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The Nigeria Civil War Revival and its Progeny

DR. DANNY MCCAIN

Abstract
The Pentecostal and Charismatic outpouring that began during the Nigerian Civil War of 1967–1970, popular referred to as the Nigerian Civil-War Revival, introduced new elements into the experience and practice of Christianity in the country. It was a revitalizing force characterised by a renewed emphasis on prayer, holy living, Bible study, and evangelism. It was also marked by spiritual phenomena such as the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues and the operation of spiritual gifts, particularly healing and prophecy. The movement has gone through several phases since those early days and this article examines the changes that have defined and continue to define it; and also its contribution — strengths and weaknesses — to the whole gamut of Christian witness in Nigeria

KEYWORDS: Pentecostalism, Civil-War Revival, Leadership, Evangelism and Church growth

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1 This revival is often called the “Post-Civil War Revival” both in popular circles and in literature related to it. However, since there is evidence that the spark of revival started before the Nigeria civil war and had strong manifestations during the war, I have chosen to call it simply the “Nigeria Civil War Revival.”
Introduction

"And we know that in all things God works for the good of those who love him, who have been called according to his purpose" (Romans 8:28).

This well-known verse illustrates one of the best recent examples of God’s powerful ability to turn negative things into positive things. From 1967 to 1970, Nigeria experienced one of the darkest periods of its modern existence. During the Nigerian Civil War, a nation that had been united for dozens of years was ripped apart to the point that brother literally fought against brother.

In addition to the astronomical number of casualties caused from the instruments of war, disease and starvation stalked the southeastern part of the country until an estimated figure of between one and three million people died. The Biafran War ended on 15 January 1970 and the south-eastern part of Nigeria started the slow and painful process of rebuilding the needed infrastructures, but more importantly, restoring the very strained relationships between the various citizens and regions of the country.

Amazingly, during and immediately on the heels of this terrible tragedy, something good started happening in Nigeria. A spark of divine activity was ignited. That spark began as a small flame, primarily in secondary and tertiary institutions, but eventually expanded until it was a roaring fire, touching and influencing practically every part of the Christian world. It is difficult to see a definitive cause-and-effect relationship between the war and the revival.

However, the fact that the revival was sparked before and during the war, and reached its climax after the war, suggests that the desperate people of that area turned to God, and He graciously and mercifully poured out his blessings upon them in one of their darkest hours.

The Revival

What is a revival? Since this is not the primary focus of this paper, I will simply say that my understanding of revival movements throughout the history of the church have exhibited four major characteristics:

- Spontaneous evangelism and rapid church growth
- Personal awareness of sin and genuine repentance leading to holy living
- Supernatural manifestations and evidence of spiritual phenomenon
- Renewed stress on prayer and worship and an awareness of God’s presence

Austen Ukachi in his excellent book, The Best is Yet to Come: Pentecostal and Charismatic Revivals in Nigeria 1914-1990s, describes the marks of what he calls “Pentecostal revivals.” These include an experience of the outpoured Spirit, repentance, passion, power, a consciousness of God’s presence and
prayer. Such revivals result in active evangelism and missions, a revival of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, true worship and an exaltation of Christ.\(^2\) If indeed there was a genuine revival in Nigeria immediately after the Biafran War, it would be these kinds of things that one would expect to find.

It is difficult to date precisely the actual birth of the Nigeria Civil War Revival. In fact, this revival was not necessarily a spontaneous movement associated only with the civil war. This revival was actually culmination of several decades of indigenous spiritual activity that exhibited some of the marks of revival mentioned above. Ukachi has documented these spiritual sparks in a section of his book called “Revivals in Southern Nigeria.”\(^3\)

Ukachi states that that the first grew out of the ministry of Garrick Sokari Marian Braide, who was baptized in the Anglican Church in 1910. From about1912 until his death in 1918, he led a powerful movement in Bakana, Rivers State that was characterized by miracles, radical opposition to traditional religious practices, and denunciation of alcohol.\(^4\) Another of these important early revival-type leaders was Joseph Ayo Babalola who initiated what became known as the Aladura movement.\(^5\) His ministry was characterized by revelations, strange behavior, preaching to large crowds, healings and the destruction of idols. These represent only two of the spontaneous revival-like movements that preceded the movement associated with Nigeria’s civil war.

Though it is often called the post-civil war movement, elements of the revival movement began before the civil war ended. For example, while the civil war was still going on, there was a wave of spiritual enthusiasm and commitment that developed at the University of Ife, which at that time was meeting on its Ibadan campus. Rev. Mike Oye, the travelling secretary of Scripture Union was one of the main leaders at this time, promoting a “born again” philosophy as he moved from campus to campus. During one of his sermons on 11 May 1969, young Geoffrey Numbere from Rivers State was touched by the gospel and became a follower of Christ.\(^6\) He became one of the early dynamic leaders of this movement. Hundreds of other university students in southern Nigeria and beyond began to be touched by this powerful spiritual movement in a way that was not common in the Nigerian Church.


\(^3\) Ukachi, page 29

\(^4\) Jonathan Hildebrandt, *History of the Church in Africa*, Africa Christian Press. Achimota, Ghana, 1987. page 204. Hildebrandt states that Braide had two strong prohibitions: no medicines, either African or Western should be used for sickness and no alcohol should be taken.

\(^5\) Ukachi, pages 47-53

Matthews Ojo states the beginning of this revival that forever changed Nigerian Christianity began with the introduction of Pentecostalism to the campus of the University of Ibadan in January 1970. That position is contested by Gary Maxey in his book, Capturing a Lost Vision. However, it is generally now recognized that as this revival developed, it became inseparable from a massive explosion of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements and, as such is often identified as a Pentecostal revival.

In addition to the books by Ukachi and Ojo, Richard Burgess has also written a book entitled, Nigeria's Christian Revolution: The Civil War Revival and Its Pentecostal Progeny (1967-2010), which covers the amazing events of this era. These three books describe the development of this movement, the key characteristics, leaders, institutions and results. I will not attempt to describe those in any further detail here.

