THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL

The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought

by

D. William Faupel

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Department of Theology

University of Birmingham
Birmingham
B15 2TT
England

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ABSTRACT

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D. William Faupel

Pentecostalism emerged in 1906 as a Movement distinct from Perfectionism when a small group of men and women experienced a revival in a tiny mission in Los Angeles, California, that was marked by an outbreak of glossolalia. This event signified for them that a new dispensation, the era of the Latter Rain, had dawned. Adherents understood the presence of unknown tongues to mean that a "Second Day of Pentecost" had taken place, which enabled them to announce in the languages of all nations, the last great message of warning to a dying world and a sleeping church.

The emergence and development of the Pentecostal message is interpreted in light of the model of a "paradigm shift" first articulated by Thomas Kuhn. Pentecostalism is understood as a specific "species" of a millenarian movement that took shape within nineteenth century Perfectionism. A biological model is used to organize the material.

Chapter One outlines the theoretical framework used to look at pentecostalism and sets the study in the context of previous research. In Chapter Two the Concept of the Pentecostal Message, as it emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, is analyzed. Chapter Three sets forth nineteenth century Perfectionism as the Womb in which the Pentecostal message took shape. Next the development of the

Pentecostal message as a fetus is discussed in a Chapter entitled **Gestation.** The **Birth** of Pentecostalism set forth in Chapter Five where the Azusa Revival and its spread are described. The theological divisions which took place following the initial revival are discussed in a chapter entitled **Growth.** Chapter Seven, **Reproduction**, treats the New Order of the Latter Rain, a revival that emerged within Pentecostalism following World War Two. Finally, in a chapter entitled **Maturity**, the conclusions of the study are drawn and possible scenarios for the future of the Movement based on the conclusions are set forth.

Approximately 99,000 words excluding appendix, footnotes and bibliography

Dedicated

in the memory of

Stanley H. Frodsham

whose life

embodied the best of

both revivals

and

Myrtle D. Beall

whose ministry

was formative

on my life

Have you visted the Cathedral of Freyburg and listened to that wonderful organist who, with such enchantment, draws the tears from the travelers eyes while he touches one after another, his wonderful keys, and makes you hear by turns the march of the armies upon the beach, or the voices of praise after it is calm? Well, thus the Eternal God, embracing at a glace the keyboard of sixty centuries, touches by turns, with the fingers of His Spirit, the keys which He had chosen for the unity of His celestial hymn. He lays His left hand upon Enoch, the seventh from Adam, and His right hand on John, the humble and sublime prisoner of Patmos. From the one the strain is heard: "Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of His saints;" from the other: "Behold He cometh with clouds." And between the notes of this hymn of three thousand years there is eternal harmony, and the angels stoop to listen, the elect of God are moved, and eternal life descends into men's souls.

Gaussen's Theopneustia, cited by D. Welsey Myland, The Revelation of Jesus Christ (Chicago, IL: Evangel Publishing House, 1911), p. xii.

PREFACE

The origins of this study began to form in my mind in 1972 while I was in process of writing The American Pentecostal Movement: A Bibliographical Essay. That early attempt to gain bibliographical control of Pentecostal literature for the American Theological Library Association awakened within me the need to explore the roots of my religious heritage.

My parents had been participants in the Revival Movement that became known as the New Order of the Latter Rain. Their understanding, as that of most adherents, was that this revival was something new and quite distinct from Pentecostalism. When browsing through the early Pentecostal periodicals while writing my bibliographic essay, however, I became struck by the similarities of Pentecostal origins and the New Order Revival and determined to explore this issue in depth. This dissertation is the result of that study.

Like most doctoral candidates who come to the end of the research process, I feel an overwhelming gratitude for the generous help and encouragement of countless number of persons who have shared their time, rare documents, precious memories and expertise. I am especially indebted to my advisor, Walter Hollenweger without whose direction, this study would never have been completed, to my family who never gave up on me and to my colleagues at Asbury Theological Seminary who gave constant affirmation.

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Families of early Pentecostal leaders and participants in the New Order Revival who graciously provided invaluable material include: James Lee Beall, Frank M. Boyd, Bill Britton, Fred Corum, Faith Frodsham Campbell, Paul Chappell, David Edwards, Oscar and Wilma Faupel, Paul Grubb, Pauline Parham, John Pike, Fred Poole Jr., and Carlton Spencer.

Libraries that opened their archives and special collections to me included: Asbury Theological Seminary, The Assemblies of God Archives, Beulah Hights Bible College, Central Bible College, Church of God Theological Seminary, Elim Bible College, Emmanuel College, Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary, The Library of Congress, New York Public Library Oral Roberts University, and Zion Bible College.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

> *To dream and make it come true, to realize the shape of what can be seen only in the mind's eye; to feel compelled to bring about the seemingly impossible--these are the prerogatives of man.*[1]

Charles Fox Parham lay dying. From six months of age, he had experienced repeated attacks of rheumatic fever. At nine years, he contacted rheumatism. His legs had become crippled by rickets. To ease the pain, he had become addicted to morphine. His health continued to deteriorate so that by his late teens, his doctor informed him that he did not have much longer to live. Lying in a semi-conscious state, Parham felt he was being punished for disobedience. He knew he would have to put down his "arms of rebellion and preach THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL." He cried out to God that he might "NOW . . . know the power of the age to come." Instantly he felt "the virtue of healing like a mighty electric current" go through his body. He claimed complete recovery.[2] Though his subsequent ministry was constantly plagued by controversy and personal tragedy, Parham held to

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[1]Kenelm Burridge, New Heaven New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 3.

[2]Sarah E. Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham: Founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement (Joplin, MO: Hunter Printing Company, 1930), pp. 2-9.

his vision undauntedly until his death. By that time, the Gospel he proclaimed was known as Pentecostalism.

Neither Parham's call nor his gospel was unique. His story, with slight variations, could be told of many of the early Pentecostal leaders. A dramatic healing or conversion had been the source of vision which gripped them in its power and thrust them out in proclamation. What was the Everlasting Gospel they proclaimed? Where had it come from? Many like Parham would claim and honestly believe that message had come as a direct revelation of God or from a reading of Scripture untainted by human commentary.[3] In point of fact, however, the roots of the message date back to the first half of the nineteenth century.

The emergence of Pentecostalism at the turn of the twentieth century was at once both the culmination of a

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[3]Parham reports that he had little access to books in his preparation for ministry. The most important to him were "a history of all the nations recording the facts from early historic times until 1874" and the Bible. With his mind a "clean slate," he believed he had been able to interpret the Bible for what it said, a typical nineteenth century "common sense" view. He states: "Thus with no preconceived ideas, with no knowledge of what creeds and doctrines meant, not having any traditional spectacles upon the eyes to see through . . . [the] Scriptures were entirely unbiased. I became thoroughly familiar with it, reading it just as it says." Sarah E. Parham, Life of Charles F. Parham, p. 3. The conviction that the message came directly from God through the reading of the Scriptures was universal among the early adherents. One other example will suffice to illustrate. William Piper, pastor of the Stone Church in Chicago, wrote in a preface to David Wesley Myland's classic, The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power (Chicago, IL: Evangel Publishing House, 1910): "No man could have thought these lectures out; they bear the imprint of heaven's teaching."

message and the beginning of a movement. The baptism of the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in an unknown tongue, the only unique feature of Pentecostalism, proved to be the final piece of a larger interlocking puzzle which had been painfully put together, piece by piece, within nineteenth-century Perfectionism. Once in place, the complete picture resulted in a theological revolution.

A more dynamic way to describe this process is in terms of a biological model: "gestation" and "birth." Using this analogy, it is possible to understand the formation of Pentecostal theology as a fetus developing in the womb of Perfectionism. Birth, in the form of the Movement, took place as a revival that was to have impact worldwide.

Six years elapsed between the articulation of the message and the birth of the Movement. Charles Parham's formulation of the Pentecostal distinctive in 1900 resulted in a beachhead being established in Kansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and Missouri.[4] It was the Azusa Street Revival which broke out in Los Angeles, California, in April, 1906, under the leadership of William J. Seymour, however, which marked the true birth of the Movement.[5] By the time the revival began to ebb in 1909, the Pentecostal message had spread

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[4]Sarah E. Parham, Life of Charles F. Parham, pp. 90-145.

[5]See Douglas J. Nelson, "For Such a Time as This: The Story of William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1981).

throughout the United States and had taken root in nearly every nation in the world.[6]

During the next fifty years, the Movement experienced steady, if unspectacular, growth. Aside from the running battle with its theological forebears and an occasional episode like the "Aimee Semple McPherson kidnapping,"[7] the Pentecostal Movement was largely ignored by the rest of society.[8] The situation changed dramatically when the distinctive feature of Pentecostalism broke the cultural barrier by taking root in the historic churches[9] and when

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[6]A. H. Argue cites some thirty countries where the Movement had taken root. The Apostolic Messenger (Winnipeg, Canada), 1 (November, 1908). The author's research shows that the Movement has been established in at least twenty more.

[7]Mrs. McPherson is the most noted exception to this general trend. Subject of at least a dozen biographies during her lifetime, "Sister Aimee" made headlines in over 100 issues of the Los Angeles Times between 1926 and 1944. During the same period, articles on some controversial aspects of her ministry appeared in The Christian Century, Harper's Magazine, Life, Literary Digest, The Nation, and The New Republic. Mary H. Kendzora, "The Homiletics of Aimee Semple McPherson" (Master's Thesis, Asbury Theological Seminary, 1979), pp. 133-43. The best biography to date is Nancy Barr Mavity, Sister Aimee (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1931).

[8]The best analysis to date of this period of Pentecostal history is summarized in William W. Menzies, "Withdrawal into Isolation," Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), pp. 177-82. Menzies contends that Holiness groups and Fundamentalists consistently repudiated Pentecostalism during the first four decades while the Movement was largely ignored by the rest of the church. The war with the first two groups ended in an uneasy truce when several Pentecostal denominations were invited to join with a number of Fundamentalist and Holiness groups in the formation of the National Association of Evangelicals.

[9]The cultural breakthrough is normally traced to Dennis Bennett's announcement to his parishioners at St. Mark's

indigenous charismatic movements in the third world were recognized as legitimate Christian bodies by the World Council of Churches.[10] Almost overnight, the public became aware that a sleeping giant was awakening on their doorstep. Walter J. Hollenweger's monumental study, "Handbuch der Pfingstbwegung," appearing in 1965-67, documents both the immensity and diversity of this "Lilliputian" character.[11]

Background to the Study

How is this Movement with such vast and diverse dimensions to be understood? Can a framework be constructed to provide an adequate perspective to interpret all the

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Episcopal Church in Van Nuys, California, on Sunday, April 3, 1960, that the Holy Spirit had granted him the gift of tongues. Robert Mapes Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 3; and Walter J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movements in the Churches (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), pp. 4, 5. Undoubtedly, the work of the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International and the influence of such men as David DuPlessis and Oral Roberts laid the groundwork for this breakthrough to take place. Richard Quebedeaux, "Beginnings in the 1950's," The New Charismatics: The Origins, Development, and Significance of Neo Pentecostalism (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1976), pp. 53-4; and Steve Durasoff, Bright Wind of the Spirit (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 167-8.

[10]For an extensive description of some of these indigenous movements, see Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, pp. 126-75.

[11]Walter J. Hollenweger, "Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung," 10 Volumes (Th.D. Dissertation, University of Zurich, 1965-67). In this massive study, Hollenweger documents the faith and practice of all the Pentecostal groups he was able to identify throughout the world. The results of his research are summarized in The Pentecostals.

facets of the Movement and its message? The recent awareness of Pentecostalism by the general public has been followed by an explosion of scholarly literature seeking to interpret the Movement. These publications have provided an abundance of new insights. With the appearance of each study, however, it is ever more apparent that an adequate framework in which to view the Movement holistically has remained elusive.

Past Approaches Examined

Broadly speaking, Pentecostalism has heretofore been interpreted either in terms of its ***doctrinal distinctive***, the baptism of the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in an unknown tongue, or by its ***behavioral characteristics*** such as the ***practice*** of speaking in tongues.

The Doctrinal Approach. Adherents have generally interpreted the Movement and its message in terms of its theological distinctive. The Assemblies of God historian William Menzies best articulates this view:

> The Pentecostal Movement is that group of sects within the Christian Church which is characterized by the belief that the occurrence mentioned in Acts 2 on the Day of Pentecost not only signaled the birth of the Church, but described an experience available to believers in all ages. The experience of an endument with power, called the 'baptism in the Holy Spirit,' is believed to be evidenced by the accompanying sign of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.[12]

This understanding has the positive effect of defining the Movement in terms of those groups who trace their

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[12]William Menzies, Anointed to Serve, p. 9.

origins to the Azusa Street Revival or its immediate antecedent, Charles Parham's "Apostolic Faith Movement."[13] This study accepts the parameters such a definition gives to the Movement but will demonstrate that it nonetheless has proven inadequate in several other respects.

Firstly, the "initial evidence" theory of Spirit-baptism did not appear in its present form until 1916. Prior to that time there was considerable fluidity of thought as to the exact nature of the function of tongues in relation to Spirit-baptism. Furthermore, several groups spawned by the Azusa Street Revival did not accept the doctrine in this form nor do they presently accept it.[14]

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[13]Groups such as the Pentecostal Holiness Church, The Church of God in Christ, and The Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) all trace their origins to the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In the first two instances, the groups clearly incorporated the Pentecostal distinctive through the direct influence of the Azusa Revival. The history of The Church of God is less clear. There is some evidence that the phenomenon of speaking in tongues occurred in their ranks prior to 1900. However, it is doubtful that this was identified as the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism until word was received of such teaching at Azusa.

[14]Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 4. Anderson's statement on this subject is somewhat misleading. He refers to a controversy generated by F. F. Bosworth within the Assemblies of God. Bosworth argued that glossolalia was only one of several evidences which God could use as the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The issue came to a head at the 1918 General Council where Bosworth's position was soundly defeated. However, the doctrine had already been adopted in that form by the General Council in 1916, and the essence of the doctrine had been expressed since the beginning of the Movement. The "Statement of Faith" appearing in the first issue of the paper promoting the Azusa Street Revival declares: "The Baptism with the Holy Ghost is a gift of power upon the sanctified life; so when we get it we have the same evidence as the Disciples received on the Day of Pentecost . . . speaking in new tongues." The Apostolic

Secondly, this doctrinal understanding has precluded an adequate basis for a thoroughgoing theological assessment of Pentecostalism. The definition tends to restrict theological interpretation to a study of glossolalia, or at best of pneumatology. The classic apology for Pentecostalism, Carl Brumback's What Meaneth This? A Pentecostal Answer to a Pentecostal Question, is a defense of speaking in tongues.[15] The two major theological critiques of the Movement to date, Frederick Dale Bruner's A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness[16] and James D. G. Dunn's Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today,[17] have centered exclusively on "Spirit-baptism" and the "Gifts of the Spirit." Even the most recent theological treatise by a classical Pentecostal theologian, Spirit-Baptism: A Pentecostal Alternative, is an apology in response to Bruner and Dunn.[18] Little effort has

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Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 2. Anderson is right in suggesting that not all Pentecostals agreed with this position, nor do all agree today. The real significance of the Bosworth controversy is that it shifted the focus of tongues as an "eschatological sign" to tongues as a "spiritual sign."

[15](Springfield, MO: The Gospel Publishing House, 1947).

[16](Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Co., 1970).

[17](London, ENG: SCM Press, 1970).

[18]Harold D. Hunter, Spirit-Baptism: A Pentecostal Alternative (New York, NY: University Press of America, 1983), p. xi.

been made to relate these distinctive claims to the other central themes of the Pentecostal message.

Thirdly, this doctrinal approach has tended to encourage the ahistorical belief that Pentecostalism emerged denovo at the turn of the twentieth century. Movements such as Montanism and Irvingism which taught Spirit-baptism and displayed similar manifestations are viewed as the proper antecedents, leaving both the impression that Pentecostalism was unanticipated and that it was unrelated to historical movements in the nineteenth century.[19]

Fourthly, Pentecostals, having an inadequate framework in which to interpret their origins, have therefore been impaired in understanding their subsequent history. Neither the three major controversies which have rent the Movement asunder (i.e., the Finished Work of Christ, the New Issue, and the New Order of the Latter Rain), nor the host of minor controversies which have emerged throughout the Movement's

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[19]At face value, this assertion at first seems to be an overstatement. A connection to the nineteenth-century Perfectionist Movement has long been recognized. Moreover, the social-spiritual condition of the era has been cited as a vacuum in which the Pentecostal Movement was a response. Yet having said that, the conviction of most Pentecostal scholarship maintains that the Pentecostal revival was unanticipated and that the theology of the baptism in the Holy Spirit evidenced by glossolalia followed the experience of the initial revival. This study will demonstrate that the revival was long-anticipated, that the theology had been hammered out prior to the revival, and that the baptism of the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in tongues was but the final link in a comprehensive theological paradigm.

history have been understood in relation to the claims of the initial message.[20]

Finally, this doctrinal understanding has precluded an adequate basis for a critical theological assessment of the Movement at any given point in its history. Failing to grasp its historical roots and seeking to gain acceptance within conservative Christianity, the leadership of the most visible elements of the Movement contend that Pentecostalism is, and always has been, Evangelicalism with a distinctive emphasis on the person and work of the Holy Spirit.[21] One writer makes the following statement:

> Pentecost is Fundamental . . . [the] five points of evangelical belief form the bedrock of Pentecostal belief. In every point our faith is historic, fundamental Christian faith, not in creed only but in practice and living hope.[22]

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[20]For a cataloging of the various controversies that have arisen in Pentecostal ranks, see Gordon F. Atter, The Third Force (Peterborough, Ontario: The College Press, 1962), pp. 130-53. He describes some twenty issues that have arisen during the history of the Movement.

[21]This conviction is demonstrated most vividly in the "Statement of Truth" adopted by the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America, an organization composed of fifteen Pentecostal denominations which was founded in 1948. Aside from article five relating to Pentecostal distinctives, the entire formulation is taken verbatim from the "Statement of Faith" composed in 1943 by the National Association of Evangelicals. The Full Pentecostal Statement appears in John Thomas Nichol, Pentecostalism, Revised Edition (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1971), pp. 4-5. On the basis of this statement, Nichol classifies Pentecostalism as a subgroup of American Fundamentalism/ Evangelicalism.

[22]Charles W. Conn, Pillars of Pentecost (Cleveland, TN: The Pathway Press, 1956), pp. 26-7.

Pentecostal groups that, for whatever reason, cannot subscribe to this assessment are perceived either as having departed from a pure Pentecostal orthodoxy or as being part of a bizarre fringe that has plagued the more responsible elements of the Movement since its beginning. This study contends that such an assessment can properly be determined only when the diversities within Pentecostalism are critiqued in light of the Movement's original ideology.

The Behavioral Approach. Outside observers of the Movement have tended to interpret Pentecostalism in terms of the *practice* of speaking in tongues.[23] This approach has the advantage of lending itself to the use of sociological and psychological categories. Behavioral characteristics of individual adherents and of the Movement as a whole have been compared with other movements in history. Normally this comparison has been confined to groups who practiced speaking in tongues, though on occasion comparisons have been based on some other criteria.[24] While this approach

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[23]See, for example, George Barton Cutten, Speaking with Tongues: Historically and Psychologically Considered (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1927); Felicitas D. Goodman, Speaking in Tongues: A Cross-Cultural Study of Glossolalia (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1972); John P. Kildahl, The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1972); William J. Samarin, Tongues of Men and Angels (New York, NY: Macmillan Company, 1972), and Cyril G. Williams, Tongues of the Spirit: A Study of Pentecostal Glossolalia and Related Phenomena (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 1981).

[24]A refreshing example of the exception is Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation (Indianapolis, IN: The

has provided many important insights, it has had several limitations as well.

Historically, the approach has ignored the theological context out of which Pentecostalism emerged linking it rather with antecedent movements where like practices and theological claims appeared. As in the doctrinal approach, concentration on the practice of glossolalia encouraged the ahistorical claims of its adherents.

Sociologically, the Movement has normally been interpreted in terms of some form of "deprivation" theory. Recent sociological studies have shown that deprivation is but one of many significant factors involved in the emergence and growth of a movement.[25] When used as the key to interpret the significance of Pentecostalism, it can result only in gross reductionism.

Theologically, the behavioral approach has failed thus far to provide an adequate basis for doctrinal analysis. Focus on behavioral characteristics within the context of Pentecostal life and worship have demonstrated implications for only pneumatological themes.

Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970). Interpreting glossolalia **psychologically** as an identity-altering experience and **sociologically** as a bridge burning act in which a recruit becomes identified with the movement, comparison is made possible with other types of "spontaneous" movements, p. 158.

[25]See, for example, Gottfried Oosterwal, Modern Messianic Movements as a Theological and Missionary Challenge (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1973), pp. 17-25.

