal Movement.” Others, mocking, call it the “Tongues” movement. And others, “The latter rain.” I myself see it, merely as a powerful outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon God’s people.⁶³

The phrase ‘merely as a powerful outpouring of the Holy Spirit’, will become central to his understanding of how the person of the Holy Spirit empowers the church. There will

⁵⁹ See Chapter Four (4.7).

⁶⁰ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 37.

⁶¹ See Chapter Six.

⁶² *Serialized in ChEv Nos. 38-40, 1910.*

⁶³ Mario G. Hoover, 154.

always be a ‘powerful outpouring’ in BHS, but his pneumatology (Campos will call it Pentecostality) will substantially differ from the AG understanding developed from Azusa. Hoover was aligned, instead, with Mukti, the Chicago Stone church and Barratt.

Hoover’s Methodist background and holiness revival experience blended to develop a new theological understanding and pathway. He was not insistent on tongues as the sign of the BHS but developed a pastoral theology of ‘manifestations as signs of the BHS’. Sepúlveda and Hollenweger also see Thomas Barratt, who received the BHS with speaking in tongues from contact with Azusa missionaries in the USA, as central to Hoover’s new church *identity*. Sepúlveda and Hollenweger propose together, in another helpful paper, ‘The Methodist past in Pentecostalism’s present’, suggesting that Hoover was more a Pentecostalised Methodist than a full-blooded Pentecostal⁶⁴. Although I follow them on the *identity* Hoover forged, I believe he was more of a Pentecostal than has been supposed.

5.7.3 GIFTS, POWER AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES MISSION

One of Hoover’s most emblematic articles⁶⁵ was written in July 1928 in answer to a court action against him relating to supposed hygiene breaches in the new Retamo church meetings. He called it *¿Quiénes son estos Pentecostales?* (‘Who are these Pentecostals?’). His ardent defence covers most characteristics he considered essential to the movement under his Superintendency for eighteen years and in *Retamo* for nine. The hygiene and morality issues he addresses and dismisses in a few paragraphs: the young ladies who fell under the power of the Spirit were covered quickly by their parents who stood by them (he contrasts with local beaches where near ‘nakedness’ is celebrated), the changed

⁶⁴ Walter Hollenweger, ‘Methodism’s Past in Pentecostalism’s Present’, *Methodist History* 20,7, 1982, 169–82.

⁶⁵ *FdeP* No. 7, August 1928, 2.

language of ex-criminals, abandoning their vices, and crimes, is clean and decent, the dependencies are salubrious. He culminates his argument by citing ‘the President of the Republic who has granted representatives of this church entrance into the penal establishments of the Republic, to preach the Gospel, as a fruit of which, many have left prison to live an honest life.’ He admits to some insalubrious places they have had to use as meeting places, but not since the new *Retamo* church was built in 1919.

More important as a primary source for this research will be his descriptions of the church in answer to his question. He will trace the origin, the ‘regimen’, or lifestyle, and the main characteristics and fruit of the Pentecostals.

He begins with the narration of the Ascension, Pentecost and the first reception of the BHS on the Apostles as a fulfilment of Joel 2, with the outpouring of the Spirit and spiritual giftings on the first church.

He then traces the spread of contemporary Pentecostalism since 1900 to India, China, Africa, England, Norway and Germany. He indicates that in 1907, the Indian tract motivated a study of Scripture and prayer in Valparaiso, such that they also received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. The mockery and rejection that arose against them, he claims, led those who had ‘received and believed’ to leave the IME. This led, since 1910, to a great extension of the work such ‘that it became present from Arica to Punta Arenas in over 100 congregations and thousands of Pentecostal believers’.

Hoover describes their weekly schedule: the two church evening services on Thursdays and Sundays between six and eight o’clock and the Sunday School Bible class at 10:00 am. Mondays and Saturdays were dedicated to small home prayer and bible study meetings.

Hoover then outlines the aspects I have mainly brought out in Chapter Four, which I briefly corroborate from the article.

Presence. ‘What most distinguishes the Pentecostals is... the fact that the Holy Spirit of God is manifest among them, according to the promises of God.’

Power. ‘Sometimes there is laughter, weeping, shorts, dancing. But these things come like strong wind on the day of Pentecost; they move many, for a few moments, even up to 1 hour, and then it passes, and the meeting continues its course.’⁶⁶

This power is transformational for Hoover. He continues: ‘These manifestations have different effects on strangers who are exposed to them: sometimes they have begun to dance against their will, and, on coming to themselves, find they are converted; some have fallen to the knees, begging God’s forgiveness; others have left impressed in such a way as to be converted at home; and others leave blaspheming.’

Purity. ‘There are many men in Chile who all leading congregations at present, who, in past years, were prisoners and terrifying men because of their gross crimes and savagery.’⁶⁷ Hoover will often refer to this new holiness, one of his recurring concerns and triumphs, as well as the authentication of BHS, received in transformation, regeneration and reparation. He continues: ‘Many, many homes are now happy, families who were divided, reunited... many are now hard-working, productive men who before were just a burden to the State. All these owe everything to the transformation received in the Pentecostal church.’ Hoover refers to the many authorities all over Chile who can now testify to how the Gospel proclamation has altered the lives of many thousands who ‘before were worth nothing but now are sought out in the many businesses, factories, offices, construction work, home helps that could be of confidence.’

Proclamation This is the tireless fruit of the mission of Jesus to Chile through BHS. The motive for the preaching work in the vicinity was to ‘make known the message

⁶⁶ *FdeP* No. 7, August 1928, 3.

⁶⁷ *FdeP* No. 7, August 1928, 4.

of the love of God’, inviting all to the meetings. This work is also carried out in the distant countryside, villages and towns, ‘walking long hours and sacrificing sleep, comfort and money’⁶⁸.

The article ends with a description of his own person, now nearly 70 years of age, covering his early work in Iquique for ten years and later, beginning in 1902, his pastorate in Valparaiso in the IME until 1910.

5.7.4 METHODIST PENTECOSTAL SERVICES

I have personally observed some distinctives of Chilean Pentecostalism. These include orderly, well-led services with hymn singing that is powerfully evocative of spiritual presence and power, then spiritual manifestations like dancing in the Spirit, prophesying, tongues and interpretation. Prophets may get up from their seats and wander down the aisles speaking directly to members or generally to the church. The church listens respectfully. Then, a bell may be rung as a sign that the time for the manifestations is over. Another hymn, orderly notices, a reading and then the sermon. The Pentecostal preacher usually comes to the pulpit trusting entirely on the guidance of the Spirit so he or she may pray a while before, receive a text, open it in the pulpit and then preach as they may feel led by the Holy Spirit. There are cries from the congregation, loud ‘*¡Amén!*’ or ‘*¡Gloria a Dios!*’ interventions. Every now and again the whole congregation is asked to stand and proclaim three times the liturgical *¡Gloria a Dios!* after hymns, sermons or even the notices. There is that sense of Presence and Power throughout that Hoover ‘allowed’. The offerings may come twice, once for the upkeep (normally of the Pastor and his family) and another for the ‘building fund’. Members will often give sacrificially,

⁶⁸ FdeP No. 7, August 1928, 3.

rings or other jewels, counting it a privilege to build the kingdom of God. These churches, though often poor, are self-sustained.

Before the service, the preachers arrive. They have been circuit preaching, evangelists, families, children in long crocodile files that go along the designated roads and stop to preach from time to time. Both men and women proclaim the biblical word, usually spontaneously, believing the Spirit will give them utterance. The listeners are invited to the local church and many arrive seeking healing. During the service there is always a space for the Pastor to pray for the sick as well as testimonies of those who have been healed.

It is Pentecostal, therefore, but it will also be blended back into Methodism. Kessler notes that only in Chile under Wesley's influence have 'the Pentecostal churches maintained infant baptism, episcopal church government and Methodist ecclesiastical discipline.'⁶⁹ This is especially so in their mission strategy.

5.8 METHODIST PENTECOSTAL ECCLESIOLOGY

Orellana, like Lalive, details the IMPs Pentecostal ritual, services, and outdoor outreach. In *Fuego* Orellana cites Lalive: 'The Pentecostals who were born in Methodism continued in their services and meetings as prescribed by their mother church, but without facing the opposition of the Methodist hierarchy to their new practices.'⁷⁰ In their new freedom, they developed the ecclesiology according to their Pentecostalist Methodism: Spirit-led freedom, expecting manifestations of gifts and power in services, high prioritisation of evangelism and mission according to Wesleyan circuit preaching, Bible

⁶⁹ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile.*, 289.

⁷⁰ Christian Lalive DÉpinay, *El Refugio de la Masas* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacifico, 1966), 97.

study cell discipling (the Wesleyan method of personal discipling in *Disciplinas*), and Pentecostal prophetic church life.

Hoover records in *Fuego de Pentecostés* No.54, in June 1932 of over 150 IMP localities and places of worship by then, up and functioning⁷¹. The leaders of new communities were named by the ordained pastors, outlining the areas for their preaching itineraries. Then, in the Annual Conference they were presented to the Superintendent where he was ordained as *Pastor probando* (Apprentice pastor). Thus, ‘these groups and congregations, born of such sacrificial work, produced voluntary workers, who in turn, could take the message further afield.’⁷² Later, Apprentices were ordained as Pastors, and the work increased as the Annual Conferences grew.

As an illustration of the process I cite Orellana:

In 1920 brothers sent from Talca began to evangelise the area around Constitución and San Clemente. The proselytism was sometimes planned and at other times spontaneous. Mr Hoover, the Superintendent understands that it is now time to name a Pastor for this new flock and without delaying the decision, the honour falls on the one who was leading the work, brother Cornejo ... In 1925 he was the first Pastor of the IMP de Chile in the city of Talca.⁷³

In my article ‘Pentecost in Guarilihue’⁷⁴ I mention the telling phrase ‘in the year 1938 the preachers arrived from Tomé ...’, the grateful collective memory of the town’s process of mass conversion to the Gospel of over 90% of its inhabitants.

If theology is born of experience, it needs to be consistent enough to resolve the tensions of structure and life, authority, and charisma necessary to their survival down the years and generations. Lalive and Luis Orellana describe the services, the charismatic

⁷¹ A translation of an article for *World Survey*, a missionary periodical of the time.

⁷² *FdeP* No. 54, June 1932.

⁷³ Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006). Orellana citing Carlos Martínez *La Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile en Talca*. Monograph (Talca) 1999, pp.8-9, a historiographic work on a local church.

⁷⁴ Wonsuk Ma, Opoku Onyinah, and Rebekah Bled, *Good News to the Poor - Spirit Empowered Responses to Poverty* (Tulsa, USA: Oru Press, 2022). Chapter ‘Pentecost in Guarilihue’ Alfred Cooper

and prophetic element, the powerful singing, the spontaneous dancing in the Spirit, the shouts of '*¡Gloria a Dios!*' and '*¡Chile para Cristo!*', the emphasis on healing and on open-air preaching that characterise the Pentecostal churches now in Chile in all their variety. Peter Wagner remarks on a service in the main Jotabeche cathedral in Santiago, the ingenious swivel seats that allow for many prayer moments during the service, the sense of triumph as the preachers arrive after the Open-Air preaching⁷⁵.

One departure from Wesleyanism was the fact that Hoover saw fit to ordain women. He had seen Stone ordain women missionaries (his own wife, who had also been ordained as a Methodist deaconess after studies in the Chicago Training School⁷⁶ later 'ordained' in Stone some 16 years earlier as a Missionary). On the April 20, 1930 Hoover ordained Adela Gómez as Deaconess. She had been preaching among the saltpetre mines in the north, eventually pastored a church there, and opened works in Chacabuco, Buenaventura and Alianza.⁷⁷

By 1920, then, as the Administering Stage began, we can see that Hoover had already set up the main structure of IMP church and mission, all the while developing theology from experience. Orellana comments:

By 1921 we can see established two main spaces positively institutionalised: religious rituals, customs, or ceremonies including aspects such as prayer, worship, spiritual gifts, speaking in tongues, dancing, prophesying, healing services, the *¡Gloria a Dios!* Liturgy, and the proselytising or evangelistic structures.⁷⁸

It could be deliberated as to whether it should have been called the 'Pentecostal Methodist' church, but circumstances and, I believe, Hoover's convictions maintained the Methodist Pentecostal identity and theology plausibly merged, the historical (the old) with the prophetic (the new).

⁷⁵ Peter Wagner, *Look out the Pentecostals Are Coming* (Florida USA: Creation House, 1973), In Chapter 8 'It's fun to go to church', 111.

⁷⁶ See Mario Hoover's mention of her going into the 'Deaconess Home' for study, Mario G. Hoover, 178.

⁷⁷ www.Lumbre.cl, Pentecostal webpage, Efemérides, 20 Abril, 1930.

⁷⁸ Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*, 114.

5.9 METHODIST PENTECOSTAL MISSIOLOGY

It is likely that the Stone church would also have inspired the Hoovers to overseas missions in and from Chile. The Stone church's record on mission is next to none. They linked up with the Russian East European Mission that sent workers to the borders of Stalinist Russia, often unable to enter their mission field. Then Italian converts at Stone, Luigi Francescon, were later instrumental in the evangelising of Brazil, starting a church in Sao Paulo in 1910⁷⁹. It is also most likely that Mary Louise' experience of the Stone Mission Conference in 1913 and possible later training culminating with her Certificate of Ordination as a Missionary in 1914, would have further influenced Hoover. This missionary ministry had already been expressed first within Chile itself... from 1910 onwards as testified to by *Chile Evangélico*⁸⁰ and *Chile Pentecostal*⁸¹. The Mendoza mission would take until 1930 to get underway.

Anderson makes the point that the theological link between Spirit baptism and missions has always been characteristic of the Pentecostal movement. 'It is very important to understand the significance of this, because ... mission is Pentecostalism's central, most important activity.'⁸²

We saw that Proclamation become one of Hoover's main preoccupations and theological contributions to the church, given out of the experience of spontaneous and organised missions, enhancing previous Wesleyan mission as a direct result of BHS. Following *Disciplinas* and later developing national strategies, successive *FdeP* numbers

⁷⁹ Paul Freston, (April 1995). 'Pentecostalism in Brazil: A Brief History', Religion. Volume 25, Issue 2, 119–133.

⁸⁰ *ChEv*, April 1910, No.29. As early as this issue, the periodical is full of testimonies of growth: two churches in Santiago, others in Traiguén, Penco, some to 'capacity'.

⁸¹ *ChPent*, Dec. 1910, No.3. By this third issue, eight months later, there were new Pentecostal churches in Valdivia, Concepción, San Fernando,

⁸² Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires - The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, 65.

record growth and new addresses for churches. The circuit and regular neighbourhood preaching gave them the unprecedented fruit they gathered, both in the tumultuous early years of the revival as well as in the steadier growth into very large churches, some of over 1000 members.

As a missiological strategy, a Pastor might receive a revelation and ask a member to move to a new neighbourhood where there is no Pentecostal church and then begin to plant the new church. Since Wesleyan Methodism was familiar with cells and studies in homes, as were the earlier IMP congregations, the dynamic would prosper and soon the whole family would be seen walking the neighbourhood preaching and seeking to do good to the neighbours. Their Mission is integral, prioritising evangelism but also sharing with good works, helping with addicted youth and processes of rehabilitation. Their work in prisons is notable as I was able to experience personally while serving under President Piñera, who was extremely moved by the work of the evangelicals he saw when he visited the *Penitenciaría de Santiago*.

5.9.1 THEOLOGICAL TRAINING AND THE FUTURE

Hoover was more preoccupied with fruit than theology. This would be one of the tensions that later arose among Pentecostals. When confronted, during his trial, with a fellow pastor's rebuke: 'Brother Hoover, why are you so obstinate? Can't you see that all the brothers are in accord in their recommendations, and yet you do not budge a single point? Why are you so obstinate?' He replied: 'My brother, when my brothers, or one of them, can show me fruits of the methods they recommend that can compare with the fruit God has given us this past year, then is the time to concede the point to them.' The pastor answered: 'To what you have said there is no answer.'⁸³

⁸³ Mario G. Hoover, 67.

This fruitfulness tended to occupy Hoover (as it has done Pentecostal pastors down the past century) rather than theological formulation. He looked to historic Wesleyan fruitfulness and attributed the new and extraordinary missional growth and manifestations to the BHS.

Luis Aránguiz, nevertheless, links early Pentecostal success with Hoover's understanding and practical implementation of the Bible.

Whether Pentecostalism will survive or not (I mean, serious Pentecostalism, not what's left of it after a hundred years, and that lives more off a memory of past glories than current results) will depend, from my point of view, of a single defining thing: that Pentecostals once again ask themselves the 100-year-old question: "What prevents us from being like the early church?" Or "what prevents us from being like the church of 100 years ago?" But to want to be like the early church in closeness to God, you first need to read about it. Then, may you have as deep a desire to know God as she did.

And here Aránguiz becomes clear in his intention. He would like to see a greater theologising, biblical and spiritual, of the rank-and-file Pentecostals who now fill the churches. He continues:

And this deep desire will come when the Bible is taken seriously by Pentecostals again, not as an amulet with Psalm 91 or to carry it under the arm to the temple and open it only in the meeting, but to study it, to appropriate what it says of God and of what he did with his children in another time. Perhaps there it will be discovered that Pentecostalism was not only suit, tie, preaching in the street, occasionally playing an instrument and crying from time to time. But something that not just anyone can offer: an experience with God that, as the brothers who preach in the streets often say, 'completely changes the life' of those who live it.⁸⁴

Young Pentecostal theologians like Aránguiz are asking questions that go back a hundred years to Hoover and are seeking theological answers to the Gospel's relevance to modern Chilean society. He suggests, as do Chacón, Mansilla, and Orellana, the need to establish a theology of Chilean Pentecostalism that will take us back to Hoover where the revival began. It will first seek to find the roots of his theology, bring out his main emphases, and if possible, explore a basic schema that we could call IMP theology that can be explicitly expounded. This task is the one I am proposing with my thesis.

However, we will meet one of Hoover's prejudices that has percolated through to the present day: In his rant against Methodist (particularly) liberalism, he also slips in

⁸⁴ Aránguiz, '¿Sobrevivirá El Pentecostalismo Clásico?'.

an observation that his preachers had no need of theological training. He says it in the very telling entry of *FdeP* in 1932, after twenty-two years of developing and administering the revival:

Although we do not wish to deprecate the “preparation and intellectual training of today” for the ministry. It is worth noting that the experience of this church is a strong counter argument to that necessity. The work has been taken ahead by men [and women⁸⁵], who have a total lack of polishing in the schools, men in contact with men, men who have been touched, moved potentialized by the Spirit of God. Crude they may be, but not artificialized not standardized. The Nazarene locks have not been shaved, by Delilah with political arguments, adaptation, prudence, and wariness.

This observation will colour the future of Pentecostals in Chile who proudly maintain that ‘our seminary is in the streets’ has been instrumental in the mobilising of the enormous work force that preached the Gospel throughout Chile’s hills and valleys, towns, city and village plazas. Kessler also has a negative recounting of this tendency in Hoover and his followers:

Hoover did not advocate the reading of many books, because this lead one astray, and he warned people against theology. Around the year, 1930 Umaña preached a sermon in Jotbeche in which he proclaimed: “Here, we do not have literature, here we do not have theology, here we do not have learning, but only the Holy Spirit.”⁸⁶

There seemed to be no need for putting his workers through a theological school beyond the personal class discipling they received at home, a habit ground into them between the churches of *Olivar* and *Retamo* church. Since they were fruitful on the field, he appears to have developed a prejudice against theologising Pentecostalism in formal ways, a tendency to favour Pentecostal fervour, disdaining the liberal theology of his time, throwing the theological baby out with the liberal bathwater.

Despite these clear prejudices, I believe he has been misunderstood. He was never against teaching theology, only against putting out the fire necessary for the street missions and church planting with an overdose of inappropriate theological training. He

⁸⁵ This is my insert, justified on two accounts: 1. The Spanish gender inclusivity uses the masculine form to denote both men and women, and 2. on Hoover’s own account, many women preachers accompanied the work of street preaching, even if not pulpit preaching in the majority of IMP churches, until he ordained Adela in 1930.

⁸⁶ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile.*, 299–300.

was known to have trained leaders personally in his living room studying the Acts of the Apostles, after the Wesleyan pattern. Having experienced the Stone model, he and Mary Louise worked on a missionary training course for a few years. Orellana shows how between 1910 and 1920 the movement produced fifteen pastors, all of which had had Bible training, apart from Manuel Umaña⁸⁷.

Nevertheless, this tendency, misread, has resulted in an extended discrimination against theological training. During this year's Summer Conference, we heard the Bishop of one of the IMP churches say disparagingly: 'And *where* were the *theologians* at the beginning of the revival? They weren't around!' ⁸⁸

What Chacón⁸⁹ and Aránguiz are saying is that this tendency needs to be overcome without losing any of the Pentecostal fire he was so careful to foment. As we discern Hoover's developing identity and theology, his transition from a Methodist holiness revivalist to a Methodist Pentecostal we will the better understand Hoover's own understanding of the outbreak and nature of the revival and help trace and classify more explicitly, its consequent, remarkable missionary growth for posterity.

5.9.2 DIVISIONS AND METHODIST PENTECOSTAL THEOLOGY

Chilean Pentecostalism followed the pattern of 'growth by division' that has marked most of the Pentecostal movement, to a certain extent, justifying the splintering off of leaders and groupings within given denominations by the need to multiply the presence of the church.

⁸⁷ Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006), 68.

⁸⁸ Bishop Edmundo Zenteno Céspedes of la Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal (derecho privado), preaching at the Summer Conference January, 2023.

⁸⁹ See Chapter 3 (3.29), 'The importance of a theological understanding of Pentecostalism' for Chacón's comments.

While it is true that most urban and rural settings in Chile are today marked by a notable presence and diversity of Pentecostal and other *evangélico* local churches, the painful process of division was something that Hoover, as Superintendent, managed, to a large extent, to avoid. One of the reasons, I will sustain, was due to the unifying factor of Methodist Pentecostal theology, the fact that they were peculiarly identified with Methodist practice and gradually became aware of the theology from experience they had been formulating together under Hoover's leadership and inspiration.

Kessler, however, lays out the grisly details of how accusations of Hoover's immorality, nationalistic feeling, power struggles and ambition, legal wrangling over property that would continue for over ten years between the new leadership factions of Umaña's IMP and Pavez' IEP churches in Santiago, the tensions in the Conferences of 1932 onwards, all led to the eventual schism⁹⁰. *FdeP* records unpleasant claims over the *Retamo* properties⁹¹ by Obispo Umaña and warnings of disfellowshipping of Juan Venegas, who had 'ceased to recognise the authority of his leaders and take upon himself the exercise of rights that have not been conferred on him'⁹² The rot of division was setting in. The periodical *ChPent* was revived by IMP as a rival to the IEP *FdeP* that had fallen silent for the interval of 1932 (when Hoover published an article claiming that 'total isolation was better for the IEP'⁹³) to 1933. The periodicals carry, unfortunate details of the bitter quarrels and mutual disqualifications. Kessler's judgement is that Hoover held on to power for too long and too stubbornly, afraid that the movement would disintegrate without his leadership that had maintained the basic unity for so many years.

⁹⁰ Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006), 68.

⁹¹ *FdeP* No. 93, June, 1936.

⁹² *FdeP* No. 96, September, 1936.

⁹³ *FdeP* No. 54, June 1932. The last issue of *FdeP*, until its resurfacing in May 1933, was July 1932, No. 55.

Kessler notes that in 1917, Hoover came very close to handing over leadership of the IMP. He was ill and in 1920 went to USA to be operated. Mary Louise died in 1921 and on his return, Hoover, now 63 was weakened physically. Fearing for the future of the IMP without his authority (Kessler surmises that the church would have ‘disintegrated’⁹⁴), he approached the Assemblies of God headquarters in Springfield. Kessler notes that he was even willing to temporarily adopt AG doctrine on ‘tongues as initial evidence’⁹⁵. However, his offer was rejected on account of his Methodist infant baptism. This question of baptism also turned Lief Ericson, an Independent Pentecostal leader, away from the challenge on a visit to Chile in 1924. Hoover held firm to Methodist doctrine and immediately defended his baptism policies in an article in *ChPent*⁹⁶, maintaining the Methodist Pentecostal line.

However, division became an extension of growth, leadership struggles, power abuses as success and fruitfulness became their hallmark, even as an international case for study as a truly indigenous and autochthonous Pentecostal movement.

The critical division over the period 1932-1934 produced several differences in the two resulting churches, the IMP and the IEP. These can be traced to differences between the two leaders, Hoover and Umaña.

Personal differences. Hoover, the American missionary, had been regarded as the traditional and long-term father figure of the revival since 1909. Manuel Umaña, the Chilean charismatic leader of the Santiago *Jotabeche* church, was not one of Hoover’s original disciples. While the others had theological and ecclesiological training from their Methodist background, Umaña was converted from the ‘*bajo pueblo* (the ‘low people’).

⁹⁴ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*, 300.

⁹⁵ Kessler, 300.

⁹⁶ *ChPent* Aug.-Sept. 1925 and later reproduced in *FdeP* No.88 Jan. 1936.

Hoover was a University graduate. Umaña was a compelling, charismatic figure, and his wife, Mercedes Gutiérrez Morales, was respected as a gifted prophetess. Hoover ordained him deacon in 1913 and presbyter in 1916.⁹⁷

Superintendent Willis Hoover, who had presided over the IMP as a united movement for twenty-three years, was now ageing and faced moral accusations⁹⁸. Pastor Manuel Umaña in Santiago began to jostle openly for political, overall supremacy of the movement on a nationalistic bias against '*este gringo*' (this foreigner)⁹⁹. Hoover, sensitive to the tendencies and eager to resist this element in the church (which he discerned Umaña was seeking to use against him), opposed these political manoeuvrings. He changed the periodical's name from *Chile Pentecostal* to *Fuego Pentecostal* in 1928¹⁰⁰.

The schism, in some senses, was over the figure of Hoover. In Orellana's analysis:

... the IEP, as an organization, unconsciously opted for a [different] type of domination, or legitimised tradition, because its leaders, on appropriating Hoover's teachings integrally, gave life to such a tradition, and his figure and doctrine became their ecclesiological horizon. It was this influence of Hoover's that led their proselytes to distance themselves from the IMP, since the imminent domination of Manuel Umaña was becoming evident, especially on account of his closer connection with popular culture, even before 1932.¹⁰¹

Cultural differences. Hoover, the purist, had not allowed worship using the rhythms of Chilean folk music in the services, considering these worldly. Umaña, on a cultural instinct toward greater 'Chileanising' of the movement, had asked Genaro Ríos, a converted circus actor who had integrated the church in 1930, to form a musical group with his brothers. They reproduced traditional hymns with new folk rhythms, which soon became extremely popular. The IEP continues to prefer the harmonium and to resist the

⁹⁷ See 'Sendas' periodical, 11 January, 2013, citing *ChPent* July-August special edition, 1963.

⁹⁸ See Chapter Two (2.7.4.2).

⁹⁹ John Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*. (Goes, The Netherlands: Oosterbann & le Cointre N.V., 1967), 302.

¹⁰⁰ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*, 302.

¹⁰¹ Orellana Urtubia Luis, 'La Matriz Religiosa Del Pentecostalismo en Chile: La Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile y La Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal (1909-1973)', 2016, 279.

use of instruments such as the guitar, mandolin, and banjo that the IMP has incorporated with much popular success.

Umaña allowed pastors' wives to be called '*pastora*' by the congregations (beginning with his own wife, the formidable Mercedes), while Hoover did not. Although Hoover had ordained Adela Gomez in 1930, he never ordained women again.

Dress codes today can differ visibly. While men today will normally wear their 'Sunday best', suit and tie, to services, in both the IMP and IEP churches, women in the IEP must still wear skirts and keep their uncut hair tied in a bun. The IMP has relaxed some of the rules. Women wear makeup, dye their hair and sport trousers. The IEP has maintained a stricter sense of sanctification holiness in the Hooverian tradition that can sometimes border on legalism¹⁰².

Ecclesiological differences. Orellana and Mansilla's article, 'Hoover and Umaña: Patriarchadicy as the foundational myth of Pentecostalism in Chile (1910-1964)', proposes that both Hoover and Umaña injected post-schism competitiveness into the movement. There begins to emerge a different ethos to leadership and ecclesiological patterns, motivated by an insecurity that results in male dominance and proof of virility in ministry: For the IMP, the pastor was the icon that sustained Umañanian patriarchadicy and ultimately 'Umañanism'; for the IEP, it was the missionary.¹⁰³

This competitiveness would later result in welcome developments such as pastoral and theological training. From its beginnings, the IEP understood itself to be

¹⁰² These differences are based to a minimal degree on theological reflexion, rather on intentional separation from the world and, in a certain sense, a 'holier than the IMP' mentality. In Guarilhue, an IEP stronghold, despite concessions that considered the local IMP church as genuinely Pentecostal, it was possible to discern among the interviewed IEP leaders, a sense of 'greater separation from the world'.

¹⁰³ Luis Orellana and Miguel Mansilla, 'Hoover and Umaña: Patriarchadicy as the Foundational Myth of Pentecostalism in Chile (1910-1964).', 30 November 2023.

