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A Comparative Study on the Two Earliest Chinese Pentecostal Periodicals: Popular Gospel Truth and Pentecostal Truth

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Abstract: Periodicals were once a crucial media for Protestant mission societies to share their missionary activities in foreign fields in connection with one another among missionary networks. This was also true of the Pentecostal Movement, the Azusa Street Mission, and other Pentecostal missions which had published various periodicals in order to build a network among “Apostolic Faith” participants. Pentecostal periodicals published in the movement’s earliest days could be considered as one of the central assumptions to observe the origins of global Pentecostalism. Some of the earliest Pentecostals in China—both missionaries and locals also published Pentecostal periodicals in Chinese languages to promote the Pentecostal message. *The Popular Gospel Truth* and *The Pentecostal Truth*, two earliest Chinese Pentecostal periodicals which shaped the two distinctive streams of Pentecostalism/Pentecostal-Style belief in China—the True Jesus Church and the Hong Kong Pentecostal Mission, respectively. In fact, the editors of both periodicals were connected with missionaries sent by the Azusa Street Mission who had direct roots in the Azusa Street Revival. However, these two periodicals reflected two different aspects of North American Pentecostalism—Holiness Pentecostals and Oneness Pentecostals. This essay will compare the two core theological issues of Pentecostalism—sanctification and Spirit-baptism—as discussed in these two periodicals.

Key Words: Chinese Pentecostalism; the True Jesus Church; Oneness Pentecostals; Chinese Christianity

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Publications were once a crucial media for Protestant mission societies to share their missionary activities in foreign fields. This was also true of the Pentecostal Movement, the Azusa Street Mission, and other Pentecostal missions which had published various periodicals in order to build a network among “Apostolic Faith” participants. As Allan Anderson noted, Pentecostal periodicals published in the movement’s earliest days could be considered as one of the central assumptions to observe the origins of global Pentecostalism. Those papers were not only significant in spreading Pentecostal belief internationally, but also were the foundation of the meta-culture that arose in

global Pentecostalism in its earliest forms^[1]. On the other hand, before the establishment of the Assemblies of God, some independent Pentecostals based in the North and the West intended to maintain the rapport between these ministers and churches through the issuance of periodicals because of their tendency to be anti-denominational^[2]. As we can see, periodicals were significant in spreading Pentecostalism, especially in the earliest days of this movement.

As is already known, Classical Pentecostals could be classified into various subtypes with the differences among them fundamentally relating to doctrine. Hence, Pentecostal missionaries to China preached in the name of different types of Pentecostalism. Some were “finished work” advocates, while others were Holiness or Oneness Pentecostals. However, the doctrinal diversity of Pentecostals in China has been entirely neglected by historiographers.

According to Daniel Bays, Pentecostal missionaries to China put down roots in three areas which later strongly influenced the development of Chinese Pentecostalism: Hong Kong, Zhengding in Hebei Province and Shanghai. They published Pentecostal periodicals in Chinese languages to promote the Pentecostal message, and this had impact on believers.^[3] In this essay, the author compares *The Popular Gospel Truth and The Pentecostal Truth*, which shaped the two distinctive streams of Pentecostalism in China—the True Jesus Church and the Hong Kong Pentecostal Mission, respectively. In fact, the editors of both periodicals were connected with missionaries sent by the Azusa Street Mission who had direct roots in the Azusa Street Revival. However, these two periodicals reflected two different aspects of North American Pentecostalism—Holiness Pentecostals and Oneness Pentecostals. This essay will compare the two core theological issues of Pentecostalism—sanctification and Spirit-baptism—as discussed in these two periodicals.

1. A Brief History and Background of *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths*

The Pentecostal Truth was published in May 1908^[4] in Hong Kong by a Chinese schoolmaster by the name of Mok Lai Chi (莫礼智)^[5] who was converted by A. G. Garr to Pentecostalism. In 1907, the Pentecostal Holiness Mission sent Thomas James McIntosh to China, who was perhaps the

[1] Allan Anderson, “The Emergence of a Multidimensional Global Missionary Movement: Trends, Patterns, and Experience,” in *Spirit and Power: The Growth and Global Impact of Pentecostalism* edited by Donald E. Miller, Kimon H. Sargeant and Richard Flory (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 30.

[2] Vinson Synan, *The Holiness Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 153.

[3] Daniel Bays, “Indigenous Protestant Churches in China, 1900—1937: A Pentecostal Case Study,” in *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity*, ed. Steven Kaplan (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 129.

[4] The official periodical *The Apostolic Faith* also mentioned of *The Pentecostal Truth*, which said: “We hear from South China that about 100 have received the baptism of the Holy Ghost and they now have a paper in the Chinese called “Pentecostal Truths,” which is being scattered in China and Japan. It is a blessed paper and one can feel the power in it even though one is unable to read it.” See *The Apostolic Faith* No. 13 (1908): 1. Also, *The Pentecost* No. 3 (1908): 8 mentioned this new publication: “Pentecostal Truths. -A paper published entirely in the Chinese language” in the part of introducing Pentecostal papers around the world.

[5] Some scholars from The True Jesus church have misidentified Mok Lai Chi as an American pastor, when in fact he was a Chinese. For example; Xie Shundao, *Shenglinglun* [The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit], (Taichung: The True Jesus Church Taiwan General Assembly, 1966), 172.

first Pentecostal missionary to reach the country. ^[6] At the beginning, he stayed in Macao. Later, on October 9 1907, Garr, another Pentecostal missionary, arrived in Hong Kong. He was invited by several single women missionaries. Soon, Garr started holding meetings at a church sponsored by the American Board of Foreign Missions. He then hired Mok Lai Chi to be his translator and they became close friends. ^[7] In a letter written to A. A. Boddy, Garr said: “God has so blessed us with having Bro. Mok to interpret, and also made him a preacher to the heathen. ^[8]” Mok was born into a Christian family and attended an English school. Being well trained in English, in 1886, he joined the government as an interpreter. He was also a deacon in the American Board church, where he encountered Pentecostalism and Garr. He was also secretary for the YMCA, where he had done evangelical work among dock workers. ^[9] Mok soon received the Spirit-baptism and “spoke in tongues” on November 10th 1907. His testimony declared that the Spirit Spoke to him in the Hakka dialect and an African tongue. He said of the experience: “. . . It gives me power to become a more faithful child of God, to love Him, to understand His Word. . . ^[10]”

After several weeks of pentecostal meetings, the ABCFM church began to split because of the use of tongues. C. R Hager, who had turned over an unused chapel to Garr, decided to take it back. As a result, Pentecostals had to find another facility. As Daniel Bays mentioned, the *Chinese Recorder* portrayed Garr’s group as “attacking the methods of other Christian missionaries. ^[11]” According to Mok, they started a mission at Connaught Road (康乐道), and then they opened a “new mission hall for heathens in one of the busiest streets where the Chinese of the lowest class were found thronging at all times.” He continued to report: “-Cases of beri-beri, fever, sores, consumption, diarrhoea, dysentery and other diseases have been miraculously healed by our Lord Jesus through the prayers of our little apostolic company.” ^[12] In 1910, Mok moved his mission to 69 Caine Road (中环坚道), where he started an English school for women and children. The tuition fees were free of charge, the age of female students was not limited and western women missionaries were involved in teaching as assistants. ^[13] Simultaneously, Mok changed the name of the mission which he had adapted from the Azusa street, namely “Apostolic Faith Mission” (使徒信心会), to “Hong Kong Pentecostal Mission (香港五旬节会)”. ^[14] He subsequently declared that the Hong Kong Pentecostal Mission was an independent church established by the Chinese instead of a branch of any foreign church, ^[15] which demonstrated that Mok also attempted to have his church indigenized. In addition, McIntosh also got

[6] R. G. Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China* (Armonk, NY and London, England: ME. Sharpe, 2009), 199; Daniel Bays, “Missionary Establishment and Pentecostalism,” in Edith Waldvogel ed. *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 52.