Philosophically, the behavioral approach has made it impossible to evaluate critically the validity or the falsification of the Movement's claims. While the doctrinal approach has tended to fall into the trap of "naive realism," the behavioral approach has tended to regard Pentecostal doctrine as "useful fiction."

New Directions Explored

Two recent studies have profound implications for constructing a more nearly adequate framework and for providing new directions for future investigation. Donald Dayton argues that the baptism of the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in an unknown tongue, heretofore thought to be the key to understanding the Pentecostal message, was but one of five cardinal themes.[26] Robert Mapes Anderson contends that the "Second Coming of Christ" rather than "Spirit-baptism" was the focus of the message.[27]

Theological Roots. Dayton, working in the framework of historical theology, discovered what he describes as a "gestalt" of five characteristic Pentecostal themes: justification, sanctification, divine healing, the second coming, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit.[28] After showing that these doctrines recur frequently throughout the early

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[26]Donald W. Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1987).

[27]Robert Mapes Anderson, Vision of The Disinherited.

[28]Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, pp. 21-3.

Pentecostal literature, he demonstrates that this constellation was carried over intact from late nineteenth-century Perfectionism. The only factor added was the claim that "the baptism in the Holy Spirit" is evidenced by glossolalia.

Dayton argues that Pentecostalism is a logical consequence resulting from a shift in Perfectionism's theological paradigm. At the heart of Perfectionism is the concern that the purposes of God are realized both in the life of the individual and in the world. What happened, Dayton contends, is that the Perfectionist's view of *how* God accomplishes His purposes was transformed. This change of perception shifted from "gradual within history" to "instantaneous beyond history." Dayton investigates the impact this shift of perception made on the five characteristic themes. Finally, he shows that the key to discovering the inner logic of the message is found in the four names assigned to the Movement: Full Gospel, Latter Rain, Apostolic Faith, and Pentecostal. The first referred to the five-fold doctrinal pattern. The other three provided the infrastructure which gave the message its dynamic coherence.[29]

Sociological Reasons. Anderson operates within the framework of social history. His study demonstrates conclusively that although early adherents in the United States came from diverse racial, regional, and religious

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[29]Ibid., pp. 25-8.

backgrounds, nearly all came from one economic class, the working poor. All had experienced culture shock stemming from the rapid urban industrialization which took place following the Civil War. Many adherents found themselves transplanted into unfamiliar, often harsh, circumstances of the urban ghetto. The rest were faced with the pain of adjustment to rural decay, a second condition that rapid industrialization had created. Of this relatively large class of people, only those who had a predisposition "to understand religion as a matter of the heart in which miracle has a central place (i.e., holiness, revivalistic, and certain forms of Catholic traditions)" were attracted to the Movement.[30]

While recognizing Spirit-baptism to be an important Pentecostal theme, Anderson nonetheless insists that the "Second Coming" was the focus of the message.[31] In light of this analysis, he concludes that Pentecostalism, at least in its initial stage, should be classified as a specific form of millenarian movement.[32]

The Problem

In 1928, Theodore Gunnerson of Norway argued that the message Pentecostals proclaimed was: "'the Lord is coming!' The near millennium and still nearer 'rapture of the saints

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[30]Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, pp. 133-6.

[31]Ibid., p. 97

[32]Ibid., p. 4.

from earth' shall be prepared by a new Pentecost of the Spirit."[33] This claim, available only in his native language, remained unknown to the English-speaking world until 1964 when The Pentecostal Movement, written by a fellow Norwegian, was translated.[34] The author, Nils Bloch-Hoell, briefly considered and then rejected Gunnerson's following contention:

> This is not correct. Eschatology is certainly a necessary part of the Pentecostal message. It is a consequence of the biblicism of the Movement, and it is also in accordance with the fancy for the extraordinary and perturbing. Apart from this, eschatology in itself does not appear to have assumed any unusual importance.[35]

Until Anderson raised the issue in 1979, no other historian of Pentecostalism had even hinted at this claim. Why was it not evident? Why, when similar claims were made in a revival that swept the Pentecostal Movement in 1948, was the message then rejected? It is in an effort to answer these and other questions that this investigation has been undertaken.

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[33]Nils Bloch-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origin, Development and Distinctive Character (Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget, 1964), p. 87. Citing Th. Gunnarson, Dommedagsventing. Millennismen og dens innslag i norsk kristendom (Bergen, Norway: Bibliotheca Norveg. Sacrae VI, 1928), p. 76.

[34]Ibid., This work is a translation based on his Pinsebevegelsen. En underokelse av pinsebeveselsens tilblivelsul ukvivling og saerpreg med saerlig henblikk pa bevegelsens utforming i Norge (Bergen, Norveg, 1956).

[35]Ibid., pp. 87-8

Statement of the Problem

This investigation will explore in depth the thesis "American Pentecostalism can best be understood as the emergence of a millenarian belief system that resulted from a paradigm-shift which took place within nineteenth-century Perfectionism." In seeking to demonstrate the thesis, this study will further refine Dayton's analysis to show why the Perfectionism which produced the Pentecostal Movement rejected its message. Following Anderson's cue that Pentecostalism arose as a millenarian movement, the study will reveal why Pentecostalism upon successfully establishing itself as a movement was subsequently racked by theological controversy. It will explain why Pentecostalism failed to recognize its original faith claims in the message of the "New Order of the Latter Rain," rejecting rather, the message of this revival as theological heresy. It will account for the "loss of memory" of the original message from the consciousness of subsequent generations of Pentecostals. Finally, it will demonstrate that a recovery and reflection of the initial expectations are necessary if Pentecostalism hopes to enter into meaningful dialogue with other theological traditions.

Delimitations of the Problem

Historically, in an attempt to place American Pentecostalism in the sweep of history, the scope of this dissertation encompasses the time period starting with the colonization of North America by the Puritans in the

seventeenth century to the present day. The primary focus, however, covers the period 1857-1918. During this period, Pentecostalism was conceived as a system of thought and was brought to fruition establishing itself as a separate Movement. A second time period, 1947-1953, is also highlighted to examine a revival known as "The New Order of the Latter Rain" which swept Pentecostalism.

Geographically, this study is limited to a focus of the United States and Canada except in those instances where the worldwide impact of the message influenced American Pentecostalism's self-understanding.

Theologically, focus is limited to major developments within Pentecostal thought. Major developments in this instance are defined as those elements which had impact on a significant portion of either Perfectionism or Pentecostalism.

Theoretical Framework

This dissertation is *primarily* a study in historical theology concerned with the development and transmission of ideas. The particular ideas under consideration developed within one theological tradition, broke from it, and, as a new phenomenon, proceeded in a different direction.
In an effort to account for and interpret the emergence, growth, and significance of Pentecostalism, a new theoretical framework will be constructed. First, the emergence of Pentecostalism will be viewed as a paradigm-

shift which took place within nineteenth-century Perfectionism. Secondly, the focus will be narrowed to the "species-specific" aspects of the paradigm, namely, interpreting the emergence of Pentecostalism as a form of millenarianism.

The Development and Transmission of Ideas Through Paradigms

Thomas Kuhn's The Structure of Scientific Revolutions[36] has won wide acclaim among scholars in diverse fields.[37]

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[36]Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[37]As examples of Kuhn's widespread influence, see references to his work in such diverse writings as Arthur Koestler and J. R. Smythies, editors, Beyond Reductionism (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1971), especially p. 228; Jean Piaget, Structuralism (London, England: Routledge and Paul, 1971), p. 132; Karl W. Deutsch, et. al., "Conditions Favoring Major Advances in Social Science," Science, 171 (February 5, 1971), pp. 450-9; David H. Fischer, Historian's Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 169; J. G. A. Pocock, Politics, Language and Time (New York, NY: Alheneum, 1971), p. 15; George W. Stocking, Jr., Race, Culture, and Evolution (New York, NY: Free Press, 1968), p. 302; David A. Hollinger, "T. S. Kuhn's Theory of Science and Its Implications for History," American Historical Review 78 (1973), pp. 370-98; Ian G. Barbour, Myths, Models and Paradigms (London, England: SCM Press, 1974), pp. 1-48, 92-146; John G. Gager, Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976), pp. 14, 16; James S. Ackerman, "The Demise of the Avante Garde: Notes on the Sociology of Recent American Art," Comparative Studies in Society and History 11 (October 1969), p. 372; Murray G. Murphy, "On the Relation Between Science and Religion," American Quarterly 20 (Summer, 1968), pp. 275-95; Sheldon S. Wolin, "Paradigms and Political Theories," in Preston King and B. C. Parekh, editors, Politics and Experience (London, England: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 125-52; Reba N. Soffer, "The Revolution in English Social Thought," American Historical Review 75 (1969-1970), pp. 1938-64; and Nathan G. Hale, Jr., Freud and the Americans: The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in

This is because he had constructed a theory of history, which though applied to science, has proven to be truly interdisciplinary in nature. The generic sense of historical development inherent in his model presents a compelling understanding of such relationships as permanence to change, knowledge to culture, and history to value.[38]

Viewing Traditions as Paradigms. Kuhn understands a tradition to be a paradigm through which all activities and ideas are defined and controlled. The paradigm contains certain principles or *models* which have proven their ability to order the experience of a certain constituency. A living tradition, he contends, establishes a sense of coherence within a given community by providing criteria to distinguish one activity from another and to set priorities among them. Thus for him, a tradition is a paradigm which is socially grounded and whose function is to provide organization to its constituent community.

Through the passage of time, the community encounters change from both within and without. As long as the governing models are able to stretch their implications in order to interpret the new data without losing their identity, the paradigm remains intact. However, if a growing number of anomalies occur, the community experiences a sense of disorder and increasing unease. Models are

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the United States 1876-1917 (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 71-115.

[38]David A. Hollinger, "T. S. Kuhn's Theory of Science and Its Implications for History," p. 371.

stretched to the breaking point in divergent directions. Often in an effort to resolve the problem in such situations, the models are reformulated resulting in a ***paradigm-shift*** that challenges the very foundations of the community's presuppositions.[39]

Perceiving Paradigm-Shifts as Revolutions. Kuhn demonstrates in the field of science that when such a shift does occur it has far-reaching effects. If it is to survive, the new paradigm must replace the old. Adherents of both compete for the allegiance of the constituent community. Finally, a choice must be made. Either one group "converts" or the community splits into two opposing traditions that develop along separate lines. When conversion does take place, it is not the result of step-by-step logic and purely rational grounds. Kuhn contends:

> Though each may hope to convert the other to his way of seeing . . . [the] problems, neither may hope to prove his case. The competition between paradigms is not the sort of battle that can be resolved by proofs. . . . Before they can hope to communicate fully, one group or the other must experience the conversion we have been calling a paradigm-shift. Just because it is a transition between incommensurables, the transition between competing paradigms cannot be made a step at a time, forced by logic and neutral experience. Like a gestalt switch, it must occur all at once or not at all.[40]

Once the conflict is resolved, the surviving paradigm(s) seeks to restore order.

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[39]Ian Barbour, Myths, Models, and Paradigms, p. 104.

[40]Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, p. 150.

Evaluating the Paradigm Model's Significance. Kuhn's model has several advantages for historical investigation. It is indifferent to overall patterns and ultimate meanings in history. For him, there is neither a determinate life cycle nor any implication that certain change must come. His theory does not hold that change is always gradual, cataclysmic, or dialectical, nor does it contend that change is always caused either from within or without. It is non-teleological in that it does not imply either progress or decline. While it does depict *integration* and *order* as the goals of tradition, this is not seen as an organizing device to satisfy certain economic or psychosocial drives. It seeks to explain the terms by which a tradition either justifies itself or loses its compelling power.[41]

It is therefore possible to use this theoretical model to interpret the emergence of Pentecostalism as a paradigm-shift without suggesting that this was inevitable--the result of economic deprivation or some form of spiritual orgasm. It suggests rather that the new paradigm was the result of a search for another way to account for the growing number of anomalies occurring within Perfectionism.

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[41]David Hollinger, "T. S. Kuhn's Theory," pp. 375-6.

The Development and Transmission of Ideas in a Millenarian Tradition

Kuhn's understanding of "paradigm" has proven to be generic and therefore relevant to all fields of historical inquiry.[42] To interpret the emergence of Pentecostalism within this framework, however, the focus must be narrowed to the "species-specific" aspects of Kuhn's model. That is, taking a cue from Anderson, Pentecostalism will be viewed as a specific form of millenarianism.

In recent years, millenarianism has been the subject of a growing body of literature coming from a variety of disciplines.[43] While the literature is diverse and

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[42]David H. Fischer, Historians Fallacies, p. 169.

[43]Serious systematic study of millenarian movements as a social phenomenon began in 1957 with the publication of Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1957). In this classic study, Cohn argued that the rise of totalitarian governments in the twentieth century had their roots in the millenarian-utopian tradition. A rash of publications followed by anthropologists who saw the phenomenon as reaction to culture shock; by psychologists who viewed it as instances of mental stress; by political scientists who believed it to be the source of revolutionary movements; and by sociologists of religion who perceived it as essentially religious sectarianism. While the perspectives of the author determined what was seen in the phenomenon, some sense of potential synthesis from these disciplines emerged in 1960 in a conference sponsored by the journal Comparative Studies in Society and History. The papers presented then were edited and published by Sylvia L. Thrupp, Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study, Supplement 2, Comparative Studies in Society and History (The Hague: Mouton, 1962). For an excellent bibliographic essay on this literature, though now somewhat dated, see Weston LaBarre, "Materials for a History of Studies in Crisis Cults: A Bibliographic Essay," Current Anthropology, 12 (1971), pp. 3-44.

sometimes contradictory, a consensus is emerging as it relates to most of the questions posed by this dissertation.[44] The following discussion is a summary of this thought as it applies to the study under investigation.

Millenarianism: a Type of Religion. Whatever else it may become, a millenarian movement is initially religious in nature.[45] Like all religions, it seeks to justify and explain the arena of human existence in terms of the eternal nature of things.[46] This establishment of a "sacred cosmos," as Peter Berger defines religion, is but one example of his broader assertion that every society is an enterprise in world-building. Berger contends that human worlds are by their very nature social constructions. Conceptions, values, goals, duties, and social roles which provide meaning to life are products of human creativity in the social order. These must constantly be created, adapted, maintained, and legitimated. Berger sees two phases in this enterprise: ***world-construction*** and ***world-maintenance***. The first comes into play when a new "world" is brought into being and seeks to establish itself in

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[44]Michael Barkun, "The Nature and Scope of Millenarian Movements," Disaster and the Millennium (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 18-9.

[45]Gottfried Oosterwal, Modern Messianic Movements, p. 7.

[46]I accept Robert N. Bellah's definition for religion as "a set of symbolic forms and acts that relate man to the ultimate conditions of his existence." Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World (New York, NY: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1970), p. 21.

competition with numerous other "worlds." If it succeeds, its focus changes to that of maintaining its existence.[47]

A millenarian movement, as a special form of religion, seeks to ground its world in the sacred order by claiming that this "sacred canopy" is about to be imposed upon all human society. The task of the movement is to announce the imminent coming of the new order, seek to experience the reality of that order in its own life, and to take measures that will initiate its consummation.

If the movement establishes itself successfully, it becomes apparent that the age-to-come may be delayed. The movement is then forced to undergo transformation. World-maintenance in the *present order* becomes its chief concern. Its message is refocused to meet these new needs.[48]

Characteristics Shared by Millenarian Movements. Having described the relationship of millenarian movements to religion in general, attention is now focused on those features that all millenarian movements share in common. Michael Barkun contends that even a cursory reading of millenarian studies reveals a general consensus. He offers the following description as characteristic:

> Intense emotional expression, aims so sweepingly comprehensive that outsiders regard them as impossible to attain; claims to esoteric knowledge and some

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[47]Peter L. Berger, The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), pp. 3-52.

[48]Ibid., p. 33-4.

> measure of control of basic social and historical processes; dependence upon charismatic leadership; blanket condemnation of the existing social and political order, coupled with a total renunciation of its claims to legitimacy; association with periods of disaster, change and social upheaval; breach of accepted norms, laws, and taboos; high risk-taking, and withdrawal from conventional social, political, religious, and economic relationships. In short, millenarian movements . . . enfolds its members in a belief system that provides meaning and explanation for virtually all problems and in a round of activities that allays feelings of personal insecurity and builds a new and strong sense of identity.[49]

Understanding Millenarian Movements Holistically. How are these movements to be understood? Once again a reading of this secondary literature reveals growing agreement. These movements must be interpreted holistically if their significances are to be adequately grasped.[50] A holistic understanding, according to these studies, takes into account precipitating factors, enabling factors, an inspirational factor, and organizational factors.

Precipitating factors include such things as social disintegration, catastrophes, economic deprivation, political oppression, culture clash, psychological stress, etc. ***Enabling factors*** are the traditional beliefs of potential converts that can be "rediscovered or reinterpreted; systematized, changed, and syncretized." The ***inspirational factor*** is the prophet, messiah, martyr, or event that caused the movement to coalesce and "take off."

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[49]Michael Barkun, "The Nature and Scope of Millenarian Movements," pp. 18-9.

[50]Gottfried Oosterwal, Modern Messianic Movements, pp. 24, 30.

Organizational factors give the movement structure, provide the methods for recruitment and indoctrination, and determine how adaptations will be made to accommodate changing circumstances.[51]

No one factor--social, political, economical, cultural, psychological, or historical--can be seen as the cause of such a movement. The totality of human factors acts as a ***catalyst*** to accelerate, stimulate, and shape messianic expectations.[52]

The Message of Millenarian Movements. The message of a millenarian movement is a belief system which provides its adherents with an explanation for all their problems and as such creates a sense of new meaning to their lives.[53] Eschatological in focus, this belief system is a separate category apart from the other factors which brought the movement into being. It is a ***sui generis*** having its own rationale and functions as the creative center of the movement.[54]

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[51]Ibid., pp. 32-5.

[52]Ibid., p. 24.

[53]Michael Barkun, "The Nature and Scope of Millenarian Movements," p. 19.

[54]Gottfried Oosterwal, Modern Messianic Movements, pp. 8-9.

The Evaluation and Assessment of Truth Claims Through the Use of Models

Ian Barbour has argued convincingly that not only is it possible to use Kuhn's thesis to interpret this history of a religious paradigm, but that it is appropriate to use it to evaluate the truth claims of that paradigm as well.[55] To support his argument, he draws heavily on recent works in the area of the philosophy of science. The investigator shall summarize Barbour's argument, as it applies to this dissertation, under three headings: 1) The Nature of Truth Claims; 2) The Role of Models; and 3) The Correspondence of Science to Religion.

The Nature of Truth Claims. Since the turn of this century, there has been a growing conviction that the truth claims of science are based on objective fact while the truth claims of religion are grounded in subjective faith. Philosophers of religion have recognized that religious language, taken literally, has become increasingly incompatible with modern thought. Likewise, the discussions of the symbolic and analogical character of religious language which are dependent on the metaphysical assumptions of Platonism and scholasticism can no longer be presupposed. Influenced by the social sciences, attention is increasingly focused on the function of religious language rather than its meaning.[56]

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[55]Ian Barbour, Myths Models and Paradigms, pp. 5-11.

[56]Ibid., pp. 1-3.

Accepting the physical sciences as the prototype for all genuine knowledge, truth claims of religious language are designated as "useful fiction." Religious truth claims are perceived as "useful" because they provide an important function in society: evoking self commitment; recommending a way of life; endorsing a set of moral principles. In short, some sort of religious commitment is necessary to insure the cohesiveness of a well-ordered society. However, it is normally argued that since religious truth claims cannot be verified by "sense" data, they cannot be proven true or false. They are therefore rendered meaningless.[57]

This view is based on the conviction that science starts from publicly observable data which can be described in pure observation language independent of theoretical assumptions. This perception is further extended to assert that theories can be verified or falsified by comparison with this fixed experimental data. The choice between the truth claims of competing theories is made on rational, objective grounds. Kuhn's analysis of the history of science has proven this view to be inaccurate. He has demonstrated that both the procedures for making observation and the language in which data are described are theory laden. He has shown that discordant data alone has been insufficient to falsify an accepted theory. Even when a new theory is offered to account for the data, acceptance is

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[57]Ibid., pp. 4-5.

based on "conversion" through persuasion rather than by rational argument.[58]

What this means, Barbour contends, is that the truth claims of science and religion can no longer be kept in separate categories. If objective falsifying conditions for scientific "truth" cannot be established, it is unreasonable to insist on such conditions to establish the truth claims of religious beliefs. In both cases, truth is rooted, at least partially, in the subjective.[59] To describe the emerging understanding of the nature of truth claims, Barbour introduces the concept of "models."

The Role of Models. Since the early 1960's, "model construction" has been used in many intellectual disciplines. In the physical sciences, theoretical models are employed to provide a symbolic representation of some aspect of the world that is not directly accessible to man. Such things as genes, viruses, atoms, electrons, etc., have never been seen. Their existence, description, function, and behavior were predicted and tested on the basis of an imaginative analogy to something familiar. The model is tested systematically. Points of correspondence and differences to the analogy are noted. Theories are extended or modified to fit with the results of the testing. Models understood in this sense provide a mental picture that can

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[58]Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, pp. 92-110.