‘preserving’ the theological line inherited from Hoover¹⁰⁴. So, there were no incentives to introduce new theological ideas. However, Superintendent Castillo established the pastors' Bible studies held once a year and introduced George Pardington's book, *Estudio de Doctrina Cristiana*, used at the Theological Institute of the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church in Temuco. On the other hand, Umaña's natural desire to distance the IMP from its founder gave rise in 1938 to a pastoral training course that would rival the IMP. Umaña's strategies focused on encouraging pastors to establish their own temples and transform them into mother churches and later webs of further daughter churches. The pastor's trustworthy assistant preachers were the ones who collected the tithes and offerings from an ever-wider spread of growing churches. They proved their worth by ‘winning souls’.¹⁰⁵ Hoover's loyalists, in contrast, followed his advice to the letter in the running of the congregations and in a nationwide organisation, with the stress on a life of austerity dedicated to the missionary cause.

Missiological differences. Missiologically, Hoover continued to extend the work after the Wesleyan fashion, emphasising mission and preparing leaders trained in some aspects for the pastorate. Hoover sent missionary Elías López to Argentina in 1930, an unprecedented step for the then ‘Third World’ church, possibly encouraged by the Stone Church example Mary Louise had witnessed among Chicago's immigrant communities.¹⁰⁶

Umaña, on the other hand, educationally less able, emphasised the charismatic gifting and the raising up of larger congregations, preferring to encourage large, attractive, pastoral congregations. Umaña's emphasis would be on training and amassing preachers

¹⁰⁴ From a conversation with Pastor Reynaldo Moraga recounting his experiences with the IEP in Chicago. See Chapter Eight (8.8).

¹⁰⁵ Luis Orellana and Miguel Mansilla, ‘Hoover and Umaña: Patriarchadicy as the Foundational Myth of Pentecostalism in Chile (1910-1964)’, 30 November 2023.

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter Four (4.7.2).

as leaders of large churches. Eventually, Umaña had himself consecrated Bishop for life (in the American IME tradition) in 1950. Hoover kept the title of Superintendent until he died.

Despite their divergences in cultural, ecclesiological and missional understanding and praxis, theologically, their pneumatology would remain indistinguishable. They continued to maintain a similar understanding of Baptism of the Holy Spirit, Hoover's 'theology of manifestations'¹⁰⁷, as well as the more visible expressions of their Wesleyan theological inheritance, such as infant baptism¹⁰⁸.

A recent search of mine for a list of the separations from the original mother Pentecostal churches reveled a surprising increase in divisionism (see Appendix C). Power ambition, economic advancement, political strife and differences in style are usually the cause of the divisions. As noted, however, seldom is it over doctrinal issues.

The revival continued under Hoover. Kessler records that after the division in 1910,

... the believers scattered to their homes as they had done after the earthquake of 1906. Ninety-six services were held a week in 14 different houses. These meetings were led by the various members of the church board, who visit each meeting in turn. Once a week, the officials held a meeting to give an account of the monies received and to arrange who should lead the meetings for the following week. Apart from Hoover, all the officials supported themselves by secular work, but the various groups together undertook the support of Hoover and his family.¹⁰⁹

Despite a consolidatory lull in church progress on account of a lack of buildings, the revival was renewed in Concepción and especially from the *Retamo* Church in 1919¹¹⁰. The growth was maintained all over Chile as regularly testified to in *FdeP*: 'We are

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter One (1.12)

¹⁰⁸ This contrasted with such groups that had arrived later such as the Assemblies of God from the USA and the Assemblies of God from Sweden, both of whom practised adult baptism by immersion and held to tongues as initial evidence of the BHS, to the present day. Both movements stem from 'baptistic' Pentecostal backgrounds. Lewi Pethrus from Sweden and the Azusa Pentecostal Movement were theologically opposed to Infant Baptism, a critical issue in Hoover's decision to not allow the Assemblies of God to take over leadership of the IMP. See Chapter Five (5.9.2).

¹⁰⁹ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*, 290.

¹¹⁰ Kessler, 298-99.

opening new works in the port of Los Vilos. Many people are coming to hear the message of the love of God from afar...also in the towns of Agua Fría and Quilitapia, new local preaching points have been opened.’¹¹¹ Hoover continued to promote extensive missionary journeys, as in Salamanca, near the end of his life in 1935: ‘The first group set out in the direction of Salamanca working an extension of 200 kilometres on foot, preaching all the way.’¹¹²

5.10 CONCLUDING REMARKS

‘Now we really *know* him.’¹¹³ Hoover’s will be considered a theology from experience, one derived from Wesley, fired by Pentecostalism and merged in Methodist Pentecostalism. His theological contribution, for the most part unwritten, I have endeavoured to build from these premises and trace Hoover’s merging of Wesley, Mukti, Taylor, Stone, Azusa and Barratt.

Hoover was mostly concerned with the BHS reaching the entire church and considered that his own diligence, together with Mary Louise and the small band of early faithful disciples in Valparaíso, who devoted themselves to seeking the BHS, as he understood it in the context of Mukti/Azusa Pentecostality of the time, was rewarded. His quest for a similar *experience* as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles as an ‘empowerment’, reception of gifts became, it is widely agreed, missionally fruitful. His doctrines, however, at the initial Seeking and Receiving stages were confused and unnecessarily divisive. Yet, as he assesses it, the division was salutary and necessary for the formation of the IMP.

¹¹¹ *FdeP*, No. 58, July 1933.

¹¹² *FdeP* No. 82, July 1935.

¹¹³ See explanatory note in Chapter One Footnote 36.

The division of 1910 has been none other than the salvation of God's people. After 20 years it can be seen with the clarity of day, that which was not so clear then - that God used that contradiction to counteract the current of incredulity, of infidelity and the denial that has inundated Evangelical church is generally (in such a way that to a great extent they have lost morally the right to be called Christian churches). And [the division serve] to conserve in Chile the preaching of the pure gospel of the power of God, the efficacy of the blood of Jesus to cleanse from sin and the operation of the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁴

Hoover's theology opened the way for Pentecostality to flourish in Chile through a pastoral care for the revivalists. He removed confusion with relation to the 'reception' of BHS and by imbuing of existing church structures (Methodism) with the BHS. His emphases on Presence, Purity, Power and Proclamation, gave Chile a Pentecostal dynamic that flourishes to the present day, despite its limitations and need for a clearer and more consistent theological narrative (which I hope this thesis helps to build).

In this way, Hoover encouraged the new Pentecostal movement, founding it on the biblical nature of the Pentecostal manifestations, and yet earthing them in Wesleyan revival theology. The foundational statements ('It is called Methodist... It is called Pentecostal') were elaborated towards the end of Hoover's life. They were the perspective he was writing from.

Despite the successes and acclamation, Hoover died a saddened man. Kessler finds evidence for some truth attached to the accusations of at least same-sex attraction which Hoover admits to an Anglican missionary¹¹⁵. He feels the pain of Rebecca's rejection of his Pentecostality calling it 'Pentecostal queerness'¹¹⁶. Above all, the divisions seem to have been the most difficult cup to drink. Despite all, his near final words, quoting Wesley, testify to this realistic sense of accomplishment: 'Lord, send another revival, but without the mistakes'.

¹¹⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 121.

¹¹⁵ Kessler, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*, 307.

¹¹⁶ Personal letter to Aunt Clara in 1929,

We can now turn more aptly to answering **Sub-question 3** where I will propose that Hoover, understood through Campos' 'Principle of Pentecostality', does, in fact have a unique contribution to make to the wider conversation from Methodist Pentecostal theology.

Campos devotes a hopeful third part of his book¹¹⁷ to the Pentecostal possibilities for ecumenism and a world theological discourse even with nonbelievers. He traces, exhaustively, the many branches of Christian expression and their history and homes in on the Pentecostal branches, from their initial denominations such as Hoover's IMP, through to Messianic and even Oneness¹¹⁸ Pentecostalities. In his Epilogue, 'Towards a global Christianity'¹¹⁹ his hope lies in that 'Pentecostality has no frontiers, is interconfessional, global or universal, because it proceeds from the Father'. He goes so far as to suggest that Pentecostality 'is not merely a concern for the church but should be considered as a supernatural reality of the Spirit of God that moves the whole creation towards a meeting with him.'¹²⁰

How Hoover could be an early model of these hopes will be the subject of the next two chapters.

¹¹⁷ Bernardo Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad* (Salem, Oregon: Kerigma Publications, 2016), 151.

¹¹⁸ Some Pentecostal Churches in Chile such as the "Iglesia de la voz en el desierto" and "Iglesia Pentecostal Unida del nombre de Jesús", hold to 'Jesus Only' theology, like United-Pentecostal-Church-Inc, in the USA.

¹¹⁹ Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad*, 177–92.

¹²⁰ Campos, 180.

Chapter Six: Theological Contributions from Hoover

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will bring out Hoover's contribution to the wider conversation on the theme with his theological understanding of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. This will necessarily entail:

First, an exploration of the upgraded conversation on the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with Donald Dayton, Bernardo Campos, Gordon Fee, and Frank Macchia referring to the problem of 'subsequentialism' as it stands today.

Second, an introduction to Campos' Theory of Pentecostality as a central Latin American contribution to Pentecostal Theology with application to Hoover.

Third, an identification of Hoover's Pentecostality related to the wider contemporary conversation.

Fourth, an exploration of the meaning of *a relationship with the Holy Spirit*, which Hoover introduces as a characteristic of Chilean Pentecostal experience and theology.

Fifth, an exposition of my theory of 'Pneuma plasticity', developed initially in conjunction with Dr Max Turner, as a resolution to the problem of subsequential theory by focusing on the *nature and action* of the Spirit in the believer.

I have been building on the observations of Sepúlveda, Hollenweger, Lalive, and Kessler in order to chart the Methodist Pentecostal identity Hoover brought to the IMP. I am interested in validating, as Sepúlveda and Campos do, the Pentecostal theology from experience. While Pentecostal theology is, in that sense, Practical Theology in the workplace, on the streets, plazas, and prisons, a pneumatology that leads to missiological praxis, there are limits and even dangers to deriving theology from experience without

due reference to scripture. Gordon Fee describes how subsequentialism¹ arose as an experience-based projection of blessings received. It is understandable, he says, as a reaction to a frustratingly dead church and absence of missional expression.

I explore Hoover's subsequentialism in relation to BHS and propose answers to the confusion. I suggest that Campos' theory of Pentecostality adequately encompasses Hoover's theology of manifestations of the Spirit and that, together with my own theory of *Pneuma* plasticity, will allow for a more straightforward understanding of the Spirit's diverse workings in the believer and thereby contribute to contemporary Pentecostal theology.

6.2 THE 'PROBLEM' REVIEWED

In the Introduction chapter, I laid out the problem posed to my own theological understanding of BHS, which related to my investigation of the Pentecostal phenomenon in the 1909 revival under Willis Hoover in Chile. *When and how was I 'baptised with/in the Holy Spirit'?* My personal perspective is germane to my thesis as it interacts with Willis Hoover's experience and resulting theology. Any study of Pentecostality will, *ipso facto*, include subjective approaches. As Campos says:

Pentecostal theologising emanates from an experience of God, a primarily relational knowledge of Him through the Holy Spirit's agency, teaching and guidance. So, what we are here referring to is a theology birthed in our experience of Jesus Christ, with the word of God. Our experience of Jesus, the Christ, is the basis for our theological reflection. Our experience of faith founded on the word of God, is the basis for our understanding of theology.²

Hoover's initial confusion finally comes down to the same question: *When and how is a Christian baptised in the Holy Spirit?* Hoover's theological position on the BHS, even if, paradoxically, it appeared at first confused and later remained subsequential, nevertheless

¹ Gordon Fee, 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The issue of separability and subsequence', *Pneuma* 7:2, 1985.

² Bernardo Campos, *Experiencia del Espíritu*, CLAI, 2002, 124.

provides some answers for me. The later Hoover allows for clarification, and upon that foundation, I will come to my conclusions.

6.3 THE PROBLEMS FACED BY HOOVER

Hoover's initial reaction to the Mukti subsequential doctrines of the BHS was of 'wonder and a little questioning':

One day in 1907, I opened a little roll that came in the mail and read with wonder and a little questioning, Miss Minnie F. Abrahams' little story "the baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire." The question raised was, then are there three steps in the Christian life - pardon, cleansing, and baptism of the Holy Ghost, instead of two, as I had been taught, and believe? And is the baptism of the Holy Ghost really separate and following sanctification? I was confused, and my wife and I talked it over. But the facts were there, so plain, so wonderful, so desirable, that we began to think and seek, and my wife entered into correspondence with the author and former schoolmate in the Chicago training school.³

Was the 'secret' then a *third* empowering experience? Writing in another periodical in 1918, Hoover stresses the importance of *seeking* the experience to receive it.

The work here in Chile started in 1909 in an amazing revival in the Methodist Episcopal church in Valparaiso, of which I was at that time pastor. It came because it was sought, we having heard that God was doing great things in other lands. We sought the same blessings from the same God, and he sent them to us.⁴

So, for Hoover, the revival began with the seeking and receiving of an *experience*, the BHS, 'another' experience that would be the portal into the fullness of power the church would need to live out the Book of Acts mission.

However, the confusion remained with Hoover and, I suspect (from the wider conversation I will refer to later in this chapter) with a large segment of the Pentecostal movement worldwide. It appeared again in the 'tongues controversy'. By the time the revival was fully underway, they had heard of (and possibly been initially influenced by) the Azusa/AG doctrine that 'speaking in tongues' was a necessary sign of the BHS. One

³ Willis Hoover, 'The Wonderful Works of God in Chili', The Latter Rain Evangel, April 1911, Vol.3 No. 7.

⁴ Willis Hoover, 'The Wonderful Works of God in Chili', Vol.3. No.7.

could not be deemed baptised in the Spirit if one had not spoken in tongues.⁵ Hoover does not evade the controversy early on in the movement during 1909:

Probably the chief point of controversy has been the manifestation of strange tongues, and the fact that it accompanied and was evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This fact led many Christians to question whether they themselves had the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. The doubt hurt their self-esteem. And if this did not result in a hunger to seek the baptism, it would awaken the resistance in their hearts. But we basing our position on Acts, chapters 10, 11 and 19, continued on our way. The church went on growing in a notable way, while the pastor continued to be the target of opposition.⁶

They do ‘continue on their way’, but Hoover will become pastorally moderate and later steers away from the Azusa insistence. Hoover’s later position develops pastorally out of this hesitation into his unique expression of Chilean Methodist Pentecostal Pentecostality⁷.

Then, later, when accused of fanaticism, Hoover showed a similar pastoral concern concerning the manifestations of the Spirit that would later modify his theology:

I exhort all of God’s children to be subject wholly to God, have full confidence in the purifying virtue of the blood of Christ, and ask God for the gift of the Holy Spirit, finally allowing him simply to work in you on His terms. If He gives you the Holy Spirit without the manifestation, good and well. But if it comes in overpowering manner, let us give him the same happy welcoming our hearts as if he had come softly.⁸

Problems also arose with the ‘prophetic element’. This second challenge to Hoover’s Chilean movement needs analysing. Hoover himself honestly addresses these problems:

As I have noticed in every place, there have been difficulties that have retarded the work after the first glorious outbreak: considering every voice, every impulse, every interpretation as undoubtedly of God, and so neglecting to ‘try the spirits’: esteeming such as superior to the Word of God; hence impatience of counsel or correction, spiritual pride, artificial means of producing the desired speaking in tongues, self-constituted messengers

⁵ A tenet of Assemblies of God doctrine still today. See The Assemblies of God’s 16 Fundamental Truths, especially tenet. 8. THE INITIAL PHYSICAL EVIDENCE OF THE BAPTISM IN THE HOLY SPIRIT: The baptism of believers in the Holy Spirit is witnessed by the initial physical sign of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit of God gives them utterance.

⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 27.

⁷ For ‘Pentecostality’ see Campos below in this same chapter, section 6.6.

⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 157.

going about and sometimes decrying against the constituted authorities, though such authorities were wholly engaged in leading on the full Pentecostal work.⁹

These early tensions spring from the common problems Pentecostal churches face with their ‘prophets’, especially since they will often identify with the prophetic spirit of Sinai.

Pentecost, for Campos, understands Acts 2 as a New Testament re-enactment of Sinai, a ‘deutero-Sinai’ where the ‘heavenly roar, the tongues of fire’ recall the thunder and lightning of Sinai.

God himself descended in a new form on the day of Pentecost as he did on Sinai (Exodus 19:16-17). Effectively Jehovah himself descends from heaven to Mount Sinai in the midst of noise, a roaring wind and fire to manifest his presence there. Then he descends in a cloud and as a column of fire with all his glory from Mount Sinai to the tabernacle Exodus 14:34-38. The very same God of Israel would be dwelling in the midst of his people (Exodus 25:8) and would accompany them right through to the promised land. To feel the presence of God in the midst of them was one of the experiences that made Israel understand that they were a special people in the eyes of God among the other nations.¹⁰

So, in his understanding, the Pentecostal prophetic spirit (Num. 11:23-29, Joel 2:28-32) is poured out on God’s New Testament people, the church, which will parallel the Pentecostal journey with that of Sinai.

Like ancient Israel we have passed through the sea and the cloud. Like Israel, we are empowered by the renewal of the covenant, we journey from Sinai through the desert toward the promised land. It is a journey or a pilgrimage of liberation a process towards an estate of freedom, now from Jerusalem to the ends of the Earth.¹¹

Max Turner takes up the theme of the Spirit of prophecy as fulfilled in the New Testament church, saying that a prophetic element will be expected and normative in a post-Pentecost early church, implying that it should be today as well¹².

⁹ Hoover, ‘The Remarkable Spread of Pentecost in Chile’, ‘The Weekly Evangel’, Gospel Publishing House, St. Louis, USA, January 5, 1918.

¹⁰ Bernardo Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad*, 34), quoting Del Olmo Lete, Gregorio La vocación del Líder en el Antiguo Israel, Salamanca, Universidad Pontificia, 1973, 6.

¹¹ Bernardo Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad* (Salem, Oregon: Kerigma Pub., 2016), 30.

¹² Max Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts* (Peabody Massachussets: Hendickson Publishers, 1998), 37–45.

While the prophetic spirit is seen as a universally beneficial trait of Pentecostalism, manifest in services and mission (1 Corinthians 12-14), this Pentecostal triumphalism of the early days will sometimes erupt ‘prophetically’ (as in the case of Nellie Laidlaw, explained in Chapter 2). It will often rend the garment of Pentecostalism with divisionism, as finally occurred in 1932 in the Chilean movement. In weaker moments, ‘Thus says the Lord’ will become more authoritative than scripture. Today, over 3,200 state-registered¹³ Pentecostal churches exist. See APPENDIX C For the history of further divisions in the IMP and IEP in Chile.¹⁴ As I will explain, the divisions will mainly be caused by indiscipline and power struggles, not theological differences.

My contention, however, is that the Pentecostal Achille’s heel of divisionism need not be exacerbated by subsequentialism as a cause of theological confusion or further division within the Pentecostal movement and beyond. Hoover went a long way towards overcoming the revival’s charismatic anomalies through his articles and later theological and pastoral approaches, as seen in Chapters Four and Five. Yet, I believe a further contribution to the theology of the BHS in this controversial doctrine of subsequentialism, is also possible from the perspective of the Holy Spirit’s essential Pneuma plasticity.

6.4 BAPTISM OF THE HOLY SPIRIT: THEOLOGY FROM EXPERIENCE

We have already explored this theology from experience. Since Agnes Ozman first spoke in tongues at Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas, led by Charles Parham in 1900, the Pentecostal age was declared open. As Gordon Fee points out in his useful paper on

¹³ *El Mercurio’s Economía y Negocios* of 24, September 2017.

¹⁴ See APPENDIX C for a listing of divisions from the IMP and IEP churches after 1932.

‘Subsequence’¹⁵, the phrase ‘the Baptism of the Spirit’ had been adopted by RHM Methodist groups and other pietistic movements at the late end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Azusa is usually seen as initiating the broader Pentecostal outbreak in 1906 and the Baptism of the Spirit¹⁶.

The characteristic signs and wonders, ‘taken in the Spirit’, swooning, speaking in tongues, and healing were the manifestations that Hoover and his church heard about from Mukti and Pentecostal periodicals between the years 1907, and 1909 provoked their eager search after the experiences that spoke deeply to their longing spirits.

No doubt, on account of the heady Pentecostal experience of the early days of the twentieth century, Pentecostal leaders often expressed suspicion of theology. In his book *Thinking in the Spirit*, Douglas Jacobsen describes this wariness.

Most leaders of the early Pentecostal movement were, of course, suspicious of theology done in the traditional way. Too often, they thought, theology had lost touch with the Spirit and become dry and brittle, incapable of conveying the living truth of God’s love to anyone. William Seymour, for example, cautioned the members of his Azusa Street Mission against getting caught up in merely “talking thought” lest the power of God decline in their midst.¹⁷

Nonetheless, as this thesis aims to encourage, Pentecostal theology could gradually develop the use of Practical Theology *that originates in and from experience*. Douglas Jacobsen sums up the importance of this Pentecostal symbiotic relationship between experience and theology, quoting Myer Pearlman,

Whether experience preceded theology (as was the case with Lewi Pethrus) or theology preceded experience (as was the case with Parham’s students at Bethel Bible College), the basic point is the same: Theology and experience deeply influenced each other within the Pentecostal movement. Myer Pearlman, the dean of mid-twentieth-century Pentecostal theology, would later summarize the relationship between these two concerns in the introduction to his famous theological textbook, *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible*, by saying: “Certainly it is more important to live the Christian life than to merely know Christian doctrine, but there would be no Christian experience if there were no Christian doctrine.”¹⁸

¹⁵ Fee, ‘Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The issue of separability and subsequence.’ *Pneuma* 7:2, 1985 (see also Laurence Wood, in Chapter Three 3.3.1.1).

¹⁶ See Chapter Four, (4.3). Laurence Wood’s exposition on Methodist use of the phrase BHS.

¹⁷ Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003), 2.

¹⁸ Gordon Fee, ‘Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The Issue of Separability and Susequence.’, *Pneuma* 7:2, 1985.

My other theological references (and conversation partner in Chapter Seven), Macchia and Fee, agree with Bernardo Campos' basic thesis. In his book *Experiencias del Espíritu*, he expounds how Latin American Pentecostalism elaborates theology from their experience of the Spirit, from a *knowing* of God:

Theology is the sublime work of religion in the measure that it is the theoretic construction of the religious act in the art of the faith and the materials of Sacred Scriptures. Theology is like a highly refined production in which God's beauty is appreciated in the work of the artist ... That is why we can admire every person's faith in their religious practice, once they have come to know God, once they have been born into faith.¹⁹

In other words, as God is *known in experience*, true theology develops.

Donald Dayton takes a 'fourfold pattern' as the thesis for his theological and historical analysis of Pentecostalism. He puts forward Aimee Semple MacPherson's Foursquare Gospel as the earliest and clearest expression of emerging Pentecostal theology in 1923 when she founded her Four-Square Church: 'Jesus *saves us* according to John 3:16. He *baptizes us with the Holy Spirit* according to Acts 2:4. He *heals our bodies* according to Jas 5:14-15. And Jesus *will come again* to receive us unto himself according to 1 Thess. 4:16-17.'²⁰ Clearly, for Dayton, too, Pentecostal theology arises from the Pentecostal *experience* and an eschatological framework that involves 'the end times' 'the latter days', themes that will emerge again and again in Pentecostalism.

Frank Macchia makes a similar point when he quotes Allan Anderson:

A fundamental presupposition of all Pentecostal theology is the central emphasis on the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit ... all Pentecostal churches throughout the world attach great importance to this doctrine ... there can be no doubt that Spirit baptism will need to be defined more broadly than it has among most classical Pentecostals if it is to continue to function as central to Pentecostal theology. The challenge in this broader reworking of the doctrine of Spirit baptism will be to remain true at the same time to Pentecostal experience and distinct of theological accents.²¹

¹⁹ Bernardo Campos, *Experiencia Del Espíritu*, CLAI, 2002, 129.

²⁰ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), 21.

²¹ Frank D. Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology* (Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), 26.

For several decades after the beginnings of Pentecostalism in the early 1900s, theologians fought shy of trying to systematise Pentecostal theology. Not until Dayton²², the Menzies²³, and more recently Macchia have there been attempts at ‘a global Pentecostal theology.’ Macchia’s book *Baptized in the Spirit*, subtitled ‘A Global Pentecostal Theology’, sets out to do this deliberately. Chilean Pentecostal theology, vigorously autochthonous and shut away behind the Andes as it was in ‘the uttermost part of the earth’, largely inaccessible to those who do not speak Spanish, was an even less likely candidate. Lately, however, several Latin American theologians have bravely entered the field of theological categorisation of what was unfairly regarded previously in the Western theological circles as ‘a movement of illiterates, hillbillies, rednecks, snake-handlers or holy rollers who were at the margins of culture but who would remain there without needing or leaving literature of much notice’²⁴.

6.5 THE ‘WIDER CONVERSATION’

The attempt to theologise Pentecostalism and Baptism of the Holy Spirit has considerably widened over the last 30 years, even to the present day. Similar analysis emerged in debates (several are preserved) sparked off by the Charismatic Renewal²⁵ in the 60s and 70s in the UK, brought to a head when Michael and Jeanne Harper claimed to have received ‘the Baptism of the Spirit’ and the gift of tongues in All Soul’s, Langham Place, John Stott’s church. Here, traditionally, evangelical leaders were claiming that they had

²² Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*.

²³ William Menzies and Robert Menzies, *Spirit and Power Foundations of the Pentecostal Experience* (USA: Zondervan, 2000).

²⁴ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 10.

²⁵ Interestingly, a SAMS missionary who worked with Bishop David Pytches in Chile, Katherine Clark was a member of All Souls. She received the empowering work of the Spirit upon her when Michael Harper laid hands on her while on furlough. This was a sign to them that they were on the right track doctrinally and decided to head up the Charismatic Movement in UK. Similar outpourings of the Spirit were experienced by Bishop Bill Burnett in Cape Town and Father Dennis Bennett in USA in the sixties.

received a Baptism of the Spirit in addition to their evangelical experience of the Spirit that, in many ways, significantly enhanced their ministry. Like Hoover, their biblical basis was derived mainly from the Gospels and Acts.

On the other hand, after Michael Harper had left All Soul's Stott declared his opinion that 'charismatic doctrine' was wrong to claim a second experience of the BHS as normative. Attention was drawn more to Pauline texts like Romans 6:1-14, relating sanctification in Christ to water baptism, together with Romans 8:9-11, which promotes Trinitarian pneumatology, or Ephesians 4:1-16, explores the Christ-centred experience of the Spirit-gifted church, etc. The possibility of these Scriptures allowing for 'further experiences' of the Spirit that would 'add to the Gospel' appeared to deny subsequentialism. Over the following years, there ensued debates between John Stott, Michael Harper, David Watson, Arthur Wallis, Tom Smail, and David Pawson, for instance, where a great deal of ground was covered among evangelicals regarding the meaning attributed in scripture to the BHS. Classic papers published by the Fountain Trust, such as 'Gospel and Spirit'²⁶ resolved amicably and academically the wider understanding of the Baptism of the Spirit and spiritual gifts today, opening evangelicals to the possibilities of Pentecostal experiences today. Like Dunn later, Stott preferred to see the BHS as linked to the initiation of the Christian life: 'the one thing that makes a man a Christian is the gift of the Spirit'²⁷.

²⁶ See Fountain Trust Collection, Documents of Renewal Group 1, 1963-1991, and among them: 'Gospel and Spirit' 1977. Calisphere, Universty of California collection.

²⁷ James Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM Press, 2010), 85–86.

Then, eminent scholars such as Max Turner²⁸ and, more lately, Gordon Fee²⁹ took up the conversation around the theme of subsequential experiences of the Spirit. While Turner questions the Menzies' Pentecostal position, he expounds New Testament pneumatology as prophetic Spirit empowerment in *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts-Part I*³⁰. He shows that the prophetic empowerment of the Spirit need not be given in a two-tier experience of the Spirit. He sees Luke and Paul as united in their understanding that the Holy Spirit works in salvific and empowering ways that the church must rediscover in fullness. Menzies often celebrates Turner's gentlemanly debate but acknowledges the challenges arising from it for Pentecostal subsequentialist theology. On the other hand, Fee explores Paul's underlying presupposition of 'power' as the fortifying work of the Holy Spirit himself. He brings in the emphasis that is increasingly being understood as pertinent whenever theology of the Holy Spirit comes to the fore, even among previously resistant Reformed circles. He insists that the Holy Spirit must be experienced, *known* in the Pauline sense of personal intimacy, and not merely in the academic sense of 'knowing about'.³¹

In light of the rapidly increasing appearance of serious, theological contributors to Pentecostal research in Latin America (Campos³², Mansilla³³, Orellana³⁴, Fediakova³⁵,

²⁸ Gordon Fee and Max Turner, 'Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts Journal of Biblical Literature, 24/1999, Vol.118(4), p.761 [Peer Reviewed Journal]', Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol.118, no. 4 (1999): 761.

²⁹ Gordon Fee, *God's Empowering Presence* (USA: Baker Academic, 2009).

³⁰ Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 37–45.

³¹ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 1–5.

³² Bernardo Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad* (Salem, Oregon: Kerigma Publications, 2016).