[7] Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. *The Azusa Street Mission & Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2006), 256.

[8] *Confidence* No. 11 (1909): 259.

[9] Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 2007), 117.

[10] *Confidence* No. 12 (1909): 283.

[11] D. H. Bays and T. M. Johnson, “China” in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess, Eduard M. Van Der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002, 2003), 59.

[12] *Confidence* No. 12 (1909): 283.

[13] *Pentecostal Truths* Vol. 3, No. 3-4 (1910): 1.

[14] *Pentecostal Truths* vol. 3, No. 2 (1910): 1.

[15] *Pentecostal Truths* Vol. 3, No. 10 (1910): 1

in touch with Garr and Mok and talked to them about moving to Hong Kong.^[16]

For the longest time, Mok desired to start a newspaper. In 1906, when he had not contacted the Pentecostal movement, he secured the services of a “very good Chinese scholar” as a sub-editor. However, Mok suddenly gave up on the venture for no apparent reason.^[17] The direct impetus for the birth of the *Pentecostal Truths* can be connected with McIntosh. According to Mok’s testimony, one day McIntosh told him that he received the inspiration to start a free paper, to be called the “Pentecostal Truths.”^[18] However, McIntosh eventually did not publish the paper; Mok did. He published the paper’s first issue in January 1908. It was a free paper, with three pages printed in Chinese and one in English.^[19] In Issue No. 13 of the periodical, one could find a picture of a dove holding a paper with the title “Pentecostal Truths”, with a remark noting that the title is derived from a vision that Mr. McIntosh had seen.^[20] Obviously, the publication of the *Pentecostal Truths* was encouraged by McIntosh. According to Allan Anderson, Joseph H. King, the leader of Pentecostal Holiness Church, visited Hong Kong for a month and preached, with Mok serving as the interpreter. During this visit, King spent over a month in Mok’s family home at Caine Road Mission.^[21] Here we can see another association with Holiness Pentecostals besides that with McIntosh; we will talk about the issue of Holiness later.

Secondly, *The Popular Gospel Truths* published by a Norwegian-American missionary, Bernt Berntsen, is also worth noting. Berntsen was born in 1863 in Larvik, Norway. He immigrated to the United States in 1893, settled in Chicago and worked as a store keeper in a local grocery store. He married Nagna Berg and they had two children.^[22] In 1904, he joined a non-denominational Norwegian mission society known as the South Zhili Mission (南直隶福音会), founded by Horace William Holding. Mr. Berntsen came to China at the age of 40 and started his missionary work at Damingfu, Zhili Province (present-day Handan, Hebei Province). In 1906, he came across an issue of Apostolic Faith and obtained the news of the Azusa Revival, which interested him.

In 1907, Berntsen determined to go back to the United States to experience the revival. In the same year, Berntsen traveled to Seattle, where he met Martin L. Ryan, whose team was holding group prayer meetings. Berntsen again sought the Spirit baptism in the meetings but did not receive it. He then traveled to Oakland, California, where he attended prayer meetings held by William F. Manley, again without receiving the Spirit baptism. Finally, he visited the Azusa Street Mission in Los

[16] Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission & Revival*, 257.

[17] *Confidence* No. 12 (1909): 283.

[18] *Confidence* No. 12 (1909): 283.

[19] *Confidence* No. 12 (1909): 283.

[20] *Pentecostal Truths* Vol. 2 No. 13 (1909): 4.

[21] Anderson, *Spreading the Fires*, 121.

[22] The elder child is a boy, whose name is Henry Bernhard Berntsen. His name can be seen many times in *The Popular Gospel Truth*, and many articles in this periodical were written by him. His name also appeared in Paul Wei’s (the major pioneer of the TJC’s publication) *The True Witness Book of the Holy Spirit* Vol. 1, 3, which says Henry practiced exorcism for Wei’s daughter with him. In *Word and Witness* Vol. 9 (September): 4, his name was also mentioned as: “Our own son, Henry, a mere boy, is having his call renewed to preach.” Those documents show that Henry became an important assistant to Berntsen. However, he later worked for an American-Asiatic Underwriter in Hankou. The other child is a daughter named Ruth, who married a missionary named Matron Redmon, and sustained Berntsen’s mission work in China after his death. She was obviously affiliated with the Oneness camp. See *Pentecostal Herald*, Vol. 21 No. 8 (1946): 8.

Angeles, where he was baptized in the Spirit and finally spoke in tongues.^[23] The September 1907 issue of *Apostolic Faith* reported this event and stated.

“Brother B. Berntsen from South Chih-li, Tai-Ming-Fu, North China came all the way to Los Angeles to receive his Pentecost...he soon fell under the power, and rose drunk on the new wine of the kingdom, magnifying God in a new tongue. As soon as he could speak English, he said, ‘This means much for China.’^[24]”

Then, members of the Azusa Street Mission prayed for him so that he could be anointed to serve in China. At the end of the same year, Berntsen returned to China and set up his mission in Zhengding, Hebei. Being familiar with Mok Lai Chi, he named his church as the “Apostolic Faith Mission” too, but he changed its name several times. His affiliation with mission societies also changed. Consequently, he committed to the emerging Oneness Pentecostal camp which was rising during the second decade of the Pentecostal movement. Interestingly, Berntsen’s work in China influenced the earliest leaders, namely Paul Wei (Wei Enbo)^[25], Zhang Lingshen and Barnabas Zhang. It could be said that the birth of the True Jesus Church was indirectly connected with Berntsen.