[59]Ian Barbour, Myths, Models and Paradigms, p. 10.

be grasped as a whole. It portrays in vivid visual expression a summary of complex relationships. However, the model employed is not understood as a photograph of reality. Rather, it is perceived as an "abstract symbol system" which inadequately represents particular aspects of the world for specific purposes. The extent of the model's truthfulness is determined by degree of correspondence to the analogy.[60]

Barbour argues that models employed in religion contain the same features as those in science.[61] Religious models are analogical. God, for example, is variously depicted as ruling monarch, loving father, and mother hen protecting her chicks. Religious models are organizing images used to interpret patterns of human experiences: "awe and reverence, moral obligation, reorientation and reconciliation, interpersonal relationships, key historical events, and order and creativity." Correspondence to reality is systematically tested to determine the aspects of similarity and differences with the analogy used. As such,

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[60]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[61]Barbour recognizes that models in religion have functional roles that models in science do not have.

> They express and evoke distinctive attitudes. They encourage allegiance to a way of life and adherence to policies of action; their vivid imagery elicits self-commitment and ethical dedication. . . . This self-involving and evaluational character of religion contrasts with the more detached and neutral character of science.

Ibid., p. 7.

religious models are partial depictions of reality that enable a person to grasp the essence of a complex whole.[62]

The use of model construction, Barbour maintains, provides both science and religion a similar basis for testing truth claims. Though partial in scope, models are the only access to reality we have. The challenge is to construct more appropriate models which better conform to reality. Attention is now directed to other points of correspondence Barbour sees between scientific and religious paradigms.

The Correspondence of Science to Religion. Barbour contends that scientific paradigms correspond to religious traditions at three significant points. In presenting his argument, he finds it necessary to modify Kuhn's thesis slightly to demonstrate the relationships.

First, he suggests that although all scientific data are theory laden, it is possible to make a pragmatic distinction between the more theoretical and the more observational terms in any particular context. Rival theories will be less incomprehensible to their protagonists if an overlapping core of observation statements on which they concur is found. Likewise, while admitting there are no uninterpreted religious experiences, Barbour argues that descriptions of these experiences can be set forth in a manner that is relatively free of doctrinal interpretation. Shared religious experience can be reflected upon in such a

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[62]Ibid., p. 8.

way as to make dialogue possible between adherents of rival religious paradigms.

Second, while accepting the thesis that comprehensive theories in science are resistant to falsification, Barbour contends that the cumulative weight of discordant data provides a rationale for abandoning the theory in face of a promising alternative. In the meantime, resistance to change insures that all of the possibilities the original theory provides will be explored. In the same manner, resistance to falsification in religious paradigms allows its potentialities to be systematically examined. However, the cumulative weight of evidence does count for or against continued acceptance of religious beliefs as well.

Finally, while embracing the view that the transformation of scientific paradigms takes place through persuasion and conversion rather than by logical argument, Barbour nonetheless insists that in the early stages there are criteria which are independent of either paradigm that could enable scientists to assess the arguments for and against the proposed theory. By becoming more aware of the process by which paradigms gain acceptance, the whole process can be made more rational. The same, he believes, is true in the area of religious commitment. Such commitment is not incompatible with critical reflection.[63]

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[63]Ibid., pp. 9-11.

The Development of a Theoretical Framework: A Synthesis

This brief summary of Kuhn's analysis of history and the emerging consensus of the nature of millenarian movements provide a promising perspective from which to interpret Pentecostalism.

Kuhn's model provides the framework by which the developments of the Pentecostal message can be traced. It explains why these developments occurred (to seek answers for the growing anomalies in the existing tradition); gives a rationale as to why Pentecostalism was rejected by most of Perfectionist's leadership (the survival of that tradition was at stake); and accounts for the subsequent theological controversies within Pentecostalism (once established, a new paradigm needs to define a new orthodoxy). Because Kuhn's model grounds the transmission of ideas in a social community, the development of the Pentecostal message can be traced against the backdrop of its socio-economic context.

Within this general framework, focusing on Pentecostalism as a specific form of millenarianism makes greater precision possible when seeking to understand why the message developed the way it did. Anyone having knowledge of the primary sources of the initial Pentecostal revival will immediately recognize that this Movement shares many of the general characteristics of millenarianism. The holistic approach provides a fresh perspective from which to interpret old data. Precipitating factors are those anomalies for which Perfectionism failed to adequately

account. Enabling factors are those patterns within Perfectionism which were reformulated in Pentecostalism transforming the existing world-view. The inspirational factor is the person whose particular reformulation "launched the new movement off the pad." Organizational factors became increasingly prominent as the new paradigm established itself and sought to bring order for the new community.

This same theoretical framework will be used to interpret the "New Order of the Latter Rain." When Pentecostalism made the transition from world-construction to world-maintenance, one of the distressing anomalies for a portion of the Movement was the fact that the Movement changed its character. It was becoming increasingly like the churches it had sought to reform. Viewed from this perspective, the "New Order of the Latter Rain" is understood to have sought to *reproduce* and *perpetuate* the world-construction phase of the Pentecostal Movement.

Definitions

Several terms are employed repeatedly throughout this investigation. Many of these are subject to a variety of interpretations in other settings. Therefore, they need precise definitions to establish the way they will be used in this study.

Eschatology: a system of belief or world-view which produces the conviction that history is about to come to an

immediate, turbulent end and that it will be replaced by a new, perfect society.[64]

Evangelicalism: with reference to the twentieth century, Evangelicalism is the conservative wing of American Protestantism which was largely influenced by the Princeton theology of Charles Hodge and B. B. Warfield. Having its roots in the seventeenth century, it understands itself to be the faithful preserver of the Reformation. With reference to the nineteenth century, it is equated with the revivalism of Charles Finney.[65]

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[64]Gottfried Oosterwal, Modern Messianic Movement, p. 9.

[65]A precise definition of Evangelicalism is difficult and subject to much debate. This writer's definition for the twentieth century is an effort to summarize John H. Gerstner's essay, "The Theological Boundaries of Evangelical Faith," appearing in the influential book The Evangelicals: What They Believe, Who They Are, Where They Are Changing edited by David F. Wells and John D. Woodbridge (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1975), pp. 21-37. Donald Dayton argues that the word has undergone three distinct changes of meaning. Chronologically, the first meaning refers to the Reformers and the Protestant tradition spawned by them. The second is associated with Charles G. Finney and nineteenth-century American Revivalism which marked the end of the cultural dominance of the "Old Calvinism" on the American scene. The contemporary use of the term emerged in the aftermath of the Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy of the 1920's. Rooted in the Princeton theology of the Hodges, Warfield, and Machen, who preserved the "Old Calvinists" school of thought, this understanding of evangelical is considered to be the true reading of the Reformation by many contemporary Christians who use the term. While there is considerable overlap, Dayton argues that modern Evangelicalism places its central focus on "right doctrine" and the preservation of a particular brand of "orthodoxy." Nineteenth-century Evangelicalism, on the other hand, was more concerned with the personal appropriation of grace. Donald Dayton, Discovering an Evangelical Heritage (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1976), pp. 137-8.

Gerstner, in a backhanded way, acknowledges the three distinctions made by Dayton. Regarding Finney, he writes:

Holiness Movement: the segment of nineteenth-century Perfectionism that emerged as a synthesis of historic pietism, American Revivalism, and Wesleyan Perfectionism.[66]

> Through his influence, evangelicalism underwent a major change in meaning. His Pelagianism subverted the Reformation's understanding of grace precisely because it denies the Reformation's view of man. . . . To this extent, Finney, the greatest of nineteenth-century evangelists, became the greatest of nineteenth-century foes of evangelicalism.

Regarding the relationship of modern Evangelicalism to the Reformation, he states:

> Virtually all the earliest evangelicals such as Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Knox, Crammer, . . . and **to the purest degree** . . . [emphasis mine] . . .Edwards, Hodge, and Warfield, etc., believed that the biblical evangel was the message of salvation by grace alone through faith alone.

Thus others who standing in the Reformed tradition, but in a stream not mediated by Hodge, Warfield, etc., are seen outside the boundaries. For example, of Barth, Gerstner writes:

> The twentieth century has seen the emergence of 'crisis theology' spearheaded by Karl Barth and going under the name of evangelical. Yet if the process of seeking definitions is valid, then it is plain that Barthians are not evangelical in an historical sense. If the term evangelical can include Karl Barth as well as Carl Henry . . . then we must give it a definition so broad as to be somewhat meaningless.

Gerstner, The Evangelicals, pp. 27, 35. By defining nineteenth-century revivalism as a "subversion" and "distortion" of evangelicalism and by suggesting that a reading of the Reformers without the lens of Princeton theology is outside the boundary of meaningful definition, Gerstner has presented the self-understanding of such groups as the National Association of Evangelicals. Perfectionist and Pentecostalist groups who hold membership in this Association but whose theological origins are rooted in nineteenth-century Revivalism are thus caught in the constant dilemma of being forced to define their faith in categories which deny the legitimacy of their origins.

[66]Melvin E. Dieter, The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press,

Keswick Movement: the segment of the Holiness Movement whose adherents are drawn largely from the Reformed tradition. Sanctification is understood as a "process" flowing out of justification. Spirit-baptism is viewed as a definite experience subsequent to justification in which the believer is "empowered" for Christian ministry.[67]

Millenarianism: those movements which expect immediate, total, violent destruction of the existing social, political, and economic order which will be superseded by a new, perfect society.[68]

Movement: "a group of people who are organized for, ideologically motivated by, and committed to a purpose which implements some form of personal or social change; who are actively engaged in the recruitment of others; and whose influence is spreading in opposition to the established order within which it originates."[69]

Myth: the basic presuppositions which provide a movement with ways of constructing its world-view. It creates the structural framework by which all experience can

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Inc., 1980), p. 3. For a more extended definition, see Donald Dayton, "Toward a Definition," The American Holiness Movement: A Bibliographic Introduction (Wilmore, KY: Asbury Theological Seminary, 1971), pp. 9-26. Dayton distinguishes the Holiness Movement from the Keswick Movement, Methodism, and Pentecostalism but sees all rooted in Perfectionism.

[67]For an introduction to Keswick, see David D. Bundy, Keswick: A Bibliographic Introduction to the Higher Life Movements (Wilmore, KY: Asbury Theological Seminary, 1975).

[68]Michael Barkun, Disaster and the Millennium, p. 18.

[69]Luther Gerlach and Virginia Hine, People, Power, Change, p. xvi.

be interpreted and by which self-identity can be established. Archetypal events in both primordial and historic time often serve as models for the present. These patterns are reenacted in rituals which integrate a movement around common memories and shared goals.[70] In millenarian

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[70]Ian Barbour, Myths, Models and Paradigms, p. 6. It is an unfortunate but understandable fact that at this point in history the concept of "myth" is a loaded and often misunderstood term. In an attempt to relate it to the ideas and way of thinking of the "scientific age," it has been often understood as an untruth, something to be disregarded when man has "come of age." In reaction to this view as it relates to the Bible, many conservative Christians have insisted the concept itself be discarded and the truth of Biblical claims be accepted on the basis of a "scientific" way of thinking. The studies of C. G. Jung and others have demonstrated that the concept of "myth" is still a valid one, indeed that the whole concept of the "scientific age" is an excellent example of myth. The writer's understanding of myth is well expressed by Thomas Fawcett, "Myths," The Symbolic Language of Religion (London, England: SCM Press, 1970), pp. 95-113. He suggests that myth incorporates the following elements:

1) It is concerned with the meaning of human existence at the deepest possible level;

2) It is the medium of revelation rather than man's self-expression;

3) It emerges from the universal rather than from individual consciousness;

4) It is akin to parable in that it operates symbolically in a narrative form, but unlike symbol, it deals not with one idea but with a complexity of interrelating ideas that provide a framework from which life can be understood;

5) Myth operates at the level of metaphor rather than allegory or simile. In myths, there is no key to be discovered to unlock an allegorical code nor the comparative analogy. The existential meaning is not clothed in the symbol used but perceived through it;

6) Myth operates within the framework of symbolic models which provide the space in which the drama of the myth is acted out.

movements, the primordial archetype will be reproduced in the imminent golden age.[71]

Paradigm: the mechanism by which the fundamental motifs of a movement are transmitted through history by the use of models.[72]

Pentecostalism: a movement which emerged during a revival in Los Angeles, California, in 1906, where speaking in tongues was regarded as the sign initiating the end of the present age, the means by which announcement of this news would be proclaimed to the nations, and the seal assuring individual participation in the Bride of Christ.[73]

Perfectionism: a diverse group of movements both religious and secular which dominated nineteenth-century American life. These movements sought to understand the ultimate purpose of the individual as well as the destiny of history and tried to assist in bringing those goals into being.[74]

Religion: a set of symbolic forms and rituals relating persons to the ultimate considerations of their being and to the eternal order of things.[75]

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[71]Gottfried Oosterwal, Modern Messianic Movements, p. 10.

[72]Ian Barbour, Myths Models, and Paradigms, p. 9.

[73]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 4.

[74]For an overview of many of these groups, see George C. Bedell, Leo Sandon, Jr., and Charles T. Wellborn, "Uptopian and Perfectionist Movements," Religion in America (New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1975), pp. 188-91.

Third Blessing: those Perfectionist's groups who taught the Holiness doctrine of sanctification as a second work of grace and subscribed to the Keswick doctrine of Spirit-baptism as a third crisis experience.[76]

World-construction: the process whereby a new social world is brought into being and seeks to establish itself with the numerous existing worlds.[77]

World-maintenance: the process whereby an established social world is maintained and legitimated for those who inhabit it.[78]

Other terms introduced in this study will generally be confined to one chapter and shall be defined in the context of the discussion.

Organization

Having set forth the theoretical consideration by which Pentecostalism is to be interpreted, a biological model is employed for the organization of the dissertation. The fact that the theological tradition under investigation is rooted in a social community supports the contention that this paradigm takes on a life of its own which in turn shapes the life of the Pentecostal community. The material will be

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[75]Robert Bellah, Beyond Belief, p. 21.

[76]Vinson Synan, "The Fire Baptized Way," The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 55-76.

[77]Peter L. Berger, "Religion and World-Construction," The Sacred Canopy, pp. 3-28.

[78]Peter L. Berger, "Religion and World-Maintenance," The Sacred Canopy, pp. 53-80.

organized around the following biological categories: conception, womb, gestation, birth, growth and reproduction.

Conception. One of the most abstract terms in the English language, *concept*, is rooted in one of the most concrete acts in human experience, *conception*. The male sperm fertilizes the egg in the womb of the female and new life begins. When the child is born it will have features of the parents, but at the same time will be a unique new entity. All the traits a newborn displays are inherent from conception. These, however, do not become fully visible until birth takes place. The author will examine the *concept* that ultimately produced the Pentecostal Movement. The remainder of the dissertation then traces the development of this concept in its historical context.

Womb. This chapter sets forth the context in which American Pentecostalism emerged. The theological traditions which shaped its thought (i.e., Reformed and Wesleyan Perfectionism), are sketched in summary fashion. The writer suggests that conception took place when these two traditions came together during the height of the 1857-58 revival.

Gestation. Relying on Dayton's work, this chapter will trace the prenatal development of Pentecostal thought showing the anomalies as they were recognized and the processes by which existing models were stretched to account for them.

Birth. Birth in the form of the Pentecostal Movement took place in Los Angeles, California, under the leadership of William J. Seymour. This chapter will argue that the Movement sought to embody message, claiming to have experienced the reality of the age-to-come in its own life. Advocates took the message first to constituent communities throughout the world and, from that base, announced the warning of coming judgment to the nations. Because Perfectionism recognized that its very life was at stake, battle was engaged between competing paradigms.

Growth. As it became clear that Pentecostalism would survive, the Movement turned inward. Models were developed in new directions, claims reassessed, and boundaries defined. This chapter examines two theological controversies that took place within Pentecostalism in this light. When this phase of development was over, dogmatic organizations had replaced a dynamic organism. The Movement was rent with schism. The variant readings of the message were frozen in creedal form. Becoming sectarian in spirit, the message Pentecostalism once embodied and still proclaimed became increasingly divorced from reality. The cosmic understanding of the message was lost while the existential dimension was retained.

Reproduction. The discontinuity between the claims of the message and the experience of the constituent community

was apparent to many and caused increasing unease. For many of the same reasons that Pentecostalism came into being, the "New Order of the Latter Rain" was born. Like its parent before, it reformulated the models, recapturing an eschatological focus. It, too, joined battle with its parent paradigm. But in face of this external opposition and the internal controversies which followed, it refused to organize. Therefore, once the revival spirit ebbed, the Movement slipped beneath the surface, leaving a host of independent constituencies scattered in its wake.

A chapter, entitled, ***Birth Pangs***, which focused on three forerunners of Pentecostalism--Alexander Dowie, Frank Sandford, and Charles Parham--has been omitted in order that this dissertation not exceed the word limit set by the University of Birmingham. Though this chapter illuminates the basic thesis, it is not central to its argument. The writer anticipates that this chapter will be incorporated into the published form of his dissertation.

Chapter Two

CONCEPTION: THE PENTECOSTAL MESSAGE

> *When all things began, the World already was . . . . through him all things came to be, no single thing was created without him. All that came to be was alive with his life, and . . . . the Word became flesh; he came to dwell among us.*
>
> *John 1:1-5, 14*

One of the most abstract terms in the English language, *concept*, is rooted in one of the most concrete acts of human experience, *conception*. The male sperm fertilizes the egg in the womb of the female and new life begins. When the child is born, it will have the features of both parents. At the same time it will be a unique new entity. All the traits a newborn displays are inherent from conception. These, however, do not become fully visible until birth takes place.

Movements, too, have a life of their own. Like humans, they, too, have parentage. American Pentecostalism was *conceived* in the midst of the 1847-8 revival, the offspring of the Wesleyan Holiness Movement and Oberlin Perfectionism.[1] The Pentecostal message had developed in

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[1]Donald W. Dayton, "From 'Christian Perfection' to the Baptism of the Holy Ghost," Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins, ed. Vinson Synan (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), p. 45.

the womb of Perfectionism for sixty years before it burst forth as a movement having its own identity. Its *conception*, *gestation* and *birth* will be set forth in chapters three through five. This chapter will discuss the *concept* of Pentecostal thought in the abstract before tracing its development in the concrete experience of human history.

The early Pentecostals found it necessary to use two names to identify their message. In addition, they discovered that it took four phrases to describe fully their understanding of the Movement. When these six terms are analyzed, the infrastructure of the message is uncovered. The two names that the adherents assigned to the Pentecostal message provided both *its* focus and *their* task. The four names which they ascribed to the Movement provided the substructure for the message.[2]

The Focus of the Message

The Second Coming of Jesus was the central concern of the initial Pentecostal message. As the movement spread throughout the world, the message was the same. In February, 1908, Mrs. E. A. Sexton of Atlanta, Georgia, editorialized in The Bridegroom's Messenger: "Jesus is coming! Jesus is coming! . . . Wherever this Pentecostal revival has reached . . . the message of His coming is

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[2]Although some of the material cited in this chapter was written either before or after the initial Pentecostal revival, all material is consistent with the message as it was proclaimed during the period when the movement was theologically unified.

usually given in a 'new tongue' in the power of the Spirit."[3]

This eschatological hope dominating the formative phase of the movement found its clearest formulation in two phrases: ***The Everlasting Gospel*** and ***This Gospel of the Kingdom***. These two expressions, used interchangeably, were the names which the early adherents assigned to their message. The first phrase is taken from the Revelation of St. John 14:6-7:

> And I saw another angel flying through the heavens, carrying the Everlasting Gospel to preach to those on earth--to every nation, tribe, language and people. "Fear God," he shouted, "and extol His greatness for the time has come when he will sit as Judge!"

The second phrase is taken from St. Matthew 24:14: "This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached to all the world for a witness unto all nations and then shall the end come."

Frank W. Sandford from Shilo, Maine, used the first expression to summarize his message. Changing the title of his periodical from Tongues of Fire to The Everlasting Gospel in 1901, he pronounced his gospel to be "the last solemn message of the age."[4] One month before the Assemblies of God was born, The Word and Witness, the paper which issued the call for that denomination's organizing convention, used the second theme to express the focus of the Pentecostal message:

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[3]Elizabeth A. Sexton, "Editorial," The Bridegroom's Messenger, 1 (February 1, 1908), p. 1.

[4]Frank W. Sandford, The Everlasting Gospel, 1 (January 1, 1901), p. 1.

> This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations: and then shall the end come. We believe under God this is the great message for these days. Baptized Saints are agreed and confidently assured that we are on the threshold of the greatest event in the history of the world, viz: The imminent appearing of Jesus Christ.[5]

The twin expressions gave the Pentecostal message its eschatological focus and directed the movement toward a two-fold mission: "The task of the Pentecostal Movement . . . is . . .to preach the Gospel to the world as a last call of the Lord and to sound the midnight cry: 'Behold the Bridegroom! Come ye forth to meet Him'"[6] Attention is now directed to this two-fold task.