³³ Miguel Ángel Mansilla, 'Pentecostalismo and Social Sciences Reflection Concerning the Researches of the Chilean Pentecostalismo (1968-2008)', *Revista Cultura y Religión*, 2009.

³⁴ Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006).

³⁵ Eugenia Fediakova, *Evangélicos, Política y Sociedad en Chile: Dejando 'El Refugio de las Masas' 1990-2010*. (Concepción, Chile: CEEP, 2013).

Aránguiz³⁶, Sepúlveda³⁷, Chacón³⁸, Moullian³⁹, Salazar⁴⁰, Ossa⁴¹, to name but a few) the language barrier, Spanish, and other cultural impediments need to come down so that a more profound conversation can be tabled with Latin American theologians. There is much to learn from the Latin waters into which the Pentecostal gem has fallen. I will particularly lean, however, on Bernardo Campos' principle of 'Pentecostality' for an *aggiornamento* on Latin American theology of Pentecostalism. As stated above, Hoover's Methodist Pentecostal theology concurs with Campos' more comprehensive picture of Pentecostality, which we can now turn to.

6.6 BERNARDO CAMPOS'⁴² PRINCIPLE OF PENTECOSTALITY

Let me, therefore, first describe briefly what is meant by the Principle of Pentecostality and how Campos and two other scholars who have written of it, Juan Sepúlveda Nimi Wairiboko (though for our purposes, Campos will be the primary reference), define this principle. I will then add my own definition.

³⁶ Luis Aránguiz, 'Sobrevivirá El Pentecostalismo Clásico', *Pensamiento Pentecostal*, 2016.

³⁷ Juan Sepúlveda, *De Peregrinos a Ciudadanos* (Santiago: Comunidad Teológica Evangélica de Chile, 1999).

³⁸ Arturo Chacón, 'The Pentecostal Movement in Chile' (World Student Christian Federation, Geneva, 1964).

³⁹ Rodrigo Moullian Tesmer, *El Sello del Espíritu Derramado Sobre la Carne* (Valdivia, Chile: Ediciones Kultrún, 2017).

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Salazar, "'Silver and Gold Have I None": Healing and Restoration in Pentecostalism', *Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series*, Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series, Volume 20 (2014): 124–38.

⁴¹ Manuel Ossa, *Espiritualidad Popular y Acción Política. Santiago: Rehue*. (Santiago: Rehue, 1990).

⁴² Dr Bernardo Campos is Peruvian, and has been a Pentecostal Pastor and Theologian since 1975. He obtained his Bachelor's degree in Theology, in the Evangelical Seminary of Lima. His further studies were conducted in Buenos Aires in ISEDET (1989) and a Master's in Science of Religion at San Marcos National University in 1998. He obtained his doctorate in 2008 at Rhema University, USA. He has been and is Professor of Contemporary Theology, Religious Sciences, History of Dogma, Missiology and Ministries at the Peruvian Evangelical Seminary (Presbyterian), The Wesleyan Seminary of Peru (Methodist), The Alliance Bible Seminary of Peru (AC & MP), and more recently in the Davar School of the Church The Tabernacle of God. He has authored over 10 books the most important of which are *El Principio Pentecostal* and *Experiencias del Espíritu* quoted in this paper.

Campos divides his classical book, *El Principio Pentecostal*, into three sections, devoting the first to Pentecost itself, a hermeneutic of the common event, the second part to Pentecostality where he seeks to build a theology of Pentecostality around the Messianic happening and the Pentecostal event in terms of ecclesiological, social and consequential ethics. A third part is devoted to ‘Pentecostalisms’, the history of the diverse Pentecostal churches, and expressions of the Pentecostal principle. He claims that the manifestation of the principle of Pentecostality, of common ancestry in the church and capable of embracing theologically, the life of all God’s people, is a sign and hope for the uniting of the church and, by extension and example, even become a uniting catalyst to the human race. Beginning, therefore, with the Pentecost event per se and the church’s re-interpretation of Joel and the Sinai event, Campos expounds the common thread that weaves the history of all churches (‘all churches are founded in Pentecost’) and usefully describes their historical development from their earliest Catholic and Orthodox origins through to the massively diverse Protestant, Evangelical and, of course, Pentecostal families of churches. He shows that the history of the church has always alternated between its latent charisma and its necessary authority, that the Pentecostal principle appears again and again in all church history and is only focused on in a *specialist* way with the twentieth century Pentecostalisms. These are significant in bringing the Pentecostal principle to the fore but divisive in separating themselves (as did Hoover) from the body of the wider church.

We can interpret the history of the church as the history of the conflict between charisma and institution: the history of the predominance of the one over the other (manifestation) or the repression of the other (latency).⁴³

He means by this that ‘manifestations’ of the Spirit are often repressed into ‘latency’, where the potential Pentecostality is kept latent, though always present like magma in a

⁴³ Campos, *El Principio Pentecostal*, 98.

volcano. Campos traces how Pentecostal theology, as in the book of Acts, that is born of a genuine experience with the Holy Spirit and *that is not repressed*, draws the church dynamically along the path of transformational mission as, indeed, occurred in Chile between the years of 1909 and 1936. He defines his concept of ‘Pentecostality’ in relation to and as distinct from what he calls ‘Pentecostalisms’, the diverse Pentecostal churches who identify with the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, as a study of the social, collective identities from which he we can construct and rationalise an objective systematization of the global Pentecostal identity.⁴⁴

We must define Pentecostality as that universal experience that expresses the Pentecost event as an over-arching ordering principle of the life of those who identify with the Pentecostal revival and who build from it a Pentecostal identity. Pentecostality would thus be the principle and type of religious practice, informed by the Pentecost event; a universal experience that brings Pentecostal and post-Pentecostal practices to the category of "principle" (arch-order) those Pentecostal and post Pentecostal practices that seek to become historical concretions of that primordial experience (of Pentecost).⁴⁵

For him, therefore, Baptism of the Spirit falls into a broader concept and dimension of Pentecostality where the Holy Spirit ‘empowering’ (what Pentecostals call ‘the Baptism of the Spirit’) is available to all believers and not exclusively Pentecostals. Pentecostal churches challenge us in pointing to the possibility of rediscovering the Acts of the Apostles' Christian empowerment for mission through immersion and gifting in the Holy Spirit today.

6.6.1 NIMI WARIBOKO

Like Campos, Nimi Wairiboko, writing from an African context, uses the Pentecostal Principle⁴⁶ to mirror and expand Tillich’s Protestant Principle. While Tillich traces the Protestant principle to the Reformation’s imperative of infinite rectification, where

⁴⁴ Campos, 132.

⁴⁵ Campos, 130.

⁴⁶ The controversy as to who first used the term, the African or the Latin Americans was put to rest for me when Juan Sepúlveda told me of a RELEP Conference in 2003 when he and Campos both shared the concept before the African usage.

rectification is that all is under review rather than in a fixed position, the Pentecostal principle is the emergent creativity that disrupts social existence, generates restlessness, and issues in novelty. He sees the Pentecostal principle as extending beyond all concrete realisation and goes beyond the Pentecost event to listen as a religious or cultural force. It is the dynamic power in the current worldwide Pentecostal movements and is also present in Catholicism and Protestantism even as it transcends them. It is available in all forms of existence as the resident power of continuous outworking of possibilities and potentialities.⁴⁷ Wariboko's book seeks to explosively apply Pentecostal principles beyond Protestant principles and the biblical and traditional understandings of Pentecost to an adventure in social transformation stemming from Pentecostal joy, celebration, and fun. Juan Sepúlveda is more straightforward in his definition of Pentecostality and only uses the term after a conference he and Campos shared in 2003 (see footnote 46). He roots it in the Chilean context, showing that Hoover's particular Pentecostality was inherently national despite his being a foreign missionary, distancing himself from some aspects of hegemonist Azusa theology and ecclesiology.

Bernardo Campos' theory of Pentecostality (or 'Pentecostal Principle') provides us with a practical, workable framework of reference to categorise Hoover's theology, both Pentecostal and Methodist. We can examine Willis Hoover's work and ask whether he ever really left Methodism in principle and spirit or became, instead, a 'Pentecostalised Methodist'⁴⁸, a Methodist adopting the Azusa/Stone tradition. We will most likely conclude that the prevailing ecclesiastical, political, and cultural setting in which Hoover developed the revival made it highly improbable, if not impossible, for him to proceed in any manner other than allowing the division from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

⁴⁷ Nimi Wariboko, *The Pentecostal Principle - Ethical Methodology in New Spirit* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2012), 49.

⁴⁸ Hollenweger, my Chapter 2, p.37

Although this was the path that Hoover took, I believe Campo's analysis enables us to understand how Hoover discovered that it *was* possible to position BHS within an existing and appropriate Chilean Methodist setting, thereby enabling the spread of Pentecostality in a national context.

6.6.2 A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PENTECOSTALITY

While I applaud Wariboko's adventurous application of the Pentecostal principle in creativity (and even play!) to society and humanity at large in an attempt to apply Pentecostal theology in a meaningful way, he appears to divert the river of the Spirit from its natural bed too far. Even if it originated in Pentecost, can there be a Pentecostality without the Holy Spirit? Given even the Spirit's universal 'moving over the waters of chaos', could fallen humanity hope to put godly principles into operation? Sepúlveda and especially Campos, it seems to me, do a fairer job of defining Pentecostality in terms that we can apply to Hoover, focusing on the theology of Pentecost and its universal application *through* the church at large to a world needing redemption.

So, through Campos, let me hope to chart a course for Hoover that he could not chart in his day. I define the Principle of Pentecostality in a way that Hoover himself might agree to. Pentecostality articulates *a relationship with the Holy Spirit* (beyond mere experiences of the Holy Spirit) that enables the manifestation and materialisation of the fullness of the Kingdom of God and the reign of the Messiah in the church's life as in the society influenced by Christians. What Hoover discovers through his much seeking is that a deeper relationship with the Holy Spirit will emerge for those who search him out as a *God person*. All church denominations, within their particular ecclesiology and structures, can be revived and renewed in Kingdom mission in the fullest sense of *Missio Dei* by the Holy Spirit himself. This may be something akin to what has been happening through the Charismatic Movement but with a deeper understanding of such a venture's

theological and missional applications. Further, Pentecostality would propose a pneumatology that, from the Pentecost events, theologises on how a deeper understanding of a *relationship* with the Holy Spirit (Hoover) leads into the church's most total Kingdom witness to the world, spiritually, socially, and politically. As Campos says:

We advance towards the globalisation of Pentecostality, towards a non-confessional spirituality. Pentecostality is not merely a footnote of the church but a supernatural reality of the Spirit of God who pushes the whole of creation towards a meeting with himself. And that supposes as well as a confession of faith, a transformational social praxis in the face of the Kingdom of God.⁴⁹

Or Macchia:

One enters Spirit-baptized existence at Christian initiation. But the experience of Spirit baptism connected to and following from initiation is meant to bring to conscious participation the justice of the kingdom, the growth in sanctifying grace, and the charismatic openness to bless others and to glorify God that begins in Christian initiation. These experiences are to be ongoing. We have been baptized in the Spirit, we are being baptized in the Spirit, and we will be baptized in the Spirit.⁵⁰

Since the main thrust of my thesis is theology about Baptism of the Holy Spirit, I will touch only later and briefly on these aspects of Pentecostality that pertain to the 'progressive Pentecostal' position⁵¹.

6.7 METHODIST PENTECOSTAL PENTECOSTALITY

Orellana⁵² refers to Max Weber's theory of 'routinisation'⁵³, whereby charisma is consolidated when a movement is massified and seeks to maintain itself in time. Campos points to this phenomenon occurring down the centuries where churches are alternately dominated by the charismatic element, later submerged in,

⁴⁹ Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad*, 180.

⁵⁰ Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit : A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 154.

⁵¹ See 'The Conversation' between Hoover, Macchia, Sepúlveda and myself in Chapter Seven.

⁵² Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*, 1, 12.

⁵³ Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (La Habana, Cuba: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1964), 170–204.

the 'routinization' of the Church's institutions. Pentecostality therefore lives out a kind of cyclical movement: evolution-devolution, latency-manifestation, revival-sclerotization, repression and liberation of the charisma. Notwithstanding these cycles the Pentecostal principle, issuing as it does from the eternal Spirit of God has universal access. Pentecost is accessible and a common factor to all churches.⁵⁴

The Chilean revival certainly became routinised in the Weberian sense during the Administering stage. One of Hoover's challenges was effectively managing the 'routinisation' of Methodist Pentecostal practices while keeping the revival open to the Pentecostal influence of the Spirit, as he comprehended it.

As was suggested in Chapter Four, Hoover identified *primarily* as Pentecostal. In the Receiving and Developing Stages, it was only *secondarily* that he remained a Methodist and only because he found an echo in Wesleyan roots for revival. *Theologically*, he later resolved these tendencies into Methodist Pentecostal identity and theology. His Pentecostality will be managed and maintained through *a relationship with the Holy Spirit*. Hoover's four emphases⁵⁵, Presence, Power, Purity, and Proclamation, all retain their vigour as they depend on a relationship with the Holy Spirit. 'Now we really *know* him.' A typical editorial by Tulio Rojas, from the earliest days of the revival, illustrates this *personalised* Holy Spirit invasion:

Our church has been reached by the power from on high (Luke 24:49). The Holy Spirit who searches out first our own hearts, mine, my wife's and then those of the rest of our brothers and sisters. We have been divested of all shame (2 Cor. 4:2) because the Lord came to us by his Spirit and lit up for us the hidden and dark things that were in us (1 Cor. 4:5).⁵⁶

Then a description of the working of the Spirit on 'our Pastor'⁵⁷.

From Monday we have had our pastor restored to the activities of his ministry. For eleven days he remained under the power of the Holy Spirit, who, for the length of that period did a marvellous work of purification and sanctification in the lives of all who were witness to the grandeur and magnificence of the Holy Spirit. Those close to the pastor

⁵⁴ Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad*, 98.

⁵⁵ See Chapter Four (4.8).

⁵⁶ *ChEv*, December 10, 1909 No. 14.

⁵⁷ Probably referring to Hoover although the context is not clear.

were submitted to hard trials and we emerged victorious only when we surrendered in absolute submission, our will to the Lord and renounced completely all human interference that could restrict or undermine the action of the Spirit of God. God has glorified himself in his servant. Glory to God! Alleluia!⁵⁸

It is out of this understanding, the discovery of the immediacy and efficacy of the person of the Holy Spirit and his manifestations in Acts of the Apostles fullness that I can define Hoover's Pentecostality as *relational* rather than merely *experiential*. This accepted, we begin to see a solution to the subsequence problem.

As stated, Hoover's pastoral care of the churches under his Superintendency proposed BHS in terms of 'manifestations' of the Spirit, downplaying 'tongues', and subsequentialism as a specific experience. Chilean Pentecostalism will continually seek in services and church gatherings, large or small, the personal presence and manifestations of the power, gifts, holiness, and ministry through the supernatural workings of the Spirit found in Acts of the Apostles and outlined in 1 Corinthians 12-14.

6.8 A PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE HOLY SPIRIT, A SCRIPTURAL PERSPECTIVE

As an Anglican Bishop, before praying that the Holy Spirit will fall afresh on the candidates and maintain *a growing relationship* between them, I speak over them the declaration in the Rite of Confirmation:

'DEFEND, O Lord, this your servant with your heavenly grace, that he/she may continue yours for ever; and daily increase in your Holy Spirit, more and more, until he/she comes into your everlasting kingdom. Amen.'

Hoover's Methodist roots (and, therefore, of course, Anglican earlier roots) intrinsically gave him a sense that the Holy Spirit did not easily fit into a theology of experiences but rather one of *relationship*. He now 'really knew him'⁵⁹. I surmise that he began to understand that the Holy Spirit, who 'came upon' the IMP in various revival manifestations, did so less importantly in experiences but rather in deepening personal

⁵⁸ ChEv, December 10, 1909 No. 14.

⁵⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 33.

knowledge of the Holy Spirit, theologically akin to the Bishop's 'grow more and more'.

Sepúlveda observes the subtle shift in Hoover's priorities, from experiences to personal manifestations that transformed people.

It is worth noting, however, that Hoover spoke not of 'evidences' but of 'manifestations'. For him, being Pentecostal meant allowing the Holy Spirit the freedom to work without any preconceptions of how the Spirit should manifest, or whether such manifestations are voluble, expressive, or more low-key and gentler. It was people's openness to the free gifts of the Spirit that allowed them to be touched by God's transforming power to become new persons and Christ's witnesses.⁶⁰

Under such a concept, Hoover could pursue and teach a deepening relationship with the Holy Spirit, who pours out *not three, but many* diverse experiences of Spirit life, holiness, and power, as the need arises. Seeking a relationship with him was fundamental to achieving Acts of the Apostles' Christianity.

Does scripture warrant such a relationship with the third person of the Trinity? Scripture does not envisage an *isolation* of the third person of the Trinity from the Trinitarian community. 'Together with the Father and the Son he is worshipped and glorified', says the Nicene Creed. Nonetheless, Scripture focuses on the agency of the third person of the Trinity in a particular role in the 'bringing of the Kingdom' (Matt. 12:15-30, Luke 11:19, 20)⁶¹. The Spirit is given an identity that will differ from that of the Son and yet will be instrumental with the Son in bringing the Kingdom. Early on in his discipleship of the twelve, Jesus teaches through the so-called 'Johannine thunderbolt' in Matt. 11:25-27 (paralleled by Luke 10:21-22), the revelatory role of the Spirit that he will later expand in the Upper Room discourses (John 13-16). It will be this Johannine account that will propose a relationship with the Holy Spirit. Delivered in the Upper Room and possibly on the way to the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus' teaching gave

⁶⁰ Juan Sepúlveda, 'The Power of the Holy Spirit and Church Indigenisation: A Latin American Perspective' Chapter in 'Pentecostals and Charismatics in Latin America and Latino Communities'.

⁶¹ See Dr Damon So's fascinating rebuttal of James Dunn in this argument for the identity of Jesus and the Spirit in Kingdom manifestations. Damon So, *Jesus' Revelation of His Father* (Great Britain: Paternoster, 2006), 165–207.

instruction as to how personal the relationship of the coming *Paracletos* would result.

They would be:

1. Indwelt by the Spirit and, as such, accompanied by Jesus himself. John 14:16-18:
‘And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another advocate to help you and be with you forever, the Spirit of truth. The world cannot accept him because it neither sees him nor knows him. But you know him, for he lives with you and will be⁶² in you. I will not leave you as orphans; I will come to you.’
2. Taught and reminded by the Spirit of all the teachings of Jesus. John 14:25-26:
‘All this I have spoken while still with you. But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you all things and will remind you of everything I have said to you.’
3. Sent by the Father to testify as the Spirit of truth/reality (πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας) gave them testimony of Jesus’ reality. John 15:26-27: ‘When the Advocate comes, whom I will send to you from the Father—the Spirit of truth who goes out from the Father—he will testify about me. And you also must testify, for you have been with me from the beginning.’
4. Guided by the Spirit, speaking the words that proceed from the Son as derived from the Father. The Spirit would glorify Christ in this process: John 16:12-15: ‘I have much more to say to you, more than you can now bear. But when he, the Spirit of truth, comes, he will guide you into all the truth. He will not speak on his own; he will speak only what he hears, and he will tell you what is yet to come.’

⁶² Some early manuscripts translate: ‘he lives in you and is (*estin*) in you’. However, the majority follow the ‘will be (*estai*) in you’ format as the context would appear to warrant that preferable text.

He will glorify me because it is from me that he will receive what he will make known to you. All that belongs to the Father is mine. That is why I said the Spirit will receive from me what he will make known to you.'

Grudem makes clear that such guidance will indeed require a personal relationship:

Moreover, the idea of being "led" by the Holy Spirit (Gal. 5:18) implies an active personal participation by the Holy Spirit in guiding us. This is something more than our reflecting on biblical moral standards, and includes an involvement by the Holy Spirit in relating to us as persons and leading and directing us.⁶³

5. **United in the Spirit**, as an outworking of Jesus' prayer for the indwelling of the Spirit, alluded to in 14:17. John 17:21-23: 'Father, just as you are in me and I am in you, may they also be in us so that the world may believe that you have sent me. I have given them the glory that you gave me, that they may be one as we are one, I in them and you in me, so that they may be brought to complete unity. Then the world will know that you sent me and have loved them even as you have loved me.'

The Lucan account in the early stages of Acts implies the continuation of Jesus' ministry through the Holy Spirit. Acts 1:1-5: 'In my former book, Theophilus, I wrote about all that Jesus began to do and to teach until the day he was taken up to heaven, after giving instructions through the Holy Spirit to the apostles he had chosen. After his suffering, he presented himself to them and gave many convincing proofs that he was alive. He appeared to them over a period of forty days and spoke about the kingdom of God. On one occasion, while eating with them, he gave them this command: 'Do not leave Jerusalem, but wait for the gift my Father promised, which you have heard me speak

⁶³ Wayne Grudem, *Systematic Theology* (Iowa, USA: Bits and Bytes, 2004), Chapter 30, Section C.3.

about. For John baptized with water, but in a few days, you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit.’

The scarcity of teaching about the Holy Spirit in the Gospels has been questioned. As Dr Damon So points out in his book⁶⁴, the most likely reason would be to avoid displacing the centrality of Christ, the divine Son of God, whom the Holy Spirit also anointed. In this, he corrects Dunn’s view that underplays Christ’s divinity by overplaying the Spirit’s role. However, throughout the Gospels, the Holy Spirit is never absent to a careful reading. He is in the virgin conception in Matthew 1:18, and the four accounts of the baptism of Jesus: ‘I baptize you with water for repentance. But after me comes one who is more powerful than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to carry. He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire.’ Matt. 3:11, Mark 1:8, Luke 3:16, and John 1:33 all announce the same promise.

He appears at Jesus’ baptism itself (Mt. 3:16; Mk. 1:10; Lk. 3:21,22; John 1:32-24), in the three synoptics at the desert retreat (Mt. 4:1; Mk 4:12; Lk. 4:1,2), the sending of the 12 and the 72 (Mt.10:1; Mk. 3:16-19, 6:13; Lk. 9:1-3, 10:4-12). The authority given to the apostles is to do the very works of Jesus, and it is understood that this is under the anointing of the same Spirit that was on Jesus. These same messianic signs and wonders wrought by the Spirit as signs of the Kingdom (Mt.12:17; Lk.11:20) that Jesus performs and teaches his disciples also to perform are used by Jesus to prove his identity to John the Baptist (Mt. 11:1-6).

The disciples would increasingly come to know this *personal* Holy Spirit that they had encountered in their experience:

John 14:16-17: ‘And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another advocate to help you and be with you forever, the Spirit of truth. The world cannot accept him

⁶⁴ So, *Jesus’ Revelation of His Father*, Chapter Five, ‘Christ and the Spirit’.

because it neither sees him nor knows him. But you know him, for he lives with you and will be in you.’

The Luke-Acts narrative also places on a very high plane in Acts of the Apostles, the Holy Spirit’s acts at the beginning of the book and again, goes diminishing as the relationship with the Holy Spirit is assimilated by the church and the empowerment of the Spirit is consistently renewed (Acts 4:31; 5:12-15,40,41; 6:1-7; 6:8-10; 7:55-59; 8:5-8; 15-19; 8:26-39; 9:1-18; 9:31; 32-43; 10:34-48; 11:12-18, 21-23; 12:1-24; 13:1-4, 9-12; 13:49-52; 14:21-24; 15:8,9,28-35; 16:6-10, 16-18; 17:29-34;19:1-7, 11, 13-16, 17-20; 20:10,11; 20:22-38; 21:1-15;22:6-21; 23:11; 24:24; 25:18-21; 26:9-23, 24-31; 27:21-25; 28:7-10; 28:30-31). The objective is to bring about the mission of Jesus to the world and raise up Jesus’ Lordship. The apostles are taught, inspired, caused to rejoice, encouraged, guided, redirected, anointed, empowered, given the grace to suffer, do miracles, bring church discipline, organise ministries, maintain prayer and the word as priorities, hold united councils, develop official doctrine, challenge unjust structures and rulers, prophecy, experience deliverance from natural disasters, human plotting, satanic counterfeiting, testify to synagogues, gentile crowds, and individuals, kings, and governors, strengthened, all under the agency of the Holy Spirit. It has often been said that a more appropriate title for the book would be ‘The Acts of the Holy Spirit’. However, the Spirit’s purpose is to raise up and empower a Christ-glorifying church through the Apostles and their ‘apostolic band’⁶⁵ who will bring her the Spirit-remembered words of Jesus.

As Grudem notes, the Holy Spirit gives evidence of the presence of God.

Sometimes it has been said that the work of the Holy Spirit is not to call attention to himself but rather to give glory to Jesus and to God the Father. But this seems to be a false dichotomy, not supported by

⁶⁵ Those who were not of the original 11 plus Matthias, plus Paul, and yet who clearly developed apostolic ministries such as Stephen (Acts 6:8) Philip (Acts 8), Barnabas called an ‘apostle’ (Acts 14:14).

scripture. Of course, the Holy Spirit does glorify Jesus (John 15:26; Acts 5:32; 1 Corinthians 12:3; 1 John 4:2). But this does not mean that he does not make his own actions and words known! ⁶⁶

He then gives many examples of moments when the Spirit manifests his own person in the Old Testament (Num. 11:25-26; Judg. 14:6, 19; 15:14; 1 Sam. 10:6, 19). In the New Testament, similarly:

The Holy Spirit also made his presence evident in a visible way when he descended as a dove on Jesus (John 1:32), or came as a sound of a rushing wind and with visible tongues of fire on the disciples at Pentecost (Acts 2:2-3) ... He gives gifts that manifest his miraculous signs and wonders that strongly attest to the presence of God in the preaching of the gospel (Heb. 2:4; cf. 1 Cor. 2:4; Rom. 15:19). ⁶⁷

Grudem concludes that it would be more accurate to say that although the Holy Spirit does glorify Jesus, 'he also frequently calls attention to his work and gives recognizable evidences that make his presence known'. ⁶⁸

As Fee has shown in the Pauline epistles, the empowering presence of God is everywhere, administered by the Holy Spirit, who is to be known personally ⁶⁹. The indwelling of the Father and the Son promised in the Upper Room will become effectual as the disciples and church become temples of the Holy Spirit. Romans 8:5-11 includes the trinitarian indwelling of the Spirit and Christ in the believer and, in verses 26-27, the Spirit's intercession through the believer. 1 Cor. 6:11, 19 speak of the Spirit's sanctifying work as well as the indwelling of the Spirit in the individuals and the church as a temple of God. 1 Cor. 12-14 lays out the empowering work of the Spirit through the *χαρίσματα*, or gifts of the Spirit. At the same time, in Galatians 5:20, Paul challenges the believers to seek the *καρπὸς* (fruit) τοῦ πνεύματος of the Spirit, the sanctifying character of Christ manifest in us. Hoover would have seen it in the tradition of sanctification Methodism.

Many other examples emerge that lead us to conclude that we are called to a relationship with the Holy Spirit whereby we can be regenerate with the life of Christ

⁶⁶ Wayne Grudem, *Systematic Theology* (Iowa, USA: Bits and Bytes, 2004) Chapter 30, Section 2.

⁶⁷ Grudem, Chapter 30, Section 2.

⁶⁸ Grudem, Chapter 30, Section 2.

⁶⁹ Gordon Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 1-5.

(John 1:12, 3:3-16; 10:10), sanctified with the love of Christ (Rom. 5:5, 1 Cor. 13), empowered by the Spirit in order to effect the mission of Jesus: Acts 1:8 δύνανται ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες. ‘But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses.’

It is also pertinent to notice at least five possible sins identifiable in scripture of the *rejection* of the person of the Spirit. These, all of a personal nature, further emphasise how believers can *mar their relationship* with him. The church can lie to (Acts 5:3,9), resist (Acts 7:51), grieve (Ephesians 4:30), quench (1 Thess. 5:19), and, of course, in another Jewish context, blaspheme (Matthew 12:31,32) the Holy Spirit’s person. In scripture, the church has the capability of responding to the person of the Holy Spirit, in guidance and empowering (take Acts 10:9-23 with 11:1-18, especially verses 11:15-18). The Spirit guides them into new understanding of the new people of God, the church. Acceptance or rejection of Pentecostality, the full dimension of heavenly Kingdom life and mission that comes upon the church and that ‘Pentecostalisms’ have become specialists in, seems to ‘depend’ on seeking. The entire history of Pentecostal mission in the last century was based on the experience of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. When the charismatic movements arose within the more traditional churches, the doctrinal aspects of the BHS as a subsequential experience began to be eroded (as Macchia tends to lament⁷⁰) and new understandings of ‘release’, ‘fullness’, ‘liberation in the Spirit’ emerged instead of ‘Baptism in the Spirit’ to accommodate more traditional pneumatology and avoid the concept of ‘second conversions’⁷¹. However, we learn from Hoover the imperative of seeking wholeheartedly for the BHS gem, an outpouring of power that impels the church to mission.

⁷⁰ Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit : A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 76.

⁷¹ Macchia, 76.

Willis Hoover's book as also his later writings and editing of the Pentecostal journals over a thirty-year period, show his theological tendencies and preferences in amidst his adopted Pentecostal behaviour and worship styles. He often quoted Pentecostal and revivalist teaching from Wesley, Finney, Azusa. It is clear that he sought revival manifestations in all their forms, holiness, power, gifting, and that these, in turn, brought life to the church. He came into a relationship with the Holy Spirit which he had hitherto not known.