In 1912, Berntsen began publishing the *Popular Gospel Truth*, a periodical that served as the voice of Pentecostalism in north China. According to his own witness next year, he felt the need to publish a Pentecostal newspaper in Mandarin in North China for some years, for a country with approximately hundred millions people ought to have a Pentecostal paper, when some other smaller countries can have many^[26]. Mok’s *Pentecostal Truths* might be a paradigm for Berntsen to publish his own periodical in order to spread the Pentecostal message. In 1909, Berntsen wrote to Mok to request papers from November and December as well as tracts from Mok, and said the tracts are quite practical for preaching to the Chinese people. Berntsen probably understood the effectiveness of publishing in missionary work^[27]. In addition, Pentecostals had published several different periodicals during that era. In fact, the reason Berntsen converted to Pentecostalism was because he had come across *Apostolic Faith*. Both elements might have stimulated Berntsen to start a Chinese newspaper. According to Bays, these two periodicals influenced the earliest pioneers of the True Jesus Church,^[28] since in his latest publication he increasingly stressed that the TJC had its roots in *Pentecostal Truths*.^[29]

[23] Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival*, 260-1.

[24] *Apostolic Faith* Vol. 1 No. 10 (1907): 1.

[25] Daniel Bays said Wei was influenced by a group of Swedish faith missionaries in Zhengding, and his name was “Peterson.” He laid his hands on Wei to heal his tuberculosis. See Daniel Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 129. However, according to *Popular Gospel Truth*, Paul Wei’s diary and the official historiography of the TJC, this missionary should be Berntsen. I affirm that Berntsen was probably misconstrued for “Peterson.” The one who laid his hand on Paul Wei was a Chinese preacher by the name of Xin Shengmin 新圣民. Through him, Wei got to know of Berntsen.

[26] *Bridegroom’s Messengers* vol. 5, no. 139 (1913): 4.

[27] *Pentecostal Truths* vol. 2, No. 4 (1909): 4.

[28] Daniel Bays, “Indigenous Protestant Churches in China, 1900—1937,” 124-43.

[29] Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, 129.

2. *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths* as mediums for spreading Pentecostalism

Since the early days of the movement, Pentecostals have published dozens of periodicals, not only in the U. S. but also in other places, such as *Confidence* in England that served as the voice of British Pentecostal movement. In general, the reasons Protestant and Pentecostal mission societies or groups distribute periodicals may be divided into three. Inwardly, these periodicals play the role of a church bulletin, containing church news, prayer requests, donations and times of meetings. Outwardly, they function as one of the mediums to spread their belief in an attempt to convert readers to their group. Ecumenically, these periodicals functioned as channels for the network of worldwide Pentecostal missionaries at the beginning of this movement. News from mission fields and letters from missionaries helped built the new movement's network. Pentecostals were able to know not only the spread of Pentecostal movement locally, but also internationally. One could say that Pentecostalism underwent a certain kind of deterritorialization.

As mentioned above, the earliest pioneers of the TJC were influenced by *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths*, and they were also motivated to publish their own periodicals to be distributed to the public (especially Christians). Lian Xi has noted that Paul Wei mass mailed *Universal Correction Church Times* (万国更正教报) using the directory in the *China Church Year Book*. Actually, distributing papers was the main medium for the spread of the TJC. They particularly targeted Seventh-Day Adventist churches. Lian raised an interesting example in his book that in Hunan, some members of an Adventist church received the first issue of the *Universal Correction Church Times*. When they started praying in accordance with the prescribed methods therein, glossolalia took hold among them.^[30] This case shows how influential this kind of periodicals can be.

Both *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths* appealed to Pentecostal beliefs, particularly emphasizing the necessity of seeking Spirit-baptism. Besides biblical teachings, these periodicals also included testimonies and news about ongoing, worldwide Pentecostal revivals and were generally not different from contemporary Pentecostal newspapers in the United States. Pre-millennium eschatology to some extent was another main topic contained in these two papers. From the beginning, the top of each issue of the *Popular Gospel Truths* was headlined with "Jesus is coming back soon," 耶稣急速回来; As for the *Pentecostal Truths*, by 1914 the paper seemed to have shifted somewhat to a particular emphasis on the "second coming of Jesus".^[31] In addition, holiness and sanctification were also another focus for both the papers, though they are rooted in different traditions on this issue. It is also worth noting that there are differences in writing styles of these two newspapers. In general, *Pentecostal Truths*' writing style tends to be in a more classical literary form; most of the Bible verses cited in the paper are based on the Delegate's Version, which is a more classical Chinese version of the Bible. Mok was well educated and had been trained as a translator and served as a secretary for the YMCA. The writing style of the paper sufficiently reflects his language

[30] Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fires: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China* (New Heaven & London: Yale University Press, 2010), 48, 52.

[31] Anderson, *Spreading the Fires*, 118-9.

abilities. By contrast, *Popular Gospel Truth* was written in a popular style, which targets readers at the grassroots level.

Barnabas Zhang, one of the TJC's earliest pioneers, also mentioned *Popular Gospel Truths*, though he was critical of this paper.^[32] Copies of *Popular Gospel Truth and Pentecostal Truths* in my possession came from the TJC's collection, and I can see the seal of Huang Chengcong 黄呈聪—a well known Taiwanese cultural elite during the Japanese colonial era—which means that the documents belonged to him. In fact, the source of the TJC for information about Pentecostals may be *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths* as one can see the reference note to introduction to Pentecostal movement in the important text book for the TJC—The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.^[33] This indicates that the source has been derived from these two periodicals. This text book has been quite popular among the TJC's folks; the teachings about Pentecostal movement in the TJC's religious education system are more often than not cited from this text book. To sum up, these two periodicals to some degree had an impact on TJC's mission strategy and shape their understanding of Pentecostalism.

The effectiveness of *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths* as a medium for spreading the Pentecostal message still remains uncertain and needs to be further researched. In this study, I place more emphasis on the nuance of the doctrines behind these two Pentecostal periodicals, which reflect different theological traditions of Pentecostalism.

3. Theological Issues in *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths*

According to doctrines on Sanctification and Spirit-Baptism, Classical Pentecostals can generally be divided into three categories, namely Holiness Pentecostals, Keswick/Finished work Pentecostals and Oneness Pentecostals. This split was due to a series of conflicts within the movement between 1910 and 1918-^[34]. Most of the earliest Pentecostal leaders came from Wesleyan-Holiness Movement, which can be regarded as a revival movement within Wesleyan churches in the US. It places emphasis in restoring the doctrine of “entirely sanctification” and the thought of the former is a Christian crisis experience. When some parts of it participated in the emerging Pentecostal movement, Spirit-Baptism became the third crisis experience, which added to the existing framework of the Holiness movement. To sum up, their *ordo salutis* contains three steps: “regeneration”, “sanctification” and “Spirit-Baptism”. William Seymour and the official doctrinal statement of the Azusa Street Mission also maintain this position and denominations such as Church of God, Church of God In Christ and Pentecostal Holiness Church belong to this camp too. Though Keswick and Finished work have a somewhat different perspective on sanctification, both of them do not view sanctification as a demonstrative, instant experience.

Keswick in fact refers to another type of Holiness movement. However he argued that

[32] Barnabas Zhang, *Chuandaoji* [Missionary Journal] (Nanjing: The headquarters of the True Jesus Church, 1929), 9.

[33] Xie, *Shenglinglun*, 174.