A Witness to the Nations

The belief in the imminent premillennial return of Christ proved to be the primary motivation for evangelization and world mission. As one early writer expressed the urgency of the hour: "With almost a billion souls yet unreached by the gospel, O how we ought to haste to the ends of the earth with the glad news of salvation before it is too late."[7]

The Purpose of Witness. Despite the apparent concern for the souls of mankind, the early adherents did not

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[5]C. W. Downey, "The Gospel of the Kingdom," The Word and Witness, 10 (March 20, 1914), p. 2.

[6]"German Thoughts about the Sunderland Convention," Confidence, 6 (August, 1913), p. 156.

[7]"The Latter Days," Word and Work, 29 (September, 1907), p. 231.

understand their task to be converting the world to Christ. Their *real* concern was to engage in activity which would hasten the return of Christ. Elizabeth Baker expressed the prevailing view when she noted that the Matthian passage did not say "This Gospel of the Kingdom . . . will save all nations," but rather:

> God meant a witness should be given to all the people of the earth, that Jesus Christ has come and is coming again, as King of the earth, and He Himself cannot come until this is preached.[8]

They scoffed at those who would "take the world for Christ," arguing that Christians should pray that Christ would come "to take it for Himself." Instead of concentrating on the *conversion* of mankind, for which they did not feel responsible, the early Pentecostals proclaimed their mission to be the *evangelization* of the world.[9]

The Power for Witness. The Pentecostals felt that they were amply equipped for their task. The message of pending judgment which they felt compelled to announce to the nations was to be authenticated by mighty signs and wonders.[10] The "Signs of the Times" were observed

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[8]Elizabeth V. Baker, "The Gospel of the Kingdom," Trust, 12 (February, 1914), p. 3.

[9]E. Marvin, "Second Coming: This Blessed Hope," The Herald of Light (June 9, 1906), p. 3.

[10]The Markan version of the great commission (16:15-8) was usually cited as support for this expectation.

> And he said to them, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to the whole creation. He who believes and is baptized will be saved, but he who does not believe will be condemned. And these signs will accompany

everywhere.[11] Elizabeth Sisson confidently declared the Pentecostals themselves to be a mighty "sign people" raised up by God "to do a special work connected with the Second Advent."[12] She continued:

> It is God constantly keeping before . . . the nations of the earth a mighty sign, in a host of people, by whom He is everyhow and constantly emphasizing . . . that He is changing the dispensation . . . that He is warning all men to flee the wrath to come.[13]

Baptized by Christ with the Holy Spirit, these people proclaimed that they were equipped with the nine-fold gifts mentioned in I Corinthians, chapter fourteen,[14] which when exercised, would leave no doubt that their message came

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> those who believe; in my name they will cast out demons, they will speak in new tongues; they will pick up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them; they will lay hands on the sick, and they will recover.

[11]The signs of the Markan commission specifically were seen as functioning to authenticate the truth of the Pentecostal message. Lumped together they became a part of the "signs of the times," pointing to the soon return of Christ, but only one of many. The signs cited generally followed the prevailing premillennial teaching. Alexander Boddy's listing, under seven different categories, is typical: 1) The Times of the Gentiles are at an end. (Boddy used a variety of numeric schemes on biblical passages, to demonstrate the accuracy of this claim); 2) The return of the Jews to their homeland; 3) The prophecy of Daniel's image with feet of iron and clay, an image which Boddy saw fulfilled in the current political situation of pre-World War I Europe; 4) The Great Apostasy of the Church, (both Roman Catholicism and Modernism); 5) An increase of earthquakes and other natural disasters; 6) The Gospel proclaimed to the Nations as witness; and 7) The Latter Rain message being outpoured. Alexander A. Boddy, "Seven Signs of His Coming," Confidence (December, 1910), pp. 281-8.

[12]Elizabeth Sisson, A Sign People (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1918), p. 9.

[13]Ibid., p. 15.

[14]See footnote 57.

directly from God. Divine healing and the gift of miracles, in particular, were singled out as important gifts for their task:

> Divine healing and supernatural deliverances from affliction and trouble . . . are divine displays among us that are unheard of outside of the Bible . . . The awful calamities and shocking occurrences that are breaking out on every side today are but the activities of Satan to offset the mighty revival displays of the power of God that are sure to girdle the globe with glory and belt this ball with fire in the near future.[15]

Not only did these gifts function as authenticating signs, they were also understood as God's means of enabling His chosen people to accomplish their task. Because Christ's return was imminent, not enough time remained to prepare for evangelization and mission in the conventional ways. A college education was depreciated because adherents believed that the Holy Spirit was a far better teacher than a college professor.[16] They also believed that "the gift of

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[15]Thomas H. Nelson, "Healing in the Latter Days," The Way of Faith, 14 (April 14, 1904), p. 5.

[16]Elizabeth Sisson, for example makes this clear when she wrote:

> The Holy Spirit Himself is the Teacher, and when 'baptized in the Holy Ghost and fire,' then education *begins* on this higher plane. Life, . . . the school, our daily Providences are the tools in this Master workman's hands whereby He brings forth in us the full image of Christ.

Elizabeth Sisson, Foregleams of Glory (Chicago, IL: Evangel Publishing House, 1912), p. 67.

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languages" would be the chief instrument to proclaim their gospel to the nations.[17]

> If Jesus tarries until we have to learn all the languages of the world in colleges, He will not come soon, for not one hundredth part of the languages of the world is known or taught in our high schools and colleges. It is daring mockery to say this world will be evangelized through the channel of education . . . The gift of languages of the world by the Holy Spirit is of more importance.[18]

The early Pentecostals had deep yearning to rule and reign with Christ. To hasten that day, they eagerly sought to proclaim with authority and power, "this Gospel of the Kingdom . . . placing the claims of their Lord and Master before the whole world, if perchance some may accept Him as Lord and Savior."[19]

A Warning to the Church

While the early Pentecostal devoted a great deal of effort to mission and evangelism, this was not their primary focus. J. Roswell Flower recalled:

> Unlike revival movements of other days, the appeal of the movement, in its beginnings was not to the unconverted, but to earnest Christian believers in Christ who had already received a crisis experience called the new birth.[20]

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[17]The belief that "tongues" were actual languages was universal among adherents during the earliest stages of the revival. For an extensive discussion of this issue, see Appendix A.

[18]Mrs. E. A. Sexton, "College vs. Gifts of the Spirit," The Bridegroom's Messenger, 1 (October 1, 1907), p. 1.

[19]W. Hollinrake, "The Practical Effects of the Premillennial View," The Way of Faith, 28 (July 4, 1918), p. 6.

[20]J. Roswell Flower, "Foreword," in Klaude Kendrick, The Promise Fulfilled: A History of the Modern Pentecostal

The early records show that as the adherents fanned out around the world, they went first to existing missions to proclaim their gospel. Using "Latter Rain" imagery, they saw the early twentieth century as a final period of "rainfall" for the last spurt of spiritual growth before the tribulation sun came to ripen the grain for harvest.[21] Although this conviction was expressed by many metaphors, the favorite expression was "the Bride of Christ."[22] The movement set forth as its primary task to herald a midnight cry to a sleeping church, "Behold, the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him."

The Context. This wedding imagery is drawn from the context of the Revelation 16:6-7 and Matthew 24:14, the two

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Movement (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), p. v.

[21]We have only to look and we find again the early rain marks in evidence. First missionary efforts, . . . second, souls are being saved; and third, we again find the Spirit working in supernatural ways in signs, healings, tongues, gifts and visions. But do not stop here. For what purpose is God pouring out the rain? Is it not to ripen the Church? It is not to establish the Church, but to give her a mighty shaking and loosening. She is already too deeply rooted in the earth, so now He is pouring out the latter rain to moisten and loosen her and to ripen quickly the grain and mature the fruit that He might gather in the harvest.

John Wright Follette, "The Purpose of the Latter Rain," Arrows of Truth (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1969), p. 131.

[22]Other metaphors the Pentecostals used to express this emphasis included manifested sonship, joint-heirs with Christ, bringing forth the man-child, and the New Jerusalem. These terms were normally mentioned as corollaries to their favorite expression, The Bride of Christ.

key texts which gave focus to the Pentecostal Movement's two-fold mission. *The Everlasting Gospel* was announced by an angel in the Revelation of St. John while the 144,000 stood before the throne of God singing a new song:

> No one could learn that song except the hundred and forty-four thousand who had been redeemed from the earth. It is these who have not defiled themselves with women, for they are chaste, it is these who follow the Lamb wherever he goes, these have been redeemed from mankind as first fruits for God and the Lamb and in their mouth no lie was found, for they are spotless. Revelation 14:3-5.

Most early Pentecostals believed that these 144,000 composed Christ's Bride whose marriage to the Lamb is described in the Revelation of John 19:6-9.[23]

The alternate phrase, *This Gospel of the Kingdom*, is located in the midst of Jesus' Olivet Discourse (Matthew 24:1-25:46).[24] In this sermon Jesus likened the coming

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[23]Charles F. Parham, the first Pentecostal theologian, took this number literally: "Christ's Bride will be a small company, one hundred and forty-four thousand, taken out of His Body (the church)." A Voice Crying in the Wilderness (Baxter Springs, KS: The Author, 1902), p. 86. Most Pentecostals, however, accepted this as a symbolic number despite their insistence that the thousand-year reign of Christ, also found in the Revelation of John, be accepted as a literal figure.

[24]The Discourse was a response to two questions raised by the disciples regarding Jesus' teaching of the destruction of the Temple. The disciples asked: "When will this be?" and "What will be the sign of your coming at the close of the age?" Matthew 23:3. The Pentecostals believed that the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. was the fulfillment of Christ's answer to the first question. This in turn was seen as a *type* of the coming end of the Gospel age, and that Jesus' extended response was therefore addressed primarily to the second question which would take place much later. Since the whole discourse had this double fulfillment, Matthew 24:33-4 was of particular significance for their understanding.

kingdom to ten virgins who took their lamps and went to meet the bridegroom.

The Content. The prospect of participating in the imminent wedding set the tone of Pentecostal expectations. The first full-length book to be published in the wake of the Azusa Street Revival was an explication of this theme. The rather lengthy subtitle suggests that the author wanted to make sure that the subordinate concerns of the revival be understood in their eschatological context: The Spirit and the Bride: A Scriptural Presentation of the Operations, Manifestations, Gifts and Fruit of the Holy Spirit in Relation to His Bride with Special Reference to the Latter Rain Revival.[25] In this presentation, George F. Taylor announced that the Bride was making herself ready for the marriage supper of the Lamb. He appealed to the "sleeping church" to awaken and join in the bridal preparation. He insisted that the Bride would be composed only of those who were sealed with the Holy Spirit, evidenced by speaking in tongues:

> We can never be the bride of our Lord, nor designated as His bride until the old man is dead, for that would be spiritual adultery. The death of the old man does

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> So also, when you see all these things, you know that he is near, at the very gates. Truly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away till all these things take place.

Just as the generation to whom Jesus was speaking, witnessed the destruction of Jerusalem, so too, the Pentecostals reasoned, would the signs pointing to the end of the age, take place within one generation.

[25](Dunn, NC: The Author, 1907).

> not marry us to Jesus, nor mark us as His bride, but simply liberates us from the bondage of the law and makes us free to be married to another if we choose. The woman whose husband has died may live single if she chooses. After the death of the old man--after sanctification-- the real courtship between Christ and the saint begins. If that saint yields to all the wooings of the spirit, Christ will place upon that one "the seal"-- the engagement ring--which is no other than the Baptism of the Holy Ghost.[26]

Taylor's conviction that the Pentecostals, alone, would compose the "Bride of Christ," was widely held during the early years of the movement.[27] The Holiness teaching of entire sanctification subsequent to the Protestant understanding of justification was considered an essential preparation, but still not sufficient to become part of the Bride. As Taylor declared:

> Do you mean to tell me that sanctified people will not be in the bridehood? That is what this parable of the ten virgins. . . teaches, and I propose to stick with the Word, though the heavens fall; though it comes in contact [sic, conflict?] with all the man-made creeds in the world.[28]

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[26]Ibid. pp. 120-1.

[27]We learn that the Bride enjoys the Pentecostal Baptism which of necessity brings her to a place of yieldedness and suffering not realized by the great majority of believers. The slain lamb must have a slain bride.

A. G. Ward, Soul Food for Hungry Hearts (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1925), pp. 16-7. See also, Florence L. Crawford, "Preparing for Himself a Bride," The Apostolic Faith (Portland), no. 18 (January, 1909), p. 2; and Elizabeth A. Sexton, "The Bride of Christ," The Bridegroom's Messenger, 3 (May 1, 1910), p. 1.

[28]George F. Taylor, The Spirit and the Bride, p. 114. Taylor reasoned that neither the foolish nor wise virgins were the Bride, but rather they were part of the Bridal party. The wise virgins who had oil and whose lamps were trimmed were those Christians who had been entirely sanctified. They would be allowed to attend the marriage

The message to the church, then, was the announcement that the Bride, (i.e., The Pentecostal Movement), was putting on her garments in preparation for the marriage supper of the Lamb. If other Christians wished to join, they must receive the wedding ring, the seal of the Holy Spirit which was speaking in unknown tongues.[29]

The Structure of the Message

While the two names assigned to the ***Message*** furnished an eschatological ***focus*** and commissioned the movement to a two-fold task, the four names ascribed to the ***Movement*** created the ***structure*** for Pentecostal thought which provided its world-view.

The actual content of the early message was diverse. Hardly any two adherents were agreed on any given point. At first glance, it would appear that those who were swept into the movement simply brought along their past beliefs to which they added a new doctrine. It is, therefore, understandable that historians of Pentecostalism have often

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supper of the Lamb. The foolish virgins were those who had been justified from their sins, but had not been cleansed from their sinful nature. These would be denied entrance to the wedding banquet.

[29]The seal of the Holy Spirit was a much discussed term in the early Pentecostal circles. It is mentioned in three passages in the New Testament: II Corinthians 1:21-2; Ephesians 1:13-4; and Ephesians 4:30. Almost all of the early Pentecostals felt the "sealing" was the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, evidenced by speaking in tongues. They would agree with Charles Parham when he stated: "The fact remains that it is the Baptism of the Holy Spirit of promise, that seals the Bride." Charles F. Parham, A Voice Crying in the Wilderness, pp. 34-5.

concluded that the Movement's only unique feature, Spirit-baptism evidenced by speaking in an unknown tongue, was the extent of the Pentecostal message.[30]

Despite this diversity of opinion, however, it is possible to discover a framework which provided a coherent structure for the message. Though many elements were indeed carried over from other traditions, they were kept only if they fit into this new structure. Frequently, the new structure forced reinterpretation. At other points, it meant jettisoning a favorite doctrine.

The structure inherent in the four names ascribed to the Movement: 1) Full Gospel; 2) Latter Rain; 3) Apostolic Faith; and 4) Pentecostal provide a holistic understanding of the message. An explication of these motifs reveal the infrastructure which gave the message its logical coherence

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[30]Klaude Kendrick, for example, surveyed the variety of theological traditions found in the United States, correctly noting that many components of these traditions made their way into the Pentecostal Movement. "The Pentecostal Movement's Relationship to American Christianity," The Promise Fulfilled, pp. 3-16. Rather than arguing that these doctrines were recast in such a way as to formulate a new message, he states:

> The only distinctive characteristic that this new revival movement contributed to the American religious tradition was the emphasis that it placed upon the incident found in the second chapter of Acts.

Klaude Kendrick, The Promise Fulfilled, p. 1. Such an understanding was important when the movement sought to identify with mainstream evangelicalism. See William W. Menzies, "Cooperation: From Isolation to Evangelical Identification," Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), pp. 171-211. This view, though later expedient, hardly complies with the initial comprehension of the message.

and supplied the movement with its world-view. Whatever version of the message a given adherent held, the particular points were controlled by this hermeneutical key. Attention is therefore directed to an analysis of these motifs.

Full Gospel

The fundamental content of the initial message was called the Full Gospel. Donald Dayton has correctly recognized that five cardinal doctrines recur throughout the early literature. When taken together, they are identified with this motif.[31] These doctrinal themes were: 1) Justification by faith in Christ; 2) Sanctification as a second definite work of grace; 3) Healing of the body through the atoning work of Christ; 4) The premillennial return of Christ; and 5) The baptism of the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in unknown tongues.[32]

Justification. The Pentecostals understood this doctrinal theme, which was taken from the Reformed tradition, to mean that a person is pardoned from committed sins by believing in Christ's work on the cross. A person cannot merit salvation through good works, but only through faith in Christ's atoning death.[33]

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[31]Donald W. Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1987), pp. 19-21.

[32]Ibid.

[33]For a more complete description of the Pentecostal understanding of the doctrine of Justification, see Nils

Sanctification. This second theme, supplied by the Wesleyan tradition, teaches not only that a person can be pardoned from his sins through faith in Christ, but also that one's sinful nature can by removed through Christ's atoning work. This action, also apprehended by faith, takes place subsequent to justification. It creates the possibility for that person to live without committing sin. An understanding of sin as "the willful transgression of a known law" is essential for comprehending this doctrine.

Healing. The doctrine of healing through the atoning work of Christ came into prominence in the late nineteenth century. This doctrine hinges ultimately on a literal interpretation of I Peter 2:24: "He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness. By his wounds you have been healed."

The doctrine drew the logical conclusion that a person having sufficient faith to be justified and sanctified also had sufficient faith to be healed. Adherents of the doctrine normally discouraged using medicine or consulting a physician on the rationale that such practices demonstrated a lack of faith in the all-sufficient work of Christ. A. J.

Bloch-Hoell, "The Pentecostal Order of Salvation" Conversion, Justification by Faith, Instantaneous and Successive Sanctification, Baptism with the Holy Spirit," The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character (Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget, 1964), pp. 122-141.

Gordon and A. B. Simpson were two noted nineteenth-century proponents of the doctrine.

Second Coming. While the premillennial return of Christ is a recurring theme throughout the history of the church, the particular version propagated by most of the early Pentecostals had its roots in the teaching of John Nelson Darby, founder of the Plymouth Brethren. He based his view on I Thessalonians 4:16-7.

> For the Lord himself will descend from heaven with a cry of command, with the archangel's call, and with the sound of the trumpet of God. And the dead in Christ will rise first; then we who are alive, who are left, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

Darby contended that there would be a rapture of the church prior to a seven-year tribulation period during which the Antichrist would be revealed. At the end of the seven years, Christ would return with his saints and, in the great battle of Armageddon, defeat the satanic force. A thousand-year period would follow in which Christ would reign on earth with his saints. Satan would then be released for a season to test those who had not been raptured. The great white throne judgment would then take place when those judged righteous would be sent to Heaven and those found unrighteous would be doom to Hell.

Spirit Baptism. This doctrine as taught by the Pentecostals originated in the Keswick tradition in the late nineteenth century. Proponents such as D. L. Moody and R. A. Torrey taught that a special enduing with power for

Christian witness was given subsequent to justification. Most Pentecostals maintained that this work would follow the experience of entire sanctification and would be evidenced by speaking in tongues.

The Full Gospel motif provided the doctrinal emphasis as it applied to the life of the Christian believer. The three-fold work of Christ on the cross assured justification, sanctification, and healing. The ascended Christ baptized the believer with the fullness of the Spirit. The returning Christ became the ultimate hope of the believer's destiny. The sole Pentecostal contribution to this five-fold gospel was that the baptism of the Holy Spirit must be initially evidenced by speaking in an unknown tongue.

Latter Rain

The Latter Rain motif is based on a natural phenomenon which occurs in the land of Palestine each year-- the coming of the early and the latter rain. The former rain enabled the grain to take root each fall. Following a long winter, the latter rain would fall, giving a quick final growth to ripen the grain for harvest.[34] Deuteronomy 11:10-15 records

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[34]Most of the annual rainfall in Palestine occurs from December through early March. This is preceded by a season of showers in October (former rain) which softens the ground parched from a dry hot summer, making it ready for planting. The latter rain follows in April, ripening the grain. Alfred H. Joy, "Rain," The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, ed. James Orr, Vol. 4 (Chicago, IL: Howard-Severance Company, 1915), pp. 2525-6. The early Pentecostal adherents misunderstood this cycle, thinking the interval

that based on this natural occurrence, God made a covenant of promise with His chosen people, Israel, as they were about to possess the land of Canaan:

> For the land which you are entering to take possession of it is not like the land of Egypt, from which you have come, where you sowed your seed and watered it with your feet, like a garden of vegetables, but the land you are going over to possess is a land of hills and valleys, which drinks water by the rain from heaven, a land which the Lord your God cares for, the eyes of the Lord your God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year until the end of the year. And if you will obey my commandments which I command you this day, to love the Lord your God and to serve Him with all your heart and with all your soul, he will give the rain for your land in its season, the early and the latter rain, that you may gather in your grain and your wine and your oil and he will give grass in your fields of your cattle, and you shall eat and be full.