These were intoxicating and dangerous days. It must have taken enormous courage and conviction for Hoover to stick to his convictions in the face of so much opposition from his denomination and from the surrounding culture, both religious and secular. Hauled up before the police and courts, accused of 'un-Methodist behaviour and theology' he countered with the testimonies of changed lives, evangelism, church planting, the fruit of Pentecostality. Nevertheless, much as he might identify as a Pentecostal, he will be faithful to his continued Methodist culture, doctrine and ceremonies.

As covered, Infant Baptism, Marriage, Holy Communion, Funerals all are taken from the Methodist liturgies. Yet the singing, the preaching, the ardent longing for the manifestations of the Holy Spirit were received and embraced. His own Methodist Episcopal Church, despite a recent history of revivalist experiences, hardened against this new revival and were not able to embrace the Pentecostality as Hoover did. The strange (and as Hoover himself puts it, 'unnecessary') commotions of the early days were a reason for this. Yet Hoover eventually placed his Pentecostality gem into the Methodist Pentecostal Church setting. What is remarkable is how he continued to find Methodist disciplines a salutary boat to sail his revival from, despite the problems faced. In so doing he does give the church at large an indication as to how *the Pentecostal principle can be*

part of a wider embrace to the church, even if in his day he was not free, given his circumstances, to apply it fully.

6.9 ECUMENICAL POSSIBILITIES

Since all churches are founded on the original Pentecostal Event, there is, for Campos, a greater ecumenical possibility as all churches realise their potential Pentecostality. In a bold statement, emerging from a Latin American perspective where church constantly seeks for ways to influence society, for him the church will speak genuinely to the world once it finds its unity in the Spirit, in a practice of its inherent Pentecostality, an ecclesiastical, social, political outworking of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit:

The unity *in* the Spirit and *for* the spirit - while it remains genuinely the Spirit of Christ - is what will make possible peace between nations, as a preparation for the definite universal reign of God... Pentecostality points in that direction, pointing to a route of return to the Father, by the Spirit of Christ in a messianic conscience that lives in us... A theology of Pentecostal study, as it works together with the practice of universal Pentecostality, will need to enter into dialogue with the larger traditions of theology and of natural religion. Only in this way, will *revealed* theology be able to communicate with secularism and so avoid simply conversing around questions that interest only believers⁷².

A century after the Pentecostal explosion of the last 120 years, it may no longer be necessary to form new ‘Pentecostalisms’ but rather be moved by the Holy Spirit himself into a commonly held movement of Spirit renewal. I am implying that churches that today identify with mainline Protestant denominations, under the understanding and practice of Pentecostality, do not need to leave these in order to enter more deeply into their foundational, Pentecost inheritance.

6.10 MY THEORY OF PNEUMA PLASTICITY

Prompted by deliberation on Hoover’s theological understanding, I derived a personal theory in relation to the *characteristics* and *nature* of the Holy Spirit’s persona that I call ‘Pneuma plasticity’. By this term I mean one of the attributes of the nature of the Holy

⁷² Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad*, 185.

Spirit, the capacity to ‘*indwell*’ a person fully and yet of ‘*come upon*’ that person again through several experiences, anointings, further infillings.

Confusion often arises among believers, as I have illustrated with Hoover’s own theological quest for understanding on BHS, on account of the personhood and the spirit nature of the Holy Spirit as an agent of the Trinity in bringing Jesus’ life, love and power to the believer and the church. Some of my more reformed Anglican colleagues object: ‘Is not the *person* of the Spirit fully contained within the temple of that person? Was not the person fully received at Pentecost? How can it be possible for the *indwelling* person to *come upon* the indwelt again and again?’

Interestingly, a Catholic theologian Raniero Cantalamessa⁷³, leader in the Catholic charismatic movement and prelate to the Pope, has observed this problem and confusion among those being renewed in their Christian walk by the recent movements of the Spirit in his church:

How can the Church now invite the Holy Spirit to ‘Come, visit, fill’? Does not the Church believe that she has already received the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, and that we have already received the Holy Spirit in our individual baptism [Catholic, baptismal regeneration]? What sense can it make to say: ‘Come, visit, fill’ to someone who is already present? The problem is there in scripture as well. On the day of Pentecost all were filled with the Holy Spirit, but just a few days later we find a kind of second Pentecost when all over again ‘all were filled with the Holy Spirit’, and among them were some of the apostles who had been present at the first Pentecost.⁷⁴

Quoting Thomas Aquinas, he attempts to resolve the problem by picturing an indwelling Spirit who ‘begins to be in a new way in those he makes temples of God’. In the context of what he identifies as ‘the greatest spiritual upsurge of all the history of the Church’ he tries to explain Baptism of the Holy Spirit as a ‘special grace that lies at the core of all

⁷³ Raniero Cantalamessa OFM Cap is an Italian Catholic cardinal and priest in the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin and a theologian. He has served as the Preacher to the Papal Household since 1980, under Pope John Paul II, Pope Benedict XVI and Pope Francis. Cantalamessa is a proponent of the Catholic charismatic renewal.

⁷⁴ Cantalamessa, Raniero, *Come, Creator Spirit*, 1st Edition (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2003), 53–54.

this vast spiritual revival'. However, he does not explain the nature of the 'grace' and leaves it, with Aquinas, as a 'mystery'⁷⁵.

Hoover's experience and teaching on BHS prompts us to *develop* such a doctrine from his own theological growth and in extension to it. Can the Spirit manifest in a person, regeneration, sanctification, empowerment in separate moments, all the while indwelling that person and re-visiting, 'coming upon' that person from 'outside', so that he/she will grow in the Spirit, day by day? This ability, fully innate and essential to the nature of the Spirit, I call Pneuma plasticity.

Traditional Pentecostals have usually understood the separation of regeneration and empowering as distinct actions of the Spirit but, like Hoover, are often confused by the expectation of subsequent experiences in the economy of the Spirit's salvation and sanctifying work. This need not be the case if we understand personal growth in a personal Spirit who is endowed with pneumatic properties that cause him to work in many and diverse ways and through many and varied signs, (Hebrews 2:3,4), both indwelling and 're-immersing' or 'baptising', revisiting a believer, time and again, day by day.

Pneuma plasticity, then, seeks to define the characteristic whereby the third person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, ever acting in conjunction with the Father and the Son, as agent of the Trinity, can be operational simultaneously in the believer and the church, by filling, refilling, indwelling, anointing and impart various manifestations of his personal empowering or baptism, 'immersion' of the believers. This is a property of the Paraclete. As Hoover discovered, there will be a continual revisiting upon those already indwelt. Hoover never elaborated the theology but, as explored in Chapter Five and Six, he did imply such a relationship with the Spirit.

⁷⁵ Cantalamessa, Raniero, 53–54.

We can better understand the traditional symbols of the Spirit, fire, wind, water, voice, dove, if we understand these as pictures attributed to a divine person who is spiritually endowed with Pneuma plasticity. Any doubts as to how he can be present as a person indwelling and yet come upon us are resolved. It is his pneumatic nature. It is more than omnipresence, omnipotence or ubiquity. It is a *co-active personal relationship* (see below) in which the believer seeks and the Father and the Son endow the Spirit (Luke 11:9-13; Jn. 1:33).

Pneuma plasticity seeks to describe, then, one of the essential attributes of the person of the Holy Spirit who can at once be present and active fully and concurrently in a believer in diverse ways, at times through crisis experiences and at others in a still small voice. The taxonomy⁷⁶ of the term is given to describe that spirit (*pneuma*⁷⁷) characteristic of the Spirit, illustrated by wind, fire, water, breath, voice, cloud, all pictures of active influence. This quality whereby the Holy Spirit will be able to indwell and yet come upon a person or groups of believers, impart life, sanctification and empowerment through a growing relationship with him, in fellowship with other believers, I call ‘Pneuma plasticity’.

Scriptural illustrations of Pneuma plasticity back the concept.

First, Jesus, born of the Spirit, ‘had’ the Holy Spirit, and yet received the Spirit coming upon him at his baptism (Mt. 1:16). As Dr So concludes:

Jesus was conceived of the Spirit (Mt. 1:20). His existence cannot be divorced from the Holy Spirit. The very nature of his existence demands that his life and movement in the Spirit is a function of his existence. It is inconceivable that Jesus is without the Spirit, or that the Spirit conceived him and then left him and returned to him at his baptism. The Spirit is not an extra and late factor added onto his existence. The Spirit is *inherently* in him. When he lives and moves in the Spirit, he lives and moves in his very own existence and atmosphere. There is nothing alien or external to him about the Spirit. He

⁷⁶ See below, section 6.11 for an explanation of the term’s origin and justification.

⁷⁷ By using the word ‘plasticity’ relating to the Spirit’s *pneumatic* qualities, I risk taking the reader’s immediate understanding to a more material sense of the word. See below, Section 6.11 for a fuller exploration of the term.

sees and experiences the Spirit very much as part of his existence. Yet he is not identical with the Spirit; he is in a mysterious sense, distinct from him.⁷⁸

Second, the Johannine ‘proto-Pentecost’. Jesus, now in his resurrected substance, clearly reminds them of the promise of the Father in the Lucan account where relevant scripture is now understood, (Luke 24:45-48) and yet John records that he blew on them to receive the Holy Spirit (John 20:22). The strength of the greek is a second person plural imperative ἐνεφύσησεν καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον. The primary force of the reading would imply their receiving an indwelling presence of the Spirit, (some would think, regeneration although the text does not warrant the reading), at that moment. Then they would ‘receive’ later the promised visitation of the Holy Spirit upon them at Pentecost (Acts 2:1-39). These concepts are tenable if Pneuma plasticity is understood as a constant possibility in the functions of the Holy Spirit’s agency.

Third, the Acts 4 immersion in the Spirit of those already baptised in the Spirit, at Pentecost. Acts 4:31 ‘After they prayed, the place where they were meeting was shaken. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke the word of God boldly.’ Already mentioned above, the passage speaks of the Spirit’s indwelling and, later, re-visiting and re-filling the believers.

Fourth, the Acts 8 controversy. Max Turner has called this passage ‘the Waterloo of Pentecostal Soteriology’ in his well-known, water shed paper⁷⁹. Again, the believers can hardly have been baptised by Philip (Acts 8:5-12), without some conviction that they had truly bowed to Jesus as Lord, possibly, by then a baptismal formula of the early church. And yet, the Apostles who come from Jerusalem. Acts 8:15-17 ‘When they arrived, they prayed for the new believers there that they might receive the Holy Spirit, because the Holy Spirit had not yet come on any of them; they had simply been baptized

⁷⁸ So, *Jesus’ Revelation of His Father*, 192.

⁷⁹ Max Turner, ‘Interpreting the Samaritans of Acts 8: The Waterloo of Pentecostal Soteriology and Pneumatology?’, *Pneuma*, 1 January 2001.

in the name of the Lord Jesus. Then Peter and John placed their hands on them, and they received the Holy Spirit.’ The account is complicated by the phrase ‘had yet not come on any of them’. Yet if we understand that the nature of the Spirit in Pneuma plasticity is to work *different* aspects of his salvific work, (regenerate the Samaritans), and later fall on them in Pentecostal empowering the Waterloo is won (as indeed Turner suggests!).

Fifth, Paul’s conversion (Acts 9:1-18). Again, a limited and over-structured understanding of the Holy Spirit’s nature and actions will categorise Paul as an unbeliever before the visit of Ananias (Acts 9:10-18) since he would only have ‘received’ the Holy Spirit after Ananias’ laying on of hands. However, a pneumatological understanding of Holy Spirit’s Pneuma plasticity would most probably allow for the Spirit’s visitation on Paul in a regenerative act on the Damascus road, such that he was enabled to continue his conversation with Jesus (Acts 9:5), made possible only through an indwelling of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 12:3). Yet the Spirit came upon him later with healing and missional empowering, later.

Sixth, the Ephesian controversy (Acts 19:1-3) Paul’s stark question ‘Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you believed?’ has raised two interpretations of Paul’s expectations. Either he noticed that something was lacking (the Holy Spirit’s obvious or manifest presence) in the believers which prompted him to ask about the nature of their salvation, indicating that early church expectation of Baptism of the Spirit was constant with manifest Pentecostality. Or, believing, water baptism and baptism in the Spirit were all one in the initiation walk of the new believer in Paul’s mind. In the first case, Paul had to enquire as to why they were defective as believers. In the second, he would have related it immediately to their incomplete Christian baptism. In either case the lack of the Spirit was the cause of their quasi Christianity (possibly under a quasi-disciple at that time, Apollos – Acts 18:24 – soon to be discipled by Priscilla and Aquila). Paul, baptises them (regeneration) and later they receive empowerment by the laying on of Paul’s hands.

Clearly all these initial signs are important but none so as the receiving of the Spirit in open manifestation (Hoover).

Acts 19:5-7 ‘On hearing this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. When Paul placed his hands on them, the Holy Spirit came on them, and they spoke in tongues and prophesied. There were about twelve men in all.’

The Spirit can, of course, regenerate, sanctify, empower all at once as is apparent on the Cornelius household:

Acts 10:44-48 ‘While Peter was still speaking these words, the Holy Spirit came on all who heard the message. The circumcised believers who had come with Peter were astonished that the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out even on Gentiles. For they heard them speaking in tongues and praising God. Then Peter said, “Surely no one can stand in the way of their being baptized with water. They have received the Holy Spirit just as we have.” So he ordered that they be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ.’

Here the Spirit’s ‘immersion’ of spiritually hungry seekers is, significantly, a sign for Peter that they are clearly to be baptised in water and incorporated into God’s diverse (Jew, Samaritan and now Gentile) body. His defence before the suspicious Jerusalem Apostle visitors is just on that ground:

Acts 11:15-17 ‘As I began to speak, the Holy Spirit came on them as he had come on us at the beginning. Then I remembered what the Lord had said: “John baptized with water, but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit.” So, if God gave them the same gift he gave us who believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I to think that I could stand in God’s way?’

Linking right back to John’s prophetic words, repeated by Jesus to the apostles in the Lucan account (Acts 1:5), Peter traces the empowering gift of the immersion in the Spirit as central to the expectation of first church Christianity. This is why it is easy to take on the Azusa teaching that the Baptism of the Spirit is the empowering act alone.

However, this may be a divisive teaching if some are, and some are not, baptised in the Spirit. A vision of the Spirit active in diverse ways in regeneration, sanctification and, yes, empowering with gifts, in various expressions of personal relationship with him, Jesus and the Father (John 14:17⁸⁰, John 17:22,23) will ease the tensions and open the possibilities of the Spirit's pneumatic expressions in the believer and the church 'more and more'.

Is there any need to give such a description to this attribute of the Spirit? Does the debate warrant a similar need to define the third person of the Trinity more clearly as, indeed, the Church Fathers eventually laid in Creedal formulas⁸¹, the essential characteristics of the Second person? I believe if a long-standing confusion can be allayed with a closer look at how the Spirit might effect regeneration, sanctification, empowering in the believer and church, revisit in 'successive baptisms, "immersions", of the Spirit', while all the time indwelling, defining that property as a substantial characteristic of the Spirit's it is an important contribution to the contemporary theology of Baptism of the Spirit. If Hoover's seeking and limitations can have inspired us on the way, his oblique contribution is well received.

⁸⁰ The fact that one greek manuscript reads καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν 'is in you' (present tense) rather than what practically all remaining manuscripts say καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται. 'will be in you' (future tense) need not change the possibility of the Spirit's continued increasing acquaintance with the disciples, since clearly they were not aware of 'knowing' him at that stage. Unusually, in this case most bible translators (with a notable exception being the Jerusalem Bible) have chosen ἔσται as the uncorrupted text, undoubtedly on account of the context of future expectation.

⁸¹ See Introduction to A. A. Hodge's The Confession of Faith (1869), a commentary on the Westminster Confession of Faith.

6.11 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PENTECOSTALITY AND PNEUMA PLASTICITY

The terms ‘Pentecostality’ and ‘Pneuma plasticity’ may cause confusion as I use these interactively. A more precise definition may help to contrast their significance, use and application.

Campos’ concept of Pentecostality is an overarching embrace of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit understood in wider terms than the empowering experience of the Spirit, usually named the ‘Baptism of the Spirit’ by Pentecostals.⁸² In this sense, he will agree with Dunn, Fee and others who understand the entire work of the Spirit in the believer as Baptism of the Spirit. Hoover’s Methodist Pentecostal theology fits appropriately under the theory of Pentecostality that Campos proposes because Hoover moves away from a restricted ‘initial evidence’ BHS and embraces a more general ‘theology of manifestations’. Despite his subsequential position concerning the BHS, his Methodist Pentecostal theology holds to a broader understanding of the Spirit’s work in the believer and the church.

On the other hand, Pneuma plasticity is a theological naming of an *attribute* of the Holy Spirit. Identifying such an attribute helps understand and enable Campos’ theory of Pentecostality by permitting the believer to appreciate the experiences of the Spirit in less rigid experiential categories as have sometimes been proposed by Pentecostalism. As ‘ὁμοούσιον’ (‘homoousion’)⁸³ became a helpful definition for the nature of the *consubstantial essence* of the persons of the Trinity, I use the concept of Pneuma plasticity as a description of that attribute of the Spirit that defines the various *co-active workings* of the Holy Spirit’s Person in the believer and the church. By ‘co-active’, I mean the

⁸² See Campos’ definition of Pentecostality and my related analysis in Chapter Six (6.6 and 6.8).

⁸³ The Greek term ὁμοούσιον (homoousion) was initially proposed at the First Nicene Council (325 AD) for a creedal description of the essential nature of the Persons of the Trinity, the Father and the Son, in the writing of the Nicene Creed.

simultaneous *or* extended workings of the Spirit in the believer, filling, inhabiting, and empowering by his same personal influence.

Admittedly, the term is undesirably evocative of a material ‘plasticity’, and I risk bringing to the reader’s immediate understanding the more material elements of the word: malleability, softness, pliancy, pliability, flexibility, suppleness, ductility. I take the more biological meaning of ‘adaptability’ (increasingly applied to the electrical functions of the brain), identifying that spiritual ability to be ubiquitous but also active, present in diverse forms. Applied to the Holy Spirit, his pneumatic qualities (John 3:8), ‘wind’, ‘spirit’, are the closest parallels. I wished to convey a certain sense of feeling and experience that ‘plasticity’ conveys. However, I use the term primarily in a theological sense and settle on the word as I have not found an alternative that does justice to the requirements of the concept.

The term arose in a conversation with Dr Max Turner regarding the need for some terminology to describe a specific aspect of the Holy Spirit’s nature. How could the Holy Spirit *be in a person and yet come upon that person simultaneously?* Dr Turner suggested we find a phrase relating to ‘Omnipresence’. The term I sought, however, involves more than divine presence invoked; instead, it is a *co-active* omnipresence (see scriptural examples above, 6.10). The works of regeneration, sanctification, and empowering can either be wrought in the believer in stages (Acts 8:1-25) or all at once (Acts 10:44-48). Acts 8:14-17, to some, precludes the possibility that Philip’s converts were regenerate. As an understanding of one of the Spirit’s essential attributes, Pneuma plasticity enables us to believe that the same Spirit that had caused them to ‘believe the Word of God’ and become regenerate (1 Pet. 1:23) also came on them in empowering ‘reception’. There would be no need to separate the Spirit’s co-active work in the believers by proposing a Baptism in the Spirit as a subsequent experience to regeneration.

Why is this important for Chilean Pentecostal theology, indeed for Pentecostal Theology in general? As explored above and in this thesis, understanding this attribute of the Spirit removes the need for divisive subsequential doctrine. That is why a Pentecostality that embraces all the functions of the Spirit is further explained and reinforced by an understanding of the Spirit's nature of Pneuma plasticity. He is the same Spirit active in diverse functions in the believer. The Spirit is received at regeneration (Roman Catholics would hold that this takes place at sacramental baptism), continues his work in the believer with sanctification and can further come with power on the believer to impel him or her to the mission of Jesus. The understanding of Pneuma plasticity enables us to receive the Spirit's workings without proposing a second or third definite work of Baptism of the Holy Spirit while enjoying the fullness of the Spirit's love and power (Ephesians 3:14-21).

Understanding the Holy Spirit's attribute of Pneuma plasticity enables the believer to seek more of the presence, power, purity and proclamation gifting of the Spirit, in growing relationship, not limiting the presence of the Spirit in the believer to a few crisis experiences. On the other hand, nor should the believer be content with a partial growth in the Spirit (the 'mutilation of the Spirit' as Sepúlveda warns), when he/she could grow 'more and more'. Pneuma plasticity merely informs the believer that there are no limits to that active presence of the Spirit in the life and mission of the believer and the church.

6.12 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Where does this study lead to, then? I will propose in Chapter Eight Conclusion that we may advance towards a solution to subsequence and an answer to my personal

introductory dilemma/question⁸⁴ as we have sought to resolve the three **Sub-questions** that this study raised relating to Hoover's theological understanding of BHS.

In the next Chapter Seven, however, before concluding my thesis, let me stage a conversation that seeks to bring Hoover into direct interaction with two leading contemporary theologians, Dr Frank Macchia and Dr Bernardo Campos.

⁸⁴ See Chapter One (1.4) 'When was I baptised in the Holy Spirit?'.

Chapter Seven: The Conversation

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter stages an imagined conversation between us, Dr Bernardo Campos¹, Dr Frank Macchia², Mr Willis Hoover, and myself.

We will relate Hoover's theology to Dr Bernardo Campos's mainly Latin American Principle of Pentecostality and Dr Francis Macchia's more modern contribution of a global Pentecostal theology. I will be covering three areas: First, Pentecostal Theology and some related thoughts on Pentecostal phenomenology; second, Progressive Pentecostalism; and third, Ecumenism.

We will refer to Willis Hoover's theological and missiological teachings in each case and then 'converse' around these with Campos and Macchia based on some of their most emblematic books. My own personal interaction and analysis, based, in part, on the preceding chapters of my thesis (especially Chapters Three, Four, and Five), will interweave the conversation. I hope to thus draw together, in this last section of my study, the theoretical and practical threads that each expounds as we look to the *future* of global Pentecostalism, rooted in those early beginnings (1909) and flourishing today, especially in the Majority World.

Throughout this study of Willis Hoover's understanding of BHS, I believe I have seen ways in which his unique (as a Methodist) perspective on Spirit Baptism, or

¹ Dr Bernardo Campos (see Chapter 1, footnote 5) has served as a Peruvian Pentecostal pastor and theologian since 1979 when he graduated as Bachelor of Theology in the Evangelical Seminary of Lima (SEL). He later completed doctoral studies in the Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos (ISIDET) in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 1989. He has further acquired a Master's degree in Science of Religion in the National San Marcos University in 1998, and a Doctorate Honoris Causa from Rhema University in USA in 2008.

² Frank Macchia is professor of Christian theology at Vanguard University in Costa Mesa, California. He is also the Associate Director of the Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies at Bangor University, Wales. He has served as president of the Society of Pentecostal Studies, and for more than a decade as senior editor of *Pneuma: The Journal for the Society of Pentecostal Studies*. He's a world renown Pentecostal scholar. He has written and lectured widely in systematic theology, especially in the areas of the Holy Spirit, salvation, and the doctrine of the church. He is a world leader in the study of global Pentecostalism and Pentecostal theology.

‘Pentecostality’ (Campos), would have much to contribute today if his conversation could be included in the contemporary theological ‘parlour room’. I find it illuminating to the quest for a Pentecostal theology to bring together two such major contributors, Campos and Macchia, and see how they interact with Hoover. I take particular delight in introducing Professor Campos to this debate as the Latin American contribution to Pentecostal theology is long overdue. As Mansilla and Orellana complain about Western scholarship:

...it seems as if to them has fallen the thinking, imagining, creating, the episteme, the theory and methodology, writing the books, and to us the reading, the citing, and reproducing ... Among Latin American academics we now also have specialists... but if you do not wish to perish, do not quote Spanish speaking investigators.³

We converse expectantly with Dr Campos!

Dr Macchia is well known in the Western theological world as one of Pentecostalism’s principal theologians.

Obviously, in Willis Hoover’s case, I will continue to base myself almost entirely on the textual research I described in my Introduction, Chapter One, revisiting and quoting again some emblematic passages from which I have built my main argument in the thesis⁴.

Since both Campos and Macchia are distant in Perú, in the USA, again, I will base the four-way conversation mostly on their written texts to preserve objectivity in the analysis. I have maintained written contact with both and sent them this chapter for their approval of my personal evaluations, interpretations, and critical interaction with their

³ Miguel Ángel Mansilla and Luis Orellana Uribe, *Pensando El Pentecostalismo* (Valparaíso, Chile: RIL Editores, 2021), 42.

⁴ As I delineated in the Introduction of the thesis (Chapter One), I have continued to keep Hoover’s original American English in his texts as well as some uses of grammatical style and structure, original to him in his writings, that differ from the British English I use in the rest of the corpus of the thesis.

viewpoints. I am glad to report that both Dr Campos and Dr Macchia have approved this chapter as it stands and as a faithful representation of their thinking⁵.

I expect the conversation between Pentecostal theologies, Hoover's, initially very primitive, and the other two significantly developed, will go toward adding credence to my thesis' contributions. These are extrapolated from the understanding of my more systematic development of Hoover's thinking, his Methodist Pentecostal theology, outlined in chapters Three, Four, and Five, adding my own theological contributions in Chapter Six, within Campos' concept of Pentecostality: that of *a personal relationship with the Holy Spirit and the pneumatological concept of Pneuma plasticity*.

I am aware of taking certain liberties with the academic and traditional treatment of the subject. I draw from two excellent articles, one in dialogue with Paul Ricoeur by Carmen Teresa Gabriel Anhorn⁶, and the other by Clive Casseaux, 'Living Metaphor'⁷, that explores the imaginative use of metaphor and narrative dialogue as a way of supplementing merely rationalist attempts to portray and comment historiographic reality. Even if Hoover is no longer with us, we can surely rely on pertinent excerpts from his writings on each theme to weave the tapestry of such an imagined conversation. Though not extensive, they did define the thinking and practice of the early Methodist Pentecostal Church and continue to provide her fundamental ethos. Therefore, I will revisit some of the more emblematic passages that I may have quoted in earlier chapters to bring them under the scrutiny of the 'moderns', as well as base my conclusions on the resulting conversation.

⁵ I have emails from each giving me their approval (and even their enthusiastic encouragement!) for this Chapter Seven as it appears. Since the drawing to a close of my thesis, Dr Campos has written and published a new book, *Prolegómenos para una Teología de la Pentecostalidad y de los Pentecostalismos*, Publicaciones Kerygma, USA, 2023.

⁶ Carmen Teresa Gabriel Anhorn, 'Theory of History, Didactics of History and Narrative: A Dialogue with Paul Ricoeur' (Sao Paulo, Brazil: Revista Brasileira de Historia, Sao Paulo, 2012), 171–95.

⁷ Clive Caseaux, 'Living Metaphor', *Studi Filosofici*, 34, no. *Studi Filosofici* 34, (2011): 291–308.

Is it realistic to attempt an *aggiornamento* of Hoover's Theology through the lenses of these two modern expositors of 'global Pentecostal theology'? I believe it would be important to do so to develop the inheritance Hoover left us, reinforce the theological position I have built on his writing, and survey it with what Campos and Macchia are also speaking to Hoover from their own observations and creative work.

I will need to imagine that my three conversants are familiar with my thesis.

7.2 THE CONVERSATION

Cooper: It is a wonderful privilege for me to bring together such exponents for Pentecostal theology, both of you, Dr Campos and Dr Macchia, two theologians who have sought to update Pentecostal theology from a global and Latin American perspective. Our purpose is to interact as accurately as we can with Mr Hoover (who we will be addressing in the metaphorical sense mentioned above) through some of his writings and survey the theology and practice of the Pentecostal revival, initiated under his pastorate from your own present contributions to modern Pentecostal theology.

Campos: Thank you for this opportunity to contribute!

Macchia: Yes, I think we can attempt this!

7.3 PENTECOSTAL THEOLOGY AND SOME THOUGHTS ON PENTECOSTAL PHENOMENA

Cooper: First, let me recognise you both, Dr Campos and Dr Macchia, as contributing very significantly towards Pentecostal theology. There have been several attempts to

write a more comprehensive Pentecostal theology. Roger Stronstad⁸, Robert Menzies⁹, Harold Hunter¹⁰, and Howard Ervin¹¹ have majored on the doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Dr Macchia, you mention how Steven Land's *Pentecostal Spirituality* derides Dale Brunner's description of 'pneumatobaptistocentric'¹² (Spirit baptism theology)! However, Dr Campos and yourself, Dr Macchia, have taken it upon yourselves to attempt the more ambitious aim of writing what might be called a Global Pentecostal Theology (the name of Dr Macchia's remarkably comprehensive book). In his introduction to your *Experiencia del Espíritu*, Dr Campos, Pastor Daniel Oliva-Morel says: 'Every day that goes by it becomes more and more difficult to sustain the old thesis that says, "Pentecostals do not have a theology, and even less, that have they have no theologians."' ¹³

I base the interchange almost exclusively on texts already written by both of you, looking to serve as a bridge of interaction with Willis Hoover's theology, as I perceive it. I consider this a valuable exercise in the *aggiornamento* of Pentecostal theology that began at the outset of the twentieth century and has been developed uniquely by both of you. Daniel Oliva-Morel says further:

Thank God for a generation of thinkers that has arisen and has devoted their hearts, heads and hands, out of their own Pentecostal ethos, to the reflection on the pastoral task and the living out of faith that

⁸ Roger Stronstad, *Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 1984).