The Nigeria Civil War movement was characterized by the following:

- Radical conversions
- Spontaneous evangelism
- Genuine repentance and holiness
- Lively “African-style” worship and prayer
- Charismatic gifts including supernatural manifestations

MAJOR PHASES OF THE NIGERIAN CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT

Few movements are static. They are constantly developing and changing. This is evident even in the earliest expression of Christianity. The first generation of Christianity is described in the first twelve chapters of Acts. It was characterized by rapid spontaneous growth, radical personal commitment, miraculous signs and wonders, personal spiritual communication, and a willingness to sacrifice for the sake of Christ. Though it is difficult to pinpoint an exact point that might be thought of as the beginning of the second generation of the church (because first generation Christians were constantly coming into the church), the second generation of Christianity is primarily illustrated in Acts 13-28. It retained many of the same characteristics of the first generation church but in this period we start seeing more organized evangelistic and missionary outreaches, a developing church hierarchy, and standardizing of Christian practice and theology in a written form.

In addition, there began emerging disagreements and differing emphases.

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Numbere, Greater Evangelism Publications, Port Harcourt, 2008. pages 18-19
manifested within the church. The third generation of the church is largely represented by the writings of John, Jude and the letter to the seven churches in Revelation. The negative characteristics found in the third generation church included a growing self-centeredness, sexual sins, false doctrine and spiritual regression. On the other hand, in some parts of the church there were positive characteristics that included good deeds, perseverance and a resistance to false doctrine.

In a similar way, I believe that the revival movement that began in the late sixties and early seventies in Nigeria has also moved through similar generational stages. There is no clear line of demarcation where the first phase of the movement stopped and the second phase began. It is obvious that different individuals and denominations moved at different speeds, and sometimes in different directions. Others have addressed the changes within this movement in detail. My comments therefore, will mainly be generalizations.

Generation One: The Revival Period

The Nigeria Civil War Revival was obviously not the introduction of Christianity into Nigeria but it was a new expression of Christianity so there developed a new focus on several things. So what did it look like?

Perhaps the most common phrase that characterized this movement was being “born again.” Most of the “converts” had been reared in various Christian denominations but it was their “born again” testimony that set them apart from their parents and others.

During the last few years, I have been helping to develop the Nigeria Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Centre. This grew out of 28 months of research that was done by the University of Jos and six partnering seminars, funded by the John Templeton Foundation through the University of Southern California. Our most recent research project is called the “Heroes Past” project. This project involves interviewing the most senior leaders of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements in Nigeria, where they are asked to describe their memories of the early days of this movement. Most of them became “born again” during this revival period and therefore are first-hand witnesses.

In more than 70 interviews conducted, one of the questions asked was, “Could you explain what three things were most emphasized in the early days of Pentecostalism?” The following is a chart of the top ten responses:

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9 I developed these more fully in a presentation entitled “The State of the Church in Dealing with Nominalism” to the NIFES Triennial Missions Conference – WITNESS 2013 in Kwali, FCT, Nigeria, 31 October, 2013.
Major Emphases of the Pentecostal Revival

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<td>1</td>
<td>Evangelism/Repentance/Planting Churches/Salvation/&quot;Born again&quot;</td>
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<td>Holiness/Righteousness</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Holy Spirit: Power/Baptism/Tongues/Miracles/Deliverance/Leadership</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Second Coming of Jesus</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Prayer/Fasting/Night Vigils/Praise and Worship</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Practical Christian Living/Sacrifice/Simplicity/Restitution/Distinctive</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Unity/Brotherly Love</td>
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What this chart shows is how the people who participated in that movement remembered the things that were emphasized during that period. I will now examine these emphases in more detail.

Focus on Evangelism

Evangelism was not newly introduced in Nigeria in the late sixties and early seventies. Obviously the church had been planted by foreign missionaries over the previous hundred years or so. The first objective of any missionary movement is to evangelize and plant churches. Western missionaries were very successful in doing this in Nigeria. In addition, there was also a wave of evangelism that was largely indigenous before the Nigeria Civil War Revival. This was precipitated by the Student Christian Movement (SCM), the Scripture Union (SU) and the Christian Union. These were non-Pentecostal

10 In addition to these answers, the following were also given: “Christ-like teaching; Service to God and Humanity,” “Jesus,” “hell,” “truth.” Therefore, the percentages reflected in the chart are simply the percentages related to the top ten issues emphasized.

11 See the appendix for the top ten things that attracted people to Pentecostalism.

12 Other campus ministries included the Baptist Student Fellowship (BSF) Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions (IVF), the Pan African Fellowship of Evangelical Students (PAFES) and some local groups like the Ibadan Varsity Christian Union (IVCU). Later the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES) and
student movements that were active on the university campuses and stressed outreach, fellowship and Bible studies.

It was in this mixture of campus ministries that the winds of revival began blowing. Perhaps the most immediate manifestation of this was evangelism that was characterized by the phrase “born again.” Though the term “born again” was a Biblical phrase (John 3:3, 7 and 1 Peter 1:23), the term was not often used in the mainstream churches at that time so it was frequently misunderstood. The “born again” were often viewed as being a heretical cult.

Evangelism at this time was characterized by personal and often radical conversion that resulted in an immediate change of attitude, lifestyle and worldview. Once people had experienced the powerful move of the Lord in their own spirits, they often immediately began to reach out to others. Although the students certainly did start organizing formal outreaches, many converts in those days were made as a result of personal contact and sometimes through spontaneous events. It was in this way that the “born again” movement grew rapidly.

**Focus on Repentance and Holiness**

The first decade or so of the post-civil war period of the revival was characterized by an emphasis on deep repentance from sin which resulted in holiness of lifestyle. This involved the way people dressed and spoke, the activities in which they engaged, including family activities and the way they interacted with the general public. Things that were previously not considered wrong were now viewed as sinful by these young converts and this often brought them into conflict with their parents and other senior members of the society who were part of the mainline churches. For example, in some parts of the movement there was a strong prohibition about drinking any form of alcohol, including buying it or even touching the glasses in which it was poured. When young converts adopted these views and practices, this caused many parents to see their children as having rebellious and holier-than-thou attitudes and led to trouble for the movement.