In addition to the Deuteronomy passage, seven other Biblical writers refer to the latter rain motif.[35] The Old Testament writers allude to the Deuteronomy covenant which links God's blessing (the early and latter rain) to the nation's obedience. Of these writers, the prophet Joel held most significance for the emerging Pentecostal theology.[36] He attached dispensational significance to this motif when, in the prophetic tradition, he looked to the day that Israel would regain her former glory at the end of the age. His

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between the former and latter rains was the dry parched summer rather than the winter of heavy rainfall.

[35]The references to the Early and Latter Rain motif are Job 29:29; Proverbs 16:15; Jeremiah 3:3, 5:24; Hosea 6:3; Joel 2:23; Zechariah 10:1; and James 5:7.

[36]Be glad O sons of Zion, and rejoice in the Lord, your God; for He has given the early rain for your vindication, He has poured down for you abundant rain, the early and the latter rain as before. Joel 2:23

analogy parallels the latter rain concept in Hebrew agriculture.[37]

Lost

> That which the Palmer worm has left, hath the Locust eaten; and that which the Locust has left, hath the Canker worm eaten, and that which the Canker worm has left, hath the Caterpillar eaten. Joel 1:4

Restored

> And I will restore to you all the years that the Locust hath eaten, the Canker worm, the Caterpillar and the Palmer worm, my great army which I sent among you. Joel 2:5

While not referring to the latter rain motif specifically, Peter saw the event of Pentecost as fulfilling its implications when he declared: "This is what was spoken by the prophet Joel . . ." (Acts 2:16).[38] The single

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[37]One of "Sister Aimee's" most famous sermons is based upon these texts. Applying the passages to the church age, she argued that the Pentecostal Movement is the promised prophetic fulfillment of restoration. Aimee Semple McPherson, Lost and Restored, or the Dispensation of the Holy Spirit from the Ascension of the Lord Jesus to His Coming Descension (Montwait, MA: The Author, 1921).

[38]In the Acts of the Apostles 2:11-22, Peter is portrayed as quoting Joel 2:28-31 as follows:

> This is what was spoken by the prophet Joel: And in the last days it shall be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh and your sons and your daughters will prophecy and your young men shall see visions and your old men shall dream dreams, yea on my men-servants and my maid-servants in those days I will pour out my Spirit; and they shall prophecy. And I will show wonders in the heaven above and signs on the earth beneath, blood and fire, and vapor of smoke; the sun shall be turned to darkness and the moon turned to blood before the Day of the Lord comes, the great and manifest day.

reference to the motif in the New Testament, James 5:7, links the latter rain directly to the Second Coming of Christ.

The Latter Rain Covenant motif provided the Pentecostal movement with its philosophy of history thus providing the general framework within which it saw its own role.

The Movement's Philosophy of History. The Latter Rain motif presents the broad framework for the Movement's world-view. It provided the structures, within which the whole of history, both human and divine was understood. The perception begins with the traditional Judeo-Christian doctrine of the creation of a perfect world, the fall, and consequent enslavement of humankind. Through a series of dispensations,[39] God acted to bring about man's

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[39]The early adherents neither agreed upon the number of dispensations nor upon their duration. Most theories subscribed either to three, focusing on the work of the persons in the Trinity; or to seven, contending that the Godhead worked in that sequence to bring about perfect completion (e.g., the days of creation). Sister Aimee, for example, held the former position.

> Just as there are three in the Godhead: Father, Son and Holy Ghost, so there have been three separate and distinct dispensations or periods of time. First came the dispensation of the Father as recorded in God's Word throughout the Old Testament from Genesis to Malachi. . . . Secondly, came the dispensation of the Son, as recorded in the four Gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John . . . . Thirdly, came the dispensation of the Holy Spirit which opened on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2). This dispensation we are still living in and will be living in until Jesus comes for His waiting Bride.

Aimee Semple McPherson, Lost and Restored, pp. 8-9. A variation of this three-fold understanding came from adherents who divided history into three two-thousand year

reconciliation with Himself by setting aside a people, both to reveal His intention to the nations, and to accomplish His purposes.

The Latter Rain Covenant concept was applied to each dispensation that a given adherent saw within salvation history. For example, William Piper, pastor of the Stone Church in Chicago, noted:

> God's . . . sovereignty operates at special times and in special cases, but always in the closing and opening of dispensations . . . . After the new dispensation is ushered in, then for the most part God operates along well-established principles--this is God's grace.[40]

Piper did not deny that God works sovereignly during other times in history, but rather emphasized that it was during transition periods between dispensations when one could expect as normative, God's supernatural power displayed. He

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periods: 1) The age of the Father--Creation to the Call of Abraham; 2) The age of the Son--The Call of Abraham to the Ascension of Christ; and 3) The age of the Holy Spirit--The Day of Pentecost until the Second Coming of Christ.

Those who held to seven dispensations generally accepted the following breakdown: 1)Innocence--Creation to the Fall; 2) Conscience--Fall to the Flood; 3) Human Government--Flood to the Tower of Babel; 4)Family--The Call of Abraham to the Exodus; 5) Law--Exodus to the Finished Work of Calvary; 6) Grace--The Resurrection of Christ to His Second Coming; and 7) Divine Government--A 1000 year millennium.

Frank M. Boyd combined the two, making a distinction between Ages of which he sees three: 1) Antediluvian--Creation to the Flood; 2) Present--Abraham to the Second Coming; and 3) The Age to Come--the Millennium; and Dispensations of which he accepts the above mentioned seven. Frank M. Boyd, Ages and Dispensations (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1955), pp. 18-112.

[40]William H. Piper, "The Lord Reigneth! He is Clothed with Majesty: God's Sovereignty Displayed in the Latter Rain," The Later Rain Evangel, 2 (December, 1909), p. 7.

pointed to the time of Noah, Moses, and John the Baptist as primary examples.

The second point that Piper made with which all Pentecostal adherents concurred was that God's sovereign acts at the close of an age duplicated the pattern demonstrated at the opening of that age. In the process, the pattern was transformed, opening the way for the dispensation which followed.[41] Implicit in this understanding of history is that God's chosen people tend to drift into apostasy between the opening and closing of any given dispensation. When the age draws to a close, only a faithful remnant recognize what is happening and respond in the manner God desires. These few then become the center for God's sovereign activity as the new age dawns.

The classic exposition for the Latter Rain Covenant motif was a series of lectures that D. Wesley Myland presented at the Stone Church during May-June, 1909.[42] Myland's hermeneutical principle for the interpretation of the Old Testament enabled him to set forth three levels of fulfillment for this covenant of promise: the literal, the typological, and the prophetic.[43] The *literal* pertained to

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[41]Ibid., pp. 7-9.

[42]These lectures were printed in The Latter Rain Evangel (June-October, 1909), and later published in book form under the title: The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power (Chicago, IL: Evangel Publishing House, 1910).

[43]David Wesley Myland, The Latter Rain Covenant, pp. 6, 23, 32.

the conditions of the covenant: God promised sufficient rainfall for the planting and ripening of the grain for harvest. He applied the *typological* to God's New Covenant people, the Church. In this interpretation, he followed the lead of his Perfectionistic forebears, equating the early rain to Justification and the latter rain to the Spirit-filled life.[44] This level of fulfillment occurred to a greater or lesser degree throughout the church age. However, it was the *prophetic* fulfillment which revealed "God's plan in the ages . . . bringing in the eternal kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ" that fascinated Myland most.[45] It was in this understanding, he believed, that the Pentecostal Movement discovered its particular place in salvation history and began to grasp the meaning of God's call to them.

The Movement's Self-Understanding. While the latter rain motif provided the broad structural framework in which the movement's philosophy of history was constructed, its focus was clearly directed to the turn of the twentieth

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[44]This common Holiness typological interpretation is seen in the title of a book by Martin Wells Knapp, Out of Egypt into Canaan: Or, Lessons in Spiritual Geography (Boston, MA: McDonald, Gill and Company, 1887). In making this interpretation, the Holiness movement broke with the common Protestant understanding which saw the Land of Promise as a type of heaven. This is clear in the second verse of a gospel song written by Knapp, entitled: "Sweet Rest in Canaan." It reads, "Once I thought this land of Canaan was a type of heaven above, But instead on earth I found it, In my Savior's perfect love." Ibid., p. 4.

[45]David Wesley Myland, the Latter Rain Covenant, pp. 6, 23, 32.

century. The motif was used to disclose the Pentecostal Movement as standing at the apex of history. Myland was convinced that the *prophetic* or dispensational fulfillment of the Latter Rain Covenant would take place with the *literal* and the *typological* aspects occurred simultaneously. He believed this was dawning in the emergence of Zionism and Pentecostalism.

> Those Jews have been working out the literal phase of the Latter Rain Covenant while we . . . have been working out the spiritual side, and when the literal and the spiritual come together, then is brought about a third phase, the dispensational aspect . . . We have literal Israel returning to their land at the same time that the literal latter rain is coming to its normal fall upon the land. This, together with the spiritual latter rain falling upon God's Spiritual Israel today, betokens in a remarkable way that the closing days of the Dispensation are upon us.[46]

In one sense, Pentecostals believed that the Day of Pentecost fulfilled both Joel's prophecy and the Latter Rain Covenant. However, they argued that the "This is What" of Peter's Pentecost sermon suggests that the covenant equally applied *within* the Church Age. The early rain, in this case, was the Day of Pentecost and the events which flowed from that day to establish the Church. The latter rain

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[46]Ibid., p. 106. Not only did Zionism interest Myland, the actual rainfall in Palestine did as well. His study of the rainfall pattern in the land from 1861-1907 revealed a significant increase when averaged in ten-year periods. See "Chart," Ibid., pp. 178-9.

The relationship of the Jews to the Latter Rain Movement was fully explored by W. H. Cossum in a series of lectures at the Stone Church in February, 1910. Like the Latter Rain Lectures, they were later published in The Latter Rain Evangel, and appeared in book form under the title: Mountain Peaks of Prophecy and Sacred History (Chicago, IL: Evangel Publishing House, 1910).

would fall at the end of the Church age, to ripen the harvest before Christ's return. Adherents pointed out that not all of Joel's prophecy quoted in Acts appeared to be fulfilled in the early church:

> most of Old Testament prophecy is two-fold, re: Joel's prophecy quoted by Peter (Joel 2:28-32 and Acts 2:17-20) was partially fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, but that its greater fulfillment is still future appears from Joel 2:30-32.[47]

A Brother Kelting made this contention explicit: "The blood and fire did not come on the first day of Pentecost, but . . . the Lord will come in our own time and then . . .[we] . . . will see these signs."[48]

They capped their argument by citing the single New Testament reference to this covenant, James 5:7: "Be patient, therefore, brethren until the coming of the Lord. Behold the farmer waits for the precious fruit of the earth being patient over it until it receives the early and the latter rain."

The Latter Rain motif provided the broad framework in which the Pentecostal world-view could be constructed. With salvation-history as Pentecostalism's theological center, the motif directed adherents' focus toward the role that the Pentecostal movement would play in the culmination of that history.

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[47]George F. Taylor, The Spirit and the Bride, p. 91.

[48]Confidence, 2 (February, 1909), p. 35.

Apostolic Faith

If the Latter Rain Covenant enabled the Pentecostals to construct a framework by which they were able to interpret the whole of history, the *Apostolic Faith* motif, like a prism, fit into that structure bringing one segment of that history into sharper focus. The parameters of this motif were confined to the church age. The motif enabled Pentecostal adherents to divide this time period into four sections: 1) The establishment of the Church; 2) The apostasy of the Church; 3) The restoration of the Church; and 4) The perfecting of the Church.[49] Since adherents compared the first and last periods of the church age, those structures will be analyzed together.

The Age of Apostasy. The Pentecostals shared in common with most Protestants the understanding of this period of church history. God had initiated the Church in a demonstration of power and authority, but something had gone radically wrong following the Apostolic era. Geroge F. Taylor, for example, made the following observation:

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[49]Many analogies of this four-fold development are found in the literature. One of the more interesting compared the history of the church to the cycles of the moon:

> The church is the antitype of the moon . . . the moon is dispensational in character in its changes, it was full moon at Pentecost (the inauguration of the church) after which it went into decline (dark ages) and the new appeared at the Reformation, and today it is growing to full moon again as at Pentecost.

Franklin Small, Living Waters: A Sure Guide for Your Faith (Winnipeg, MAN: Columbia Press, n.d.), p. 54.

> The early rain came at Pentecost, and immediately the seed which Jesus and His disciples had sown sprang up. This early rain continued for more than a hundred years during which time the Church was kept inundated with mighty floods of salvation. But when the Church became popular and was formed into a great hierarchy, the long drought began.[50]

This apostasy, which began shortly after the close of the Apostolic age, became complete with the conversion of Constantine. Yet, while the church was "hopelessly corrupt," the Pentecostals maintained that God had a faithful remnant both within and without the visible church. Frank Ewart noted: "From this period on through the Middle and Dark ages, the Early Rain diminished from a mighty and universal downpour into periodic effusions, which persisted right up to the beginning of the twentieth century."[51]

The records of church history were scoured to discover evidence that New Testament Christianity was taught and experienced by a faithful remnant in every century. This "evidence" was complied into litanies which have been included in virtually every historical account of the movement.[52] Passages are cited from "The Doctrines of the

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[50]George F. Taylor, The Spirit and the Bride, pp. 90-1.

[51]Frank J. Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost: A History of the "Latter Rain" (St. Louis, MO: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1947), p. 24.

[52]For examples of such litanies see Thomas Ball Barrett, In the Days of the Latter Rain (London, ENG: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Company, 1909), pp. 47-62; B. F. Lawrence, The Apostolic Faith Restored (St. Louis, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1916), pp. 32-47; J. Roswell Flower, "History of the Assemblies of God," mimeograph (Springfield, MO: Central Bible Institute, 1949), pp. 5-19; Robert C. Dalton, Tongues Like as of Fire

Twelve Apostles," Irenaeus, Justin, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Augustine, Ignatius, and Polycarp. In addition, the faith and practice of such groups as the Montanists, Camisards, the Cevennes Community, Waldensians, Huguenots, and Irvingites are all cited as proof of God's faithful remnant who advocated the practice of speaking in tongues. The intent of these litanies was to demonstrate that a faithful remnant bore testimony to the fact that God had intended the Pentecostal emphasis to be normative in the Church.[53]

The Era of Restoration. In stark contrast to the age of apostasy, the period of restoration was a time of hope. Beginning with the Reformation, God began to restore the five cardinal doctrines of the Full Gospel motif. Like the remnant theory, this restoration theme became a litany, appearing in most reports of the movement. G. F. Taylor's is typical:

> A few centuries ago God raised up Martin Luther to lay the foundation of the gospel which is justification by faith; and you remember what a revolution it produced, and how he was opposed in preaching this wonderful truth. How he did stir Europe and shake the world! Why so? Because he brought new light on God's truth, and God's Spirit was behind it.

(Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1945), pp. 49-91; Carl Brumback, "What Meaneth This?" A Pentecostal Answer to a Pentecostal Question (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1947), pp. 89-91; W. H. Turner, Two Thousand Years of Pentecost (Franklin Springs, GA: Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1947), pp. 13-37; and Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, pp. 25-9.

[53]William Menzies, Anointed to Serve, p. 9.

After this truth was accepted, God raised up John Wesley to turn on more light by presenting the great doctrine of entire sanctification by faith. He, like Luther, was opposed, but the world received another great shaking, the Holy Spirit confirming the truth proclaimed in signs and wonders.

Then came the truths of Divine healing and the premillennial coming of the Lord which have been accepted by many. God is turning on more light and the fight is now on the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and the evidence of Pentecost. All things are culminating--coming to a head.[54]

The age of restoration, however, would not culminate in the restoration of all things and a complete triumphant redemption throughout the earth. The restoration of each cardinal doctrine was rejected by the majority of recipients of the earlier revelation. Enshrined in a creedal statement, the new doctrine soon lost its power as adherents formed a human organization to defend and propagate their new faith.

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[54]George F. Taylor, The Spirit and the Bride, p. 98. This pattern, with the occasional omission of one of the five doctrines, is found repeatedly in the literature. A partial listing includes: Charles F. Parham, "The Latter Rain," Selected Sermons of the Late Charles F. Parham and Sarah E. Parham, Co-Founders of the Original Apostolic Faith Movement, Robert L. Parham, compiler (Baxter Springs, KS: Apostolic Faith Bible College, 1941), pp. 75-6; Sarah E. Parham, "Earnestly Contend for the Faith Once Delivered to the Saints," Selected Sermons, pp. 9-22; "Two Works of Grace and the Gift of the Holy Ghost," The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles) 1 (September, 1906), p. 3; The Apostolic Faith Mission, A Historical Account of the Apostolic Faith: A Trinitarian-Fundamental Evangelistic Organization: Its Origin, Functions, Doctrinal Heritage and Departmental Activities of Evangelism, pp. 20-21, 31-2; Thomas Ball Barrett, In the Days of the Latter Rain, pp. 148-9; H. S. Maltby, The Reasonableness of Hell (Santa Cruz, CA: The Author, 1913), pp. 82-3; J. Roswell Flower, "History of the Assemblies of God," pp. 7-10; and Eugene N. Hastie, History of the West Central District Council of the Assemblies of God (Fort Dodge, Iowa: Walterick Printing Company, 1948), p. 14.

The Time of the Latter Rain. The Apostolic Faith motif provided a structure whereby the Pentecostal movement could be compared with the establishment of the Church. The early church was seen as a pattern, "a photograph as it were" of the Latter Rain era.[55]

> The Pentecostal movement . . . in the minds of those honest hearted thinking men and women . . . is immediately connected with the work of the God in New Testament days. Built by the same hands, upon the same foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, after the same pattern, according to the same covenant, they too, are a habitation of God through the Spirit.[56]

Restoration was the heart of this motif. This included the restoration of apostolic doctrine, apostolic power, apostolic authority, and apostolic practice.

Apostolic doctrine was seen as the five-fold work of Christ as Savior, Sanctifier, Baptizer, Healer and Coming King. This was proclaimed as the Full Gospel.

Apostolic power was to accompany the proclamation of these claims to Christ's five-fold work. Mighty "signs and wonders" would authenticate the message to a disbelieving world.[57] The restoration of the nine-fold gifts of the

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[55]Susan A. Duncan, "What Is It?" Word and Work, 32 (August, 1910), p. 239.

[56]B. F. Lawrence, The Apostolic Faith Restored, p. 12.

[57]Although these "signs and wonders" were understood as authenticating the restoration message. The eschatological significance was always in the backdrop. For example, Maria B. Woodworth-Etter reflecting on the ministry of Peter, Stephen and Paul as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, noted:

> God says before Jesus comes, these same "signs and

Spirit, as detailed by the Apostle Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians was understood as part of this authentication.[58]

Apostolic authority was to be restored through the "ascension gift ministries" of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers;[59] and the restoration of the pastoral ministries of elder and deacon to their proper

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> wonders' shall come to pass: the sick shall be healed, devils cast out, people shall speak with tongues--just before He comes.

Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, "The Out Pouring of the Holy Spirit in the Last Days--According to Joel's Prophecy," Signs and Wonders God Wrought in the Ministry for Forty Years (Indianapolis, IN: The Author, 1916), pp. 534-5.

[58]The nine gifts mentioned by Paul in this chapter are: 1) The word of wisdom; 2) the word of knowledge; 3) faith; 4) the gifts of healings; 5) the working of miracles; 6) prophecy; 7) discerning of spirits; 8) divers kinds of tongues; and 9) the interpretation of tongues. I Corinthians 12:8-11. For an early Pentecostal explication of these gifts see: George F. Taylor, "The Gifts of the Spirit," The Spirit and the Bride, pp. 60-72.

[59]Ephesians 4:8, 11-13. The conviction that God had restored Apostles and Prophets to the church was fully accepted by all adherents. Typical of their understanding is the thinking of W. F. Carothers, Charles Parham's assistant in Texas:

> There are two branches of the ministry of the church, corresponding to the two-fold nature of the commission, viz: The Apostolic ministry and the Pastoral ministry. The Apostolic ministry consists of Apostles and their helpers and of Evangelists, Teachers and Prophets . . . The Pastoral ministry consists of Pastors (or "Elders" or "Bishops," these words referring to one and the same officer. . .) and such helpers as they may call to their assistance."

W. F. Carothers, Church Government (Houston, TX: J. V. Dealy Company, 1909), pp. 13, 15.

functions.[60] Apostolic Practice would follow the model set forth in the Acts of the Apostles.[61]

The focus of the Apostolic Faith motif like that of the Latter Rain was directed to the role of the Pentecostal revival. The adherents understood their movement to be the culmination of the pattern, the restoration of the true church to her former glory. This church was not to be a reformation of an existing apostate church, but rather a saved, sanctified, spirit-filled people called forth in the same manner as the early church had been called from the ashes of a reprobate Judaism. The restored church would become visible, and united. Christ would be established as the Head of the Church which would be directed and empowered by the Holy Spirit. Once again the Church would boldly proclaim "the faith once delivered to the saints."[62]

Pentecostal

The motif which ultimately gained ascendency over the others, was the Day of Pentecost. Just as the Apostolic Faith motif fit within one segment of the Latter Rain structure, so, too, the Pentecost motif served to bring into sharper focus an aspect of the Apostolic Faith. The parameters of this motif are limited to the inauguration of

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[60]See as an example, W. F. Carothers "The Pastoral Ministry," Church Government, p. 15-7.