⁹ Robert Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991).

¹⁰ Harold Hunter, *Spirit Baptism: A Pentecostal Alternative* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1980).

¹¹ Ervin Harold, *Conversion-Initiation and the Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Critique of James D.G. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984).

¹² Frank D. Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit : A Global Pentecostal Theology* (Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), 23.

¹³ Bernardo Campos, *Experiencia Del Espíritu*, CLAI, 2002, v.

the Pentecostal experience means. Bernardo Campos has attempted to systematise the immanent theology of every Pentecostal act and experience.¹⁴

Campos: Indeed, that is a necessary task as for too long, Pentecostals have been side-lined, often on account of their own mistaken over-emphasis. But see, my work began to lay out a comprehensive Latin American Theology in *Principio de Pentecostalidad*. I cover a broad understanding of the Old Testament background to the Pentecost Event¹⁵, mainly viewed as a deuterio-Sinai event. Then, I offer a new understanding of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit under the concept of Pentecostality. The first Pentecostal theology recorded in Acts, Peter's, contains at least four elements: It is first, Christological as the risen Messiah is made present in the community. Second, it is pneumatological because the entire Book of Acts becomes the story of the action of the Holy Spirit. Third, it is soteriological as it opens the door universally to Jews and Gentiles to the salvation which must now be preached to all the world. Fourth, it is eschatological because it is accompanied by apparent apocalyptic language, such as Joel 2¹⁶, and surveys the entire sweep of history. From there, Pentecostality develops in Acts a theology of experience and of 'spiritual knowing'¹⁷ as you describe in your Chapters Four, Five, and Six. Pentecostals insist on knowing Jesus, knowing the Scriptures in the sense of hearing God speak through them through reason and faith¹⁸. Experience becomes theology, eventually, in Pentecostality, through verbalisation¹⁹, song, testimonial narrative, and theological narrative. Ultimately, we are feeling for a more systematic theology, as you

¹⁴ Bernardo Campos, *Experiencia del Espíritu*, CLAI, 2002, v.

¹⁵ Bernardo Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad* (Salem, Oregon: Kerigma Publications, 2016), 28–41.

¹⁶ Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad*, 113.

¹⁷ Campos, *Experiencia el Espíritu*, 124.

¹⁸ Campos, *Experiencia del Espíritu*, 127.

¹⁹ Campos, 147. See also Hollenweger and his concept of oral to written theology and how it affects ecumenical dialogue. Macchia mentions it also.

have kindly said about both Dr Macchia and myself. Thus, through a process of reiteration, of linguistic assimilation, the message of the text becomes morally current. In the last analysis, Pentecostal preaching wants to represent or reproduce not so much the message of the text as that of the community that produced it in a kind of timeless conditioning. Profoundly rooted in its own historical process, in this way, through its preaching, the Pentecostal community sustains its own experience and legitimises it with the Holy Scriptures. Spirit and Word are inherently implied in Pentecostal practice.²⁰

Macchia: Well, as you say, in my book *Baptized in the Spirit*, I set out quite openly to cover ground that reaches into the past and brings to the fore today what I believe is the centre of all Pentecostal theology and praxis, the Baptism of the Spirit. Replying to Roger Stronstad's *The Charismatic Theology St. Luke* and Robert Menzie's emphasis on empowerment, I suggest: 'Perhaps we should speak of a theology of Spirit baptism that is soteriologically and charismatically defined, an event that has more than one dimension because it is eschatological in nature and not wholly defined by notions of Christian initiation... I have found helpful the popular, charismatic distinction between Spirit baptism, theologically defined as a divine act of redemption and initiation into the life of the kingdom, involving faith in baptismal sealing, and Spirit baptism as empowerment for Christian life and service that involves an experience (and experiences) of Spirit baptism and filling in life.'²¹

Cooper: This drawing together of the definition of Spirit baptism as *both* 'initiation' and 'immersion' (Greek, '*baptizo*') expressed as Kingdom life in the believer is helpful when opening a dialogue with Protestant traditions who have not been too ready

²⁰ Campos, 155–57.

²¹ Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 16.

to interact theologically with Pentecostals in the past, wary of the very definition of Pentecostal experience as ‘the Baptism of the Holy Spirit’. It is also why you, Dr Campos, it seems to me, developed your principle of Pentecostality. You see it as a wider embrace beyond Pentecostal churches, yet based on the Pentecost experience and foundation of all churches.

Campos: Correct. Since the appearance of my book *De la Reforma Protestante a la Pentecostalidad de la Iglesia* in 1997, up until today in Latin America, many Christian denominations have begun to name their experience in the Holy Spirit as ‘Pentecostality’. They do this precisely because the term Pentecostality alludes to a universal, open, and accessible experience with the Spirit of God and does not identify exclusively with Pentecostals. In those years, I was searching for a logical category that would allow me to interpret the action of the Holy Spirit beyond Pentecostal churches. That is how I adopted the term ‘Pentecostality’.²²

Cooper: So, from these positions, let me draw our attention to Pastor Willis Hoover (1858 to 1936) and address him in this figurative way. I will presume you know the information about him throughout my study, so I will not introduce him or his work with which you are both familiar. Let us begin our dialogue with him conducted through his writings:

Mr Hoover, you developed ‘Methodist Pentecostal’ theology, as I have outlined in the preceding chapters. The closest you came to writing a specific Methodist Pentecostal theological precis (used quite centrally in my thesis, so I reproduce you once

²² Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad*, 20–21.

more for this conversation), was your description of the Methodist Pentecostal church you founded:

It is called 'Methodist' because: it had its origins in the Methodist Episcopal church where the Word of God was preached (then) with more fervour. Its practices are infused with the teachings of John Wesley the founder of Methodism.

It is called 'Pentecostal' because: it believes the happenings on the day of Pentecost were the inauguration by the Holy Spirit of the church Christ wanted, permanently, until his return in person. It believes that the book of Acts of the Apostles does not represent the end of the workings of the Holy Spirit in the church, but rather establishes the norm set up by Christ by which the church ought to be guided in fulfilling its great mission on earth. GO INTO ALL THE WORLD AND PREACH THE GOSPEL TO EVERY CREATURE, LO I AM WITH YOU ALWAYS, TO THE END OF THE WORLD. All the evangelists confirm this belief: St. John 14:16-31, 15:26, 27; 16:7-24. St. Luke 24:47-49, St. Mark 16:15-20. St. Matthew 28:18-20, Acts 1:8.²³

You never set out to write a systematic theology of Pentecostalism as you believed in a theology that rose up from the Holy Spirit *experience*, even if you include quasi-theological descriptions of Chilean Pentecostalism like *¿Quiénes son los Pentecostales?* (*FdeP* No.7, July 1928). In a passage that is also very emblematic of your theological perception and development, you say:

I believe the real secret of all this is that now we really and truly believe in the Holy Spirit - we trust him truly - we truly recognise him - we truly obey him – we truly give him liberty. We believe truly that the promise in Acts 1:4,5 and Joel 2:28,2 is for us. We have ceased merely to believe and speak of the doctrine while continuing on without hope, in our usual routine. Thus, we now believe, wait and, pray and he has done these things before our eyes. blessed be his name.²⁴

And then you make very clear in your teaching that the experience of Holy Spirit baptism is available for everyone. You speak of the living Word as living doctrine that can be taught by anyone God chooses:

Very well, I have the living Word now, more than ever. I believe that God wants that I, the church, my dear brothers, each and everyone be baptised with the Holy Spirit. I believe that he wants us to know it. I believe that he can use my tongue, or that of any other person, if He pleases, to speak any language, known or unknown. I believe he did it with the apostles. As to why he did it, He can clarify it to them who with faith inquire. I believe that it is our privilege to enjoy much more than the presence of the manifestations of the power of God that we enjoy now.²⁵

²³ Mario G. Hoover, 119.

²⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 33.

²⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 101.

Hoover: As you correctly quote, indeed, we have always believed that Pentecostal theology arose from our Pentecostal *experience*. We were less interested in elaborating theological concepts as to living out today the life of the church as we saw it recorded in Acts of the Apostles! So, we sought an empowering experience from the Holy Spirit that would enable us to carry out Jesus' mission as the church did in the Acts of the Apostles, now, at the beginning of the twentieth century, and in every age. That was our primary theological and missional motivation.

Cooper: Mr Campos, you have marked Latin American Pentecostalism with your clear descriptions and distinctions between 'Pentecostalism' and 'Pentecostality'. You say, 'For me, Pentecostalism is one of the historic manifestations of Christianity that was born in the first century, and that after a process of historical development, it seeks an extension of that primordial experience. Pentecostality is the universal experience of the presence of the Holy Spirit, valid and indispensable for all Christianity.' How do you assess Mr Hoover's 'theology from experience'?

Campos: Yes, I see in Hoover a classic example of Pentecostality. His spiritual hunger led him, his wife and his followers to experience the Baptism of the Spirit in the style of Azusa Pentecostalism at first, and as you contribute, later, Stone Church. Yet his Methodist background instinctively gave him a sense of the validity and continuity of Wesleyan and historic Christian frameworks. I do believe he was more of a 'Pentecostalised Methodist' than a fully-fledged Pentecostal. But that is what I try to bring out with my principle of Pentecostality. The Pentecostal church has highlighted the significance of Pentecost as a foundational experience and inheritance for the entire church. Despite variations in doctrines regarding its implementation, the essential message brought to the fore by the Pentecostal church, just like Hoover did, is that the

Acts of the Apostles can be relived in every generation through the power of the Holy Spirit. This reliving occurs through the experience of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Cooper: I disagree with your passing comment about Mr Hoover being more of a Pentecostalist Methodist than a true Pentecostal! I think Mr Hoover was certain that he was a true Pentecostal and called (rather in the style of Thomas Barratt as related in Chapter Five) to participate fully and defend the BHS as a full participant in the world Pentecostal movement. However, he also showed that churches can ‘rekindle’ the best of their traditions. Both you and Dr Macchia have clearly proposed that the central experience of Pentecostal theology is the Baptism of the Holy Spirit (Chapter Six).

Mr Hoover, I think I would be right to discern as your central thesis behind the Pentecostal revival you oversaw in 1909 in Valparaiso that it was due to the reception of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. How far is this true?

Hoover: Of course, it is true... you call it the ‘gem’, and I think you are right. We had experienced the power of the Holy Spirit before in sanctifying fire, but when we read Minnie Abraham’s tract from Mukti, we sensed that there was more. A letter my wife wrote in March 1909 expressed the hunger with which we sought the Baptism of the Spirit:

I suppose there must be a more preparation, or else possibly my faith is just not prevailing enough. However, I shall *never, never* turn back. At times my hunger of heart is greater than at others, but I am all the Lord’s ... For some two months we have been praying daily for the baptism of the Holy Ghost. There are six of us. We had been praying a month when the Lord began to move upon us. We’re all much blessed, and spirit of prayer came to our church ... The Spirit of God brought to many hearts the conviction of sin. The congregation as in one voice broke out in the waiting, waiting, and praying the scene reminded me of the agony of mind during the night in the earthquake.²⁶

When we received the Baptism of the Spirit, we were impelled into revival. We had, of course, come from a Wesleyan sanctification theology. However, we sensed the need for

²⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 182.

more, an experience of the Pentecostal *dunamis* that we read about and which would give us a further experience of God's missional enabling as we see it narrated in Acts of the Apostles with signs, wonders and miracles, the gifts of the Spirit in operation. In the same letter to the Journal, 'Confidence', my wife expresses the hunger with which we were seeking that experience, particularly the empowering of the Baptism of the Spirit we had read about.

Those at the altar remained all night until 6 a.m. confessing, asking each other's pardon. Toward morning, all seemed to be conscious of the presence of the Lord. One brother shook, another saw the Lord, another saw fire ... Saturday night is an all-night of prayer, when God is always with us, at times in great power. A number have received sanctification, blessing, and pardon of sin, *but we are still anxiously waiting for the Pentecostal baptism, or perhaps the sign of God's approval upon us* (italics mine). We live in an atmosphere, a city of great, sin and crime, and our church must have more holiness and power to carry on the battle. Please continue to pray for us. Your paper Confidence has been a comfort to us.²⁷

And by the way, *that* is why we also said that once 'Pentecostalised', as Dr Campos puts it, we became better Methodists than before! As my former Methodist colleagues would say: 'The Pentecostal Churches are the true Methodists; we [the Episcopal Methodists] are the ones who have deviated.'²⁸

Cooper: I have sought to rescue the 'gem' amidst the waters, honouring your courage and perseverance, Mr Hoover. How central is the BHS today to Pentecostalism?

Macchia: Spirit baptism in Pentecostalism is one way of peering into the fascinating discussion that occurred, especially over the last few decades, and getting over what is distinctive about Pentecostal theology. I agree with Allan Anderson when he states, 'A fundamental presupposition of all Pentecostal theology is the central emphasis

²⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 183.

²⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 119.

on the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.’²⁹ I believe it to be central, even today. As Finnish theologian, Veli-Matti Karkkannen wrote: ‘The Pentecostal movement has placed the doctrine of Spirit Baptism at the forefront of the theological agenda in modern theology.’³⁰ I agree with him that the doctrine is still in the making. But that is why Pentecostal theological discussion cannot ignore the topic. Indeed, I have expressed my worries that the doctrine and, therefore, the experience of BHS have lost ground even in Pentecostal churches. Has the Baptism of the Spirit lost its place as the central Pentecostal distinctive? Not quite, but there is a definite trend in this direction, especially in Pentecostal scholarship.³¹

So, delving into the roots of Pentecostalism, the valuable experiences of initiators like Pastor Hoover brings us back to the ‘gem’ (as you call it, Mr Cooper). Here is the real power and motivation for the church. It is not an exaggeration to say that this understanding of Spirit baptism has imprinted itself on the Pentecostal corporate psyche as the crown jewel of Pentecostal distinctives. Therefore, the holder of Pentecostal theology can benefit from thoroughly re-examining the doctrine as early founders expounded it, even if their theology was in the making.³²

Hoover: As my book reveals, we were far more interested in getting to know the Holy Spirit *personally* as the Gospel of John chapters 14 to 16 invite us to, and to live out the Kingdom of God thereby as the earliest disciples did in the book of Acts (and as Mr Cooper brings out in the history and development of our revival in Chapters Two to Five).

²⁹ Allan Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecostal and Zionist Apostolic Churches in South Africa*. (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2000), 244.

³⁰ Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *Spiritus Ubi Vult Spirat: Pneumatology in Catholic Pentecostal Dialogue*. (Helsinki: Luther Agricola Society, 1998), 198.

³¹ Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 19.

³² Macchia, 19–60.

But the church won't receive it if you don't emphasise and seek such an experience. Isn't there a danger of losing the BHS as Pentecostalism becomes more ritualised and ceremonialised?

Macchia: I tend to agree, Mr Hoover! I am, in fact, afraid that Pentecostals are becoming so soft on the experience, that, I fear we have been losing out on the power we once received. Reasons for the shift away from the Spirit baptism as the central Pentecostal distinctive is the early Pentecostal isolation of Christian initiation from charismatic empowerment occasioned by the historical change from sanctification to Spirit baptism. A fragmented twofold or threefold initiation into the life of the Spirit is difficult to justify in Scripture. A second reason for the shift away from developing the challenge of the diversity of Pentecostal theology discovered in the early history and the current global expensive Pentecostal beliefs. A third reason for the shift is the tendency among the most prolific Pentecostal theologians to focus less on Spirit baptism and more on eschatology. Spirit baptism tends to be seen as relatively insignificant next to the dominance of eschatology for defining Pentecostal theology. Another reason is the shift, under Hollenweger, from the doctrinal distinctive to the theological method to describe what is unique to Pentecostal theology. He has argued that the Pentecostal distinctive is more about how Pentecostals conceive the theological task. Oral, narrative, or dramatic theology allegedly characterises the global and ecumenical challenge of Pentecostal theology.³³ So, a more serious theological interchange is precluded.

Cooper: I would have hoped that Mr Hoover's and early Pentecostal leaders' testimonies to the remarkable missional fruit and supernatural accompaniment of their

³³ Macchia, 27.

preaching efforts would be enough to persuade all churches that a return to Acts of the Apostles Pentecostal power is central to the church's life and health. But let's look at the second of these reasons given for the loss of that emphasis: 'subsequentialism'. We saw how Gordon Fee describes the reasons for subsequential teaching³⁴, even if, as a Pentecostal, he believes there is not enough New Testament warrant for the doctrine: Revival, awakening of sleeping churches, robust spiritual renewals that impelled the church to mission all seem to avow a subsequential spiritual *experience* of BHS. We have also examined how the Hoovers first sought *experiences* with the Holy Spirit that they categorised as subsequent to conversion.

What if we now take a fresh look at the work of the Spirit, however, as fundamentally inclusive of all of these experiences, regenerative (receiving the *life* of Jesus in us), sanctifying (receiving the *love* of Jesus, the *fruit* of the Holy Spirit, in us) and empowering (receiving the *power* for the working of the ministry of Jesus, through us); if we cease to categorise these in terms of separate, distinctive experiences but rather see them in the light of the various biblical actions and giftings of the Spirit in us as we walk in a seeking relationship with him?

As you yourself say, Dr Macchia: 'I do not want to lose our emphasis on the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit as something that Christians should expect in the life of faith at some point during or after their acceptance of Christ as Lord and as an ongoing experience of charismatic enrichment.'³⁵ It reminds me, also, of Sepúlveda's fear of theologians 'mutilating' the BHS (Chapter One - 1.5)! I am sure we all agree on this. But could we not adopt a more comprehensive (and I believe, Scriptural) view of the Spirit's work in the believer, not in terms of experiences, one, two, three, but as Mr

³⁴ Gordon Fee, 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The Issue of Separability and Subsequence', *Pneuma* 7:2, 1985.

³⁵ Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 282.

Hoover lives out and proposes, *knowing him in a relationship* in which he enriches us manifesting in us *all* the experiences that are necessary to carry out the life and ministry of Jesus on this earth, as we ask him (Luke 11:13)?

Usually, the Baptism of the Spirit has been related to the third, the empowering experience (although some sanctification Methodists did so with the ‘Second Blessing’ *experience* sanctification³⁶). All Christians agree that every believer must experience the first regeneration, whether at baptism or spiritual new birth. But let me push past you what I develop in Chapter Six. In this area of subsequentialism, I think that if we understand the Baptism of the Spirit from Scripture as all-embracing of the Christian’s walk (in this, I agree with Dunn that Spirit baptism is ‘the bestowal of the Spirit that functions as God’s decisive act of establishing Christian identity’ and that therefore there can be no Christian without the Holy Spirit’s indwelling³⁷). If we call this ‘Pentecostality’ as Campos does, we could understand that a relationship with the Holy Spirit that begins at regeneration will make available *all experiences* the Christian needs at different stages of his/her walk with God. Sanctification and empowerment will be part of that relationship.

Moreover, suppose we further describe the Holy Spirit’s *substance* in terms of Pneuma plasticity, as I propose in Chapter Six. In that case, we will have come to a pneumatology that assists in understanding the work of the Spirit in the believer. This pneumatology does not limit the Holy Spirit to a fixed mode of indwelling or empowering. Still, it recognises his continuous, active presence that can indwell, visit and revisit the believer in relationship to him. To my mind, this solves the problem of

³⁶ Laurence W. Wood, *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism* (USA: Scarecrow Press, 2002).

³⁷ Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 66.

subsequentialism as a divisive element between Pentecostals and other Christians. It is part of the Spirit's nature to be in us and yet be able to come upon us again³⁸.

Campos: I do understand your position, Mr Cooper, although charismatics have been saying similar things, 'accommodating' the BHS to their more Protestant positions for some time. As you point out in Chapter Six, some very beneficial dialogues on pneumatology took place in relation to subsequentialism in the 90s between Dunn, Menzies, and Turner. I think these debates finally toppled cessationism, and it is very difficult to sustain a biblical position today that does not recognise that the supernatural gifts of the Spirit are for the present church. However, I fear that in blurring the experience of the Baptism of the Spirit, you will lose the power of it. Why do you think that by simply giving the Spirit's substance a descriptive name, 'Pneuma plasticity', you solve the problem of subsequentialism?

Cooper: Indeed, this is my central contribution explained in Chapter Six. I think, Dr Campos, that it does solve the problem if we bring together as well the other two elements that I point out stemming from Mr Hoover's theological development: One, a personal relationship with the Holy Spirit, manifestations of his persona as opposed to mere experiences of his power, and two, a broader understanding of BHS as Pentecostality (your own very useful concept and definition, Mr Campos). Pneuma plasticity then gives an understanding of how the Holy Spirit's person is so attributed to pour out on believers, regeneration, sanctification, and empowering as in the Book of Acts with no contradiction as to subsequence. By way of example, in Acts 8:14-17 (the incident Dr Max Turner calls 'the Waterloo' of theological battles on the subject!), it

³⁸ As at Jesus' baptism, following So's reasoning in *Jesus revelation of His Father* Chapter 5.

would no longer be necessary to understand ‘falling on’ or ‘reception’ as first-time Spirit events. The believers could genuinely have been ‘regenerate’ and indwelt by the Spirit at the time of their baptism (8:12) and later ‘empowered’ by the Spirit under the Apostles’ prayer (8:15) as a public witness and confirmation to the genuineness of the Samaritan faith. The nature of the Spirit, Pneuma plasticity, and the all-embracing BHS (Pentecostality) would solve the problem of supposedly *necessary* subsequentialism in this instance, a second or third *experience* of the Spirit called Baptism of the Spirit.

I think it is fair to say, however, in all justice to you, Mr Hoover, that you never move away from a subsequentialist understanding that the Baptism of the Spirit *was* a further experience of regeneration and sanctification. However, without rewriting your theology for you, here is where I have tried to draw further from your Methodist Pentecostal position that you *have* come to a place very similar to what Dr Campos describes as Pentecostality. I would go so far as to say that your understanding *does* allow for a Pentecostality that is not necessarily based on experiences but on a *relationship with the Holy Spirit*, who can manifest all the experiences, regeneration, sanctification, and empowerment with spiritual gifts in a believers’ life in diverse ways. How do you see this, Mr Hoover?

Hoover: It does sound a little like you are rewriting my theology, but so long as the manifestation of the Holy Spirit empowers the church into a book of Acts mission, with signs and miracles, manifest gifts of the Spirit, I don’t mind what you call the blessing in your contexts!

Macchia: I agree that Pentecostals have difficulty understanding the BHS as anything other than a subsequential experience. And here is where some add the ‘tongues as confirmation’ argument. Although I myself do not espouse ‘tongues as initial evidence’

and suggest the word ‘sign’ as a better designation, tongues as evidence became, for many Pentecostals, the proof that ‘we have a more powerful miraculous experience of the Spirit than the non-tongues speakers’³⁹. I think that this is an extreme position that has been losing ground since people like Mr Hoover testified to powerful Spirit encounters without tongues necessarily being the sign of reception.

Cooper: Yes, ‘tongues as evidence’ does continue to have value for many Pentecostals in that if a person speaks in tongues, they *know* they have been ‘empowered’ with supernatural giftings of the Spirit. It became a sort of emblematic Rubicon which, once crossed, ensured one was in the territory of the Baptism of the Spirit.

Macchia: There still exists substantial debate among ‘tongues speakers’ as to whether Paul’s reference ‘do all speak in tongues’ (1 Corinthians 12:27-30) refers to the use of public tongues (the preferred contextual understanding) or to private tongues (where ‘all’ could speak in tongues 1 Corinthians 14:5). Although I can understand how some Pentecostals maintain the doctrine of subsequence with tongues, I would be much closer to Mr Hoover’s understanding of the many signs as manifestations of BHS.

Cooper: Mr Hoover, you lived these early discoveries. How important was tongues to validate this Pentecostal Baptism? Why did you later move away to an emphasis on ‘manifestations of the Spirit’.

Hoover: At first, we had remarkable experiences with tongues. This brother came to the pastor’s home the morning after his unusual experience. ‘He arrived so

³⁹ Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 36.

possessed by the Spirit that while his mind was completely normal, his demeanour was unusual. He walked in with praises and spoke with strange tongues. He was three or four days under this control almost constantly. During free intervals, he worked on a scaffold (as a painter). However, he was taken by the Spirit in such a way that his companions feared he would fall, so he took him home.’⁴⁰

This grew until tongues became a salient point in the revival. I quote William Durham in his translated article ‘Manifestations’ because it seemed to describe similar developments, although, as you know, we did not go so far as to insist exclusively on tongues as the initial evidence of BHS, as he does in his article: ‘I have seen hundreds of people receive the Holy Spirit in the last two years, ... not one person receives without physical manifestations and also speaking in tongues.’⁴¹

Cooper: Now, in defense of the tongues position, let’s remember how Paul himself, though careful to delineate its public usage (1 Corinthians 14:22-28), opened to all the possibility of receiving the private gift: ‘Anyone who speaks in a tongue edifies themselves’, ‘I would like every one of you to speak in tongues,’ ‘I thank God that I speak in tongues more than all of you.’ (1 Corinthians 14:5, 18). The context, however, is that of preferring intelligible public, prophetic proclamation. While validating tongues as a spiritual gift available to all believers, he is not making it a sign of reception of the Holy Spirit. It is true that at Pentecost, all spoke in glossolalia or xenolalia and that at several points in Acts, tongues are apparent at the ‘reception’ of the Spirit (Acts 2:3,11,4, 10:46, 19:6). Could we agree with Mr Hoover that the Holy Spirit baptism will manifest in various ways?

⁴⁰ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 57.

⁴¹ Mario G. Hoover, 155–56.

Macchia: At this stage of the argument, it is worth noting that the rigidity with which one holds to tongues as evidence of Spirit baptism has varied historically. Especially in the United States, some held to an inflexible connection, arguing that one cannot claim to be baptized in the Spirit without tongues. Others recognized that tongues might not immediately follow the experience of Spirit Baptism. Early Assemblies of God leader Joseph Roswell Flower believed that tongues should come sometime after Spirit Baptism to confirm or culminate the experience but obviously felt that the experience itself did not need tongues to legitimize it.⁴²

Hoover: Well, exactly... gradually, we began to find that the various manifestations of the Spirit were more important than tongues as a sign. I began to serialise Durham's article on Manifestations in *ChPent*⁴³ as early as June 1910 to clarify some of these concepts: 'Let's consider some of the facts of the case, which shall determine whether these manifestations are of God. Some have accepted and rejected these, saying that speaking in tongues, singing in the Spirit, etc. were of God. But they could not believe that trembling, falling to the floor, etc. were of God. I maintain that the ones are as much of God as the others. Because the same power that speaks in tongues shakes the bodies of those are speaking in tongues. It is worth noting that speaking in tongues was preceded by some physical manifestation, such as falling under the power, being violently shaken, or both, in almost every case. It is rare to see a person receive the Holy Spirit without some of these manifestations accompanying the experience.'

This is how we came to move away from the strictly AG theology that speaking in tongues was the only real sign of the Baptism of the Spirit. Despite, my dear wife, Mary Louise' baptism by immersion in the AG style, as you cover in Chapter Four, we never

⁴² Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 36.

⁴³ 'Manifestaciones', serialised in *ChEv*, June 16th to July 7th 1910, Nos. 38-40.

took on AG theology but rather Methodist Pentecostal theology. We developed our own way concerning the reception of the Baptism of the Spirit, an originally Chilean, autochthonous theology. The power in the life to the church was unmistakable, however, even if we varied in this doctrine.

Cooper: I understand that later, a missionary, Brother Ball from the Assemblies of God, the speaker at the IEP Conference that year, in 1942, offered help to the then IEP in terms of the theological teaching of Azusa style doctrine for leaders and an offer of eventual incorporation into the North American denomination. Pastor Saavedra of the then established *Sargento Aldea* church, politely declined: ‘Thanks, but no thanks!’. Chilean leadership, even after your time, Mr Hoover, had decided on the doctrinal identity they wished to maintain.⁴⁴

Hoover: Though my intention was never to be exclusive, I am glad to hear it!

Campos: Indeed, we recognise Chile to be the first genuinely autochthonous Pentecostal movement in Latin America.⁴⁵

Cooper: While we are speaking on the phenomenon of tongues associated with the BHS, let me bring up one more point about BHS phenomenology that doesn’t receive much mention in academic circles and yet appears regularly in Scripture and in revival history but especially with the advent of Pentecostalism and that is *the demonic*. Mr Hoover, you note several encounters with the demonic element when the revival burst

⁴⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 254.

⁴⁵ Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006), 11.

forth. What interests me is that when the BHS breaks through and becomes manifest, the spiritual warfare (Eph. 6:10-20) becomes much more apparent.