[34] Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit—Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 134.

sanctification is a process rather than an instant experience. William Durham, one of the earliest Pentecostal leaders, articulated that since Christ's "finished work" on the cross and in the resurrection are sufficient to completely save people, one must be born again and entirely sanctified at the moment of faith in Christ, which can be called "single-work perfectionism."^[35] Assemblies of God, Foursquare Church and Pentecostal Church of God can be classified under this type of Pentecostalism. Oneness Pentecostals emerged subsequent to Holiness and Keswick/Finished work Pentecostals. Most of them used to be Durham's followers. Besides maintaining the Oneness of Godhead, *ordo salutis* is also a distinctive feature of Oneness Pentecostals as compared to Trinitarian Pentecostals. Though they view the three-step model of Holiness Pentecostals or two-step model of Finished work Pentecostals as being progressive for salvation as well, they place more emphasis on the continuity of the "three-stage" and "fullness" of salvation. However, their "three-stage" soteriological formula is different from the Holiness and Keswick/Finished work camps. For them, the paradigmatic text for Christian initiation is Act 2:38: "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sin. And you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit."^[36] Hence, Oneness Pentecostal's three-stage soteriology consists of repenting, being baptized in Jesus' name and receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of tongues. According to them, these three steps, in complex unity, lead to "full" salvation. Each phase in this formula is essential for salvation. Speaking in tongues is thus considered to be an indispensable condition in experiencing full salvation.

Popular Gospel Truths and *Pentecostal Truths* in fact reflect the diversity of the Pentecostal movement. Only a few scholars are conscious of this point, though the two periodicals represent two different Pentecostal traditions. As mentioned above, the two papers to some extent shape TJC's imagination of Pentecostalism, but in terms of my observation, the TJC's members hardly notice that not all Pentecostals identify Spirit-Baptism with conversion as they do, probably because of their pioneer's connection to Berntsen. In the following sections, I attempt to discuss and analyze the theological issues in these two papers to demonstrate the different Pentecostal traditions they reflect.

3.1 Theological issues in *Popular Gospel Truths*

As mentioned previously, *Popular Gospel Truths* represents the Oneness Pentecostal tradition, which is related to its editor Berntsen. Besides this background, one can also discover the apparent Oneness tendency in this paper that is worthy of further exploration. In July 1916, Berntsen announced "Statements of Zheng dingfu Xinxinhui 正定府信心会" on the front page of Issue 13 of *Popular Gospel Truth*, which intended to explain their fundamental beliefs. The first article, "Baptism by Immersion in the Name of Jesus Christ," was related to the statement of the Godhead. He continued to expound by citing verses from the Bible:

"Isaiah 9:6 says, 'He will be called Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father,

[35] Frank D. Macchia, "Baptized in the Spirit: Toward a Global Theology of Spirit Baptism," in *The Spirit in the World: Emerging Pentecostal Theologies in Global Context*, ed. Veli-Matti Karkkainen (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2009), 6-7.

[36] David Reed, "Oneness Pentecostalism," in *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Mass (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002, 2003), 943.

Prince of Peace . . . ' Jesus is the Everlasting Father; then, let's look up John 10:30: 'I and the Father is one', so we can understand Jesus is the Father and the Son at the same time, and Christ means receiving the Holy Spirit, so the name of the Father, Son, and the Spirit is Jesus Christ. "[37]

The traditional Christian doctrine of Trinity advocates that God is one but exists in three divine persons or *hypostases*. The three persons are distinct but are of one "substance, essence or nature". However, in the interpretation above, one can see that Berntsen seems to blur the distinction between the three persons. He highlighted that God is one; the Father and the Holy Spirit is identical with Jesus. This kind of understanding of the Godhead is actually similar to Monarchianism in the history of Christianity. This perspective is not like the Unitarian one which denies the divinity of Jesus. Rather, Oneness Pentecostals reinforce the importance of the Christ, and emphasizes the essential oneness of God's nature while rejecting the term "Trinity" and "person". That is to say, Jesus Christ is the true name of the Holy "Triunity"[38]. Elsewhere in this paper, Berntsen (or any other authors) interpreted the so-called Oneness perspective on Godhead:

"... The glorious riches of this mystery, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory" in Colossians 1:27 means the dwelling of the Spirit; hence, Christ is the Spirit. In Colossians 2:9: "For in Christ all the fullness of the Deity lives in bodily form. "[39]

He demonstrates that everything of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is fulfilled in Jesus Christ, for Jesus represents the Father, the Son and the Spirit. In another place, *Popular Gospel Truth* quotes an unknown author's words:

"... Jesus speaks in the Book of Revelations in person: I am the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last. Who is the First? It is the Father of all spirits. Who is the Last? It is the Holy Spirit. Judging from this, Jesus is the Father, and is the Spirit. All of us know that He is the Middle one too, who is the Son . . . "[40]

Apparently, the distinction between the Trinity was blurred again by the writer, who argued that Jesus said he is the First and the Last, and according to the "hierarchy" of the Trinity, the First is the Father, the Last is the Holy Spirit and Jesus is the Middle One. In other words, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are actually equivalent to Jesus Christ. On the basis of Biblical hermeneutics,

[37] *Popular Gospel Truth* No. 13 (1916):1. Other articles were written, such as the following: 2. Holy Communion should be routinely held after sunset on Saturday; 3. Keep the Sabbath; 4. Foot washing; 5. Believe in Jesus' healing for every sort of sickness; 6. Seek the Holy Spirit and be proofed by speaking in tongues; and 7. Preaching must be in accordance with the New Testament and the Old Testament.

[38] Kenneth Archer, *A Pentecostal Hermeneutic: Spirit, Scripture and Community* (Cleveland, TN: CPT Press, 2009), 114-5. Frank Ewart, a Well-Known early Oneness Pentecostal leader suggested that Pentecostal use the word "Triunity" instead of "Trinity" and "substance" or "entities" or "manifestations" in place of "person".

[39] *Popular Gospel Truth* No. 8 (1915):1-3.

[40] *Popular Gospel Truth* No. 18 (1918):5.

such an exegesis would be considered extremely problematic^[41], for the verse in the book of Revelation does not talk about Persons or the essence of God. As such, the meaning of the text has been distorted. Besides, Oneness Pentecostals have been challenged to explain reports of simultaneous theophany of the three Persons of God in the New Testament. The paper also tried to defend its position by arguing:

“There are some people who say, if Jesus is the Heavenly Father, how can He sit at the right hand of the Father? It is not an easy question to answer. We don't have to say other things, we can merely say Jesus' body is the Son of men, and the Son of God as well, for God made a body for him. For Jesus is made by God, rather than born of flesh, Jesus' body still exists at the present, because He has not yet accomplished his work. His work will not be accomplished until Jesus makes His enemies his footstool, the Savior ('s body) will be needless then.”^[42]

In brief, God is Spirit; thus, He can not be limited by space. The True God Jesus' flesh merely exists temporarily, and when His work is accomplished, His body will not be necessary anymore. This perspective seems not too different from Sabellianism as it argues that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are in fact one God, but He discloses Himself in three different modes in three different periods^[43]. Obviously, as far as we can see from the archives, the Pentecostal belief that *Popular Gospel Truths* was spreading is the Oneness wing of Pentecostalism. Paul Wei, one of the founding fathers of the TJC, was connected with Berntsen. He recounted that Berntsen used to be his mentor in initiation of Pentecostal faith;^[44] Barnabas Zhang on the other hand also reported in his book that he had read *Popular Gospel Truths*, although he disagreed with part of the content.^[45] These may be the main origins to which the Oneness doctrine of the TJC can be traced.