[61]Morton W. Plummer, "The Latter Rain Reformation-Revival," Word and Work, 32 (February, 1910), p. 37.

[62]Jude 3. This verse became a code phrase to mean the full content of the restored faith and practice of the Pentecostal Movement.

the church on the day of Pentecost. This event was often compared to the establishment of the nation of Israel under the Old Covenant at Mount Sinai. Like the Latter Rain and Apostolic Faith motifs, the Pentecostal theme provided a dispensational function. However, it also served to provide the existential or spiritual dimension as well.

The Dispensational Aspect. Pentecost was seen by the adherents as the inauguration of a new era which was accompanied by a display of God's sovereign power and glory. Thus, the covenant given at Mount Sinai was confirmed by clouds, darkness, fire, and the personal manifestation of God's shekinah. As a result, Israel was constituted a nation under the Old Testament law. Likewise, the Upper Room experience, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, was attended by wind, fire, and speaking in foreign languages. This event marked the establishment of the church, God's new covenant people. So too, adherents believed, the anticipated Latter Rain revival would be inaugurated by a second Pentecost of the Holy Spirit who would come again in like manner to set in motion the events which would usher in the age to come.

The Spiritual Dimension. While the dispensational or prophetic fulfillment of the Pentecostal movement preoccupied the minds of the leadership, the spiritual function held the attention of the converts.[63] The

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[63]David Myland implied this when he asserted:

Pentecostal motif was applied directly to Christian living. Not only was Pentecost an event which initiated a new era, it also served as a pattern to be repeated in the lives of Christians throughout history. The remnant litanies which abound in the literature were cited as proof that God intended this pattern to be permanent in the church.[64] With the full restoration of the Apostolic Faith culminating in the coming of the latter rain, the pattern was now understood to be the normative pattern of Christian life.

Summary

Early in 1910, Morton W. Plummer, editor of Word and Work, lamented: "How slow God's people have ever been to understand His unfolding purposes! Comparatively, few today grasp the tremendous significance of the wave of spiritual

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> This movement is also called Pentecostal and you will hear that word perhaps more often than the other . . . (i.e., Latter Rain). . . Pentecostal is simply the spiritual aspect of the Covenant and means the fullness of the Spirit.

He then continued to describe his understanding of the dispensational dimension:

> It is the display of God's power and glory as it was manifested first under the law at Mount Sinai: clouds, darkness, fire, glory, personal manifestation at the time of the inauguration and institution of the Israelite people as a nation, and then its anti-type of Pentecost in the 'Upper Room' ten days after the ascension of our Lord, with the display of God's power, manifestations and glory in another body, greater than the Israelite nation, the inauguration and organization of the body called the Christian Assembly.

David Wesley Myland, The Latter Rain Covenant, p. 2.

[64]See footnote 56.

revival now sweeping the earth. Its depth and scope are as yet but little understood." He continued:

> We are not, as many suppose, wholly taken up with the mere matter of individual experience, solely with reference to the baptism in the Holy Spirit. This is prominent, indeed paramount, still it is but one phase of a many sided and mighty divine movement toward the restoration of the church to her lost estate.[65]

To understand the "depth and scope" of the Pentecostal message, it must be interpreted holistically. The key is found in the names the early adherents ascribed to the message and to the movement. When the interrelationships of the motifs underlying those names are explored, the dynamic infrastructure of the message is revealed. The two names ascribed to the message, ***The Everlasting Gospel*** and ***This Gospel of the Kingdom***, disclose the focus of the message and uncover the mission of the movement. The message, eschatological in focus, was proclaimed by the movement to the nations as a warning of pending judgment, and to the church as an announcement of the approaching bridegroom.

The four names assigned to the movement fill out the undergirding framework. ***Latter Rain*** provided a dispensation understanding of salvation-history. ***Apostolic Faith*** supplied the model to be emulated as found in the Acts of the Apostles. ***Pentecostal*** produced the expectation for the repetition of both a cosmological event and a personal experience. ***Full Gospel*** set forth the five-fold work of

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[65]Morton W. Plummer, "The Latter Rain Reformation-Revival," Word and Work, 32 (February, 1910), p. 36.

Christ which provided a soteriological foundation for the message.

Within this context, glossolalia played a crucial role. To the adherents, its initial occurrence signified that the Second Pentecost had come, inaugurating the Latter Rain era. Its practice would provide the means to proclaim *The Everlasting Gospel* to the nations. Its personal application was the seal of the Spirit providing the assurance of membership in the Bride of Christ.

Although countless conflicting subthemes were held by different groups of adherents and although various understandings of these major structures could be illustrated as well, none-the-less, during the course of the Pentecostal revival, these interlocking motifs provided a sense of coherence for the message.

The major motifs worked in dynamic interaction. For example, while *The Apostolic Faith* enabled the adherents to *compare* the Pentecostal message with that of the early church, *This Gospel of the Kingdom* of the latter rain was stated in sharp *contrast* to the Gospel of grace of the former rain. The Gospel of grace was first "sounded out by angels" declaring "peace and good will." It told of man's fall and of God's provision for redemption. In contrast, the Gospel of the Kingdom proclaimed that God was about to end the dispensation of grace and usher in "an age of law and Kingship, preceded by judgment."[66]

The Pentecostal message was all-embracing. Once launched, the vision of the new era that was dawning swept millions into the movement. There they would experience within their communal life the reality of the age to come. David McDowell aptly declared:

> Salvation, the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, Divine Healing, the ministrations of the Holy Spirit among us, are features of a program. . . . The Second Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ is not a feature of a program . . . it is THE program. The . . . others . . . are features of this program leading up to the grand and glorious fulfillment.[67]

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[66]Susan A. Duncan "The Second Advent," Trust (February, 1918), p. 1.

[67]David H. McDowell, "The Purpose of the Second Coming of the Lord," The Pentecostal Evangel (May 2, 1925), p. 2.

CHAPTER THREE

Womb: The Context of Pentecostal Thought

> *The story of American Evangelicalism is the story of America itself . . . for it was evangelical religion which made Americans the most religious people in the world, molded them into a unified pietistic-perfectionist nation, and spurred them on to those heights of social reform, missionary endeavor, and imperialistic expansionism which constitute the moving forces of our history. . . . Both as motivation and as rationale evangelical religion lay behind the concept of rugged individualism in business enterprise, laissez faire in economic theory, constitutional democracy in political thought, the Protestant ethic in morality and the millennial hope in the manifest destiny of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant America to lead the world to its latter day glory.*[1]

Pentecostalism was born in the midst of what William G. McLoughlin describes as America's "Third Great Awakening."[2]

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[1]William G. McLoughlin, ed., The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900, an Anthology (New York, NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), p. 1.

[2]William G. McLoughlin, "The Third Great Awakening, 1890-1920," Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 141-78. Unlike earlier definitions which have been set forth, McLoughlin distinguishes between revivalism and awakenings although he acknowledges that in some instances they have occurred simultaneously. For him, revivals, whether spontaneous or routinized, are the result of large numbers of individuals experiencing a "conversion" or "spiritual rebirth." Awakenings, on the other hand, "are periods of cultural revitalization that begin with a crisis of beliefs and values and extend over a period of a generation or so, during which time a profound reorientation in beliefs and values takes place." p. xiii.

McLoughlin maintains that the Third Great Awakening took place when the Evangelical-Perfectionist synthesis which had dominated the nineteenth century collapsed. The

As a system of thought, however, it had been in gestation for more than half a century. Pentecostalism, this investigator contends, was conceived within the womb of American Perfectionism in the midst of the 1857-58 revival. This chapter seeks first to place the emergence of Pentecostal thought in its broad historical setting; secondly, to examine developments of Pentecostalism's perfectionistic parentage; and finally, to bring into focus the 1857-58 revival, the event which took place when conception occurred.

The American Context

The world-view which dominated nineteenth-century America was rooted deep within the soil of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. During the colonial period and the early years of the new nation, the vision of America as the new Israel of God became firmly established. Following the Second Great Awakening, Jacksonian democracy opened the way for non-Anglo-Saxon Protestant groups to participate in the vision as they became assimilated into the American culture. Although this world-view would remain dominant to the end of

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search for new order culminated in the Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy. The new consensus which ultimately emerged was expressed theologically as the Social Gospel and was implemented politically in Roosevelt's "New Deal."

Pentecostalism shared many of the beliefs and values of Fundamentalism, and to a great extent, its reactionism. At the same time, as a millenarian movement, Pentecostalism held great potential as an agent of revitalization. A movement of the disenfranchised, it sought to bring new life to a bankrupt orthodoxy and offered an alternate vision of society.

the century, for many this vision collapsed following the Civil War. An alternate understanding of God's dealings with the world emerged. In this view, adherents came to believe that God was about to impose a new world order upon history. Their task was to warn the nations of impending judgment rather than to work for the reform of present systems.

The New Israel of God

The new nation which had declared its independence and won its freedom in a war with the motherland, nonetheless fell heir to England's world-view. By the time she had launched her colonial enterprise in the seventeenth century, England had come to believe that the course of human history was directed by God's overruling providence. The Protestant Reformation had caused a reversal of the Augustinian view of history which declared that the City of God and the City of Man would never be reconciled on earth.[3] The Reformation came to be seen as the first great victory of God's redemptive action that would ultimately defeat the forces of Satan through the instrumentality of the Anglo-Saxon race.[4]

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[3]Ernest L. Tuveson, Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 16-7.

[4]Conrad Cherry, God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 25. For an excellent account tracing the development of this idea in England, see William Haller, The Elect Nation: The Meaning and Relevance of Foxes Book of Martyrs (New York, NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963).

The discovery and settlement of America coincided with this reversal. Though religion was by no means the dominant motive for colonization, many English saw this as an opportunity to extend the influence of their civilization through which God was working out the redemption of mankind. Others saw the possibility of bringing England to her senses by creating on new soil the society they had been unable to establish at home.[5]

For the early colonists, America was at once the wilderness and the land of promise. As such, it symbolized the primordial state, a clean slate upon which a new history could be written. On the one hand, a land of Edenic abundance and beauty was described. The native American, the Indian, was initially described in terms of Adamic man, innocent, unselfish, unwarlike, having no need for formal government.[6] On the other hand, another view emerged dwelling on scorching deserts, uncrossable mountains, hurricanes, floods, arctic cold, and horrid savages devoted

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[5]Conrad Cherry, God's New Israel, p. 26.

[6]The initial view of the American Indian, so evident in the first Thanksgiving narrative, corresponds remarkably to the view first set forth by Christopher Columbus: "The people of this island, and of all the other islands which I have found and of which I have information, all go naked, men and women, as their mothers bore them . . . they are so guileless and so generous with all they possess that no one would believe it who has not seen it. They never refuse anything which they possess, if it be asked them. On the contrary, they invite anyone to share it, and display so much love as if they would give their hearts . . . they do not know any creed and are not idolators; only they all believe that power and good are in the heavens." Cited in Howard Mumford Jones, O Strange New World (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1952), pp. 15-6.

to murder, rape, human sacrifice, and cannibalism.[7] Thus to the European settlers, the vast new continent raised their highest hopes and revealed their deepest fears. In this primordial tension, they dared to believe that in this new world they would bring about the redemption of mankind.

To the Puritan settlers who first came to the shores of the North American continent, the Roman Catholic Church epitomized the whore of Babylon. The Protestant Reformation was identified with the New Jerusalem as described in the Revelation of John. It was interpreted as the event foreshadowing the end times when there was to be established a new heaven and a new earth. The American wilderness was understood to be the place where God would begin His millennial reign.

The beginnings would be small and fraught with danger. However, had not Israel wandered in the wilderness for forty years before entering the Land of Promise? Had not Christ dwelt there for forty days in preparation for His ministry? So too, then, must the "true church," depicted as the woman cited in Revelation 12:6, flee into the wilderness to a place prepared by God where she would be nourished and protected.[8] Though a place of danger and temptation, the

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[7]Robert Bellah, The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial (New York, NY: Seabury Press, 1975), pp. 6-9.

[8]The Biblical passage reads: "And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she has a place prepared by God, in which to be nourished for one thousand two hundred and sixty days." (Revelation 12:6).

Puritans were to build an "enclosed garden" in the midst of the wilderness that would be a foretaste of paradise that God would "almost certainly establish in the new world."[9]

> The Great Awakening in the eighteenth century rekindled this deeply-embedded hope. In the midst of that revival, Jonathan Edwards, America's foremost theologian of the period, would declare:It is not unlikely that this work of God, so extraordinary and wonderful, is the dawning or at least a prelude of that glorious work of God, so often told in Scripture which in the progress . . . of it, shall renew the world of mankind. . . . It is probable that this work will begin in America.[10]

This conviction was carried into the Revolutionary War. In declaring independence and winning its freedom from England, the new nation became more assured than ever of the chosen mission to which God had called it.[11]

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[9]George H. Williams, "The Enclosed Garden in the Wilderness of the New World," Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought (New York, NY: Harper Brothers, 1962), pp. 98-131.

[10]Jonathan Edwards, "Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England," The Works of President Edwards, 4 (New York, NY: S. Converse, 1830), pp. 128-33, cited by Conrad Cherry, God's New Israel, p. 55.

[11]"This great American revolution, this recent political phenomenon of a new sovereignty arising among the sovereign powers of the earth, will be attended to and contemplated by all nations. . . . That prophecy of Daniel is now literally fulfilling -- there shall be an universal traveling 'too and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.' This knowledge will be brought here and treasured up in America: and being here digested and carried to the highest perfection, may reblaze back from America to Europe, Asia and Africa, and illumine the world with TRUTH and LIBERTY.

. . . It is of the Lord that 'a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet,' and upon 'her head a crown of twelve stars,' (not to say thirteen) 'should flee into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God' . . . and where she might be the repository of wisdom, and 'keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus.' It may have

The Priesthood of All Believers

The renewed confidence that carried the nation to independence was soon to be tested. There was agreement on the significance of victory and of America's potential future but sharp division about how to proceed. These contrasts were most clearly expressed in the divergent visions of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson which brought the young country self-doubt and confusion.[12] The struggle for a clear direction was not fully resolved until the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1828. By that time the Second Awakening had forged a new consensus which would prevail until the end of the nineteenth century.[13]

> been of the Lord that Christianity is to be found in such great purity in this church exiled into the wilderness of America; and that its purest body should be evidently advancing forward, by an augmented natural increase and spiritual edification, into a singular superiority--with the ultimate subserviency to the glory of God, in converting the world."

Ezra Stiles, The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor (Worcester, MA: Isaiah Thomas, 1785), cited by Conrad Cherry, God's New Israel, pp. 90, 92.

[12]Hamilton argued for an alliance with England to combat Napoleon; Jefferson believed that the revolutionary support France had provided committed the young nation to war against England. Economically, Hamilton thought America should become a major industrial center; Jefferson believed it should become a land of yeomen farmers. Jefferson yearned for westward expansion; Hamilton looked to continued ties with Europe. Socially, Jefferson contended for an egalitarian structure of society; Hamilton pressed for retention of political control by a Republican elite. William McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform, p. 98.

[13]Ibid., p. 1.

The new vision that emerged, still essentially Protestant Anglo-Saxon in character, was at once a narrowing and a broadening of the world-view it had replaced. On the one hand, the dream of America as the "New Israel of God," destined to be a model for all mankind to follow, was reshaped. The nation would ultimately come to believe that it was its manifest destiny to rule the world, not just to lead it. On the other hand, the oligarchical control that brought the nation to independence was broken. Full participation in the future of America's destiny was opened to the common man.

America's Manifest Destiny. The new consensus held that Americans were a peculiar race, chosen by God to perfect the world. The view that America was a city set on a hill, a light for the nations to follow, faded from the scene. America's destiny was its own. Its people were not simply reinvigorated immigrants; they had been forged into a new and special race. Their achievements were beyond the capacities of the decadent Europeans, "superstitious" Catholics, or ignorant heathen to emulate. It was America's destiny to push westward and, upon reaching the shores of the Pacific Ocean, establish its institutions globally. It was her mission to uplift those inferior peoples who lacked the innate capacity to achieve the millennial state of grace on their own initiative.[14]

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[14]Ibid., pp. 105-6.

The subsequent experience in America's history supported this view, particularly that following the Civil War. Though this tragic conflict in mid-century had been wrenching, the vision of America's destiny remained unaltered. Slavery came to be understood as a cancer that had to be cut out of the fabric of the country's life. The war was interpreted as a Divine Judgment for this national sin. Once cleansed and renewed, however, the mission of America could move forward unabated.[15] The rapid industrialization and urbanization which followed the war created new frontiers of unlimited possibilities. Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection, William James' understanding of educational development, and Immanuel Kant's philosophical idealism, all filtered through America's concept of Manifest Destiny, served to heighten America's sense of chosenness.[16]

Mainstream Protestantism, deeply steeped in postmillennial eschatology and echoing the optimism of mid-century German theology, kept pace with this idea of progress. Horace Bushnell's Christian Nurture[17] encouraged

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[15]Robert Bellah, The Broken Covenant, p. 55-6.

[16]Ibid., pp. 61-86; Ernest Tuveson, Redeemer Nation, pp. 96-136; Paul A. Carter, The Spiritual Crisis of a Gilded Age (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), pp. 21-42; and William W. Menzies, Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), pp. 18-21.

[17]Horace Bushnell, Christian Nurture (New York, NY: C. Scribner, 1861).

the use of Christian education as the basic tool for evangelism. The Social Gospel under the leadership of Josiah Strong, Washington Gladden, and Walter Rauschenbusch was the theological technique employed to confront the evil "side-effects" which accompanied urbanization and industrialization.[18] New technologies in the areas of communication, transportation, and medicine were appropriated as the means of Christianizing the world. Strong summarized the vision in 1885:

> The unoccupied arable lands of the earth are limited and will soon be taken. . . . Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history--*the final competition of the races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled*. . . . Then this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might and wealth behind it . . . will spread itself over the earth. . . . Can anyone doubt that the result of this competition of races will be 'the survival of the fittest'? . . . Nothing can save the inferior races but a ready and pliant assimilation. . . . Is there any reasonable room for doubt that this race . . . is destined to dispossess many weaker races, assimilate others, and mold the remainder, until in a very true and important sense it has Anglo-Saxonized mankind.[19]

America's Common Destiny. The vision which emerged from the Second Awakening was nourished by a vast subterranean water-table of Scottish Realism.[20] This

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[18]William Menzies, Anointed to Serve, p. 22.

[19]Josiah Strong, Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis (New York, NY: Baker and Taylor Company, 1885), cited by Winthrop S. Hudson, ed., Nationalism and Religion in North America: Concepts of American Identity and Mission (New York, NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), pp. 115-6.

[20]Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology," Church History, 24 (September, 1955), p. 268.

"common sense" philosophy held that all truth is of a single unified order. Such a philosophy enabled the new nation to assume that the universe, religion, and history are all governed by a rational system of laws which is guaranteed by the all-wise benevolent creator. Advance was made by science whose purpose was to discover those laws. Above all, this philosophy was democratic. It held that all persons of average intelligence were capable of comprehending this truth.[21] Thus it opened the possibility to the common man full participation in America's future.[22]

As noted above, the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1828 brought about a revolution in American politics.[23] The well-born and the highly educated who had held the reins of power were thrown out of office. With their own representatives in charge, the common citizens felt that their voices so long ignored would be heard and

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[21]George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925 (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 14-5.

[22]Winthrop S. Hudson, "A Time of Religious Ferment," The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth Century America, ed. Edwin E. Gaustad (New York, NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1974), p. 4. Hudson argues that education, social rootage, and parentage separated the elite from the common man, but not wealth. All shared a desire for upward mobility. Thus, the newly rich, entrepreneurs, and seekers of fortune shared common ideals with the mechanics, tradesmen, and other ordinary people.

[23]Illustrative of the radical nature of the Jacksonian revolution was Jackson's appointment of Roger Taney as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1836. Taney was a Roman Catholic, the first of that faith to be named to the bench. "Barriers Fall Slowly at the Supreme Court," The U.S. News and World Report, 91 (July 20, 1981), p. 21.

that their interests, so often neglected or betrayed, would be redressed. To a great extent their hopes were realized. Property ownership as a requirement for voting rights was abolished. Western states were admitted to the Union. New waves of immigration that brought diverse ethnic groups into the country were permitted as national policy. Religious tests were disallowed. The ascendancy of "Old Hickory" to the nation's highest office signified that the era of the common man was dawning.[24]

On the religious front, the scene was changing as well. Though having many surface continuities with the Great Awakening, the Second Awakening brought with it a profound change of mood. During the colonial period, whole communities had migrated from Europe. The revival was directed by learned leaders toward individuals within this communal framework. Jonathan Edwards, for example, had seen as his calling the conversion and transformation of men and women. In contrast, the leadership of the Second Awakening was drawn from the people. Though these evangelists did share Edwards' concern in the newly opened western frontier, they also felt called upon to establish and transform institutions as well.[25] Thus in the year Jackson ascended to office, the Christian Spectator could confidently declare:

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[24]Winthrop Hudson, "A Time of Religious Ferment," p. 2.