W. F. Kumuyi, though reared in a strict Christian family, drifted away from the Lord as a youth. He was “born again” on 5 April, 1964 and was introduced to the Scripture Union as a young believer. He eventually got a job at the University of Lagos and it was at that time that he started a Bible study that eventually led to the creation of the Deeper Christian Life Ministry.¹⁴ Kumuyi has become the primary proponent of the holiness message that grew out of the

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¹³ Numbere, page 79
1970s revival. The Deeper Life Bible Church, which he eventually founded, has continued to stress many of the unique emphases that characterized the early seventies.

**Focus on the Holy Spirit**

The world had recently experienced the birth of the Charismatic movement with its emphasis on the Holy Spirit and specifically the gifts of the Holy Spirit. This was one of the defining characteristics of this movement, especially in the 1970s. The power of the Holy Spirit was a relatively new emphasis in Nigeria and was one of the things that attracted and motivated the young people who participated in this movement.

The power of Holy Spirit was often manifested in healings, deliverances and other supernatural manifestations. In our interviews, we asked the senior Pentecostal leaders who lived in that era to narrate specific examples of miracles. They told of the blind receiving their sight, lame people being instantly cured, various diseases being healed, barren women giving birth, and even the dead being raised. The biography of one of these leaders, Geoffrey Numbere, *A Man and a Vision: A Biography of Apostle Geoffrey D. Numbere*, describes dozens of specific miracles, and provides specific names, places and circumstances related to the miracles. For example in Dere village, a community near Port Harcourt, a young blind girl was brought to the crusade ground. Her healing is described thus:

She was about five to six years old and had been born blind. Her eyelids were glued to the sockets that they looked like there were no eyeballs at all and like there were no slits for the eyelids. Each eye looked like a hole with continuous sheath of skin over it. After the healing prayers, this girl's eyes popped open and she could see clearly.¹⁵

Another variation of healing was deliverance from demonic activity.

Matthews Ojo says the most prominent feature of this revival was the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" along with other charismatic manifestations such as speaking in tongues.¹⁶ The emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit was not new in Nigeria because several mainline Pentecostal churches, which taught and practiced it, were very much in existence at that time though still making up only a fraction of Nigeria Christians. However, this was the first time the message of the baptism of the Holy Spirit with evidence of speaking in tongues was reaching people from non-Pentecostal backgrounds.

¹⁵ Numbere, page 121
¹⁶ Ojo, page 37
Teachings on the Second Coming of Christ and Heaven

A major emphasis in the Nigerian Civil War Revival was the imminent return of Jesus Christ. Rev. Jacob Asani of Christ Foundation Gospel Church, Oshogbo, stated that while miracles were part of the movement, they were not emphasized as much as they are today. He noted, “What was important then was for people to be saved, then prepare them for the second coming of Christ and win souls for Christ.”

It is of interest that most of the subjects that were emphasized were interrelated. For example, Uzodinma Obed, founder of Glory Tabernacle Ministry, Ibadan, remarked, “Holiness was the key for going to heaven.” Eniwoake James Oterai, pastor of the Gospel Church of Christ, Apapa, Lagos, recalled, “Initially when the movement started people were heaven conscious.”

- Evangelism was to prepare people for heaven.
- Holiness was to keep people prepared for heaven.
- The second coming was to transfer people to heaven.

Energetic Prayer and Worship

Christian worship in most mainline churches in the pre-seventies was generally quite calm and dignified, based upon what had been learned from white missionaries. However, the 1970s revival unleashed a level of commitment that created a fervor and passion in worship that was previously unknown. Prayers were long and loud and sometimes lasted all night. Worship became characterized by vigorous singing, clapping and dancing, and indigenous music was introduced, much to the chagrin of the mainline churches.

Generation Two: Institutionalizing the Charismatic Movement

I believe that the Early Church passed from the first generation to the second with the beginning of the missionary activities of Barnabas and Saul, found in Acts 13. However, it is not quite so easy to distinguish the beginning of the second generation of the charismatic movement in Nigeria.

17 Jacob Asani, Interview conducted by James Ameh in 2013; Specific Date Unknown
18 Uzodinma Obed, Interview conducted by James Ameh, 2013; Specific Date Unknown
19 Eniwoake James Oterai, Interview with James Ameh, 2013; Specific Date Unknown
20 Garrick Braide was the first person to use traditional African tunes and lyrics but the seventies revival sparked a new wave of indigenous music.
21 In data collected during 28 months of research for the Nigeria Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Centre in 2010-2012, it was determined that 61% of the people who consider themselves Pentecostals were reared in a Pentecostal church. See Danny McCain, “Introduction to the African Journal of Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies,”
purposes, I project that this period began about 20 years after the start of the movement, during the late eighties and early nineties. The period was marked not so much by any dramatic event, but by a subtle shift of emphasis on various topics and the necessity to standardize what had been spontaneous. The maturing movement was characterized by certain features and emphases.

Movements like the Nigeria Civil War Revival can spark up unexpectedly and can move forward for some time on emotional energy. However, after a while, all movements require some kind of institutionalization. Jesus created a movement. However, in the book of Acts, we see that movement gradually solidifying into an established church. We see something similar happening in the Nigeria Civil War Revival. What were the characteristics of that process?

**Institutionalizing Churches**

The early manifestations of the revival movement involved personal commitment and interaction primarily with campus groups that included evangelism and Bible studies led by such groups as NIFES and others. These movements often influenced the campus chapels so that not only were the students experiencing the revival fire in their Bible studies and their outreaches but they were also experiencing it during Sunday worship. However, when these students returned home, their home churches were not experiencing such things and, in most cases, were not sympathetic to the revival movement. In fact, many mainline churches seriously opposed this movement, even proclaiming it to be a cult. The rejection of the revival movement led to perhaps the largest independent church growth movement in the history of Christianity. This followed a couple of different paths.