Hoover: Yes, indeed, when I speak of ‘manifestations,’ I say that ‘sometimes there was evidence of other spirits, but this did not deter us or cause us to doubt (although there was a temptation in that direction). But it did encourage us to examine the spirits.’⁴⁶ Then, when charges were formulated against me for saying that a man mentally deranged was possessed of a dumb spirit⁴⁷, in a later reflection, I replied:

It is evident that many instances of the so-called ‘mental cases’ have been demon possession. Very sad. Some, no doubt, have had the demons for a long time, and these have only been exposed to the light through this revival of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, with other manifestations of satanic character. But the revival ought not to be blamed for this: it should be congratulated instead, because it has been able to bring to light the sickness, the sins, the demons and the evil influences already there, but unrecognized before, inside the church and in the lives and bodies are many persons – even Christians!⁴⁸

Cooper: It is surprising how often this element of Jesus’ teaching and ministry, immediately manifest after his anointed return from the desert (Lk. 4:31,32), then throughout his ministry (Mt. 8:16, Mk. 5:1-20) and explicitly described in practical, almost ‘seminar’ terms (Mt. 12:43-45, Lk. 11:24-29), is so commonplace (Mt. 4:24,25). We witness similar scenes in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 8:5, 6; 16:16- 18). The interesting thing, Mr Hoover, is that although you had had revival experiences before 1909, you did not experience this biblical ‘commonplace’ of the demonic element until the Holy Spirit had empowered you.

Hoover: We may have but did not recognise them. As I said before, we had to learn to *discern* the spirits through the spiritual gift of discernment of spirits (1 Cor 12:10).

⁴⁶ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 36.

⁴⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 69.

⁴⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 117.

I believe this is one of the marks of genuine manifestations of the Kingdom of God (Mt. 12:28).

Macchia: Almost all Pentecostals will tell you that Acts of the Apostles Christianity will involve these ‘power encounters’ as Vineyard founder John Wimbur used to call them⁴⁹. Although the lines have become blurred with the advent of modern psychology and the study of religious phenomenology in the West, promising research has been done that will differentiate the demonic from the manic.⁵⁰

Campos: This is where Latin American, African, and Asian Pentecostalism has been particularly aware of demonic forces encountered in our animist and often labeled, ipso facto, ‘demonic’ cultures. We struggle in the Latin American situation to discern between genuine folk values that impregnate our people’s traditions and the demonic per se. I mention, for instance, the *Taki Ongoy* people of the Peruvian Sierra that have in their tradition the possession of the ‘huacas’ (indigenous divinities), causing them to tremble and shake, fall on the floor wildly. I ask whether it might not be appropriate to call these manifestations ‘a form of cultural Pentecostalism’?

Cooper: That makes me nervous! In his more African understanding, I know that Nimi Wariboko also looks to Pentecostal phenomenology to penetrate indigenous cultures⁵¹. Still, it seems that Paul, for instance, clearly differentiated between the spirits,

⁴⁹ John Wimbur and Kevin Springer, *Power Evangelism* (Grand Rapids Michigan: Baker Publishing, 2009).

⁵⁰ A very thorough, well researched and documented Handbook for Spiritual Warfare by Dr Ed Murphy will help illustrate more carefully these distinctions.

⁵¹ Nimi Wariboko, *The Pentecostal Principle - Ethical Methodology in New Spirit* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2012).

whatever their enculturation (Acts 16:16-18). Those suspicious of modern expressions of Pentecostalism, as, for example, MacArthur expresses in ‘Strange Fire,’⁵² are precisely the fears that neo-Pentecostals would be undiscerning about such dangers. Without wanting to pour water on your fire, Dr Campos, I notice that you also make Daniel Oliva-Morel nervous, for he confesses that ‘this is a very provocative association for those of us who hold to a classic understanding of Pentecostal experience’! However, he understands that this daring observation aims to understand these non-typical spiritual manifestations as ‘indirect inspiration’ of the Spirit.⁵³

Macchia: A daring observation indeed! Yet, this is the sort of theological exploration that will come from our Latin American brethren who are evangelical and Pentecostal in experience that forces academics like myself to reflect from a non-Western viewpoint and listen more, as Mansilla and Orellana encourage us to do. It is valuable!

Let me take you to something that I think is central to your thesis. I am interested in your emphasis on a doctrine of a *personal relationship* with the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, which you brought out in Chapter Six, Mr Cooper. Let’s explore this a little further. I recognise that Scripture would enjoin us to relate personally to the Spirit, especially in Johannine pneumatology, the leading role of the Spirit in Acts, and several ways in which Paul (who is usually associated with a more reformed theology on the Holy Spirit) does speak in very personal ways about the Holy Spirit’s relationship to the believer (Gal. 5:16-25, Rom. 8:5-11, 15-17, 26, 27). How far do we take this?

⁵² John MacArthur, *Strange Fire* (USA: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2013).

⁵³ Bernardo Campos, *Experiencia Del Espíritu*, vii.

Campos: I am intrigued also... You bring out, Mr Cooper, how Hoover begins to talk in terms of ‘now truly *knowing* him.’⁵⁴... Is our pneumatology similar, do you think? There is hesitancy among theologians to speak of such a relationship with the third person of the Trinity because there is some hesitancy in the New Testament... Nearly all the emphasis falls on a relationship with Christ and the Father.

Cooper: More than hesitancy in *emphasis*, I think it is one of *incidence*. Dr Damon So has shown in his book⁵⁵ how this theological wariness of what is an apparent injunction from Jesus has a ‘creedal’ explanation. He first shows how the Gospel authors walked the finely balanced tightrope of explaining how the personal and divine Holy Spirit interacts with the person of Christ the Lord. He maintains they downplayed the person of the Holy Spirit in deference to the creedal imperative (the early development of primal theology in the early church) to exalt exclusively the Lordship of Christ. It may be a similar reason that downplays the New Testament's recommended relationship with the Holy Spirit. However, as Dr So points out, it is never far from the centre of play.⁵⁶ In passages like 2 Corinthians 3:18, Paul even focuses on the Spirit's *Lordship*. Other passages like 1 Corinthians 2:10-16 give us a glimpse into Paul's own relationship with the Holy Spirit: ‘The Spirit searches all things, even the deep things of God. Who knows a person's thoughts except their own spirit within them?’

Hoover: We certainly were infilled and had lived many experiences with the Holy Spirit *before* our Baptism of the Spirit but would testify to *knowing him* after the

⁵⁴ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 33.

⁵⁵ Damon So, *Jesus' Revelation of His Father* (Great Britain: Paternoster, 2006). Chapters 4 and 5.

⁵⁶ So, 175–200.

BOS. Before, he had been a powerful force. Afterward, we discovered him as a person, the same one who guided the early church on its apostolic mission (Acts 16:6-10).

Cooper: Dr Fee has expounded the unique trinitarian passage 2 Cor.13:13: ‘The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all’ in terms of such a divine guaranteeing of salvation and personal fellowship with the Spirit, in the context of the church community.⁵⁷

Hoover: It is mysterious, but although we had encountered the Holy Spirit, it wasn’t until the BHS that we thought of him as a person, as one we could relate to. So, like Dr Campos says, our theology grew from our experience with the Holy Spirit. We later discovered in the Scriptures what was occurring to us!

Cooper: So, could Pentecostal Theology emerge more imposingly on the world academic forum? One reading of the development of Christian theology in history could be described as initially catholic in that it drew up the Creeds. Then, the Reformation gave us Reformed theology, the Gospel from the Scriptures. The Evangelical Awakenings, and the Wesleyan revivals, produced Evangelical theology, a new sense of personalised regeneration, and an individual relationship with God and Jesus Christ. Then could we argue that the twentieth century gave us Pentecostal / Charismatic theology, or ‘Pneumatic theology’, if you will, that you are seeking to write up more globally. Dayton’s Four principles⁵⁸ delineate the first agreed components of early Pentecostalism:

⁵⁷ Gordon Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence* (USA: Baker Academic, 2009), 362–265.

⁵⁸ See Chapter Six (6.4).

Salvation, Baptism in the Spirit, healing, and the Second Coming⁵⁹. In developing his Methodist Pentecostal theology, I think Hoover managed to lay a foundation for your Pentecostality principle, Mr Campos, before his time. He made available the Baptism of the Spirit, built on Acts of the Apostles theology, so that today, all churches can access it. I have tried to merge these concepts while honouring Hoover's seeking of the empowering Baptism of the Spirit. I have tried to show that this empowerment was rediscovered as an update of Acts of the Apostles by Hoover, concurrent with Mukti, Stone, Azusa and other Pentecostal revivals worldwide, and that it should never be ignored again.

Even if it can be theologised in ways other than classic Pentecostal theology, it is the 'gem' of the empowerment of the Spirit that causes the ripples and not the other way around. The ripples, the multiple effects of Pentecostalism are not, in fact, the heart of the matter. The empowering of the Holy Spirit is.

Hoover: Well, in my day, we were inheritors of Methodist Sanctification theology and, more specifically, Wesleyan theology to which we adhered. I never felt I needed to expound a Pentecostal Theology as we preferred to emphasise the relationship with the Holy Spirit and the manifestation of the Spirit. I did train young men but never systematised my theology. Looking back from your perspective, though, I do realise you are now in a position to theologise. But let me warn you that you will need to maintain the Baptism of the Holy Spirit at the centre if you wish to be genuinely Pentecostal!

Cooper: Let me take you, then, to the related theme of how 'progressive' Pentecostalism has and should become.

⁵⁹ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Francis Asbury Press, 1987).

7.4 PROGRESSIVE PENTECOSTALISM

Cooper: One of the issues I have had to resist again and again as I read for my doctoral thesis was getting sidetracked in the enormous amount of fascinating literature that has been and continues to be written about the *effects* of Pentecostalism in society, the social application of their theology, and, more recently, Pentecostals' involvement in politics. In Chile, the first to analyse the social understanding of Pentecostalism was the well-known sociologist Christian Lalive d'Epinay, in his classic work, *Haven of the Masses*. Lately, Miguel Angel Mansilla and Luis Orellana have written *Pensando el Pentecostalismo*, which paints a rather sombre picture about the actual effectiveness of such progressive ventures. Nimi Wariboko⁶⁰, from Nigeria, seeks to apply Pentecostal phenomenology to a broader concept of social explosion in joy and justice. These I called the 'ripples'. Having said that, however, I also want to ask you about this popular theme. Rev. Hoover, I know you were suspicious of political involvement in a Pentecostal movement.

Hoover: As you know, I always held to keeping the church clear from all political movements, albeit there were Pentecostal pastors who felt their involvement with the poor should take on political commitments. We had Pastor Mora, for example, in Concepción, who had been expelled from the Episcopal Methodist church and founded the Misión Wesleyana Nacional in 1927. A sister church in the movement, we noted that he was such an influence for the Gospel that despite his very real social and political contributions as one of the founders of Coronel Socialist Party in 1933, he was later persecuted by the

⁶⁰ Nimi Wariboko, *The Pentecostal Principle - Ethical Methodology in New Spirit*.

Communist party who saw his evangelical activities as a threat to their political pretensions.⁶¹ I never stood in the way of such freedom of involvement as we have always held to a Wesleyan trait of social involvement. What I laboured against was a distraction from the priority of evangelism, as happened in our Episcopal Methodist church, as you brought out in Chapter 4.

Cooper: According to Mansilla and Orellana ‘liberation theology, two of whose main exponents⁶² were Gustavo Gutierrez (Perú) and Leonardo Boff (Brazil), has been one of the most important theological movements that predominated three decades of Latin American social history and theory, especially in the Catholic church⁶³. Famously, the Colombian priest Camilo Torres (1929-1966) hung up his cassock, armed himself with a gun to join the guerrilla movement, *Ejército de Liberación Nacional*, in Colombia for the liberation of the oppressed and died, shot in the struggle. Liberation Theology assumed ‘a preferential option for the poor’ and marked an obvious Marxian⁶⁴ analysis of economics and political method. Was this a dangerous turn for Pentecostalism and the Evangelical church? We find, curiously enough, that contrary to sociological expectation, the poor, rather than opting for Marxism, ‘turned to a preferential option for Pentecostalism’!⁶⁵

⁶¹ Manuel Ossa, *Espiritualidad Popular y Acción Política. Santiago: Rehue*. (Santiago: Rehue, 1990).

⁶² There were several others, of course: Juan Luis Segundo, Hugo Assmann, José Miranda, José Croatto, Enrique Dussel, Jon Sobrino, Ruben Alves, Míguez Bonino, mostly looking at the biblical implications of the Gospel to the poor and to unjust political and economic structures.

⁶³ Mansilla and Orellana Uribe, *Pensando El Pentecostalismo*, 36.

⁶⁴ A Latin American expression of Marxist theory and praxis that held as its epicentre, Cuba, rather than Moscow. Fidel Castro, Ché Guevara, Camilo Torres, and later the Sandinistas, became its figureheads. During the 60s and 70s terrorist ‘freedom fighter’ (the ‘MIR’ *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario* in Chile, ‘Tupamaros in Uruguay en Argentina) movements came onto the scene, resulting almost without exception in Military coups that suspended democratic freedoms and rights.

⁶⁵ Campos, *Experiencia Del Espíritu*. p.ix.

However, in the next breath, Mansilla and Orellana note that Latin American theologians have become ‘enculturated’ to work with political and social theories *from abroad*, including Marxist ideologies and theologies from the West. Isn’t it time, they venture, for Evangelicals and Pentecostals to develop a new social theory?⁶⁶

Dr Macchia Dr Campos, you devote some space in your books to this issue. Are you being politically correct, or do you really believe that Pentecostalism should develop a progressive agenda and theology?

Macchia: Well, I propose a ‘creation pneumatology’, ‘a presence of grace in all of life reaching for liberation and redemption through a Spirit of creation’⁶⁷, from which we can build a theology of total social concern and action. Pentecostals, in various places, have diligently engaged in ministries for drug addicts and others who are destitute to bring them into the liberating power of Christ's redemptive work within the context of a loving Christian community. ‘He is now no longer at the mercy of uncertainty, hunger, unemployment, drunkenness, boredom, and homelessness because he has once again become part of a “family”; he has “brothers” and “sisters” who help him and give his life moral direction... All of this he owes to the Saviour who has rolled away the burden of his sin, who has led him out of the prison of sin, indifference, and hopelessness, and of the Holy Spirit who has not just to be believed in but who one can experience in all sorts of marvellous healings.’⁶⁸ The apostolic proclamation of Christ according to Luke, consisted of a testimony to the fact that ‘God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy

⁶⁶ Mansilla and Orellana Uribe, *Pensando El Pentecostalismo*, 36.

⁶⁷ Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit : A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 279.

⁶⁸ Macchia, 276.

Spirit and power so that Jesus went around doing good' (Acts 10:38). In fact, Pentecostal communities in Latin America have been such successful centres of hope and new opportunities for the poor that one Pentecostal scholar could quip: 'the Pentecostals do not *have* a social policy for renewal, they *are* a social policy.'⁶⁹

Hoover: Well, that certainly has been our experience from the first days of the revival. I hope this will always be an emblematic sign of Pentecostal churches, the very powerful transformations you describe, Mr Cooper.⁷⁰

Campos: I couldn't agree more with Orellana and Mansilla (above). We Latin Americans have developed an inferiority complex that impedes our innovation in theology and sociological theory. I maintain that Pentecostal theology has a great deal to say to political and social theory and is saying it purposefully⁷¹.

It must be said that in the Latin American context, it was impossible to avoid our Pentecostalisms be led out in love by the Holy Spirit to challenge unjust social structures and indeed have a bias toward the poorer, marginalised, and downtrodden, precisely where our churches work. Here, there is a historic opportunity to encourage us to maximise in our countries and Region. And this is precisely possible because of the power of the Spirit that renews all things.⁷²

⁶⁹ Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*.p.280.Citing a personal remark from Everett Wilson, cited in Douglas Peresen, *Not by Might nor by Power: A Pentecostal Theology of Social Concern in Latin America*. Irvine, CA:Regnum, 1996, p.119.

⁷⁰ See Chapter Four (4.8.1-4.8.4).

⁷¹ See, for example, two students from the Oxford Centre of Mission Studies, both Pentecostals, Miguel Álvarez and Ronald Bueno. Also, much cited in this study, Chilean Pentecostal theologians, Luis Orellana and Miguel Angel Mansilla,

⁷² Campos, *Experiencia Del Espíritu*, p.xii

Cooper: How does Pentecostality spread? We have noticed that it is ‘caught’ as well as taught in community, through church worship services (1 Cor. 12-14) where the Holy Spirit is given free rein (as you did, Mr Hoover), the laying on of hands, the expectancy of gifts, the seeking that, again, Hoover taught us, all contribute to the spread of this more profound knowing of, relationship with the *person* of the Holy Spirit, through many experiences of sanctification and empowerment in our mission contexts. So, let’s raise the final topic related to this concern: Ecumenism.

7.5 ECUMENISM

Cooper: Mr Hoover, I detect a strange contradiction in your teaching. In your treatise on Christian Love⁷³ you clearly expound the need for unity. You see it based on the love poured out in our hearts by the Holy Spirit (Romans 5:5). You add your vision of church unity:

The true union of the churches is reached without meetings, commissions, and discussions, and without loss of time or energy. Every church that *is truly such*, is under the command of the Great Captain and responds to Him and not to the neighbour captain or coronel. And every church that is *faithful* in obeying orders from Him and putting on high His name and His work, faithful in the onslaught against the common enemy... such church shall find itself in union with every other church that does the same. This union will make the enemy tremble. It is the union of a military campaign.⁷⁴

On the other hand, it is also clear from your writings that you became highly suspicious of the ecumenism of your day. You actually call it ‘a master coup of the devil’⁷⁵. You are concerned about the distraction the energy needed to bring together all the churches would require and also the compromises needed to bring about this work.

If all this time, energy, and work, were used to the salvation of souls, what good wouldn’t they produce! And if they were to consummate a union, would there be a greater salvation of souls, and in the present relation? Certainly not. For it would be time and work, spent uselessly. [It would be] only a destruction

⁷³ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 138.

⁷⁴ Mario G. Hoover, 143–44.

⁷⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 140.

[from] of the enemy of souls, so he wouldn't have to be bothered. It is a wonder to see such great multitudes of the children of God being so completely deceived. It is because 'the god of this world has blinded their eyes' with human rationalizations and plausible arguments, putting them in place of the word of God.⁷⁶

Hoover: Yes, and as I observed there are distinctions between: '...those who believe the Bible is the true Word of God, and those who believe it is half myth, half poetry, half error, and a little truth;' and 'those who believe that the Christian is the temple of the Holy Spirit, and as such, we should 'cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God (2 Corinthians 6:16, 7:1)'. Then there are 'those who use liquor, tobacco, theatres, the races and – put all this conglomeration into a great mix and call it Evangelical Church or Christian Church.'⁷⁷ I hoped to warn our churches to 'come ye out from among them and be separate.'⁷⁸ I was very against the way the luke-warm churches would lose their priorities of holiness and evangelism, and how it affected negatively their effectivity for the Kingdom of God.⁷⁹

Cooper: I have noticed that this zeal and suspicion of other non-Pentecostal churches became part of the spiritual genetics of the IMP (and even more so after the schism in 1932, ever since when the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal has still held loyally to the notion that they are your true inheritors⁸⁰). It is understandable as Pentecostalism grew in the most vulnerable and disreputable regions of our cities where often the distinction lay between alcoholism evangelicalism (see my own ethnographic study on

⁷⁶ Mario G. Hoover, 141.

⁷⁷ Mario G. Hoover, 142–143.

⁷⁸ Mario G. Hoover, 143.

⁷⁹ Mario G. Hoover, 142–143.

⁸⁰ Mario G. Hoover, 245–249.

Guarilihue, a town transformed by the Gospel out of misery drunkenness, wife beating⁸¹). However, Mr Campos and Mr Macchia, it is interesting that both of you now see Pentecostality as a uniting principle that could help bring churches together.

Campos: This phenomenon is paralleled in all the Pentecostal world, of course. Deep suspicion of all that is not Pentecostal and, sadly, division among Pentecostals, not for doctrinal reasons but rather for political, leadership motives. But, like my colleague, Dr Macchia, I do see, beyond an initial charismatic movement, that the Baptism of the Spirit, conceived as Pentecostality (emphasising that all churches having a common foundation at the Pentecost event), could bring us to a new unplanned unity among churches. It is already happening, of course!

Macchia: Right! In my chapter ‘Signs of Grace in a graceless world’ I lay out a conviction of mine: Spirit baptism gave rise to a global church and remains the very substance of the church’s life in the Spirit, including its charismatic life and mission.⁸² I agree with my colleague, Dr Campos, that the goal posts have shifted since the early Pentecostal revivals. Even then, however, as I comment on a useful contribution by Cecil Robeck Jr., early Pentecostalism had an ecumenical vision as well:

Despite naïve and even triumphalistic understandings of unity among many early Pentecostals, Cecil M. Robeck has convincingly shown that Pentecostalism early on regarded Spirit baptism as implying the eventual visible unity of Christians everywhere.⁸³

⁸¹ Wonsuk Ma, Opoku Onyinah, and Rebekah Bled, *Good News to the Poor - Spirit Empowered Responses to Poverty* (Tulsa, USA: Oru Press, 2022). Chapter ‘Pentecost in Guarilihue’ Alfred Cooper

⁸² Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 155.

⁸³ Macchia, 220, Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies, “‘The Assemblies of God and Ecumenical Cooperation: 1920-1965,’” in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honour of William W. Menzies*. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

Did you partake of this view, Mr Hoover?

Hoover: When more and more groups began leaving their denominational churches because they were finding or seeking the BHS,⁸⁴ Presbyterians, Alliance, Methodists from different cities, even Brethren, I did think that there could be a new unity in the universal church based on this new anointing as you quote above. But certainly, I didn't believe in the ecumenical movement per se.

Campos: Of course, we have come far enough along the road now, Mr Hoover, where we can see how other denominations have also sought Pentecostality. It must have been intriguing at the start of the revival to see other denominations apart from the Methodists, begin to experience the manifestations of the Holy Spirit.

Hoover: Yes, it was! We noticed that other groups who were also hungering for a deeper and more fruitful walk with the Lord, also began to seek at the same time as us, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Some did not even have our background in holiness and the experience of sanctification that end of nineteenth century Methodists were experiencing. This was particularly important to us as it confirmed that this was a world movement that transcended church structures and organisations (even if at that time it was divisive and split denominations). For instance, it was very encouraging to us when A.B. Simpson, world president and respected leader of the Christian and Missionary Alliance churches came out to see us in 1910 and clearly reported us in line with a biblical revival⁸⁵ (Chapter Two). They also had experienced expulsion from their churches and

⁸⁴ Detailed on pages 35 to 41 of Luis Orellana, *El Fuego y la Nieve*, vol. 1 (Hualpén, Chile: CEEP Ediciones, 2006).

⁸⁵ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 126–28.

came over to join our Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal, over which I was asked to be Superintendent. They mostly fitted into our Methodist Pentecostal structures and strategies, but all had in common the most important aspect of our revival, that they sought and lived out an empowering by the Spirit and a new presence, purity, power, and proclamation of the Gospel.

Campos: I think in the Introduction to my book, Daniel Oliva-Morel represented well my intentions when he says: ‘Campos manages to present the Pentecostal movement to non-Pentecostals... often only specialists have been able to understand what have become dialogues between deaf (theologians). This work shows that it is a real possibility, after more than a century of existence throughout the world and more than 50 years of Pentecostal visible presence, active and committed in the international and Latin American ecumenical movement, to systematise and make comprehensible an experience that provokes a meeting today between those who previously have not been able to understand.’⁸⁶

I feel that Pentecostality, a theology that arises from the experience of the Baptism of the Spirit as Pentecostals know it, has so spread that today, beyond what was possible in Mr Hoover’s day, it presents a new basis and opportunity for Christian unity. I will go one step further. I believe we are heading towards a globalisation of Pentecostalism, towards a non-confessional spirituality. Pentecostality is no longer merely a footnote of the church, but the supernatural reality of the Spirit of God that moves the entire creation towards a reunion with him. And that also presupposes a certain

⁸⁶ Bernardo Campos, *Experiencia Del Espíritu* p.vi.

confession of faith, a practice of social transformation before and in face of the Kingdom of God.’⁸⁷

7.6 CONCLUSION AND FINAL THINGS

Cooper: I think it is time to end this already lengthy conversation. I am deeply indebted to the three of you for your contributions. We have covered an appraisal of Mr Hoover’s theology at the initial stages of Chilean Pentecostal revival in the early part of the twentieth century, evaluating how modern Pentecostal Theology has developed since then and how Dr Campos and Dr Macchia, have sought after a globalising principle both from the West and from Latin America, where, in fact, Mr Hoover began. I hope our conversation has demonstrated that Hoover’s Methodist Pentecostal theology on the Baptism of the Spirit, does indeed remain pertinent as the central ‘gem’ for Pentecostal churches the wider church today. Hoover’s contributions challenge us down the ages from his unique perspective and context to keep alive the longing for Acts of the Apostles Christianity empowered by the Holy Spirit. Yours help bring a wider understanding to the Baptism of the Spirit, one that includes all that Pentecostals have recovered of Pentecostality and now interacts with all ecclesiological communities and movements on the basis of that Pentecostality foundational to all Christian churches. Let me simply ask you for a final word of prophecy from you both Dr Campos and Dr Macchia. Both of you explore eschatology and the future of Pentecostalism as a much larger subject than merely ‘final things’. Where is Pentecostalism going?

Macchia: I believe the ultimate description of Pentecost is: ‘God has poured out his love into our hearts by the Holy Spirit’ (Rom. 5:5). The unfinished business of

⁸⁷ Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad*, 151.

Pentecostal theology is to cherish the charismatic empowerment and renewal of the church, but also to situate this Pentecostal understanding of Spirit baptism within a broader pneumatological setting that accounts for all of the nuances of Spirit baptism, especially of his love poured out, throughout the new Testament. Spirit baptism shows that the final end of Jesus' kingdom is to be viewed as the transformation of the creation into the temple of God's dwelling, at which time the reign of death is overthrown by the reign of life so that God can be all in all (1 Cor. 15:20-28)⁸⁸. The koinonia and empowering of today's loving mission of the church seeks to draw humanity into communion with God and seeks to inspire a sighing for the day when all of creation becomes the temple of God's presence to the glory of God.⁸⁹

Campos: The wider church will need to understand what is happening. To fail to consider Pentecostal spirituality and its cosmo-visional horizon today is to not orient adequately our hermeneutical approximations to Pentecostalism. For this reason, a great number of sociological hypotheses of Pentecostal interpretations do not understand the great seismological significance of Pentecostal religion as a way of life, a spirituality capable of gifting social identity on the least hopeful to give power to the weak. This is the gem you mention, Mr Cooper. I believe Pentecostalism has become the most significant religious missionary movement today⁹⁰: 'In Latin America it is as foundational to be Pentecostal as it is to be Catholic or Protestant. It has no frontiers neither of class, ideology, territory or confession.'⁹¹

⁸⁸ Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*, 256–257.

⁸⁹ Macchia, 155.

⁹⁰ Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad*, 13.

⁹¹ Campos, *Experiencia Del Espíritu*, 15.

Cooper: I certainly discern a shift towards increasing theological training among Pentecostals. From the days when Bishop Umaña became the first Methodist Pentecostal who ‘had never been to a seminary and whose “seminary is the streets”’⁹² to the present, there have been significant moves toward Latin American Pentecostal academia. While we welcome this trend, like Mr Hoover, I think we would warn against the trend to leave aside the ‘gem’ and lose the real essence of Pentecostality. Many thanks again, Dr Campos, Dr Macchia and may your last words, Mr Hoover, recorded at the end of your book serve to give our interchange a hopeful dimension.

For the last 30 years the Pentecostal movement has extended all over the world, also as at the beginning; because the Holy Spirit is a fire - a fire of divine love - and those who possess Him, or rather, are possessed by Him, burn with a desire to be, as Christ said ‘witnesses to the end of time’. Our prayer is that this account of God’s good will to give the Holy Spirit to those who ask for Him will awaken the hunger and thirst in many hearts to have the same ineffable gift in order that the Blessed Third person of the Trinity – the Holy Spirit – be more glorified.

This urgency to return to true biblical Pentecostality, it seems to me, is Dr Hoover’s legacy to us and today’s Pentecostal theologians. Thank

⁹² Orellana, *Fuego y Nieve*, 1:68.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter One I proposed that I would examine Willis Hoover's theology under the title: **A Contribution to contemporary Pentecostal Theology on Baptism of the Holy Spirit from a study of Willis Hoover's Chilean Methodist Pentecostalism.**

Using the methods and tools of Practical Theology in historiographic and theological analysis, I have answered the **thesis question**: What contribution to contemporary Pentecostal theology could be derived from a study of Willis Hoover's experience and understanding of BHS in the context of the Chilean Methodist Pentecostal revival?

I first laid out a systematic exploration of what Willis Hoover called the 'real secret' (which I called the 'gem'), the doctrine and practice of Baptism of the Holy Spirit, central to all Pentecostal theology and have answered the **three Sub-questions** posed around the thesis question:

Sub-question 1. What were the influences upon Hoover that led him to the experience of the BHS in 1909? In Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five, these were analysed from the influences of Wesleyanism, Mukti, Stone Church and Thomas Barratt's Pentecostalist Methodism. Hoover would be loyal to Wesleyan Methodism and base his revival praxis largely on the *Disciplinas* Wesleyan Manual. The influences that came from Mukti and Stone church clearly caused the Hoovers total commitment to Pentecostalism, such that it is clearly definite to affirm that they most definitely identified with the Pentecostal camp.