Another theological issue that should be of concern in this periodical is *ordo salutis*. Oneness Pentecostal not only repudiates the Trinitarian understanding of the Godhead but also combines the three-step model that Holiness Pentecostals advocate into a complex unity. Regeneration, sanctification and Spirit-Baptism are an integrated experience for the achievement of full salvation or Christian initiation. However, *Popular Gospel Truths* frequently argued that only receiving “baptism in water and the Spirit” can be regarded as effective or holistic salvation. By quoting John 3:5 and 1 Corinthians 12:13, Berntsen argued that being baptized by the Spirit into one body, namely the body of Jesus, qualifies one to ascend to heaven with Him. Berntsen explicitly stated:

[41] Actually not only Berntsen, but also other first generation of Pentecostals used to adapt this kind of exegetical methods, which is called “Bible Reading Method”, they attempted to retrieve from the New Testament, a praxis-driven “Jesus-centerism” Christianity. See Archer, *Pentecostal Hermeneutic*, 99-100.

[42] *Popular Gospel Truth* No. 10 (1916):6.

[43] Generally, Oneness does not teach that the three manifestations are sequential. They are simultaneously manifested in salvation history, but Berntsen here interpreted his perspective on the Godhead as one of Sabellianism.

[44] Paul Wei, *True Testimonies of the Holy Spirit*, trans. (Unpublished), 2. Paul recalled that, “I went to Dong Chen Faith Union next day; upon encountering the pastor in this church, he looked very poor. While he looked poor, morally he seemed to be better than other church's Christians. . . from that day on, they became close friends, he helped Paul Wei understand a great deal of Bible truth.”

[45] Barnabas Zhang, *Chuandaoji*, 9.

“Should we understand that the baptism in the Spirit is something connected with being saved? In my opinion, it should be so; if we do not have the Spirit of Christ, we will not belong to Him.”^[46]

In addition, he said:

“Only water baptism, together with Spirit — baptism, could then be regarded as a holistic baptism. If someone has received water baptism but lacks baptism of the Holy Spirit, he has not truly been baptized.”^[47]

The mainstream view of Pentecostals on Spirit-Baptism insists upon the “subsequence” doctrine. On the contrary, Oneness Pentecostals advocate the more reformed position on this point, which by no means maintains two or three stages of *ordo salutis*. Nevertheless, Pentecostals still insist on the Pentecostal “initial evidence” doctrine and connect it with redemption. Therefore, “speaking in tongues” has become an indispensable requisite for salvation to them. *Popular Gospel Truth* refers to the following,

“There will always be evidence that everyone was born, when a baby cries. So, when they are born again, they immediately speak in tongues, as evidence of their rebirth.”^[48]

Besides that, in this periodical the writers argue for the legitimacy of “initial evidence” by quoting key passages in the Book of Acts. In essence, they searched for historical precedents from the text similar to what Pentecostal interpreters have done. Berntsen obtained his own “Pentecostal experience” at the Azusa Street Mission and yet he subsequently affiliated with some other mission societies or denominations. According to documents, Berntsen was affiliated with William Durham’s North Avenue Mission,^[49] which was the base of the Finished work. Like the majority of Durham’s team, he later participated in the Assemblies of God established in 1914—^[50]. However, he soon left the new-born denomination, most likely because of the Oneness issue. According to his passport, he also took part in the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World—a Oneness Pentecostal denomination. On the other hand, one can figure out that the TJC almost shares the same doctrine on Godhead and *ordo salutis* with Oneness Pentecostals and Berntsen. I think there is ample evidence to believe that TJC’s doctrine was partly influenced by Berntsen’s mission enterprise in north China, though Paul Wei proclaimed that he had received supernatural “revelation” from God. *Popular Gospel Truths* played the role of an instrument bearing the Pentecostal wing subscribing to Oneness, but unfortunately we

[46] *Popular Gospel Truth* No. 3 (1911):7.

[47] *Popular Gospel Truth* No. 20 (1919):3.

[48] *Popular Gospel Truth* No. 11(1916):7.

[49] *Pentecostal Testimony* Vol. 1, No. 8 (1911):13, this issue declared that Berntsen and his family were missionaries they supported.

[50] *Combined Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God in the United States of America, Canada and Foreign Lands Held at Hot Springs, Ark. April 2-12, and at the Stone Church, Chicago, Ill. November 12-29, 1914*, 13.

have no way to discover to what extent this periodical influenced Chinese Christians. It might have inspired the TJC to spread their message sufficiently by publishing and sending their own periodicals later.

3.2 Theological Issues in *Pentecostal Truths*

On the other hand, the Pentecostal message that *Pentecostal Truths* was spreading was more similar to the Holiness wing of the Pentecostal movement. As mentioned above, Mok Lai Chi accepted the Pentecostal message from Garr, who had been influenced and sent by the Azusa Street Mission and also connected with J. H. King and McIntosh. Subsequently, both of them were rooted in Holiness Pentecostal traditions. Besides, his *Pentecostal Truths* demonstrates relevant issues as well. Like its counterpart *Popular Gospel Truths*, *Pentecostal Truths* also endeavored to promote the seeking of Spirit-Baptism, although it emphasized that Baptism in the Holy Spirit is a subsequent experience to conversion instead of initiation of Christians. In several issues of this paper, a special column titled “Information for those seeking to be baptized in the Holy Spirit” appeared many times. From this column, one can comprehend their teaching on Spirit-Baptism clearly. This column consisted of a series of lists, but not all of them were directed to Spirit-Baptism, according to which there are some prerequisites required to be met before seeking the Holy Spirit, including repentance, obeying the Word of God, believing and trusting in Jesus Christ, cleansing and sanctification. The paper also highlighted that if one is not cleansed, he will not be able to receive the Holy Spirit, while those apostles had been cleansed before the day of the Pentecost.