First, new denominations started to be created. One of the first of these was the Church of God Mission, located in Benin City whose founder was perhaps the leading Pentecostal leader at the time, Benson Idahosa. The creation of this denomination was the beginning of this denomination of churches. These churches soon adopted traditional ecclesiastical titles and the founder took on the title of “Archbishop.” The church spread rapidly and provided Sunday worshippers with the same kind of worship and teaching and enthusiasm that they were experiencing on the university campuses. Idahosa raised up and influenced a generation of young leaders who had come to the Lord and accepted Pentecostal expressions of faith in the Nigeria Civil War Revival.

Second, either because of dissatisfaction with the Church of God Mission or

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22 The specific link between Idahosa and this revival movement is not clear to me and requires further research.
for other reasons, several young leaders who had been influenced and
mentored by Idahosa withdrew from the church to start their own ministries.
Two of the most prominent were Ayo Oritsejafor, founder of Word of Life
Bible Church in Warri and Felix Omobude, founder of New Covenant Gospel
Church, Benin.23 Simultaneous with these events, there developed a growing
avalanche of independent Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. Some of
these remained as individual local churches; others expanded to include a few
branches; a few grew into denominations, small and large.

There is a third phenomenon that should be noted. Several groups started
independent ministry organizations that did not involve creating local
churches at first. These included evangelistic organizations like “Greater
Evangelism” led by Geoffrey Numbere in Port Harcourt and a Bible study
ministry, called the Deeper Christian Life Ministry, led by W. F. Kumuyi in
Lagos. In the early days of these organizations, there was no plan to start a
church or denomination. However, because of persecution of their members
by mainstream churches and the inability of getting access to such
fundamental services as weddings and funerals from their home churches,
these ministries eventually morphed into churches and denominations.24

The bottom line is that Nigeria has been the recipient of thousands of
independent Pentecostal and Charismatic churches that are the direct result of
the Nigerian Civil War Revival. These churches took upon themselves some of
the characteristics of that revival movement which included experiencing
Pentecostal phenomenon, a stress on signs and wonders, enthusiastic praise
and worship, vigorous preaching and a focus on evangelism and outreach. The
influence of Sydney G. Elton on the emergence of neo-Pentecostal churches
especially in eastern Nigeria was phenomenal, and eastern Nigeria was
eventually to be home to the largest number of such churches. The
“grandfather” of these churches is the Grace of God movement based in
Onitsha. Today it is one of the largest neo-Pentecostal churches in eastern
Nigeria.

Institutionalizing Church Leadership and Infrastructure
The early days of the revival movement were characterized by student leaders
who were humble and simple and were committed to getting the job done.
They ate anything they could find and often slept on mats. Geoffrey Numbere

23 At the time this paper was presented, Pastor Oritsejafor was the president of the
Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and Pastor Omobude was the president of the
Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN).
24 These two organizations later evolved into Greater Evangelism World Crusade and
Deeper Life Bible Church though Deeper Christian Life Ministry still exists.
was known for the simple T-shirt he wore that said “Jesus ♥ Love.” However, over the next two decades, Pentecostal leaders and pastors developed a much more sophisticated personal image. They started dressing well and using traditional vestments and traditional titles, like bishop and archbishop. Many of the dynamic evangelists that participated in the direct front-line evangelism and other ministries in the seventies and eighties settled into more pastoral and supervisory roles in the nineties.

Institutionalizing Churches

The Nigeria Civil War Revival was an awakening of evangelism that produced dynamic converts and exhibited spiritual power. However, the phenomena associated with this were not consistent. Healing miracles were a regular feature though some witnesses say this was not overly emphasized. Specific Pentecostal phenomenon like speaking in tongues was common but not unanimous in those days. For example Geoffrey Numbere did not speak in tongues until four years after he was born again and had been heavily engaged in ministry. W. F. Kumuyi also had a rather ambivalent attitude toward speaking in tongues for at least a decade. However, most of these practices have become institutionalized similar to the way they had been practiced in the Assemblies of God and other traditional Pentecostal churches.

Institutionalizing Healing and other Miraculous Manifestations.

In the early days, since there was no precedent for the way healings and other miracles were supposed to take place, healings tended to be spontaneous and unpredictable. However, once the revival fires died down a bit, the leaders of the movement developed certain systems and practices and rituals to keep these supernatural phenomena alive. For example, in a typical evangelistic campaign, there would be a ten-minute invitation for people to come forward and be born again and a one-hour healing service that would follow.

Institutionalizing Pastoral Training and Theological Education

The Assemblies of God and other traditional Pentecostal churches started their Bible colleges and seminaries shortly after they arrived in Nigeria but the Nigeria Civil War Revival, though propagated by university students and other well-educated people, de-emphasized formal theological education. It was assumed that the typical Bible studies sponsored by Scripture Union and other campus ministries were sufficient for what believers needed. In addition, there

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25 See a picture of Numbere and his famous T-shirt in Numbere, page 90.

26 This observation is based upon my extensive participation in Pentecostal crusades and other public meetings.
was a healthy skepticism about most traditional theological education. Formal theological education had not produced the kinds of revival that they were experiencing. Therefore, the question was why they should support that kind of training.

However, after a couple of decades of rapid church growth and experiencing the reality of needing professionals to guide the expanding congregations, the leaders of the churches and denominations began to see the importance of providing some level of training for those who were involved in leading the churches. The first church to respond to this need was the Church of God Mission which opened its Bible college in Benin, known as All Nations for Christ Bible Institute. The Deeper Life Bible Church created a Christian leadership training school in the mid-eighties known as the International Bible Training Centre. Several other churches and denominations that grew out of this revival have since created their own Bible colleges, seminaries, and training facilities.