[25]Robert Bellah, The Broken Covenant, p. 47.

> Just as the Gospel can rescue individuals, it can renew the face of communities and nations. The same heavenly influence which, in revivals of religion, descends on families and villages . . . may in the same manner, when it shall please him who hath the residue of the Spirit, descend to refresh and beautify a whole land.[26]

Society was organized from the bottom up rather than from the top down. Individuals were mobilized through "voluntary associations" to all manner of social reforms. The evangelists sought to affect every aspect of political, social, and economic life. They spoke in the language of the laymen, giving shape and voice to their hopes.[27]

The "New Israel of God" which was established by the English Puritans had become a sanctuary administered by a "Priesthood of Believers." Though still holding to a Protestant Anglo-Saxon vision, it nonetheless reflected the hopes and aspirations of the majority of Americans. The vision would survive until the end of the nineteenth century.

The New Heaven and the New Earth

The vision brought to the shores of the new world had been shaped by male Protestant Anglo-Saxons. The new settlers failed to appreciate that the people they found native to America lived out a different dream. Whether the American Indians were viewed as noble or savage, they were perceived as characters of the European drama. No attempt

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[26]Cited by Perry Miller, The Life of the Mind in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965), p. 11.

[27]Ibid., pp. 40-3.

was made to understand them on their own terms. As a result, the Indians were denied the inherent right of human dignity; they were ruthlessly dispossessed of their land; and, often, they were deprived of life itself.

This same primal crime was extended to the African and, to a lesser extent, the indentured servant, upon whose labor much of the new world's economy was based. Roman Catholics were viewed as the chief instrument of Satan, who must either be destroyed, converted, or ignored. Women found their role rigidly defined by their fathers and their husbands.[28]

Even when the sins of the nation were recognized, subsequent change was largely a drama of the white soul. The Abolitionist Movement, for example, was motivated by the speeches of William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, and Theodore Weld. While ex-slaves wrote of their own experiences, it was Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel Uncle Tom's Cabin which electrified the nation. The whole history of the reform movements can be written as benevolent philanthropy.[29] The Second Awakening had achieved a broad consensus of popular support, but native Americans and Blacks were not invited to participate.

As the population became more diverse following the Civil War, currents of discontent began to ferment. The

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[28]Robert Bellah, The Broken Covenant, pp. 36-7; and Ernest Tuveson, "Chosen Race . . . Chosen People," Redeemer Nation, pp. 137-86.

[29]Robert Bellah, The Broken Covenant, p. 55.

rapid industrialization and urbanization that occurred after the war left much of agrarian America with a sense of marginality.[30] The rural families who flocked to the cities in search of jobs became alienated from their roots and were ill-prepared to adapt to the complexities of urban life. Many were frightened by the flood of immigrants coming from eastern and southern Europe, bringing with them different customs and "apostate Catholicism."[31] The South, ravaged by war and raped through Reconstruction, did not share in the growing prosperity of the nation.[32] Blacks saw their hopes for freedom replaced by a form of economic oppression and social ostracism of the emerging Jim Crow era.[33] The American Indians were to witness their last wars for freedom as westward expansion pushed them into reservations which could barely sustain human life.[34] Though the waves of immigrants would eventually experience "upward mobility,"

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[30]See for example, Earl W. Hayter, The Troubled Farmer, 1850-1900: Rural Adjustment to Industrialism (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1968).

[31]Robert Bellah, The Broken Covenant, pp. 90-1.

[32]Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The Rural Revolt," The Rise of Modern America: 1865-1951 (New York, NY: Macmillan Company, 1951), p. 147.

[33]Ray Sprigle, "Not Quite Slavery--Not Quite Freedom," In the Land of Jim Crow (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1949), pp. 10-7.

[34]William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle, comps., The Indian: America's Unfinished Business: Report of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), p. 7.

they were first used as chattel to fuel the furnace of industrialization.[35]

Likewise, much of Evangelicalism which had shared the American dream and which had been at the forefront of reform during the first half of the century began to experience a growing sense of pessimism regarding the future of the nation and the world. Instead of viewing industrialization, urbanization, and new technology as instruments of progress, many Evangelicals came to perceive them as tools in the hands of Satan. Conservative leaders reacted to the new trends in science, education, and theology, charging that Christianity was becoming captive to modern culture and being robbed of its spiritual transforming power.[36]

Increasingly, they looked toward an unrepentant "old light" Calvinism kept alive in the Princeton theology of Warfield and the Hodges for a defense of Biblical authority. In addition, many rejected the covenantal model of American destiny in favor of a resurging premillennialism which took the form of Darby's dispensationalism.[37] These twin trends would provide the intellectual framework in which a vision

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[35]Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Industrial Concentration," The Rise of Modern America, pp. 88-92.

[36]Arthur M. Schlesinger, "A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900," Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 64 (June, 1932), pp. 523-48 gives an excellent account of the religious response of the period. See also Paul Carter, The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age, pp. 155-74; and Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 162-87.

[37]Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 103-31.

of a "New Heaven and a New Earth" could emerge. The multi-faceted spectrum of the disenfranchised were sought out and offered a paradise which could be more easily adapted to their own hopes. Within the context of this historical milieu, Pentecostalism was conceived and brought to birth. The investigator now turns to provide a closer analysis of this perfectionist tradition which produced the Pentecostal Movement.

The Perfectionist Parentage

The Reformed concept of the Christian life that had prevailed in Colonial America was that of a pilgrim whose progress to perfection was marked by obstacles and failures. Although holiness was intensely sought, perfection could never be attained in this life.[38] As the revival fires of the Second Awakening which followed the Revolutionary War began to wane, Protestants throughout America began to sense that the practical difficulty of the Reformed view of holiness must be overcome if their hope for an early inauguration of the Kingdom of God on earth was to be realized.[39]

The American Holiness Movement emerged as a synthesis of Reformed and Wesleyan theology to speak to this need.

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[38]George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, p. 74.

[39]Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1957), p. 105.

For almost thirty years, from 1840-1870, repeated revivals of holiness permeated evangelicalism across the Protestant denominational spectrum.[40] When the Movement began showing signs of sectarianism, it started to fragment in the 1880's.[41] By that time, however, it had abandoned its hope to usher in the Kingdom of God on earth and instead concentrated its energies on urging a faithful remnant to put on her bridal garments in preparation to meet her soon coming Lord.

The Theological Antecedents of the American Holiness Movement

The Holiness Movement emerged simultaneously in the Reformed and Wesleyan traditions. In order to understand how this happened, it is necessary to look at the theological antecedents to the Movement. Dieter has demonstrated that the roots reach back to the eighteenth century where historic pietism was mediated through Puritanism and Wesleyan Perfectionism. The Movement spread by use of techniques developed in Edwardian revivalism during the Great Awakening.[42]

Historic Pietism. Pietism is difficult to define. It has no one system of theology, no one integrating doctrine,

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[40]George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, p. 74.

[41]Ibid., p. 95.

[42]Melvin E. Dieter, The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980), p. 3.

no particular type of polity, no one liturgy, and no geographical homogeneity. Rather it combines with other traditions, transforming their character. However, F. Ernest Stoeffler maintains that four distinguishing characteristics must be present wherever Pietism emerges.

First, all Pietists agree that the essence of Christianity is found in a personally meaningful relationship of the individual with God. This is expressed theologically as the doctrine of assurance.

Secondly, the Movement is noted for its religious idealism. Expressions such as "whole," "perfect," and "entire" characterize its quest. Pietism constantly feels the tension between the actual and the ideal. It is always dissatisfied with the former and strives continually to attain the latter. As a result, it is in constant danger of falling into legalism and "works-righteousness."

Thirdly, Pietism emphasizes the centrality of the Scripture as the guide for normative Christian living. The Bible is viewed as a practical handbook whose principles are to be applied for every possible life situation.

Finally, the Movement is characterized by an "oppositive element." It always stands over against the prevailing norms of Christian faith which are thought to be different from its nature.[43]

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[43]F. Ernest Stoeffler, The Rise of Evangelicalism (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1965), pp. 13-22.

Historically, Stoeffler defines Pietism as a movement "within Protestantism which has its major roots in the Zwingli-Butzer-Calvin axis of the Reformation which began to show its first characteristic evidences within English Puritanism."[44] It also emerged throughout the Continental churches in the seventeenth century. In America it combined with Revivalism to revitalize the Puritan tradition. Together with its emergence in a host of other transplanted Reformed churches, it formed the basic ethos of nineteenth-century American Christianity.[45]

Wesleyan Perfectionism. Although John Wesley's theology of Christian Perfection was rooted in the Anglo-Catholic tradition,[46] it proved to be readily adaptable to the American scene.[47] His contention that "there is no

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[44]F. Ernest Stoeffler, Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1976), p. 9.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Although Wesley claimed to be a man of one book, the Bible, he read widely and was influenced by a number of traditions. However, whatever elements he incorporated into his theology from other traditions, he always stood squarely in the center of Anglo-Catholicism. The works of Jeremy Taylor, William Law, and Thomas A'kempis were particularly determinative in his understanding of Christian Perfection. For an excellent treatment of Wesley's theology, see: William R. Cannon, The Theology of John Wesley (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1956). For a focus on his doctrine of Christian Perfection, see: John L. Peters, Christian Perfection and American Methodism (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1956).

[47]The Anglican faith had to overcome two difficulties in America following the Revolutionary War. First, the church had been a source of strong loyalist support. Membership in the church, until the war, was dependent on swearing allegiance to the British Crown. Many clergy,

holiness without social holiness" spoke to the Puritan concern for the reformation of society as well as the Pietistic quest to actualize the ideal of Christian faith.[48] His desire to make exoteric a doctrine that had long been esoteric in both concept and application lent itself well to the techniques of American revivalism.

Wesley's doctrine of Christian Perfection is complex, somewhat imprecise, and often contradictory, but its overall outline is clear. It was rooted in his conviction that by

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unwilling to break this oath, were forced to flee to Canada. Having no Bishops of their own and cut off from English authority, the church was left in disarray. During the Second Awakening which followed, the newly formed Episcopal church was not able to shed its Tory image or capitalize on the spiritual renewal that swept the land. Secondly, the church proved unable to adapt adequately to the Western frontier. For an assessment of the situation, see James T. Addison, The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931 (New York, NY: Scribners, 1951).

Paradoxically, Wesley, too a staunch loyalist who tried in vain to persuade his following in the colonies to side with the crown, was able to transcend the difficulties facing the American Methodists. In the end, his pragmatic nature, evident in the unorthodox methods which he employed successfully in England, came to the fore. He sent leadership to America well suited to the Western frontier and also took the unprecedented step of ordaining an American Bishop. See, for example, Frank B. Stanger, "The Life and Ministry of the Reverend Joseph Pilmore" (STD Dissertation, Temple University, 1942).

[48]Pietism exerted a considerable influence on Wesley's thought. The Moravians, for example, not only played a crucial role in his personal "heart-warming" experience at Aldersgate and in his doctrine of assurance, but they also provided the two-fold crisis schematic for his theology of Christian Perfection. His New Testament Notes reveal an almost total dependence on German Pietist, Johann Albrecht Bengel's, Gnomon Novi Testamanti. For an assessment of Pietistic influence on Wesley, see: F. Ernest Stoeffler, "Pietism, the Wesleys, and Methodist Beginnings in America," Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity, pp. 184-221.

faith in Christ's atoning work on the cross, God intends for the individual to experience full-salvation. By this he meant that a person not only would be pardoned from sinful acts but could also, by faith, be freed from the power of sin and so live a life fully pleasing to God.[49]

While the goal was clear, the process by which the individual achieved that end continually changed in Wesley's mind. His thinking is best understood when distinction is made between Christian perfection, entire sanctification, and Christian maturity. Christian perfection was the goal toward which the individual was called. Entire sanctification was an experience subsequent to justification whereby the individual, through God's grace, could submit entirely to God's will and thus be given the mind of Christ. Christian maturity was a human process which both preceded and followed entire sanctification whereby the Christian was

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[49]Wesley was devoted to one ideal, the full salvation of mankind, and to the task of its practical implementation. As an activist, he was impatient to maintain consistency or to make fine theoretical distinctions in his theology. "I have no time," he argued, "to throw away in contending for words." As a result, his loose terminology did not always withstand the tensions created by his attempt at synthesis. His knowledge of the Eastern fathers enabled him to make use of their understanding of "perfection," but he was never able to communicate that understanding to the Western mind. Often he would seek to define a term, only to discard that definition in his next breath. For example, although he distinguished between Christian Perfection and entire sanctification, he was forever using the terms interchangeably. Likewise, he used the term sanctification when he meant entire sanctification. At times he would emphasize crisis, at other points, process. It is quite possible to cite Wesley at length in opposition to Wesley. John Peters, Christian Perfection, pp. 62-4.

to grow in grace, ever more fully actualizing the ideal of Christian perfection.

Entire sanctification gave the individual perfect intention toward God, sin, and society. Yet, since the person was finite, perfect intention did not always result in perfect deeds. This was to be achieved, or at least addressed, through continual growth, a cooperative effort of human will and Divine grace.[50]

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[50]Ibid., pp. 64-6. Wesley's view of the whole process is best summarized in the following extract from one of his sermons:

> Salvation is carried on by convincing grace, usually in Scripture, termed *repentance*, which brings a larger measure of self-knowledge. . . . Afterwards we experience the proper Christian salvation, whereby, *through grace we are saved by faith*, consisting of those two grand branches, justification and sanctification. By justification we are saved from the guilt of sin, and restored to the favour of God; by sanctification we are saved from the power and root of sin, and restored to the image of God. All experience as well as Scripture show this salvation to be both instantaneous and gradual. It begins the moment we are justified in the holy, humble, gentle, patient love of God and man. It gradually increases from that moment, . . . till, in another instant, the heart is cleansed from sin, and filled with pure love to God and man. But even that love increases more and more, till we 'grow up in all things into him that is our head,' till we 'attain the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.'

John Wesley, Sermons on Several Occasions, Volume 2 (London, England: William Tegg, 1867), pp. 282-3.

Wesley's world-view is rooted in soteriology.[51] For him, the devastating clutches of sin must give way to the power of the cross. Salvation must be the restoration of

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[51]Wesley did have an eschatology, but it was inconsequential in shaping his world-view. His conception is best seen in his New Testament Notes where his commentary on the Revelation of St. John relies entirely on Bengel. He accepted the historic premillennial view of Christ's return, believing that the book was a prophecy of historical events that had been fulfilled in the history of the church. He believed the severe persecutions the Reformers experienced were a decisive turning point. Only the closing events of history described in the final chapters of the Apocalypse were yet unfulfilled. Wesley expected the Beast to appear before the end of the eighteenth century and agreed with Bengel that the "anti-Christ" would be destroyed and the thousand-year reign of Christ would begin in the year 1836. Yet in his introduction to the book of Revelation he confesses:

> It is scarcepossible for any that either love or fear God, not to feel their hearts extremely affected in seriously reading either the beginning or the latter part of the Revelation. This, it is evident we cannot consider too much: but the intermediate parts I did not study at all for many years: as utterly despairing of understanding them . . . and perhaps I should have lived and died in this sentiment, had I not seen the works of the great Bengelus. The following notes are mostly those of that excellent man. . . . Yet by no means do I pretend to understand or explain all that is contained in this mysterious book.

John Wesley, Explanatory Notes on the New Testament, pp. 618-9.

Other references to the end times are few and widely scattered through his works. Calvary was clearly the determinative point in his world-view. As a result, both postmillennialists and premillennialists have claimed that Wesley held their view. See, for example, Harris Rall, Was Wesley a Postmillennialist? (New York, NY: Methodist Book House, 1921), and Nathaniel West, John Wesley and Premillennialism (Cincinnati, OH: God's Revivalist Office, 1894), for these contending positions. In actuality, Wesley's view of salvation-history lent support to both positions but embraced neither in its entirety. For an excellent analysis of Wesley's world-view, see Clarence L. Bence, "Processive Eschatology: A Wesleyan Alternative," Wesleyan Theological Journal, 14 (Spring, 1979), pp. 45-59.

that which was lost in the fall. Otherwise, he reasoned, the curse was greater than the cure. In that event, God's redemption, in reality, would be ineffectual.

Wesley's view of soteriology had obvious social as well as personal implications. While his message had been taught in one form or another throughout the history of the church, especially by the monastics and mystics, it had been directed primarily toward a Christian elite. Wesley, on the other hand, sought to aim his message of full-salvation toward the masses, especially to the disenfranchised. To reach and restore them to a prefallen state entailed a radical reordering of society.[52] Such a message lent itself readily to the mood for moral reform and personal piety that characterized the American scene at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

American Revivalism. The Holiness Movement was spread through the instrumentality of American revivalism. To speak of revivalism is to speak of Jonathan Edwards' revival theology and methods. Edwards proved to be the bridge between old and new light Calvinism. He stressed repentance as the "immediate duty" of every sinner. "Now" became the moment for salvation. "Responsibility" was to be matched by the "ability" to respond to the universal call to repentance. Experiential assurance, rather than rational

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[52]For an assessment of Wesley's impact on social reform, see D. D. Thompson, John Wesley as Social Reformer (New York, NY: Eaton & Mains, 1898).

affirmation, was to be the desired goal. Edwards, the greatest intellect of the colonial period, thus developed a doctrine which in practice would stress emotionalism at the expense of reason.[53]

This experiential emphasis of Pietism did not negate the sense of need to change society that had been prominent in Puritan thought. Rather, revivalism came to be the principal means used to agitate for social reform.[54] Thus, the soil was well prepared for the emergence of the American Holiness Movement. Puritanism's concern to create the model society in the new world and Pietism's conviction that such a society must be actualized through the transformation of every individual provided a receptive context for the introduction of Wesleyan Perfectionism. Revivalism would not only be used as the natural means to perpetuate Wesleyan themes but would shape both the understanding and the expression of those themes as well.

The American Holiness Movement

The American Holiness Movement emerged as an identifiable force following the Second Awakening. Its twin Wesleyan/Reformed roots were evident from the beginning. The Wesleyan branch developed on the east coast as a

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[53]Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, p. 19.

[54]This thesis is argued thoroughly in Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform.

"parlour version" of holiness,[55] becoming increasingly radicalized as it spread westward. The Reformed wing arose on the western frontier as a radical expression of the Edwardian vision which would moderate as it stretched eastward. Theologically, the two wings would grow toward and finally transect each other as well. For more than thirty years, from the 1840's through the 1870's, American evangelicalism was transformed by the penetration of holiness teaching across the whole spectrum of Protestant denominations.[56] Leadership of both wings united in common cause to "spread Scriptural holiness across these lands."[57] In the late 1880's the Reformed wing rejected the Wesleyan formulation which would develop in a distinctive but parallel direction to the end of the nineteenth century.

The Wesleyan Wing. The Wesleyan wing of the Movement, as distinct from Methodism, emerged when the former accused the latter of neglecting to promote Wesley's crowning doctrine of Christian Perfection.[58] The initial impulse

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[55]John Kent, Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism (London, England: Epworth Press, 1978), p. 355, citing Donald Dayton, "The Holiness Heritage Between Calvinism and Wesleyanism" (Unpublished paper presented at the Oxford Institute of Methodist Theology, Lincoln College, Oxford, England, July, 1977).

[56]George Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, p. 74.

[57]See, for example, Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 37-40.

[58]This neglect in Methodism was first noted by John L. Peters, Christian Perfection and American Methodism, pp. 94-100. Others who have followed his lead include: Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, pp. 115-6; Charles W.

Ferguson, Organizing to Beat the Devil: Methodism and the Making of America (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1971), p. 267; Charles E. Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936 (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1974), pp. 1-2; Donald W. Dayton, "Theological Roots of Pentecostalism," Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies (Spring, 1980), p. 9; and Melvin E. Dieter, The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century, p. 25.