Sub-question 2. In the light of doubts over the authenticity of his Pentecostalism, how did Willis Hoover's Methodist Pentecostal theology finally formulate around BHS in a Methodist revival context? In Chapters Three, Four and Five I clarified how Hoover gradually developed his brand of Methodist Pentecostalism from

a pastoral approach. I established that the closer relationship with Mukti and Stone Church in particular, than to Azusa, permitted a more flexible pneumatology that minimised confusion over initial evidence. I established that Willis Hoover and his wife Mary Louise, saw themselves as fully Pentecostal with Chile on the world stage of the new movement.

Methodist Pentecostal hybrid theology, formulated from the Chilean experience of BHS in their uniquely isolated corner of the Pentecostal Triangle, of revival, followed a pneumatological path that few Pentecostals in the world had managed to propose. The gem of the BHS laid in the Methodist and biblical pneumatology that had been shaping under Wesley and Fletcher and later the entire RHS movement. In Chapter Five I bring together the threads of Wesleyanism, Indian USA and European Pentecostalism of the time that moved the Chilean revival into vigorous mission and new Methodist Pentecostal structures.

Sub-question 3. What could Hoover's experience and understanding of BHS contribute to the wider conversation and controversies associated with Spirit baptism in contemporary Pentecostal Theology? Chapters Six and Seven draw lessons from Methodist Pentecostalism and seek to update Hoover into the contemporary conversation with modern theologians, Campos and Macchia. A personal relationship with the Holy Spirit is emphasised rather than mere experiences 'Now we really know Him.' In Chapters Six and Seven, therefore, I develop Hoover's Pentecostality, relationship with the Holy Spirit and my theory of Pneuma plasticity. Together, these theories help solve subsequentialism and encourage an ecumenical dialogue and common experience around the BHS.

The study of Hoover's theology falls into two parts, one historical and the other theological. First and a tracing, as systematically as possible, through historical (Chapter Two) and theological (Chapters Three, Four and Five) appraisals of Hoover's Methodist

Pentecostal Theology: its inspiration, development and main emphases, thereby contributing to a fuller understanding of this foundational theology for Chilean Pentecostalism. Second, an application of lessons inferred from his theology to the contemporary Pentecostal conversation.

8.2 AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AND CONTRIBUTION

My analysis began with history, for, as we agree with Campos that theology is born out of experience (especially with Pentecostals¹), it is therefore necessary to develop any form of systematic theological study with an understanding of the context in which it was birthed and nurtured. Despite the surprisingly limited number of Hoover's writings, we can clearly appreciate his Methodist background theology, a theology that would have given him the basic Trinitarian and creedal foundation from a Wesleyan perspective that he took pains to make clear, served him well enough (Chapters Three, Four and Five). His grandson's memories of Hoover celebrating faithfully the Methodist liturgies (derived, in the most part from the Anglican Book of Common Prayer) of Baptism, Marriage and Funeral rites, give ample testimony to this foundational background that accompanied him all his life and which lent the liturgical ingredient to his Methodist Pentecostal theology. He, like Thomas Barratt², never found cause to leave the Wesleyan rails laid out in the Book of *Disciplinas* upon which the steam engine of revival could run well.

Hoover's rather triumphalistic quote of what the Episcopal Methodists were saying among themselves after 19 years of the IMP's existence and mission in Chile: 'The

¹ Bernardo Campos, *El Principio Pentecostalidad* (Salem, Oregon: Kerigma Publications, 2016), 132–140. Campos explains the Pentecostal hermeneutic process.

² See Chapter Five (5.4).

Pentecostal Churches are the true Methodists; we are the ones who have deviated'³ could more aptly, I think, be interpreted in a sense of 'faithful completion' rather than arrogance. The Baptism of the Spirit completed for him, (and I suspect, would have for Wesley, Fletcher and other zealous seekers of 'entire sanctification') the quest for a holiness that was accompanied by the signs and wonders, supernatural gifts and powerful preaching that was apparent, in part, in the early Methodist revivals. For Hoover, however (and this, I believe, he saw as his main contribution to Methodism) revival could only measure to standard if it compared to Acts of the Apostles. After my study of Hoover, I would describe Methodist Pentecostalism as a movement within a traditional, radical holiness church 'completed by Pentecostality'.

8.3 A THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND CONTRIBUTION

Building from Hoover's theology, I posit my own contribution to an *aggiornamento* of Methodist Pentecostal theology, thereby contributing to the conversation on Baptism of the Holy Spirit today. I have sought to overcome, among other problems, the difficulties associated with 'subsequentialism'⁴ (Chapter Six).

Paradoxically, despite Hoover's own Pentecostal bias towards subsequence, I maintain that the Pentecostality that emerges through his emphasis on a *relationship with the Holy Spirit* rather than mere *experiences* with him, coupled with my theory of Pneuma plasticity, renders unnecessary what Fee calls 'the living contradiction' of properly empowered Pentecostal experience and yet faulty subsequential doctrine⁵. Hoover's

³ Mario G. Hoover, 119.

⁴ Max Turner referred to the study of the problem in his examination of Acts 8, Max Turner, 'Interpreting the Samaritans of Acts 8: The Waterloo of Pentecostal Soteriology and Pneumatology?', *Pneuma*, 1 January 2001.

⁵ Gordon Fee, 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The issue of separability and subsequence.', *Pneuma* 7:2, 1985.

Pentecostality held together with a theory of Pneuma plasticity that views BHS from the multi-faceted and empowering, growing *Missio Cristi*, nature and work of the Holy Spirit himself, provides an adequate pneumatology for full Acts of the Apostles BHS that is not ‘mutilated’⁶. This, in contrast to the various subsequential experiences a Spirit indwelt believer may or may not ‘receive’.

In Chapter Seven, the evoked conversation between Hoover, Frank Macchia, Bernardo Campos and myself, enabled analysis of Hoover’s finished work and thinking, the various avenues it opens. We embarked on actualisation and restoration, in line with Luis Aránguiz’ call for a return to Hoover’s initial emphases (if ‘Pentecostalism is to survive!’⁷) and have therefore focussed on the ‘empowering work of the Spirit’ (to Pentecostals, ‘the Baptism of the Spirit’), identifying those elements that I analyse as Hoover’s priorities: Presence, Power, Purity and Proclamation that result from a wider experience and understanding of BHS.

8.4 MY CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

As mentioned in the Introduction, there is an important contribution offered in laying out a theological mapping of Hoover’s Methodist Pentecostal theology⁸. The 47 years of the Hoovers’ ministry in Chile that I traced and analysed, beginning at their arrival in Iquique in 1889, noted the historical setting into which Willis Hoover started his work: the small evangelical awakenings that had been initiated under Canut de Bon, David Trumbull and Diego Thomson (Chapter Two) and some Methodist revivalism present already in Chile through William Taylor’s Wesleyanism.

⁶ See Chapter One (1.5.1).

⁷ Luis Aránguiz, ‘Sobrevivirá El Pentecostalismo Clásico’, *Pensamiento Pentecostal*, 2016.

⁸ See Chapter One (1.6.1).

As I focussed on Hoover's church in Valparaiso from 1902 onwards, from which later the Pentecostal revival surged in 1909, I followed the Hoovers' trajectory through the Seeking, Receiving, Developing and Administrating stages of the revival up until the church division in 1932 (IMP and IEP) and finally, his death in 1936. We noted that the Pentecostal theology he espoused grew up adapting to the *experience of revival and the pastoral needs* of the Chilean church.

In this, Hoover was a pragmatist. First, he and his wife, Mary Louise, took on a most serious, risky and sacrificial commitment to heading up the leadership of the Chilean movement in 1910. It was sacrificial and risky because they were foreign missionaries in a Chilean church, just when the tide of nationalist feeling was rising, socially and politically⁹.

Hoover became instrumental in the steadfast advance, even amidst some crass mistakes and mishaps (Chapters Two and Three) that led to schism and eventual division from their original Episcopal Methodist mother church. These mistakes, such as the Nellie Laidlaw incident¹⁰, however, increased for Hoover a need to clarify his ecclesiological and therefore, theological position. This he did, initially, even at his trial in 1910, where his primary defence, written in letters to the Methodist authorities, was his claim to be 'a faithful Methodist'.

As the church grew, I noted how he wisely allowed for the autonomous, national development and later administration of the emergent Methodist Pentecostal church. Then, as the movement spread, I explored how Hoover, while continuing to identify in substance with his inherited Methodist theology, Wesleyan in emphasis, was able to incorporate Mukti, Azusa and Stone Pentecostal theology to the revival movement. He managed to maintain consistency and credibility. We learn how he turned this inherited

⁹ See Chapter Two (1.1.1).

¹⁰ See Chapter Two (2.7.3.1).

traditional ecclesiology into a suitable mounting for the ‘gem’. The Baptism of the Spirit, ardently sought after and finally received in this Methodist setting, disrupted and put on the altar previous theological understanding at first instance, giving rise to disruption and, ultimately, to his distancing from the IME.

The Hoovers *identified fully* with the worldwide surge of Pentecostalism. Hoover’s achievement lay in his ability to manage firmly an adventurous though helpful merger between this inherited Methodist position and the new Pentecostalism that was based mainly, I sustain, on the Stone Pentecostal Church in his home city of Chicago, in turn, influenced by the Azusa Street Revival. As Anderson has shown, this revival started to crop up across the world among rural and urban underclasses who had less theological expertise or bent¹¹. In most places, the rupture with mother churches left behind their inherited theological foundation. Hoover incorporated it successfully, infant baptism¹² and all!

Only as the revival ripened in an autonomous mode, shut away, largely, between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes, that we can identify what began to develop into *the unwritten Hooverian theology that later was to form the essence of all Chilean Pentecostal churches*. I followed Sepúlveda and contrasted how churches like the Assemblies of God that came in from abroad, in contrast, held to their inherited theological positions and do so to this day.

Hoover added the Pentecostal theology of Baptism of the Spirit, expressed in supernatural *manifestations* of the Spirit, to that brand of sanctification Wesleyanism imported under Taylorian missionary methods. As noted, what was inspired originally by

¹¹ See Chapter Four (4.6.3).

¹² Many Pentecostal visitors to Chile are often profoundly disturbed at the practice of Infant Baptism in the Chilean Pentecostal churches. The practice was often thrown out as ‘old wineskins’ religious traditions, by many Pentecostal movements. For an appraisal of Pentecostal views on Infant Baptism, see Frank D. Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology* (Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), 250–52.

Mukti, Azusa, Stone and other Pentecostal outbreaks in Europe, and especially Norway under the leadership of Pastor T.B. Barratt, whose correspondence confirmed Hoover's Wesleyan Pentecostalist convictions, became normative for Chilean Pentecostalism. This more systematic tracing of Hooverian 'theology from experience', I hope, will further clarify and persuade of Hoover's contribution.

8.5 MY CONTRIBUTION TO THEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

8.5.1 A TRACING OF HOOVER'S METHODIST PENTECOSTAL THEOLOGY

Hoover's commitment to Pentecostalism has sometimes been questioned, evaluated as a mere Pentecostalist Methodist¹³ (Chapters Four and Five). However, I refute that view by showing that his perception of the identity that he and the church he had founded was in line with mainstream Pentecostalism, and as such, part of the expansive world movement that appeared in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, what first attracted my attention to Hoover and led me to do a deeper study of his unwritten theology was this unusual merging of Pentecostal experience with Methodist doctrine. Hoover's central description of what eventually becomes the theology I have written up in my study (and which I have enlarged upon), quoted where necessary in several contexts of my thesis, is the text that has been foundational to my research and enshrines this Methodist Pentecostal merger: 'It is called Methodist... it is called Pentecostal.'¹⁴

Having described and expounded the development of Hoover's Methodist Pentecostal theology, I then explore analytically, which aspects of this Chilean Pentecostalism were particular Hooverian contributions. These were the distinctives that, to his mind, became essential to the revival and its spread throughout Chile. I presented these under the headings: Presence, Power, Purity, Proclamation. In more systematic

¹³ See Chapter Four (4.1).

¹⁴ See Chapter One (1.5.2).

theological terms, they represent the doctrines of the Sovereignty of God and of the Holy Spirit, of Power in New Testament pneumatology and its relation to the manifestation of the *dumanis* and charismata of the Spirit. Similarly, the doctrine of Holiness is understood as evolving from orthodox Wesleyan Methodism, but is now deepened and applied more intensely after the BHS. Hoover's missiology, or the doctrine of Missions, is also highlighted by Hoover as central to Chilean Pentecostalism. I systematised these findings and believe they identify Hoover's main theological contribution and characteristics, universal to the Chilean Pentecostal movement today.

8.6 MY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WIDER THEOLOGICAL CONVERSATION RELATED TO THE BHS

8.6.1 HOOVER'S PENTECOSTALITY, A PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE HOLY SPIRIT

As I studied the emergence of an early theological position in Hoover (Chapter Three), it became apparent that his basic ecclesiological framework would continue to be Wesleyan Methodism. That gave me a clue as to how he would differ from Pentecostal theologies of the time, mainly Azusa/AG subsequentialism. Here Campos' work provided a new and helpful pneumatological concept, Pentecostality, that I could apply to Hoover's work. Even if it might seem paradoxical to my study that he continued to view the BHS as a subsequential experience of the Spirit, 'in addition to regeneration and sanctification'¹⁵, in fact, his later modifying emphasis on 'manifestations of the Spirit' opened the way to build Campos' theory, with hindsight, into Methodist Pentecostalism.

If, as I propose in Chapter Six, BHS can be understood as all-inclusive Pentecostality, then regeneration, sanctification, *and empowerment* (Pentecostal

¹⁵ Mario G. Hoover, 9.

‘Baptism of the Spirit’) could all be included in the Christian’s normal experience *in relationship with the Holy Spirit*. Subsequentialism becomes unnecessary as long as we seek, as Hoover taught us, the ‘empowerment’ of the Spirit, as testified in the book of Acts and the rest of the New Testament. This missing element in traditional church life, as Fee explains, was what led early Pentecostal Christians to claim they had discovered subsequential BHS.

It could be argued by some, however, that my understanding of ‘empowerment’ then merely becomes another subsequential step, that nothing is taking place but a semantic shift from ‘Baptism of the Spirit’ to ‘empowerment’. However, by adopting Campos’ principle of Pentecostality, I define Baptism of the Spirit in a wider concept as embracing all life experiences of the Spirit, one of which is empowerment. The diverse ‘works of grace’ need not be categorised as distinct or chronologically consecutive experiences but as an overarching embrace of Pentecostal sanctifying, gifting life, love, and power of the Spirit to every believer who seeks, *in relationship with Him*. This perspective would help explain the different ‘receptions’¹⁶ of the Spirit in the book of Acts, including that of Cornelius’ household, where it would seem Pentecostality (regeneration and empowerment, at least) came in one experience. Jesus’ life conferred at regeneration, his love worked out in sanctification, his mission and ministry made effective by *dunamis* empowerment are all embraced properly in the Baptism of the Spirit as announced by John the Baptist and recorded in all four Gospels: Matthew 3:11 (NIV) ‘I baptize you with water for repentance. But after me comes one who is more powerful than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to carry. He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire.’

¹⁶ Fee, ‘Baptism in the Holy Spirit: the Issue of Separability and Subsequence’.

In short, I maintain that such a blessing and work of ‘empowerment’, bestowed by the Spirit, which Pentecostals call ‘the Baptism of the Spirit’, as Campos and Macchia both espouse, *is a biblical truth/reality and inheritance for today’s church*. Pastorally, it has served Pentecostals well to focus on and to seek such an experience. However, my thesis proposes that a wider understanding of Baptism of the Holy Spirit that embraces regeneration, sanctification and empowering, all as part of the work of the Spirit in the believer, need not be separated as distinct steps in an ascending ladder of spiritual progress. Like the wind, the Spirit blows where he pleases and certainly bestows gifts according to his own will and timing (1 Corinthians 12:11).

8.6.2 MY THEORY OF PNEUMA PLASTICITY

I further contribute the concept of Pneuma plasticity as a helpful doctrine towards a better comprehension of how a relationship with the Spirit can be developed in the believer and the church. Pneuma plasticity describes a quality, an essence of the Holy Spirit’s nature that describes how he can continuously fill and work *various manifestations* in the believer, all the while maintaining his personhood and in unison with the Trinity. This quality I traced through the different New Testament expressions of the Holy Spirit’s life and power (Chapter Six) given by the same Spirit, showing how he can effect a diversity of actions and giftings in a believer and the church in a multiplicity of ways and moments. These, to my mind, must include the dimension of empowerment if we are to understand and participate in Pentecostalism’s enormous impact, world growth and mission.

In brief, I have focussed on the ‘gem’ of the empowering gift of the Spirit, called Baptism of the Spirit by Hoover and Pentecostals generally, as the ‘true secret’ Hoover brought to Chilean Pentecostalism, and, as I hope to have shown, is accessible to all Christians and Christian churches today in a unifying way (Chapters Six and Seven).

Hoover appreciates a new ‘knowing’ of the Holy Spirit (‘now we really know Him’¹⁷) after the empowering experience. This emphasis on a *growing personal relationship* with the Holy Spirit is signified in the Anglican Bishop’s Confirmation prayer, which I cite again as a concluding prayer:

‘DEFEND, O Lord, this your servant with your heavenly grace, that he/she may continue yours forever; and *daily increase in your Holy Spirit, more and more*, until he/she comes into your everlasting kingdom. Amen (italics mine).’

We can teach and disciple Christians into a Trinitarian relationship with Father, Son *and* Holy Spirit that will lead us, as Hoover expected, sought and finally exemplified, into a Christian lifestyle and mission modelled by the Acts of the Apostles.

8.7 ANSWERING MYSELF

It should be apparent from the above that I have answered my own question posed in Chapter One: *When was I baptised in the Holy Spirit?* Regeneration, sanctification and empowerment came to me at many and various intervals as I developed a trinitarian relationship with Christ, the Father and the Holy Spirit. As a fruit of my study, I have even wondered whether my earliest memories of my Roman Catholic baptism and catechist upbringing did not, in some way, experience the stirrings that only the Holy Spirit can quicken in a believer. This more open and generous sense of Pentecostality that Peter expressed before the Gentile believers (Acts 10:44-48; 11:15-18) has added ecumenical interest to my fellowship with Christian traditions other than my own.

8.8 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

There has not been the space to explore the following items, which I propose as avenues of further research for future doctoral theses:

¹⁷ Mario G. Hoover, *History of the Pentecostal Revival in Chile*, 33.

1. The relationship between Hoover's theology and today's Chilean Pentecostal churches. There is room for a more detailed examination of how the IMP and IEP have linked Hooverian theology to their teaching today and whether they continue to identify or not, the Baptism of the Spirit thread within their inherited Methodist tapestry as modern Pentecostal churches. The IMP and the IEP have both developed (with some trepidation) the beginnings of theological schools for some years now. How would they expound these crucial theories and doctrines of Pentecostalism? Although I have made explicit the plea of Pentecostal theologians like Mansilla, Orellana, Aránguiz for a more developed and deeper pneumatology among today's Pentecostal churches (Chapter One), I have had to leave aside this very fruitful line of enquiry as it would take up an entire doctoral thesis.

2. Hoovers' apparent limited use of Scripture. I have questioned Hoover with this criticism (often levelled against Pentecostals in an unfair generalisation) and bring out the paradox (Chapter Five), noting that while Hoover comes to his search for the BHS *from scriptural study*, his pneumatology (at least in written form) seems to major almost exclusively on the Gospels and Acts. I explore how much of his understanding of regeneration and, particularly sanctification, will have merely retained Wesleyan and Taylorian Methodism. Hoover notes the enhanced power and fruitful manifestation of holiness in extraordinary human transformations under the BHS (Chapters Three and Four). His Methodist Pentecostalism, therefore, would probably have simply imported this scriptural understanding, particularly of the Johannine letters (to which Wesley himself referred so constantly). As I expressed in Chapter Four, I would have looked for more references to the Pauline teaching on the Holy Spirit (as more Reformed theologians would like him to) in passages like Romans 6:1-14, relating sanctification in Christ to water baptism. Passages like Romans 8:9-11, that promote a Trinitarian pneumatology, or Ephesians 4:1-16 that explores the Christ-centred experience of the Spirit gifted church, etc. would be an interesting avenue for research.

While Hoover does espouse the theological work of popular preachers like Finney, Moody and Spurgeon, among other classic revivalists in the periodicals he edited, '*Chile Pentecostal*', '*Chile Evangélico*', '*Fuego de Pentecostés*', he is himself, mostly silent on theology dealing with the Spirit from the N.T. epistles.

Although I could have addressed this issue more critically, I felt uncomfortable making too much of the objection for the following reasons:

First, due to the scarcity of Hoover's own writings, it is not clear whether he did or did not preach from such texts. Pentecostals take pride in not writing but rather, being led of the Spirit in their sermons. Certainly, he based his teachings on the spiritual gifts on 1 Cor. 12-14 and runs a four-installment series on 1 Cor.14 in *FdeP* Nos.27-30 by Donald Gee, 'one of the most notable preachers in the Pentecostal work'¹⁸.

Second, Pentecostal theologians today (i.e. Campos and Macchia, as cited in Chapter Seven) would probably regard as restrictive the assumption that Hoover did not study and elaborate these texts. This, especially in the light of the Latin American proposition and validation of the observation that Pentecostal, biblical theology is birthed and enlightened by experience (Campos). Nevertheless, there is an opportunity for biblical scholars to pursue this avenue, which would allow for a further study and critique of Hoover and Pentecostal pneumatology, particularly given the 'wider conversation'.

3. Further study could also be developed into whether or not the young Pentecostal generation is still receptive of the 'empowering' experience of the BHS. If Aránguiz is right, only a return to Hoover's emphasis will save modern Pentecostalism¹⁹.

¹⁸ Donald Gee, (1891-1966) One of Britain's first Assemblies of God pastors and preachers, he wrote the first Pentecostal English Hymn Book 'Redemption Tidings'.

¹⁹ Aránguiz, 'Sobrevivirá El Pentecostalismo Clásico'.

4. As I tell my three conversation partners in Chapter Seven, I had to avoid entering the fascinating rabbit trails of the ‘ripples’, the effects of Pentecostalism in modern Chilean society. However, as the Chilean Pentecostal churches are increasingly involved in the political arena (as I write, my friend Pastor Luciano Silva invites me to join the new political party formed just this month, *El Partido Social Cristiano*), there is here a very significant avenue for study opening up in the present scenario.

5. The theological comparisons and contrasts between traditional Pentecostal churches and their routinisation and the newer Neo-Pentecostal movements provide another exciting opportunity for research. Again, I believe Hoover’s theological position can help bridge gaps between the old and the new.

6. The present state of the Pentecostal church in Chile. Last and very seriously, there is a sense of frustration and even foreboding among Pentecostal academics like Orellana and Mansilla relating to the present state of Pentecostalism in Chile and its leadership. Their telling article on the tragic rise and fall of Obispo Durán²⁰, the most emblematic figure among Methodist Pentecostals during the first decade of the century, especially while he hosted the Evangelical Te Deum under successive presidents, shakes any idea that all is secure for Pentecostalism’s future in Chile. ‘¡Chile para Cristo!’, they feel, has become a hollow euphemistic cry from a fading façade that hides a crumbling building.

I have only recently (during July 2023) contacted Pastor Reynaldo Moraga of the IEP in Chicago, a small grouping of Chilean Pentecostals who formed a church in 2005 in DeKalb, with members hailing from nearby towns, Rochelle and Holcomb. He informed me that on account of the legalistic and (now) unbiblical forms of authoritarianism and financial disorder, he has felt it right to ‘start a new church’ using

²⁰ Luis Orellana and Miguel Angel Mansilla, ‘El Obispo Durán y La Jaula de Hierro’, *Instituto de Estudios Internacionales*, 2017, Le Monde Diplomatique edition.

digital means. This disquieting tendency will undoubtedly need to be closely investigated over the following years.

We remember Luis Orellana's call mentioned earlier that 'in light of the serious current crises affecting the Pentecostal churches in Chile that a renewed study of the founding father of the movement, Willis Hoover. A revisiting of his historical and theological understanding of the person and work of the Holy Spirit and, in particular, the 'Baptism of the Holy Spirit', could inspire and motivate a renewed Pentecostality among young Pentecostal thinkers and practitioners.' Orellana and Mansilla are clear: 'if the statues are not changed... if the administration of tithes is not transparent... if the pulpit is not depoliticized... pride, and not the spirit of moderation, will continue to be an iron cage around future bishops.' So, as Luis Aránguiz maintains, we must look back to the beginnings, especially in the Primitive Church, to find a renewed spirituality there.

It is to this cooperative enterprise that this study has been dedicated.

8.9 HOW CAN I/WE RECEIVE?

Further to recommendations for new avenues of study, this thesis could not be complete if I did not answer the question I have been asked by many colleagues as we converse around the ideas expressed in my analysis and proposal:

'How can I enter into a fuller relationship and experience of the Holy Spirit's life, love and power today?'

I dare to answer the question because I have seen, to my joy, many come to such a further experience and relationship with the Holy Spirit over the period that I have been carrying out my research. As I have explained, biblical understanding of the Holy Spirit's gifting, empowering for mission from the book of the Acts of the Apostles (as Hoover did in 1909 and Macchia and Campos do today), a corresponding hunger for more of the Holy Spirit's presence, power and missional enabling has become apparent. That urgent

seeking that characterised the early Chilean Pentecostal church is still the usual antecedent of a further reception of the Holy Spirit's visitation. Recalling such lessons as learnt from the early days of the Chilean revival, we discover how their 'simple secret to know more of his manifestations in the meetings' was seeking and dependence on God. After describing how La Unión has recently burst into revival flame, we are encouraged to 'pray a lot before and after each meeting ... and God will not tarry in opening the windows of heaven and sending blessing upon blessing'²¹.

I attempt to answer from Scripture the common doubts and fears: a theological divorce between the persons of the Trinity, or 'adding to Christ and the Gospel experiences necessary to salvation' as well as address any frightening, exaggerated Pentecostal behaviour, previously experienced. I have seen many enter into a fuller walk with the Holy Spirit and his supernatural gifting by validating the Acts of the Apostles as Luke's handbook for mission, explaining Pentecostality in terms wider than mere experiences and as a relationship with the Holy Spirit that includes innumerable valid experiences of life, love and power from him. Many begin to speak in tongues or experience the person of the Holy Spirit in diverse manifestations that testify to them of his reality in their lives, evoking a personal Pentecost. Others have become aware of a new empowering for mission and have been led into planting churches or serving in new capacities from their professional expertise with mission to the poor. My concept of Pneuma plasticity enables them to understand that the Holy Spirit can, indeed, be *in* them as regenerate children of God and yet *come upon them again* (Acts 4:23-31) in sanctifying and empowering or emboldening ways.

Much as I believe the Charismatic movement greatly helped to increase Pentecostality in all walks of universal church life, one difference I have observed

²¹ From a letter in *ChEv*, No. 45 Sept. 11, 1910.

between a steadfast seeking of the full Pentecostal inheritance and past ‘charismatic renewal’, is that Pentecostality results in a new commitment, not simply with charismatic experiences, but with a walk with the person of the Holy Spirit. My observation is that as we seek the person of the Holy Spirit, we will be seeking full Pentecostality. We learn from Pentecostals like Hoover that there is a Pentecostal empowerment that the church had strayed from, if not lost almost entirely. It need not be named the Baptism of the Spirit, but it cannot be prescinded.

Luke 11:9-13 (NIV) So I say to you: Ask and it will be given to you; seek and you will find; knock and the door will be opened to you. For everyone who asks receives; the one who seeks finds; and to the one who knocks, the door will be opened. “Which of you fathers, if your son asks for a fish, will give him a snake instead? Or if he asks for an egg, will give him a scorpion? If you then, though you are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father in heaven give the Holy Spirit to those who ask [αἰτοῦσιν, present, active, participle, ‘go on asking’] him!

Based on this Scriptural promise, let me suggest a way we could pray as Hoover did:

‘Lord, send me/us a revival in the fullness of your Spirit.’

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The letter from Pastor Buell O. Campbell to Bishop Homer Stuntz, after taking over from Hoover as Pastor in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Valparaiso, in 1910, after Hoover's adherents had left.

Valparaiso, Chile,
July 25, 1910.
Correo #2, Casilla 2037.

Rev. Homer C. Stuntz, D.D.,
150 Fifth Ave., N.Y.

Dear Brother:-

It is now the 25th. I have not written before as I wished to see and judge for myself the condition of affairs. We reached Valparaiso the 9th and were not able to come ashore till 3 P.M. as the ship had to be disinfected. We were met by Brother Schilling, who took us to the Church and parsonage. The latter was practically without furniture, Dr. Hoover having taken all as they were his. He would have taken the mattresses as well saying that they were his by right for although formerly mission property, he had had them recovered at his own expense. However he was not allowed to take them. We have existed here as best we could without fires in the midst of winter. Had it been in Concepcion it would have been impossible. We have gotten along, only Mandell being sick for three days but now about. In Concepcion, last week, the Finance Committee authorized the expenditure of \$400 U.S. money for furnishings. As I had no money for that purpose I was to get such things on credit as I could, with the understanding that they would write you to send the money at once. It has not been at all pleasant coming into such a house in midwinter in these conditions. I need say no more on this point and hope there will be no hitch and that as soon as possible the money will be forthcoming.