Institutionalizing American Charismaticism

The Nigeria Civil War Revival was largely indigenous. The leaders were indigenous; the key issues that surfaced during this time were African issues; the expressions of the Christian faith were much more indigenous than the earlier expressions of Christianity that had been initiated by missionaries. However, there was certainly some external input to this movement. The undisputed most important international supporter and advisor to the movement during this time was Sydney Elton, a British missionary who served in Nigeria for many years.27 Though he was an expatriate, his many years of service in the country could hardly be considered external.

However, into this revival movement, influences from Western Pentecostal and Charismatic movements gradually began to creep in and make their impact. Perhaps the biggest conduit of international influences was Archbishop Benson Idahosa who had developed a very close relationship with the American Charismatic movement. He was a frequent guest of Oral Roberts and featured often on the PTL club and other American Pentecostal TV programs of that era. Based upon these friendships, he invited many American Pentecostals to Nigeria to speak at conferences and crusades. These international Pentecostals brought with them their books and tapes which circulated in the hundreds of thousands.

This outside influence began to steer the movement in a slightly different

27 Sydney Elton, popularly known as “Pa Elton,” began serving in Nigeria under the auspices of the Apostolic Church in 1937. He left the Apostolic Church and served as an independent Pentecostal missionary until his death in 1987. See Ojo, pages 33, 38-39, 44-46 and other pages.
direction. This is illustrated by three major manifestations. The first was the acceptance and promotion of the American prosperity movement which was widely accepted and adapted to an African audience. If there has been any overriding emphasis of the second generation of the Nigerian Civil War Revival movement, it has been the emphasis on prosperity. It is not the objective of this paper to explain that movement in detail. It was simply a teaching that it is God’s will for all believers to “prosper and be in health” (3 John 2). That was interpreted to mean that all Christians had a right to a healthy body and to financial prosperity. In a society that has been inundated with poverty and tropical diseases for decades this was an appealing message and no doubt contributed to the ongoing expansion of the Charismatic movement in the second generation.

Closely connected to this were the flamboyant and extravagant lifestyles of many of the Nigerian Charismatic leaders that mirrored that of their American counterparts. This was illustrated by expensive dressing and the acquisition of expensive vehicles and houses, international travel and a message that God wanted his people to live good lives. Africans appear to have the ability to live a vicarious life through the success of others and accepted the kind of opulence that was demonstrated by the leaders even though it did not necessarily trickle down to them.

The third immediate result of borrowing the American prosperity message was the commercialization of Christianity. This started innocently through the sale of books and tapes and other ministry-related objectives. Many of the Pentecostal leaders have created a steady stream of income through the publication and sale of their books and other Christian literature. On Friday, 5 September, 2015, while working on this article, I received a text message that said, “Receive healing prophesies (sic) from Bishop David Oyedepo every day. Send BDO to 5029 to subscribe a N50 Weekly.”

This kind of commercialization has slowly morphed into a commercialization of the prosperity message itself. The message is that the way that you stimulate the faith necessary to bring about wealth is by sowing financial seeds into the ministries of others. Obviously the most logical place to sow such seeds is in the ministry of the person who was telling you about this strategy. Therefore, this rather crass, only partially veiled message of greed, often coupled with the tight-fisted control of all offerings that came into the ministry resulted in many pastors and general overseers becoming extremely wealthy and living glamorous lifestyles.

Two of the most successful Christian publishing houses have been Pneuma Publishing Ltd, founded by Sam Adeyemi and the Dominion Publishing House founded by David Oyedepo.
Generation Three: Refining and Re-Defining Charismatic Christianity

During its second generation, the Charismatic movement grew very large, to the point that those who identify themselves as Pentecostals represent about 30 percent of the Christians in Nigeria. The movement not only grew numerically, it grew in influence with the creation of the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) and also with the prominence of the key leaders like Enoch Adeboye, W. F. Kumuyi, David Oyedepo and others. The election of Ayo Oritsejafor, one-time PFN president, as the president of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) in preference to the Archbishop of the Abuja Catholic Diocese, was the ultimate demonstration that this movement had arrived as a major player in Nigerian Christianity.

However, as stated earlier, movements do not remain static and this movement is no exception. It has also continued to change. In fact, there is a good bit of dissatisfaction in the movement at the present time. Some parts of this movement are not happy with many of the modern developments of the Pentecostal movement and looking backwards, they are hoping for a return to the good old days. 29 Other parts of the movement are not really content with where the movement is right now and are looking forward. They are grateful for the successes of the past but are ready for new challenges and new approaches to ministry. 30

In fact, there is a growing movement within the Pentecostal and Charismatic circles that is pushing the movement in a new direction. The newer generation of Pentecostal leaders were quite young in the seventies and do not have the same sharp memories of those revival days. They are unwilling to live on just memories and are hungry for more authenticity. They are looking for opportunities for the church to be relevant and address the contemporary needs of the society. Therefore, they are carving out a new image and a new direction for Pentecostalism in Nigeria. What are the characteristics of this new phase of Pentecostalism?

Blurring the Boundaries of Pentecostalism

The newer Pentecostal leaders see themselves as Pentecostals but that probably does not mean the same thing as it did to the earlier generation. They would

29 Our researchers have interviewed dozens of people who participated in the Nigeria Civil War Revival and have recorded their observations about what they are unsatisfied with. This research will be presented in a later paper.

30 The Aladura movement faced a similar type of crossroads some 30 to 40 years ago. Some of the Aludura churches looked backwards and continued with the same basic emphases and activities as its founders. These are represented by such churches as the Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim, the Celestial Church of Christ and the Church of the Lord (Aladura). Others looked forward and evolved into modern
more often identify themselves simply as Christians rather than Pentecostals. For example, Paul Adefarasin, the founder and metropolitan of the House on the Rock Church, Lagos said, "I struggle to define myself as a Pentecostal. I embrace Pentecostalism. I am a leader in the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria but I cannot be limited to Pentecostalism." Tony Rapu, founder of This Present House, Lagos, equally remarked, "I am a Pentecostal in the sense of the Holy Spirit and the expressions of Pentecostalism but often times I consider myself post-Pentecostal."