Besides the requirements listed above, restitution is also surprisingly a prerequisite for seeking baptism in the Holy Spirit.^[51] In another issue, this topic was described again by quoting the Book of Ezekiel 33:15: “if they give back what they took in pledge for a loan, return what they have stolen, follow the decrees that give life, and do no evil—that person will surely live; they will not die.” The writer affirmed that if someone owed money to others and extorted or defrauded others of properties, he should return them as soon as possible. Even if one owed too much to reimburse immediately, he should seek providence from God, once he is “supplied” by God someday, he should return sufficiently so that he can enjoy complete salvation. It also states that compensation is a way to reconciliation.^[52] From Volume 3 No. 2 1910 on wards, the mission’s name was changed from the Apostolic Faith Mission to the Hong Kong Pentecostal Mission. From then on, a column titled “Hong Kong Pentecostal Mission” became a regular feature. It announced that its statement of faith, including rituals and practices, and restitution are also a part of this list.^[53] Mok’s practice of reinstatement might originated from the Azusa Street Mission, for it also could be found on the statement of latter in some issues of *Apostolic Faith*, and both Mok and the Azusa Street Mission cited the same Bible verses—Ezekiel 33: 15 and Luke 19: 8 to justified their statements on restitution^[54]. However, compare to the Azusa Street Mission, Mok’s church seemed to emphasized

[51] *Pentecostal Truths* Vol. 1, No. 11 (1908): 2.

[52] *Pentecostal Truths* Vol. 2, No. 8 (1909): 1.

[53] *Pentecostal Truths* Vol. 3, No. 2 (1910): 2.

[54] E. g. *The Apostolic Faith* Vol. 1, No. 1 (1906): 2.

more on this point, besides quoting verses, Mok's church even described further about the clearing of all debts and the return of ill-gotten wealth or gains and also encourages people to ask for the forgiveness of creditors. It seemed that Azusa Street's and Mok's perspective on redemption was relatively holistic, for they not only stressed on reconciliation with God, but also with fellow men. This kind of thinking could be a breakthrough, which jumped off the boundary of "personal salvation" or the individual relationship with God that Fundamentals has been emphasizing. In addition, Mok's insistence upon this might be related to Chinese traditions, for Chinese society has traditionally been more concerned with the community than the individual. Therefore, religion was not seen as an entirely individual matter.

Hong Kong Pentecostal scholar Connie Au describes Mok's teachings as sanctification-centered soteriology. She states that Mok actually did not distinguish sanctification from repentance. To him, sanctification and conversion are synonymous and they are defined by repentance.^[55] In brief, this means that sanctification, followed by cleansing, is integrated with conversion/initiation. However, as mentioned above, Holiness Pentecostals appeal to the three-step model. Mok also declared that his mission could be regarded as Holiness Pentecostalism. The understanding of sanctification-centered soteriology to Mok seems to be conflicted with traditional Holiness Pentecostals' concept. As a matter of fact, Pentecostals more often than not confuse conversion, sanctification and Spirit-Baptism, although there is indeed a distinction between them. Regardless of two or three stages, these experiences are different but correlated. A contemporary example should be the statement of faith of Assemblies of God, a leading Pentecostal denomination in the world. Article 7 of its "Fundamental Truth" revolves around the issue of Baptism in the Holy Spirit. It says: "... With the baptism in the Holy Spirit come such experiences as... and a more active love for Christ, for His Word and for the lost."^[56] Similarly, *The Full Life Study Bible*—a Bible with reference of Pentecostal perspective published by Assemblies of God, the article titled "Baptism in the Holy Spirit" in this Bible says receiving Spirit-Baptism will result in "enhanced sensitivity to sin," "a greater seeking after righteousness which conforms to Christ," and "a deeper awareness of the judgment of God against all ungodliness."^[57] Though most Pentecostal denominations have stated that Spirit-Baptism is a subsequent experience to conversion and sanctification, one can still discover that the distinction between sanctification and Spirit-Baptism is actually not that clear.

Nevertheless, Mok and his paper did not confuse the difference between conversion and Baptism in the Holy Spirit as Oneness Pentecostals and Berntsen did, that is to say the "indwelling in the Holy Spirit" or "rebirth by the Holy Spirit" is not directly connected with empowerment by the Holy Spirit for ministry. At the same time, Mok did not confuse sanctification and Spirit-Baptism either, though sanctification and conversion are almost synonymous in this periodical, which is actually a prerequisite for seeking Spirit-Baptism. The latter is a totally specific crisis experience to them. The paper states that:

[55] Connie Au, "'Now Ye Are Clean': Sanctification as a Formative Doctrine of Early Pentecostalism in Hong Kong," Presented at 41st Annual Meeting of Society for Pentecostal Studies March 2, 2012, 7. Actually K. H. King also supports this perspective. In his language, sanctification means full Salvation. See Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 179.

[56] http://ag.org/top/Beliefs/Statement_of_Fundamental_Truths/sft_full.cfm#7 (accessed August 25, 2013).

[57] Donald Stamps ed. *The Full Life Study Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 244.

“There are many people who can not distinguish the gift of sanctification and the gift of empowerment; hence, some have confused sanctification with Baptism in the Holy Spirit. However it's wrong, only the gift of enabling can be regarded as Baptism in the Holy Spirit. There are still some others refer the anointing of the Holy Spirit to Baptism in the Holy Spirit, so that they fail to pursuit the real power of Pentecostal glory. ^[58]”

In another issue of this paper, the writer reaffirmed the difference between conversion and empowerment:

Some people question whether anyone can possess the Spirit of God without speaking in tongues? The answer will be yes, those born by God do have Spirit of God, just like those born by parents have spirit and characters of their parents, and thus those being born by God are the same. However, possessing the Spirit of God does not mean having the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. What the Baptism of the Holy Spirit means is obtaining God's indwelling, instead of emerging from God. . . the book of Galatians 3:27 says; 'for all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourself with Christ,' hence Christ will not baptize those who live without the Spirit of God. That is to say, Christ did not baptize us for bestowing the Holy Spirit on us, rather it is because we have his Spirit. . . . Hence, the baptism of the Holy Spirit means someone who has experienced the Holy Spirit's abiding both internally and outwardly. ^[59]

As we can see, Spirit-Baptism in *Pentecostal Truths* reflects the classical Trinitarian perspective which distinguishes Baptism in the Spirit from conversion or regeneration. Furthermore, according to the Hong Kong Pentecostal Mission, Spirit-Baptism is meant for those who have been sanctified. ^[60] Apparently, Mok and his church by no means mixed up sanctification and Spirit-Baptism, though the former somehow is almost synonymous to conversion^[61]. Trinitarian Pentecostals in general strictly affirm the distinction between conversion and Spirit-Baptism and address the latter in conjunction with the phenomenon of speaking in tongues as the initial evidence. In support of this, they quote so-called key passages in the book of Acts. If conversion and Spirit-Baptism are the same thing, then speaking in tongues becomes a requirement for salvation. Infact, Trinitarian Pentecostals were preventing the understanding that speaking in tongues is an essential prerequisite for salvation from Spirit-Baptism or “Fullness of the Holy Spirit.” Trinitarian Pentecostal denominations such as Assemblies of God rejected, as early as 1915, the identification of rebirth and the baptism of the

[58] *Pentecostal Truths* Vol. 1, No. 11 (1908):2.

[59] *Pentecostal Truths* Vol. 2, No. 13 (1909):2.

[60] *Pentecostal Truths* Vol. 2, No. 7 (1909):2.