We received a hearty welcome from Brother Schilling, who has done most excellent service in holding things together and inspiring the people till I should arrive. Many things of reorganization he has left for me to do.

Sunday, July 10. There was a great storm during the night and the day was cloudy and rainy and the streets of Valparaiso are in a terrible condition and will be so for months to come, as the Municipality has the streets all torn up and are raising them and tearing down houses and straightening and widening the streets. The attendance July 10 was only 29, on July 17 it was 97, and yesterday 102, so that is about what we can expect for the present. Brother Schilling, the Presbyterian minister and the Salvation Army leaders had arranged union services, at 3 P.M. in the Presbyterian Church and at 7:30 in our Church, addressed by the Superintendent of the Army work in South America. At the Presbyterian Church there were about 250 people and at our church in the evening about 400, which was a very good number for the night, but had it been fair Schilling expected we would have 1,000. But I am sure that under the most favorable circumstances it would not have reached that number. Of course Dr. Hoover and people were invited but none came, except a very few who had not been to his Sunday Schools in which he had forbidden any of his people to go to this union service. These people not being present at his Sunday Schools felt at liberty to come.

Schilling, not knowing this, was quite elated, thinking many would return. I will speak of this later.

Sunday night, July 17, we had 146 at the service and last night, which was rainy, only about 60, a very good number in proportion to the ~~number~~ people who are left to us and considering the practical impossibility of others coming such a night. Our class of probationers Saturday nights has about 20. Received five on probation July 17 and have others on the list to be received. On Tuesday nights the four classes meet, with an attendance in all of about 70. The preaching service Thursday night has an attendance of about 70 to 100. We have two classes for religious instruction of the children, with an attendance of about 22. The meeting in the afternoon on Sunday in the Church has about 30 to 40. Formerly it was the League meeting and continued from 2 P.M. till the evening service at 7:30, as also did the childrens meetings before Dr. Hoover withdrew. You now know as much as I do in regard to attendance at the services.

Our people received us joyfully and seem full of hope, courage and faith. Our Sunday School is well organized and manned and in good condition. The meeting yesterday afternoon was very helpful. We are left with a remnant. Dr. Hoover has taken nearly all the exhorters, leaders and local preachers as well as the greater part of the young people, so that we are without material for the reorganization of the Epworth League. Over 500 people and

they say 600 have gone out with him.

Thus far very few have come back and Dr. Hoover and his helpers are very active in holding all their adherents. They are doing all they can also to get those who remain away and say many things to discredit our work. They have gotten so some but at present I do not think they are accomplishing much but even inviting our people and trying to draw them away. There are reports to which I give little credence at present that many of his people have ceased to attend church any where and are in a precarious condition. I shall do all in my power to see and help all such. The city is so spread out that I cannot do as much as ought to be done. I have no helper. I should have one.

July 27: In calling yesterday I learned some things. As no names are taken off our books I call on many of those who have gone out. Two prominent men in his following received me well. They echo the refrain among them "We wanted more liberty and desired the spirit to have his way with us." Not knowing the way well I came to a place where Dr. Hoover has one of his services. At home were an old lady and Widow Espinoza and the Senora de Enriquez. After a moment's conversation the old lady went off into an ejaculatory hysterical prayer, half soliloquy. You could infer from it that they thought they were martyrs, they courted persecution, rejoiced in the fact that by their continued yells they had been threatened by the authorities and they were quite persuaded that they were more humble

and filled with the spirit than we were. It was pitiful to see and hear her and yet she is a type of the condition of many. The day before in my visits I called on another, a Frenchman, and he prayed the same way for about ten minutes. They all believe that Dr. Hoover was obliged by us to leave the church, that the Bishop and several others are unconverted men, and that none of us have the Holy Spirit.

Yesterday at the house of members of our church who have remained with us, they told me that one Yanez, Dr. Hoover's right hand, told them that on Sunday, July 24,

-- Sentence in Spanish --

i.e. that Dr. Hoover was taken by the spirit in the morning in his house and did not go out all day. From this and other things I learn from good people, I judge he is getting no better.

My meeting with Dr. Hoover. We brought a package for Dr. Hoover and sent it to him so that gave him occasion to call on us. He talked of everything else and finally came to the thing on his mind; viz., if I had any message from you for him, thought it very strange that he had not heard from you for about ten months. He believed you approved his actions and sympathized with all that had been done and were spiritual enough to allow for extravagances. I answered him the best I could in regard to our joy at home because of the revival, that we were praying for him, etc. and hoping that things not for the good of the church would cease and that he would have become master of the situation. Of course he tried to justify

himself in all his actions and that all was the work of the Holy Ghost except some few unimportant things, and that all would have come out well if other people had minded their own business. He got quite excited when I did not approve of his action toward the church, telling him that the church expected him to exercise his authority as pastor and check excesses and quell disturbances, that was his solemn duty. It was a sad meeting and after two hours he went home. He wanted us to pray for his ~~people~~ people. I answered that we could not pray for such a movement but could pray that they be blessed with a sound mind. Mrs. Hoover and the children came a few days later. She told Mrs. C. all about the Laidlaw woman, believed in her and thought that she did everything under the direction of the Holy Spirit.

The beginning of the movement. It was in February of 1909. The Conference was at Temico. The brethren in Valparaiso were on their faces all night in prayer. In fact, Mrs. Hoover had received notices of such movements in India and China some months before and had given credence to a man who went through here telling of "the speaking with tongues and seeing visions, etc." This kind of leaven was already working among the people. Mrs. Hoover had gone so far as to say that such and such a girl would be the first one to speak with tongues among them. Dr. Hoover came back and a work begun, having in it many elements of good, was allowed to take its course until it became a public nuisance. Meetings continued all night and the people were yelling and giving them-

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aelves over completely to their feelings without thought of order or the edification of those who came to listen. So things went on from bad to worse and Dr. Hoover was summoned before the authorities and had to sign a document that he would keep the peace and close his meetings by 10 P.M. Meanwhile he went once or twice to Santiago and prepared the way for his movement there among some of the best people of our churches. He had Miss Phillips till two or three o'clock in his room, in Santiago College, praying. I suppose she got it and she with others to whom he went privately formed a nucleus for what was to come. ~~Rubber~~ Then he went down into Venegas' district, Southern District, without an invitation to do his work and prepare the way there. This was in August of 1909, at the time they had the Finance Committee in Concepcion. Instead of coming home he went about 250 miles south as far as Pitruquín and Gorlea where C. Gomez, a preacher whom he had brought up, was stationed. In his absence who should come to the door of the parsonage in Valparaiso, begging, but a certain Nellie Laidlaw, formerly employed in Valparaiso in English houses and lastly in the house of Mr. Winslow, the American Minister. Mrs. Winslow had done everything she could for her but at last on account of her dissolute life and propensity to getting drunk, she was obliged to dismiss her. The woman came to the parsonage and found Mrs. Hoover and other women having a prayer meeting. They took her in and she professed conversion. Mrs. Hoover took her into their home and in a very short time she developed into a prophetess and became mistress of all, Mrs. H., the pastor's assistant, and a few others. They at

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once introduced her to the congregation and many believed that she was inspired. She would rise with closed eyes and say she had a message, and all would believe it. She at once began to bless the people and baptize them with the Holy Ghost and the people were coming forward to the altar that she might baptize them. Some did not go and were berated by those who considered themselves more spiritual. All this time Dr. H. was away down South on the errands I have described. A number of the people expected that when he returned he would put a stop to these things. At last he came and he too fell into the trap and he too went forward to receive the Holy Ghost from a woman who four or five days before was ealking the streets of Valparaiso a common prostitute. Then things took a new turn and a fresh impulse was given to the work. The prophetess introduced the custom "de ser tomado del Esperitu," of being taken by the spirit and falling flat on the floor. This became very prevalent and so on coming down to the church they were accustomed to bring quilts and blankets and when they were taken by the Spirit, some of the brethren took them over on these quilts and blankets, men and women and young women. There they remained for hours sometimes. Then the prophetess went to Santiago with a letter from her pastor, Dr. H., to our people in Santiago. You know what happened. Dr. H. had already prepared the way and when she appeared in our churches she was accompanied by a band of from 15 to 20 persons. This band grew larger. Their meetings were established with this woman playing the same part. Miss Phillips was one of them and night after night would

get back to Santiago College at two, three or four o'clock in the morning. Then they went to Concepcion and then on to Temuco, doing the same kind of work. The woman had become pregnant before her conversion and soon she had to go to the hospital. After she came out she continued to work in the churches. Now she is in the hospital again, being in the same condition, and probably from one of the members of the church in Santiago who became one of "her party." This movement has been ruinous to the character of other young women. This movement of being taken by the spirit is still quite prevalent in Dr. Hoover's meetings, together with visions, messages, yelling together, etc.

The judgment of the Christian people in regard to the movement. The general feeling is that it has been a great scandal to the cause of Christ in this city. Before, our services were appreciated and the work we were doing. The Christian public here are glad we have come, that the Church has taken possession, that order is restored, and that harmony prevails in the church. No one sympathized with Dr. H. but condemn his action. Many believed he would ruin the church completely. A goodly number had ceased to attend the meetings.

When things were being ~~xx~~ carried on the Presbyterians and others had written Dr. Rice, telling him and others the conditions and imploring them to take measures to stop the ~~xxx~~ scandals. Rice did not wish to interfere but finally was told that if our Church did not stop it they would. They came down

just in time. The Chief ~~act~~ of Police had the order written to close up the Church as a public nuisance, but Rice, Hoover and the United States Minister interceding, the order was not put into execution. Dr. H. puts on a very different meaning to this affair, but the facts are as I state.

In regard to the separation: Dr. H., long before the conference in February of 1910, had instilled into his people the thought that the Bishop, Rice and other members of the conference were unconverted men, and therefore should be converted. They had prayer meetings especially to this end, praying and groaning and beating themselves, that they would be ~~take~~ converted and that the Bishop would be taken by the spirit and roll on the floor with them. The time of conference came. All was in order in the services, to the great joy of many people who had so long been grieved at former scenes. But Dr. H. and the great majority were ready at a moment's notice to go out from the Church. They supposed themselves filled to overflowing with the Holy Spirit but they were mad at the Church, the Bishop, and all who could not pronounce their shibboleth.

How Dr. H. prepared for his successor: You know what took place in Conference and the arrangements made. The conference came to a compromise with Dr. H. which he broke before conference closed, resolving not to leave Valparaiso, but he was so filled with the Holy Ghost that he did not reveal his purpose to the Bishop. From that time they went on in the meetings.

He prepared his people to follow him in the step he was ~~taking~~ planning to take. On Sunday night, April 17, the Church was full; they had the Lord's supper, and at the opportune time he read his resignation from the membership and ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church but expecting to remain in charge of the congregation until May 1st. Immediately at the close of the service there was a meeting of the officials of the church and they ~~grew~~ ^{gave} up papers for each class leader to take and see every member of his class to have them sign it. I have these papers here on the desk, there are just twenty of them. I will enclose a copy of the heading-- all are alike -- written for the most part by Lewis, and I should judge that the original was the work of Dr. H. himself. These papers were circulated at the close of the class meeting which took place in different parts of the city on Monday and Tuesday nights, April 18 and 19. Those not present were seen in the day time. While Dr. H. declares that they were free to sign or not, yet we know that all persuasion was used and nearly everybody signed, without thinking of their action, on the impulse of the moment. He did not send his resignation to the Bishop or Rice at once, waiting until the plans had accomplished their ends. But one Donoso, a faithful member wrote to Rice, telling him what was taking place. I think that just before he left Santiago he received Dr. H's. letter of resignation or else it came after he came away. Rice and Hansen came down. None of the people knew that Rice was coming and on Thursday night, their regular service, the church was full and who should appear on the platform but Rice and Hansen and Dr. and Mrs. H. were sitting with the

people. It was a very fortunate thing for our Church that Rice was there at that meeting to save the remnant. Not an easy place to fill but done to the great satisfaction of all who had not lost their good sense. This is how Dr. H. prepared the way for his successor and his plans worked to perfection for himself. He calculated to remain in the Church building until May 1st and then go out with flying banners if not allowed to remain longer.

You see, Dr. Stuntz, this letter reads differently than I felt when in the office in New York. I have had an opportunity without being influenced one way or the other. I remember Brother Arms' correspondence to the office, which I read. I am surprised that he should write such things, having known the circumstances. In Concepcion last week his conversation was quite different. What has taken place is hard to believe, but following the events and circumstances carefully I am persuaded that the brethren of the conference were very considerate, that the Bishop did everything possible to save the situation, the church, and Dr. Hoover himself, that Brother Rice, put into a disagreeable place against his will, administered the orders as wisely and kindly as possible under the circumstances. We were fortunate in having such a man here at the time. Our Church at home and all churches worthy a name, and all the Christian people in Valparaiso and Chile, knowing the facts, uphold and will uphold all that has been done. We might say that it would have been better for the Bishop to have removed Dr. Hoover at Conference time, but the result would have been practically the same.

Dr. Hoover with the waving of his wand could have walked out with just as many in the face of the Conference as two months after.

Buell O. Campbell.

APPENDIX B

Willis Hoover's Curriculum Vitae – Methodist Sources, David Bundy

1858, July 30. Born near Freeport, Illinois, USA. Active in "Holiness" Methodist Episcopal Church, North, and frequent participant in Holiness camp meetings.

1888, December 27. Married Mary Ann Louise Hilton Hoover
Children [all born Iquique, Chile]: Helen Hoover, b. 3 December 1889
Arthur Hilton Hoover, b. 7 December 1891, d. 15 Oct. 1892
Rebecca Alice Hoover, b. 22 July 1894,
Ernest Llewellyn Hoover, b. 14 September 1900,
Paul Hoover, b. 1905

1889, October 1. Departed to Chile under appointment by the "Transit and Building Fund Society of William Taylor."

1888-1889: Iquique First Church [English]; Instructor, Iquique English College 1889

1890: Iquique First Church [English]; Instructor, Iquique English College

1890-1891: Iquique First Church [English]; Instructor, Iquique English College

1891-1892: Iquique First Church [English]; Instructor, Iquique English College
Taken into the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church on Probation, 31 August - 6 September 1892.

1892-1893: Iquique First Church [English]; Instructor, Iquique English College

1893-1894: "Received by Transfer" into the South America Conference, 1-4 July 1893, "admitted into full membership," but "not ordained."

1899: President, Iquique English College. Pastor, Iquique [Spanish] Church. [Hereafter served as pastor of Spanish Churches only] Pastor, Pisagua Church. Male "Transit and Building Fund Society of William Taylor" missionaries organized into the "Chili District" of the "South America Conference."

1894-1895: President, Iquique English College.

Discovered that the Spanish speaking congregation, to which the Chilean pastor Alberto Vidaurre had been appointed, had withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church as an independent national congregation, requiring Hoover to begin to build a congregation again.

Pastor, Iquique Second [Spanish] Church.

Pastor, Pisagua Church and nearby preaching stations.

1896-1897: Pastor, Iquique Second Church.

1897-1898: Listed in Conference Minutes as "Admitted to Full Membership Previously" in the "Western South America Mission Conference."

Pastor, Iquique Circuit [Spanish] with several preaching points and Sunday Schools.

1898-1899: Listed as "Elected and Ordained Elder Previously."

Presiding Elder, Iquique District

Pastor, Iquique [Spanish], Punta Arenas

1899-1902: Presiding Elder, Iquique District
Pastor, Iquique [Spanish]

1902-1903: Presiding Elder, Iquique District.
Pastor, Iquique [Spanish], Punta Arenas.

1903-1904 Conference Interpreter.
Presiding Elder, District of Valparaiso.

Pastor, Valparaiso. 1904-1905: Conference Interpreter.
Presiding Elder, District of Santiago.

Pastor, Valparaiso, Asst. by C. N. Leighton.

1905-1906: Conference Interpreter.
Presiding Elder, District of Santiago.

Pastor, Valparaiso. 1906-1907: Conference Interpreter.
Presiding Elder, General District.

Pastor, Valparaiso, Asst. by Carlos Gomez.
President, Seminario Teologico de Valparaiso.

1907-1908: Conference Interpreter.
Presiding Elder, Central District.

Pastor, Valparaiso, Asst. by Carlos Gomez.

President, Seminario Teologico de Valparaiso.

1908-1909: Conference Interpreter.
Presiding Elder, Central District.

Pastor, Valparaíso, Asst. by Carlos Gomez.
President, Serninario Teologico de Valparaiso.

1909-1910: Conference Interpreter.
Presiding Elder, Central District.

Pastor, Valparaíso, Assisted by Guillermo Castillo.
Professor, Seminario Teológico de Santiago, Valparaíso Branch.

1910-1911: Conference Interpreter.

Pastor, Valparaiso [Conference. 4-11 February, 1910].

1910-1911: Removed from Conference "under censure" with Carlos Gomez and Carlos A. Reyes, Annual Conference, 14-20 February 1911.

APPENDIX C

Divisions out of the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal and the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal after 1932 (Text received from Lumbre website: www.lumbre.cl).

A list of churches with dates of foundation and pastoral figures, provided by the ‘Lumbre Pentecostal’ webpage, both from the IMP and IEP since 1910 reveals the growing rate of division after 1932 and later, especially after Hoover’s death in 1936:

- IGLESIA METODISTA PENTECOSTAL 1910 to 1932. SUPERINTENDENT, HOOVER.
- IGLESIA EVANGÉLICA DE LOS HERMANOS, FOUNDER, VICENTE MENDOZA, 1925.
- IGLESIA METODISTA PENTECOSTAL DE CHILE, 1933
- SUPERINTENDENT DANIEL VENEGAS PÉREZ (1933-1934)
- SUPERINTENDENT DOMINGO TAUCÁN URETA (1935-1937)
- SUPERINTENDENT MANUEL UMAÑA SALINAS (1938-1949)
- OBISPO MANUEL UMAÑA SALINAS (1950-1964)

SEPARATIONS FROM LA IGLESIA METODISTA PENTECOSTAL DE CHILE:

- Ejército Evangélico de Chile, founder, Genaro Ríos, 1933
- Iglesia Pentecostal Apostólica, founder, Francisco Anabalón, 1937
- Asociación Iglesia Cristiana Pentecostal, founder, Ramón Yáñez, 1943
- Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile, founder, Enrique Chávez, 1947
- Asociación Iglesia Evangélica Metodista Pentecostal reunidos en el nombre de Jesús, founder, José Mateluna Barrios, 1950
- Iglesia Unida Metodista Pentecostal, founder, Carlos San Martín, 1965 (A much longer list issues from this division).

- Division in 2006-2007
 - Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile (Public domain) 2007.
 - Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile (Private domain) 2007.
 - Primera Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal, 2011.

SUPERINTENDENTS AND DIVISIONS FROM THE IGLESIA EVANGÉLICA PENTECOSTAL:

- SUPERINTENDENT WILLIS HOOVER, 1933-1936.
- SUPERINTENDENT GUILLERMO CASTILLO, 1936-1949.
- SUPERINTENDENTE ENRIQUE MOURGUES, 1949-1961.
- SUPERINTENDENTE FRANCISCO GONZÁLEZ, 1961-1984.
- SUPERINTENDENTE JOSÉ SILVA, 1984-1990.
- SUPERINTENDENTE EDUARDO VALENCIA, 1990-2015.
- SUPERINTENDENTE DANIEL SEPÚLVEDA, 2015-2020.
- SUPERINTENDENTE ALDO CÓRDOBA 2020- Until today.

SEPARATIONS FROM THE IEP:

- Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal, founder, Arturo Espinoza, 1951.
- Misión Iglesia Pentecostal, founders, the de Sargento Aldea brethren, 1952.
- Iglesia Pentecostal Naciente, founder, Pedro Peralta, 1966
- Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal Reformada, founder, Alfredo Soto, 1988.
- Some of these took a baptistic line like Iglesia Pentecostal Apostólica, founder, Francisco Anabalón, 1937, influenced by Bishop Anabalón's connections with the Apostolic Pentecostal church in USA. However, the immense majority of the Hoover-descended churches have retained Methodist Pentecostal theology.

APPENDIX D

Hoover family letters available from the flower Pentecostal centre, Springfield, Missouri

October 15, 1929 – Letter excerpt from Rebecca (Hoover's daughter), working as a missionary in Costa Rica, to her Aunt Clara, referring to '*Pentecostal queerness*':

It scarcely seems possible that I have been down here nearly five years, and that in that time I have been to Chile and back. That visit still seems like a dream. I am due to go home in May, but may go in April returning in November, and so save the buying of a new passport as the one that took me to Chile expires in November of 1930. I have seven and a half months left of my year, and prefer taking it next year, for in that way I can avoid spending a winter at home. I suffered so from the cold in Chile that a winter at home would finish me. Mr. Butler, who was here for four months, has his home in Florida, and he says December even in Florida is too much for him. You see the tropics thin out your blood to such an extent that you can't resist the cold as formerly. After the taste I had of Chile, I'm quite sure a permanent residence there would either kill me or turn me into an invalid. I put on all the clothes I had and still I was cold. It was awful. The only way I could be comfortably warm was to go to bed, and I couldn't spend all my time in bed. We tried heating the room with a charcoal brazier and ran the risk of being gassed to death. It's anything but a healthy place to live in, in my opinion, especially for one in my state of health. We have a steep hill to climb to get to the house, which produces a heavy perspiration when you're wrapped up for out of doors, and then to sit down in our ice-cold house is enuf to produce pneumonia. The sun doesn't shine all winter long scarcely, and in March, the last two weeks I was there it never shone until noon. I was glad to get back to the zone where I could be warm without having to wear two, or three of everything and four or more layers of clothes. Here when it's chilly of an evening, a jacket or sweater is plenty, but down there, oh, my!! If they knew how to heat their houses it would be different, and more endurable but there is nothing that plays such havoc with my health as sitting around in a cold house, with the thermometer outside and inside at 45 and 50. I should like to be financially able to go down there every two or three years, for I enjoyed my visit in spite of the Pentecostal queernesses and made some good friends, but I would go in December and leave in March so taking advantage of the children's vacation, and the

18th August 1925 - Excerpts from a letter of Willis to his brother George.

My Dear brother George:-

Yes, my dear brother, I recognized the handwriting and the same spirit breathes in the letter, that breathes in all that come from that dear hand. Of course, I would be glad to see it oftener (sic). But I know it is there, the hand and the love, so rest in that knowledge, knowing that some time the handicaps of distance and occupation will be no more.

I knew by someone that you had made some changes in your house, but as it was only a mention, I had no knowledge of what was done and had forgotten about it. Am glad for the details, though upstairs I have not a perfect picture of what was done.

I see that your boy Robert is a good way from home, even there; so the distance of my boys is one of degree, and greater, of course. But when they are absent they are not present, and now-a-days distance cut not so large a figure as it used.

Think of the Winans. We became acquainted down here. Their son grew up and found a girl in Oak Park, my old home. The Harringtons. We became acquainted down here. We discover that they have a sister, now two of them living within a mile of us there in the U.S. Brother Jenness, Mother's old pastor becomes a missionary or pastor in Santiago and we the acquaintance of years back. Father's old friend Teete[r?] had a son who became a missionary in Chile. He came and hunted me up for his father's sake, and so on. I'll tell one more:

I have had a very fraternal correspondence for many years with a Mr. Ralph D. Smith, secretary of the Bible House of Los Angeles, who sends me Spanish Gospel literature. He was down here in 1922 and I had the great pleasure of meeting him and having sweet fellowship with him. Well, he is [a] member of the committee which had to do with deciding on Rebecca's fitness for missionary work, voted her acceptance and gave a sum toward her outgoing expenses! To-morrow, or next day you may make acquaintance with some one or more of my grandchildren, as you hope; who knows?

Speaking of my family, you refer to it as ideal. I am glad you see it so.. So do I. We are very happy, and I think the Lord was very good to give me this opportunity of leading them on in the way of life.

They are developing nicely and giving me satisfaction in the spirit they manifest and in the progress they are making in school. Here at home we have begun a new thing, or revived an old one that I practiced for a time in Iquique. At family prayers, instead of reading a portion of scripture, we study and learn a verse, adding one each day and repeating the previous ones. We are learning the 3d chapter of 1st John, and have learned 12 verses. The children all enjoy it and even at table while I am serving they sometimes begin to repeat and repeat all we have learned. This we do in Spanish as they understand it better. We sing generally in English and we have quite a number of the old hymns that they sing with delight.

They bring good marks from school in behavior as well as progress in lessons.

The work is going on well. We have received over 50 probationers within a month, here in Valparaiso, and in the out towns belonging to our church above 30

more. We have a company of men workers whom we call Volunteers, who do street preaching and out preaching under the charge of a leader who divides them into groups. There are above 60. It is a feature of the work which was born in the revival of 1909. They sometimes go out on a long trip, walking all night and preaching the next day along the way in the small towns where there is no work. On a couple of occasions they have gone out to a town called Casablanca (Whitehouse) in the years past. It occurred to us that a persistent effort made there might produce good results. The volunteers organized a plan and now for a number of months have carried it out: Every two weeks a group of seven starts from here on Saturday night or evening, and travels all night getting there in the morning, a distance of above 25 miles. They preach on the street and talk with those who will talk, eat, rest awhile and start back arriving here generally on Monday morning for their work. The groups take turns, so that the same group does not repeat under two months more or less. An incident:

In March while there a brother went to a house to buy fruit. Here the universal plan of a house is a hall between two or four rooms. On passing through the hall to the garden he noticed a girl sick in one of the rooms. Talking with the mother as he was getting the fruit he presented Jesus as Saviour and Healer, telling her that if she wanted, he would pray for the girl and she would be healed. The mother accepted the offer. But, going in, and presenting the matter to the girl, he says she seemed a little frightened and did not accept. He urged upon the mother that if she could believe, God could heal no matter where they prayed. She said she believed that.

He left and joined the group and says that in about a quarter of an hour they found a convenient place and prayed, putting the case of the girl definitely before the Lord, and went their way.

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Aug. 18, 1925	To: George Fr: Willis 4 pages, typed (+ 3 p. retyped transcription)
Oct. 15, 1929	To: Aunt Clara Fr: Rebecca 10 pages, handwritten
Nov. 13, 1929	To: Clara (sister of Willis) Fr: Willis 3 pages, typed transcription
May 1930	To: Cora (wife of George) Fr: Helen 4 pages, handwritten (+ 2-page typed transcription)
July 22, 1930	To: George Fr: Willis 2 pages, typed (+ 2-page article from Moody Monthly referred to in the letter)
Aug. 2, 1933	To: George Fr: Willis 3 pages, typed
Nov. 5, 1935	To: George Fr: Willis 2 pages, typed (+ 2-page re-typed transcription)
Apr. 27, 1936	To: George Fr: Willis 3 pages, typed + photocopy of envelope
Feb. 28, 1963	To: Mario Fr: R.X. Hoover 1 page, handwritten
July. 25, 1970	To: Elva & Mario Fr: Aunt Myrtle 2 pages, handwritten
NN. NN, 1897	Words to an old hymn. 1 page handwritten

Conversations

Dr Darrin Rodgers (Director of Research at the AG Heritage Flower Centre, Springfield, Missouri) - 5th of May, 2023. A conversation of one hour, covering the AG beginnings and the Stone Church involvement in the Pentecostal revival. We also covered the links between the Hoovers and both the Oak Park Methodist and Stone Pentecostal churches. We were able to evaluate again, the influence of the Radical Holiness Movement on Methodism at the end of the nineteenth century, and how this influence was carried over to Chile in the Hoovers and William Taylor.

Pastor Owen Carr (Pastor of Stone Church during revival years of 1930s and 40s) - 4th May, 2023. A conversation of a half hour with the Pastor who was about to celebrate his 100th birthday! He told me of his memories of the revival and the positioning of AG subsequent BHS teaching in Pentecostalism from 1930 on.

Dr David Bundy on 10th June, 2023, (Associate Professor of Church History, Christian Theological Seminary, Manchester, UK). A conversation of over one hour, covering the importance of the RHM in late nineteenth century USA and Europe, its influence on Methodism and Hoover. We shared around his view that Hoover was more a Methodist holiness revivalist than a Pentecostal, per se, and that Pentecostalism was an outcrop of RHM rather than a distinct new movement.

Dr Keith White, 20th June, 2023. (Researcher into Pandita Ramabai, Mukti, India, since 1997 culminating in his book *Let the earth hear her voice, the life and works of Pandita Ramabai*). He was knowledgeable on Pandita's relationship with Minnie Abrams and the links with the Hoovers. He claimed that Minnie Abrams was more of an extrovert and communicator than Pandita and travelled as the mouthpiece of the Mukti revival, although she was later distanced from the close acquaintance with her. She visited Stone Church in Chicago on at least two occasions.

Pastor Reynaldo, 26th of July, 2023. Pastor of the IEP in Chicago, a small grouping of Chilean Pentecostals who formed a IEP church in 2005 in DeKalb, with members drawn from Rochelle and Holcomb. The conversation ranged over his own unease with the way the IEP leadership was developing in anti-theological, legalistic and (now) unbiblical forms of authoritarianism and financial disorder. He also informed me of why he now finds it important to form a new church outside the IEP denomination.

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