There are at least five things that are causing the lines to be blurred between the Pentecostals and the non-Pentecostals. First, younger Pentecostals were reared in Pentecostal churches. Our research has demonstrated that 58 percent of the current Pentecostals were reared in a Pentecostal church. That means that Pentecostalism is their only experience with Christianity.

Second, the increasing Pentecostalization of many of the mainline churches is reducing the difference between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals. Again Paul Adefarasin said,

The experience of the fullness of the Holy Spirit, (and) the baptism of the Holy Spirit . . . is not the exclusive preserve of the so-called Pentecostal denominations. I have not seen so much difference between myself and my Baptist brother. We pray in the Holy Spirit together. We trust God for the manifestation of the gifts of Spirit together. We operate in the fivefold ministry gifts together; we flow together. We can no longer divide the body or the nation.

Third, much to the chagrin of some Pentecostal leaders, the Pentecostals are losing some of their most well-known distinctives. From our research, we were able to determine that only 41 percent of those who were self-proclaimed Pentecostals spoke in tongues. This statistic has been strongly contested by some Pentecostal leaders but quietly confirmed by others. What this means is that the most distinctive characteristic of Pentecostalism, the baptism of the Holy Spirit with evidence of speaking in tongues, is slowly being lost in the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements.

Pentecostal churches like the Apostolic Church and the Redeemed Christian Church of God.

31 Paul Adefarasin, Interview with Danny McCain on 1 May 2014.
32 Tony Rapu, Interview with Danny McCain 9 June 2011
33 "Final Report of Research Activities and Findings" from Nigeria Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Centre (University of Jos, Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria) to Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Initiative, Center for Religion and Civic Culture, University of Southern California, 31 October 2012, page 18
34 Adefarasin, Interview
Fourth, the participation of Pentecostals in CAN at the leadership level has reduced the friction between them and the non-Pentecostal Christian leaders and encouraged a greater respect between them. Pentecostals are affected in the same way as other Christians by the issues CAN stresses, including violence, corruption and moral leadership.

Fifth, persecution of the Church, particular in northern Nigeria, has not generally distinguished between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals. When the Church is attacked, all Christians suffer, regardless of their theological identities. Persecution tends to downplay differences and encourage unity within the body of Christ.

Because of these things, three generations after the Nigeria Civil War Revival which initiated the massive modern wave of Pentecostalism, the sharp boundaries between Pentecostalism and the mainline churches are less defined than before.

**Professionalizing the Image of Pentecostalism**

One phenomenon that has developed in the third generation of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements is the bi-vocational pastor. The Redeemed Christian Church of God has led the way in this practice. The majority of their local pastors and even overseers, sometimes even at the state level, are bankers, attorneys, medical doctors, accountants and other professionals. This has brought into the church a level of sophistication and professionalism that is unprecedented. This has led to many things, including:

- Professional musicians leading praise and worship
- Professional marketing techniques used to do public relations for the church
- Professional organizing of conferences, conventions and other special programmes
- Professional facilities being erected for worship and ministry
- Professional managing of the infrastructure of large churches, including parking, ushering, sound equipment, and hospitality.

The early days of Pentecostalism in both Nigeria and America were among what was considered to be the grassroots common people. However, the maturing of Pentecostalism into its third generation has brought a level of sophistication that has surprised many observers. The modern Pentecostal churches are certainly not lagging behind and in many cases are leading the way in presenting a professional image of the Church to the world.

**Refining the Theology of Pentecostalism**

There have been subtle shifts of emphasis as Pentecostalism has grown and matured over the last 40 years. However, basic Pentecostal theology has largely
remained the same with one exception. During the last decade there has been a growing development of what is commonly called “kingdom theology.” This is a theology that sees God’s ultimate objective for this world as being illustrated in the Lord’s Prayer which says, “Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.”

The proponents of this view believe that God has created a kingdom which he wants to implement upon the earth that is based upon certain eternal unchanging kingdom principles. For example, in agriculture, there is the principle of sowing and reaping. If you sow good seed properly in good soil and cultivate it carefully, the result will almost certainly be a good crop. In a similar way, there are laws related to every other sphere of society. These include things like the laws of learning, laws of relationships, laws of leadership, laws of business, laws of health, and laws of worship. All other things being equal, to the extent a person or community or nation discovers and implements these kingdom laws, that person or community or nation will be successful in those areas of life.

One of the most obvious ways that this theology has influenced the Pentecostal movement is through a more refined understanding and presentation of the prosperity gospel. The mainstream presentation of the prosperity gospel over the last two to three decades has been a simple understanding that prosperity is one of the divine privileges of the child of God and that it is acquired through faith, like every other spiritual blessing.

However, during the last decade or so, we have seen a shift away from the emphasis that one acquires prosperity by faith to an emphasis on acquiring prosperity through following kingdom principles, which obviously includes faith. The laws and practices that relate to wealth acquisition include such things as correct thinking, good planning, personal integrity, hard work and financial discipline. When one practices these principles, the outcome will be wealth generation.

**Expanding the Focus of Pentecostal Ministry**

As described above, the original ministry emphasis of the early days of the Nigeria Civil War Revival was primarily evangelism and healing. In the eighties and early nineties, prosperity was the new emphasis. However, within the last decade and a half, the new emphasis within some Pentecostal churches has been a significant stress on social ministry—that is addressing the fundamental

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35 Vincent Anigbogu Interviewed by Danny McCain 30 June 2011
36 I have more fully developed this new teaching on prosperity in a paper, “From Idahosa to Adeyemi: the Evolving Theology of the Prosperity Gospel in Nigeria” presented at the 42nd Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Seattle, Washington on March 22, 2013
problems of society. Interestingly, this is a direct outflow of the growing kingdom theology.  

Over a four year period Don Miller and Ted Yamamori travelled to nineteen countries around the world visiting hundreds of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches and missions and ministries. This research resulted in their book, *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement*, in which they described the growing social consciousness within Pentecostal and Charismatic churches around the world. This book caught the attention of social researchers and spurred an intensive global study of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements.