[61] Au, “‘Now Ye Are Clean’,” 7.

Spirit as a false doctrine. They do not regard the baptism of the Holy Spirit as necessary to salvation,^[62] while Oneness Pentecostals and Berntsen maintain that Spirit-Baptism relates to rebirth, and therefore is an integral element of the “complex unity” for full salvation.

To sum up, *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths* actually reflect two different types of Pentecostal traditions but studies have seldom addressed this nuance. They more often than not consider these two papers as media for spreading Pentecostalism. I argue that for theological insights is important for one to survey a religious group. For example, in the case of Pentecostalism, despite Berntsen and Mok’s congregations’ emphasis on speaking in tongues, they have diverse understandings of it. Berntsen stated that speaking in tongues is necessary for regeneration while Mok followed the Holiness Pentecostal tradition and affirmed that speaking in tongues is not connected with salvation, but the initial sign for empowerment by the Holy Spirit.

3.3 *Popular Gospel Truths and Pentecostal Truths in shaping the True Jesus Church*

The comparison above also triggers an issue which is connected with what Daniel Bays mentioned, that is, the TJC has its roots in these two periodicals, in particular *Pentecostal Truths*. In reality, the text book has been read and cited immensely in the TJC’s education system for believers and clergies—*The doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (圣灵论) written by Xie Shundao cited these two periodicals as materials when this book introduced the Pentecostal movement. In addition, the library of the TJC Taiwan general assembly collected duplicated copies of these two papers and one can see the Church’s pioneer’s—Huang Chengcong—stamp on every issue. To some extent, *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths* are the windows through which the TJC’s folks understand the Pentecostal movement, in spite of some incorrect descriptions. In Xie’s account, he seems to have failed to be conscious of the difference between Berntsen and Mok, as he stated that both advocate speaking in tongues as necessary for receiving the Holy Spirit. Obviously, Xie does not know that most Pentecostals address Spirit-Baptism as being subsequent to regeneration.

According to studies, the founding fathers of the TJC, in particular Paul Wei, had connections with Berntsen’s Apostolic Faith Mission, the editor and founder of *Popular Gospel Truths*. TJC’s oneness Pentecostal doctrine may have been influenced by him and as I argued, it seems that TJC may have deeper roots in *Popular Gospel Truths* because of its more direct relationship with Berntsen. However, Bays states that the TJC had its earliest roots in *Pentecostal Truths*. On this point, I do not have further documents to prove it. In my opinion, *Popular Gospel Truths* might have had more influence on the TJC. Here, the connection of the three founding fathers of the TJC with *Popular Gospel Truths* may provide us with some clues. To start with, Barnabas Zhang reported that in the spring of 1914, Berntsen and Zhao Deli came to visit him in Shandong. Zhang also mentioned this in *Popular Gospel Truths*, although he criticized that this paper is full of false teachings,^[63]

[62] Walter Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), 332. In her PhD Dissertation at Harvard University, Melissa Inouye, a lecturer of the University of Auckland, New Zealand not only made comparison between *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths*, the TJC’s earliest News Paper *Universal Correction Church Times* was also included. According to her comparative study, all the three connected speaking in tongues with salvation. Obviously, she was not conscious of the differentiations of doctrines among Pentecostalism, to put simply, she does not know that Keswick/ “Finished Work” Pentecostals and Holiness Pentecostals by no means advocate the concept that tongues speaking is connected with one’s salvation. See Melissa Wei-Tsing Inouye, “Miraculous Mundane: The True Jesus Church and Chinese Christianity in Twentieth Century,” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2010), 88-89.

[63] Zhang, *Chuandaoji*, 9.

which at least demonstrates that Barnabas Zhang used to read this newspaper critically. Secondly, Zhang Lingsheng participated in editorial work and reported for *Popular Gospel Truths*. In issue no. 15, Zhang Lingsheng reported a piece of news about a Pentecostal meeting held in Shangdong, his hometown, and edited at least two articles in the same issue of *Popular Gospel Truths*.^[64] Thirdly, Paul Wei, the officially approved direct founder of TJC^[65] was affiliated with Pentecostal movement through Berntsen. Compared to the Pentecostal Truth, Wei might have come across *Popular Gospel Truths* earlier. In addition, Berntsen insisted on the Oneness Pentecostal doctrine in his periodical, including Godhead and Spirit—Baptism as a necessary prerequisite for salvation. This is similar to what the TJC believes. However, chronologically, TJC's founding fathers especially Barnabas Zhang and Zhang Lingsheng might have first acquired the Pentecostal Truth as Daniel Bays affirmed. Some duplicated copies of Pentecostal Truth I have obtained have a stamp of "The Apostolic Faith Mission, Shanghai", which means that this paper had been collected by the latter. According to the TJC's report, Zhang Lingsheng contacted Apostolic Faith Mission in Shanghai in 1909 through his son Zhang Fuchuan^[66] while the publication of the Pentecostal Truth began from 1908. Thus there is a possibility that Zhang Lingsheng had read this paper while visiting Shanghai.

In response to Bays, I found something worth noting in the *Pentecostal Truths*. Doctrinally, the TJC seems to be close to the *Popular Gospel Truths*. Practically however, there is a possibility the roots of the TJC's religious practices lie in the *Pentecostal Truths*. The TJC has been usually known as a Pentecostal-type group, practicing speaking in tongues at corporate prayers. Besides praying in tongues, worshippers regularly manifest bodily vibrations and shaking of the hands,^[67] which is also unique among worldwide Pentecostals. In fact, their official teachings say that bodily shaking is another evidence of receiving the Holy Spirit. For this, they quote and interpret the Book of Acts 8: 17—19: "Then Peter and John placed their hands on them, and they received the Holy Spirit. When Simon saw that the Spirit was given at the laying on of the apostles' hands, he offered them money and said, 'Give me also this ability so that everyone on whom I lay my hands may receive the Holy Spirit.'" Xie argued the reason Simon wanted to buy the ability for laying on of hands for bestowing the Holy Spirit is he saw the Holy Spirit fall on those believers as the apostles were laying their hands on them. This demonstrated that when the Spirit fall upon people, there must be visible evidence besides speaking in tongues, which Xie affirms to be bodily shaking. In addition, he argued that according to Act 4: "After they prayed, the place where they were meeting was shaken..." indicated that the report of this experience substituted the earthquake for "tongue of fire" and "a

[64] *Popular Gospel Truth* No. 15 (1917):7.

[65] Issue on the direct founder of the TJC is very complicated politically, Barnabas Zhang maintained that he established the church earlier than Paul Wei, this controversy eventually resulted in a separation into north and south camps.

[66] Xie, *Shenglinglun*, 175.