Though Miller and Yamamori did not visit Nigeria for their initial research, if they had, they would have discovered the same kind of social consciousness here that they described in other parts of the world. Nigerian Pentecostalism, particularly in Lagos has gradually become engaged in many different kinds of social activities including:

- Remodelling and encouraging education in the public schools
- Creating simple insurance schemes for vulnerable children
- Reaching out to prostitutes, drug addicts and “area boys”
- Providing water and garbage disposal for communities
- Rehabilitating prisoners and providing legal services
- Training and assistance in wealth and job creation
- Providing health facilities and health services.

A specific example of this new emphasis is the work that has been done by Tony Rapu and his congregation, This Present House. The church was convinced that they must reach out to the needy around them. They created a ministry to prostitutes and “area boys” that has been very successful. For various reasons, it became difficult to bring all of these new converts to their home church in Lekki for Sunday services, so the church created a new branch in Iponri, Surulere, known as the God Bless Nigeria Church. This church visits

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communities in the Lagos area during the week and on Sunday mornings attempts to link up with the area boys and other needy people in the community.

They provide transportation to the God Bless Nigeria Church. When the first-time visitors arrive, they are given the opportunity to take a shower and are provided with a new set of clothes. They are offered a haircut, medical check-up, and are encouraged to complete an employment application. They then attend a high energy church service with a powerful gospel message. The majority of them respond to the invitation. After the service, they are provided a good meal and taken back home. The result of this amazing ministry is that about 40 percent of the people who ride that bus to God Bless Nigeria Church the first time are permanently delivered from the squalor and violence and evil of their communities.  

This effort has not only changed hundreds of young people who were essentially living on the streets but has also had a profound effect on the church as well. They appear to be trying hard to build God’s kingdom on earth as it is in heaven.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NIGERIAN CHRISTIANITY

No movement as large and powerful as the Nigeria Civil War Revival can descend upon a nation without leaving an impact upon the Christian faith in that nation. This movement certainly has done that. In fact, it has left both positive and negative footprints.

Positive Contributions

Some of the positive contributions of the Nigeria Civil War Revival and its progeny have already been identified in various forms, including:

- Evangelism leading to unprecedented church growth
- Repentance leading to a renewed emphasis on holiness
- Commitment leading to more genuine prayer and worship

However, there are other more lasting contributions that need to be noted.

It has changed worship in Nigeria to a more authentic African style of worship.

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40 Ronke Akinnola Interview conducted by Danny McCain 28 April 2012
41 For more information about this unique church, see http://www.godblessnigeriachurch.org/
42 There were also impacts upon the nation as a whole. However, in this presentation I am limiting my observations to the impact this movement made upon the Church.
One specific example of this movement’s impact on the mainline churches is how it has changed worship. Most mainline and evangelical churches today have adopted a much more Pentecostal style of worship. This includes:

- The use of western style bands with lively choruses
- The acceptance and practice of hand clapping and dancing in the church
- The raising of hands and a more participatory style of worship
- Louder and more spontaneous public praying
- The inclusion of Pentecostal clichés and congregational responses

It is my observation that this emotional and physical style of worship has released Africans to practice a more authentic style of worship than they had learned from the foreign missionaries. It seems obvious that the style of worship practiced in most Nigerian churches today touches the soul of the African much better than the earlier European and American styles of worship.

*It has brought life back to the church—the whole church.*

A movement such as the Nigeria Civil War Revival certainly created new churches. However, it has also changed the existing churches. Matthews Ojo has identified three responses that the mainline churches have passed through in their reaction to the Pentecostalized revival movement.

- Opposing the movement
- Ignoring the movement
- Accommodating the movement

In recent years, most of the mainline churches have had a renewed emphasis on prayer, evangelism, and personal commitment.

*It has re-ignited missions in Nigeria.*

Although indigenous Nigerian missionary organizations existed long before the Nigeria Civil War Revival, the enthusiasm and radical commitment of the university students to evangelism stimulated a direct and aggressive attempt to evangelize Muslims. The student movement that eventually led to the creation of Calvary Ministries (more commonly referred to as CAPRO), was initially committed to evangelizing Muslims. It later broadened its focus to include all unreached people’s group. The Nigeria Evangelical Mission Association (NEMA) was initiated by evangelical leaders but over the last two decades the primary leadership and driving force behind NEMA and its hundred-plus...

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43 This observation was made by Matthews Ojo in answering questions at the Nigeria Pentecostal and Charismatic Conference in Abuja in May 2014.
mission agencies have been the progeny of the Nigeria Civil War Revival.

*It has steer*ed Nigerian Christianity away from theological liberalism.

By the late sixties and early seventies, pastors and others who were sent off to Europe and America for theological training were returning with Western liberal approaches to the Bible and the Christian faith. However, the Nigeria Civil War Revival almost completely stopped those liberalizing tendencies. First, it made many people suspicious of any kind of theological education because the movement considered most theological education to be tainted. Second, those students that did go overseas to study theology went with a more vigorous personal faith which enabled them to withstand the pressures from their teachers and peers to compromise their faith. Thirdly, those theologians returning with a Christian faith that had been influenced by theological liberalism were largely side-lined.

In the 1960s, the Anglican Church in Nigeria was a fair reflection of the Anglican Church in the UK. However, as the revival fires burned throughout Nigeria, it seriously impacted the Anglicans to the point that the Nigerian Anglican communion is now one of the most conservative groups in the worldwide Anglican Communion and also one of the most conservative churches in Nigeria. It has seldom happened that a church that had already been infected with liberal theology would reject it and return to its orthodox and evangelical roots: but that is what has happened to the Anglicanism in Nigeria.

*It has created a generation of powerful Christian leaders.*

The campus ministry leaders in the late sixties and early seventies have matured to become the major Christian leaders in Nigeria today. The leadership required to harness and give direction to that spontaneous movement has paid big dividends for the church today.

**Negative Contributions**

I have already mentioned some of the negative things that have developed as a result of this movement. However, there have been other negative things that have arisen either directly or indirectly from this movement. I will only mention two interrelated issues:

44 Another negative issue that could be mentioned is the enthusiasm of the early evangelists sometimes led them to use unwise techniques in evangelizing in northern Nigeria, thus generating unnecessary confrontation with Islam. In addition, the independence in the movement and the lack of sound Biblical teaching have at times opened the door for syncretism to creep into the church.
The reaction against historical theological education encouraged an overly simplistic and allegorical style of interpreting and teaching the Bible.

The early days of the Nigeria Civil War Revival were characterized by serious Bible studies. Students spent hours studying the Bible and often developed an attitude that they did not need formal theological education. In fact, many viewed seminary education as the kiss of death to anyone who went there. Unfortunately, this led to a rather shallow view of scripture and encouraged an allegorical type of interpretation. Sermons were often preached on texts, taken completely out of context, to make points that had poor biblical support.

Not only did this result in the failure of these pastors to effectively communicate biblical truth, it encouraged their members to also adopt a similarly superficial Bible study regime. It has been only in the last 15 years or so that many of the major Pentecostal leaders have awakened to some of these superficial issues they had tolerated and even encouraged but are now seeing the need to address. For a number of years I have had the privilege of teaching at both West Africa Theological Seminary and at Evangel Theological Seminary, and it has been encouraging to me to see how many of the younger Pentecostal leaders have realized how far they are behind in getting sound theological education and how eager they are to correct it. Therefore, there has been an arrest and possibly the beginning of a reversal of this unhealthy development.

In addition to shallow preaching and teaching, this over-simplistic view of scripture, whereby isolated texts are utilized to support questionable doctrines and practices and leadership customs, has led to some unfortunate misinterpretations and misapplications in the Bible, including things like:

- The major focus on ancestral curses and demon-possessed believers
- The praying of imprecatory prayers against enemies
- The promotion of unbridled greed through an unscriptural emphasis on prosperity
- The unwholesome elevation of certain church leaders to almost divine status
- The misunderstanding of proper leadership roles in the church

The massive independent church movement that grew out of the Nigeria Civil War Revival unleashed a generation of unqualified pastors and church leaders.

Because the revival created suspicion against the mainline and evangelical church leaders, it encouraged an independent spirit among the leaders. Therefore, when a person with some leadership skill was born again, he or she often felt led to start a church or a ministry. Because the person had only a limited understanding of the Bible and often limited leadership ability, Nigeria became littered with lives that have been shattered by founders/presidents.

One of the biggest problems with the independent church movement was
the lack of accountability that was present with independent churches. This led to many problems.  

- It led to dictatorial or autocratic leadership styles that could not be questioned.  
- It led to funds being viewed as the personal property of the founder/general overseer.  
- It led to division in the body of Christ when subordinates wanted to create their own ministries.

LESSONS WE LEARN FROM THE NIGERIA CIVIL WAR REVIVAL

I will conclude this by briefly noting some of the lessons we can learn from the Nigeria Civil War Revival.

1. **Revival can happen in Africa.** East Africa, and particularly Uganda, experienced a powerful move of the Spirit a century ago. However, the Nigeria Civil War Revival in Nigeria that occurred during the living memory of many contemporary Christians demonstrates that revival can happen not only in West Africa but specifically in Nigeria.

2. **Revivals are normally accompanied by a stress on repentance and holiness.** This has been true of most revivals throughout history. It was true in Nigeria as well in the early days of the revival movement, though that aspect of the revival seemed to wane quickly.

3. **Revivals always result in conversions and church growth.** The Nigeria Civil War Revival, though starting with nominal church people, ultimately resulted in conversions of non-Christians of all sorts, including Muslims and adherents of traditional religion.

4. **Revivals often challenge and change the existing church structures.** The church scene today is totally different than it was in the mid-1960s. The movement was like a bulldozer, transforming everything that got in its way, including the mainline churches.

5. **Revivals normally are accompanied by signs and wonders and phenomenon.** One only has to listen to the testimonies and read the biographies of those who lived in those days to confirm that genuine signs and wonders were part of that movement.

6. **Revivals can be stopped or derailed.** The strong passionate feelings that arose as a result of the Nigeria Civil War Revival movement did not last. The enthusiasm for the things of God, the spontaneous miracles,
the extraordinary sensitivity and awareness of the things of God and the explosive growth of the church have been replaced by a more ordinary and routine and predictable practice of such things.

7. **Revival takes place among weak and imperfect human beings.** Revivals do not have to be accompanied by or produce perfect theology or perfect leaders or perfect churches. God can still work even in the midst of strange beliefs and practices and leaders with idiosyncrasies that grate the sensitivities of normal people.

8. **Revival is not incompatible with learning.** The Nigeria Civil War Revival was a revival on university campuses that arose primarily among intelligent young people, many of whom went on to become serious academics and professionals. The revival arose and was sustained primarily among the brightest and most educated young people.

9. **Revival leaves a lasting legacy.** As a direct result of the Nigeria Civil War Revival, lives and destinies were drastically changed. These changes produced churches, denominations, ministries and other organizations that did not exist before. These new entities have demonstrated that when genuine revival occurs among a people or a nation, good things will happen that will alter that area and those people forever.

**Conclusion**

The Nigeria Civil War Revival movement in Nigeria forever changed the face of Christianity in Nigeria and created a movement that is still evolving.

- The original participants are looking back to it with nostalgia.
- The young people remember it only through the testimonies of their fathers.
- The scholars are studying and documenting it for posterity.
- The body of Christ is benefitting from it, even 40 years later.

The church in Nigeria owes a debt of gratitude to those who were in the forefront of this movement. These youthful leaders who are now senior leaders of Christianity practiced a radical type of Christianity that helped to shape the kind of Christianity that is practiced in Nigeria today. The future of the Church is brighter today because of God’s mighty move in Nigeria yesterday.
## Appendix

### THINGS THAT ATTRACTED PEOPLE TO THE PENTECOSTAL REVIVAL

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