[67] Deng Zhaoming, "Indigenous Chinese Pentecostal Denominations," in *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia* eds. Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (Oxford: Regnum, 2005), 444. Also see M. A. Rubinstein, "Taiwan," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Mass (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003), 263. According to my experience and survey, their believers' expression in prayer is slightly different from which of other pentecostal groups throughout the world, their corporate prayer starts with a sentence: 'In the name of Lord Jesus we pray, hallelujah praise Lord Jesus', and then those kneel down worshippers begin to shake their body up and down with their hands folded, and speak in tongues simultaneously. I have seen and prayed with TJC's believers in their meetings for several time, as a Pentecostal insider, I found out the diversity in identity.

sound like the blowing of a violent wind,” as reported in the Pentecost event in Act 2. He said that this can be called the second Pentecost and therefore, the Spirit falling upon people and making their bodies shake is not strange.^[68] Besides speaking in tongues, it could be construed as evidence of receiving the Holy Spirit, other than speaking in tongues. This phenomenon is also very usual in the TJC’s corporate prayer. Interestingly, in Volume 3, No. 2 of *Pentecostal Truths*, a column titled “The Reason of Shaking” also discussed this issue. The article compares such shaking, namely the coming of the Holy Spirit, to sudden wind and rain; those who encounter wind and rain will shake or move. Another case the author of this article cites is Ezekiel 37:7, where the bones in the valley also moved when the Spirit came and it was both visible and audible. Furthermore, Mok increasingly regarded the phenomenon of falling to the ground (nowadays known as being “overcome by the Spirit” or “slain in the Spirit”) as seen in Pentecostal meetings^[69] and similar events recorded in the New Testament as shaking or moving. For example, in Mok’s opinion, Paul’s experience in Damascus and John “falling at his feet” in the Book of Revelation can be viewed as shaking as well.^[70]

The description about the shaking of the body seems to be similar but being established on the different basis of Bible verses, thought at least it demonstrated that shaking might be a normal experience in Hong Kong Pentecostal Mission as well. However, I can not assert that the TJC’s practice of shaking bodily during meetings originated from the *Pentecostal Truths*; neither can I affirm whether the phenomenon of shaking between Mok’s church and the TJC are one and the same according to the description in *Pentecostal Truths*. Except for the clue above, I have not discovered any other evidence to prove that the TJC has its earliest roots in the Pentecostal Truths. In brief, if one surveys each issue of this periodical, and compares it to the TJC’s doctrine or statement of faith, he will discover that they proclaim two different types of Pentecostal traditions. In contrast, if one compares *Popular Gospel Truths* with the TJC’s message, the similarity between them will not be difficult to recognize. Once again, I have to point out that the theological diversity between these two periodicals has not been addressed by researchers. Even the TJC’s folks may not be aware of it either as they simply know that both the papers had been published to proclaim the necessity of receiving the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues.^[71] It is also apparent that the TJC has an imagination that world wide Pentecostal denominations or groups combine conversion/regeneration with Spirit-Baptism accompanied by speaking in tongues as they have done. On the other hand, if the TJC had its earliest roots in *Pentecostal Truths* as Prof. Daniel Bays has suggested, I would say that the TJC’s founding fathers misinterpreted and misunderstood what Pentecostal Truths spread on the issue of baptism in the Holy Spirit. As a result, my conclusion is that *Popular Gospel Truths* had a deep

[68] Xie, *Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, 197.

[69] Interestingly, the TJC regards falling to the ground as being possessed by a demon. Xie refers to this kind of phenomena as shouting and rolling on the ground, which are very usual in the Pentecostal church, and they are not relevant to the Holy Spirit, but rather the evil spirit. See *ibid*, 372. More interestingly, according to a testimony about a pentecostal meeting held in Taian, Shangdong province, Zhang Lingsheng reported, seven females were baptized in the Holy Spirit and fell to the ground by the Holy Spirit, though this case was previous to the establishment of the TJC and was irrelevant to the TJC’s folks, Zhang admitted that this kind of phenomenon came from the Holy Spirit. However, after the establishment of the denomination, falling to the ground came to be considered as an evil spirit’s work. I think it may be a stereotype of institutionalizing of cults towards denomination.

[70] *Pentecostal Truths* Vol. 3, No. 2 (1910): 3.

[71] Xie, *Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, 172.

influence on the TJC's theological formation (relatively), for the former reflects the Oneness Pentecostal issue which articulated the Oneness of Godhead. The combination of conversion and Spirit-Baptism being similar to what the TJC has stated, *Pentecostal Truths* might have conveyed the thought to the TJC's pioneer earlier.

Conclusion

Popular Gospel Truths and *Pentecostal Truths* were used to spread Pentecostal message to Chinese Christians. However, they reflect two different categories of Pentecostal traditions. The former had its roots in Oneness Pentecostalism, which combined conversion/regeneration, sanctification and Spirit-Baptism into a single experience. In Oneness Pentecostalism, speaking in tongues is not only a sign of empowerment but is also connected with salvation. The latter represents Holiness Pentecostals which emphasized the three-step model of *ordo salutis*. Hence, conversion/regeneration and sanctification are distinguished from "being baptized in the Holy Spirit". Such theological questions need to be raised and discussed, for the Pentecostal movement had had its diversity since the beginning, and some major schisms among them were, more often than not, resultant from different understandings of doctrines. Sociological and historical research on Chinese Pentecostal movement can not neglect the theological aspect, which need not be considered as subjective or confessional only. Rather, it enables researchers to understand what the religious group they study is thinking.

In the era of the beginning of 20th century when communication media were relatively limited, periodicals like *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths* to some extent played the role of network-building for the new-born Pentecostal movement and for those missionaries scattered over different parts of the world. The readers were able to know the spread of Pentecostal movement in other provinces—even in foreign countries—because of these periodicals. Thus, they had a significant ecumenical effect. Nevertheless, to what extent *Popular Gospel Truths* and *Pentecostal Truths* have impacted Christians in China is something that still requires further research.

汉语题目：

两份早期五旬宗报刊的比较研究：《通传福音真理报》和《五旬节真理报》

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提要：不同于罗马天主教,新教在海外传教事业上向来重视以报刊为媒介,藉此互通宣教禾场上的消息,并促进宣教士之间的联系。在北美的五旬节运动创始初期,亚苏萨街传道会等五旬宗差传机构也发行各种期刊,以期在「使徒信心」运动参与者中建立网络关系。这些在五旬节运动早期发行的报刊可以被视为了解全球五旬节运动诸起源的重要参照点之一,若干早期中国的华洋五旬宗人士也发行中文的五旬宗报刊以传播五旬节信仰。《通传福音真理报》和《五旬节真理报》这两份最早的中文五旬节报刊,分别型塑了中国两道不同分流的五旬节运动或五旬节型态信仰—真耶稣教会以及香港五旬节会。两者的主编均亲炙曾参与亚苏撒街复兴运动并受其差派的宣教士,而两份刊物其实也正反映出北美五旬节运动两种不同的面向—圣洁五旬宗和独一神论五旬宗的信仰。本文将对两份刊物进行比较,并探讨其中关于成圣和灵洗这两项五旬节派核心教义的论述。

关键词：中国五旬节运动;真耶稣教会;独一神论五旬宗;中国基督教