Just why the doctrine went into eclipse is still unclear since little effort has yet been made to study the shifts in nuance of the doctrine when Methodism was transplanted to America. Peters does suggest several possible contributing factors: contending with "Old Light" Calvinism in New England; a new set of problems on the Western frontier; the War of 1812; and the growing prosperity which followed. Christian Perfection, pp. 94-100. Jones sees the concerns of institutionalization as the primary reason for the deemphasis. Charles Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion, p. 4. Dieter, while cautioning that Peters may have overstated the decline, nonetheless does sense that a shift in nuance occurred. He suggests the major reason for this was the rapid expansion of the Movement following American independence. Statement by Melvin E. Dieter, personal interview, Wilmore, Kentucky, April 1, 1981. Dieter's suggestions show promise. Methodism grew from 4,921 adherents in 1776 to 1,139,587 members by 1845. Emory Stevens Bucke, editor, The History of Methodism, I (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1965), pp. 186, 600. Much of that growth took place on the Western frontier where Methodism proved to be more pragmatic than were the more established denominations. Focus in this region was, of necessity, on conversion. To care for this rapidly expanding church, large numbers of newly converted, barely educated, independent minded, charismatic frontiersmen were pressed into positions of leadership. It is unlikely that these men would have appreciation for the subtleties of Wesley's doctrine of Christian Perfection. For an excellent overview of American Methodism during this period, see Theodore L. Agnew, "Methodism on the Frontier," The History of American Methodism, I, pp. 488-545.

Allan Coppedge argues that Peters' position is wrong. He cites evidence which suggests that while initial conversion was the central concern during the period, Christian Perfection remained an important corollary in at least certain sections of the country. "Entire Sanctification in Early American Methodism: 1812-1835," Wesleyan Theological Journal, 13 (Spring, 1978), pp. 34-50. While Coppedge has undoubtedly provided an important corrective, the fact remains that there was, at the very least, a widely-based impression during the period that the

began in 1835 when Sarah Lankford moved the weekly series of Bible studies she had been conducting at two Methodist churches in New York City to the home she shared with her sister and brother-in-law, Phoebe and Walter Palmer. The "Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness" would continue regularly until 1896.[59]

Adopting the structure of the Wesleyan class meeting, the sessions consisted of Bible study, testimony, and prayer. Mrs. Palmer, proving to be more capable than her sister, soon became the leader of the group.[60] The meetings drew people of all denominations from near and far. Laity and clergy alike came to sit at Phoebe's feet.[61] Within a few years, similar meetings were established along the

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Methodist Church had ceased to emphasize the doctrine. In 1845, Bishop L. L. Hamline lamented that "the doctrine of perfect love had become 'mere speculation' to forty-nine out of fifty Methodists" and that most Methodist preachers did not profess Christian Perfection themselves." Charles Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion, p. 2, citing Leander Lycurgus Hamline, "Bishop Hamline's Recommendation," The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection Stated and Defended, author, George Peck (New York, NY: Lane and Tippett, 1845), pp. vii-ix. Bishop J. T. Peck later described the period as a time when the "subject received less and less attention until, in many places, the publication and earnest enforcement of the Wesleyan Bible doctrine of Holiness was in great danger of being regarded as a novelty and an innovation, even in the Methodist Church." Jesse Truesdell Peck, Guide to Holiness, 20 (August, 1851), p. 2.

[59]Delbert R. Rose, A Theology of Christian Experience: Interpreting the Historic Wesleyan Message (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany Fellowship, Inc., 1965), p. 32, 37.

[60]Ibid., p. 34.

[61]Melvin Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 37-8; and Charles Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion, pp. 2-3.

eastern seaboard.[62] By 1886 at least 238 such groups were meeting throughout North America and Western Europe.[63] Recognizing the need for a journal to promote the doctrine and to tie the scattered groups together, Sarah Lankford persuaded Timothy Merritt to begin publication of The Guide to Christian Perfection in 1839. It would continue as an influential voice for the Movement until 1902.[64]

Following the Civil War, leadership of the Wesleyan wing passed into the hands of the "National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness."[65] Organized by prominent eastern Methodist clergymen, the association professed a continued ecumenical concern in spreading Scriptural holiness. In reality, these leaders saw campmeeting evangelism as an instrument for Methodist reform.[66] This form of evangelism did indeed win a large following, both within and without the Methodist church. However, it failed in its fundamental objective. The leadership, though loyal churchmen, failed to integrate the Movement within the denomination and were either unable or

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[62]Sites included Brunswick, Maine; Boston, Massachusetts; Trenton, New Jersey; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Wilmington, Delaware; and Baltimore, Maryland. Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, p. 124, and Charles Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion, p. 3.

[63]Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, p. 124.

[64]Charles Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion, p. 4.

[65]Melvin Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 98-9.

[66]Charles Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion, p. 21.

unwilling to utilize the established infrastructure of the church to accomplish their purposes. Increasingly, they found themselves on the fringes of Methodism's power structure.[67]

Faced with increased hostility within the church, the Association's leadership encouraged the formation of regional, state, and local campmeeting associations to assure that converts were nurtured in the holiness understanding of the faith. In local communities, advocates were organized into "bands"--at first prayer groups that were similar to the Tuesday Meeting but which later became more activistic, engaging in street evangelism, inner city mission work. A proliferation of regional and statewide periodicals came into existence. The leadership which emerged on these levels, though Wesleyan in theology, felt little loyalty to the Methodist church. Thus, despite the best intentions of the National Association, it became the agent of faction rather than of fraternity.[68]

The focal point of both the Tuesday Meeting and the National Camp Meeting Association was, of course, Wesley's doctrine of Christian Perfection. In agitating for the centrality of this doctrine within American Methodism, the leaders sought to be faithful to their British mentor. The early writings of Timothy Merritt, for example, proclaimed a doctrine almost identical to that of Methodism's founder.[69]

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[67]Ibid., p. 24.

[68]Ibid.

However, the focus of the doctrine was narrowed in the context of American revivalism. The progressive/instantaneous dialectic in Wesley's theology collapsed. This tendency is most clearly evident in the teaching of Phoebe Palmer.[70]

Palmer insisted that Christian Perfection was an instantaneous experience. Regardless of the length of time that preceded or the intensity of the struggle, there was a point when imperfect love would be made perfect. This happened, she maintained, when three conditions were met: entire consecration, faith, and confession. This formulation became known as "altar theology."[71]

She believed that Christ was both the sacrifice for sin and the altar upon which one's life could be laid in consecration. Claiming that the "altar sanctifieth the gift," she reasoned that through faith in Christ's atoning work on the cross, the Christian could experience release from self-will. By exercising faith, this state of grace could be maintained. It would be "characterized by a freedom from any inclination which did not spring from love."[72]

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[69]Ibid., p. 2.

[70]Donald W. Dayton, "Theological Roots of Pentecostalism," Pneuma, 2 (Spring, 1980), p. 9.

[71]Melvin Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, p. 27.

[72]Ibid., pp. 27-8. Palmer summarized her position as follows: "Just so soon as you come believingly, and make the required sacrifice . . . when the Saviour said, 'It is finished!', then this full salvation was wrought for you.

Palmer's understanding became normative for the Movement.[73] Yet her emphasis tended to contradict Wesley's theory for the gradual attainment of perfection. The prevailing mode of revivalism, coupled with the country's impatient pragmatism, changed the nature of the doctrine. "Altar theology" sought to make reality in a moment what Wesleyan Perfectionism saw possible in the pursuit of a lifetime.[74]

The Reformed Wing. Oberlin College, located near Cleveland, Ohio, emerged as the fountainhead for the Reformed wing of the American Holiness Movement. Reorganized in 1835 to take up the cause of the "Lane Rebellion,"[75] the college was soon espousing a doctrine that

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All that remains is for you to claim it . . . it is already yours. If you do not now receive it, the delay will not be on the part of God, but wholly with yourself." Phoebe Palmer, Faith and Its Effects: Or, Fragments from My Portfolio (New York, NY: The Author, 1854), p. 52.

[73]Palmer's position did generate some initial concern within the Movement but nonetheless prevailed. See Melvin Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 28-37.

[74]Ibid., p. 31.

[75]Lane Theological Seminary and Oberlin College both serve as outstanding paradigms of the nineteenth century's preoccupation with the perfecting of the individual and society through social reform. Lane was established in 1829 to serve as the first seminary west of the Allegheny Mountains to train Congregational and Presbyterian ministers. The students under the influence of Theodore Weld became immersed in the currents of abolition. The debates which followed, and the students' involvement in Cincinnati, Ohio's black community brought the "old light" and "new light" factions into sharp conflict. The old lights won the day and ruled that such activity would be forbidden in the future. The majority of the students withdrew. John Morgan resigned his teaching post, and Asa

became known as "Oberlin Perfectionism."[76] A scholarly journal The Oberlin Evangelist began publication in 1839 in an effort to help spread the doctrine.[77]

The Oberlin vision was not limited to the individual. The call was for the whole church to experience a sanctification of perfect love within its communal life. A microcosm of the life of the world to come, the church was not to rest "until every form of iniquity shall be driven from the earth."[78] Adherents became actively involved in the abolition, temperance, peace, suffrage, and labor

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Mahan resigned from the board. At the invitation of John Shipherd, Mahan accepted the presidency of the then financially troubled Oberlin College. Morgan was offered a teaching post and the student rebels followed. See Lawrence T. Lesick, The Lane Rebels: Evangelicalism and Antislavery in Antebellum America (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1980). For an explicit exposition on the Evangelical-Perfectionist influence on these events, see Donald W. Dayton, "The Lane Rebellion and the Founding of Oberlin College," Discovering an Evangelical Heritage (New York, NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976), pp. 35-44.

[76]Melvin Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 21-2. The preoccupation with perfectionist themes can be seen from the early publications of the initial faculty. Asa Mahan, The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection (Boston, MA: D. S. King, 1839); Charles G. Finney, Views on Sanctification (Oberlin, OH: James Steele, 1840); Henry Cowles, The Holiness of Christians in This Present Life (Oberlin, OH: J. M. Fitch, 1840); and John Morgan, The Holiness Acceptable to God (Oberlin, OH: E. J. Goodrich, 1846).

[77]James H. Fairchild, "The Doctrine of Sanctification at Oberlin," The Congregational Quarterly, n.s. 8 (April, 1876), p. 244.

[78]"Letters on Revivals--No. 23," The Oberlin Evangelist, 8 (January 21, 1846), p. 11.

movements in an effort to actualize their vision.[79] This radical stance initially brought the wrath of the established church upon them. Efforts were made to close the school, graduates were often barred from serving Presbyterian and Congregational pastorates, and those who were ordained were regarded with suspicion. Periodically they were charged with and convicted of theological heresy.[80]

As time passed, however, the vision moderated and thus prevailed. Following the Civil War, leadership passed from the hands of Asa Mahan and Charles Finney, the first two presidents of Oberlin, to such persons as William E. Boardman and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Pearsall Smith.[81] Deeply pietistic, they stressed the personal aspects of holiness almost exclusively. By the time the Reformed wing began to articulate a distinct perfectionist theology in the late 1870's, it was almost totally devoid of social reform.[82]

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[79]Lucille Sider Dayton and Donald W. Dayton, "'Your Daughters Shall Prophesy:' Feminism in the Holiness Movement," Methodist History, 14 (January, 1976), p. 71.

"These reforming efforts were laced through and through with revivalistic impetus and ideals, particularly with a dynamic perfectionistic idealism. . . . They represented a turning outward of the concept of individual freedom from sin to the creation of a society free from evil as well." Dieter, The Holiness Revival, pp. 23-4.

[80]James Fairchild, "The Doctrine of Sanctification at Oberlin," p. 244.

[81]Benjamin B. Warfield, "The 'Higher Life' Movement," The Princeton Theological Review, 16 (October, 1918), pp. 574-5.

[82]Marsden has called this change of attitude "The Great Reversal." George Marsden, Fundamentalism and the American

Theologically, under the leadership of Mahan and Finney, Oberlin Perfectionism had adapted Wesleyan categories to "New Light" Calvinism, seeking to ground the doctrine in "human ability," and "personal responsibility."[83] Believing that "nothing is either sinful

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Culture, pp. 85-92. Paul Wilt, "Premillennialism in America, 1865-1918: With Special Reference to Attitudes Toward Social Reform" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The American University, 1970), argues correctly that social concern remained evident within the Movement through the end of the century. However, following the Civil War this emphasis was more on rescue efforts, focusing on social welfare rather than on structural reform. The single exception to this was the Temperance Crusade which led to Prohibition.

[83]James Fairchild, "The Doctrine Of Sanctification at Oberlin," pp. 237-9; and Timothy Smith, "The Doctrine of the Sanctifying Spirit: Charles G. Finney's Synthesis of Wesleyan and Covenant Theology," Wesleyan Theological Journal, 13 (Spring, 1978), pp. 100-3.

The Oberlin faculty were adamant that they had not received their doctrine from Wesley. Finney did acknowledge his acquaintance with Wesley's doctrine but believed he could not accept it because in Finney's mind Wesley's idea of sanctification "relate[s] almost altogether to the states of the sensibility." Charles G. Finney, Memoirs (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1876), p. 340. Mahan concurs that the Oberlin understanding was grounded rather in new light Calvinism. However he acknowledged that "the terms by which we designated it were those by which it had been presented since the times of Wesley and Fletcher, namely, Christian Perfection, Entire Sanctification, and Full Salvation." Asa Mahan, Autobiography, Intellectual, Moral, and Spiritual (London, England: T. Woolmer, 1881), p. 367. Fairchild notes that they also frequently used "the blessing," "perfect love," and "the gift of the Holy Spirit" to designate the experience, all terms coming from Wesley and Fletcher as well. James Fairchild, "The Doctrine of Sanctification at Oberlin," p. 240.

George Peck, editor of The Methodist Quarterly Review, acknowledged that although Mahan did not express himself "Methodistically" in his Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection, "the thing which we mean by Christian Perfection is truly set forth in that work." [emphasis his] The Methodist Quarterly Review, 23 (April, 1841), p. 308.

or righteous unless it is a free act of the will," they reasoned that the Christian is not responsible to perform acts beyond human capacity.[84] Arguing from this position, they contended that since all sin is voluntary, it is inexcusable. The provisions of the New Covenant enabled the Christian to choose the good in every instance of responsible choice. To choose correctly, however, a second work of grace, entire sanctification, must completely overwhelm the person's will. The individual entered this state by faith through an act of entire consecration and attained completeness of abiding trust. The power of sin would then be replaced by the power of the Holy Spirit. The regenerate then entered into a state of perfect obedience and experienced a new dimension of joy, peace, freedom, and stability.[85]

Oberlin theology not only extended the Edwardian theology of revivalism to include a second crisis but adapted revivalism's methodology as well. The "revival state" was understood to be normative for the church.[86] The appeal to the individual was, in every respect, an extension of the basic revival call.

> The invitation was a universal one. Every convert was a candidate. The sense of immediacy was also there; the time to enter into the "higher life" was "now."

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[84]George Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, p. 74.

[85]James Fairchild, "The Doctrine of Sanctification at Oberlin," p. 239-44.

[86]Ibid., p. 238.

> Just as Edwards . . . pressed upon the sinner the decision to forsake sin, so . . . the Oberlin Perfectionists. . . pressed upon the unsanctified Christian a decision to consecrate himself entirely to God and be entirely sanctified.. . . The dynamic in both cases was the grace of God.[87]

Whether seeking to convince people of the need for a "second blessing" or urging them to take steps to abolish slavery, the leaders directed the appeal to the heart rather than the mind. With the emergence of Oberlin Perfectionism, the Arminianization of the Reformed wing of the American church begun by Edwards was virtually complete.[88]

In form, Oberlin Perfectionism was virtually indistinguishable from Palmer's altar theology. Thus for thirty years the two wings were able to work together in apparent harmony. Theological tension, however, was never far beneath the surface. The Reformed theology tended to understand entire sanctification in relational terms. By faith the individual could, by the power of the Holy Spirit, abide in Christ freed from the power of sin. Adherents of Wesleyan Perfectionism, on the other hand, saw this transaction in substantive categories. They believed that a real change took place within the nature of the individual. This implicit tension would be made explicit in the late 1870's by the formulation of the "Keswick solution."[89]

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[87]Melvin Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, p. 20.

[88]Ibid., pp. 19-22.

[89]The Keswick solution, named after a small village in the Lake District of Northwest England, is the English counterpart to the American Holiness Movement. Formally organized in 1875, Keswick is the site for an annual week of

teaching/preaching sessions on the Higher Life which are recorded in its annual report The Keswick Week. Although it cannot be fully understood apart from its English context, Bundy is correct in suggesting that the origins of the convention resulted "from the overflow of American pietistic revivalism" and was in fact "The Oberlinizing of England." David D. Bundy, Keswick: A Bibliographic Introduction to the Higher Life Movements (Wilmore, KY: B. L. Fisher Library, 1975), p. 12. Orr correctly traces the roots of Keswick to the 1857-58 Revival that arrived in England in 1859. James E. Orr, The Fervent Prayer: The World-Wide Impact of the Great Awakening of 1858 (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1974), p. 142.

James Caughey and the Palmers, for example, claimed that thousands were sanctified in Britain during the course of their stay in the 1860's. However, it was because of the arrival of another husband and wife team, Robert and Hannah Pearsall Smith, in 1873 that the Holiness Movement really blossomed in Britain. John Kent, Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism, p. 298. The Smiths, from Presbyterian and Quaker backgrounds respectively, had been swept into the Holiness Movement during the 1857-58 Revival. They later became good friends with the Palmers and were fully indoctrinated into the teachings of the Movement by the leaders of the National Campmeeting Association. After active work in the Movement for many years on the American scene, they went to Britain for a rest and recuperation. Soon they introduced a circle of new friends to the holiness teachings. Lord and Lady Mount Temple offered their Broadlands estate for a conference in July, 1874. Approximately 100 guests attended. The meeting was so successful that a second larger meeting was planned to be held at Oxford the following month. Approximately 1,000 pastors and church leaders responded to the call, including several from the Continent. At the conclusion of the Oxford meeting, plans were laid to hold a large convention at Brighton in May, 1975. Smith in the meantime traveled throughout the continent where he enjoyed high success. He returned to Brighton a conquering hero to address crowds of over 8,000. In addition to Smith, W. E. Boardman, Charles Finney, and Asa Mahan played minor roles in the convention. Hannah's book The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life was released just before the Brighton convention. It was to eclipse Boardman's The Higher Christian Life as the most widely sold holiness book of all time. But at the height of his glory, tragedy struck. Smith was accused of sexual impropriety and removed from the scene. Embittered, he spent the rest of his life in retirement at Oxford. Melvin Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 166-86.

This solution retained a number of similarities to the Wesleyan doctrine in form. Both views held that sanctification was accomplished *positionally* at Calvary. Both agreed that it is actualized *progressively* in the life of the believer beginning at regeneration. Both positions taught that *ultimate* perfection is not achieved until glorification. Like Palmer's "altar theology," the Keswick solution insisted that subsequent to regeneration an act of entire consecration must be made in faith. This act of the will enabled the believer to lead an overcoming victorious Christian life. Unlike the Wesleyan position, however, the Keswick solution did not teach that the sinful nature is eradicated as a result of this act. Rather Keswick adherents contended that the sinful nature is rendered

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Although the Holiness Movement in Britain was shaken by Smith's swift demise, it was by no means destroyed. Several Wesleyan-oriented groups emerged from the Brighton revival including The Salvation Army, 1878, The Holiness Church, 1880, Cliff College, 1884, The South Port Convention, 1886, The Star Hall, 1889, The Pentecostal League, 1891, The Church of the Nazarene, 1906, and the Independent Holiness Movement, 1907. Jack Ford, <u>In the Steps of John Wesley: The Church of the Nazarene in Britain</u> (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1958), pp. 29-30.

The Keswick Convention, however, represents the most direct descendant which flowed from the Brighton meeting. With the fall of Smith, British Evangelicals from the Reformed tradition moved swiftly to assert control of the Movement. Canon Harford-Bartlesby, an Anglican vicar, offered Keswick as the site for the next Convention which was scheduled to be held that autumn. Moves were made to divest the holiness doctrine of its Wesleyan connotations.

inoperative as the believer yields to the power of the Spirit.[90]

This position proved more congenial to the Calvinist's understanding of the sinful nature and, once articulated, swept the Reformed wing of the Holiness Movement around the world. D. L. Moody, who was in England at the time this solution found expression, introduced it to the United States. Baptists A. J. Gordon and W. B. Riley; Presbyterians A. T. Pierson and A. B. Simpson; and Congregationalists R. A. Torrey and C. I. Scofield emerged as the American leaders of the teaching. Keswick theology would influence Reformed evangelicalism until well into the twentieth century. However, it proved to cause an irreparable breach within the American Holiness Movement, a fissure that would occur again early in the life of Pentecostalism.[91]

The 1857-58 Revival

The 1857-58 Revival, coming in the midst of the Holiness Movement's united ascendancy, would play a pivotal role in the Movement's subsequent development.[92] On the one

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[90]Steven Barabas, So Great Salvation: The History and Message of the Keswick Convention (London, England: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1952), pp. 84-98.

[91]Edith L. Waldvogel, "The 'Overcoming Life': A Study in the Reformed Evangelical Origins of Pentecostalism" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1977), pp. 26-49.

[92]Indeed the revival proved to be a pivotal point in the nation's history as well. Perry Miller describes it as the "Event of the Century." The Life of the Mind in America, pp. 88-95. The best complete work on the revival to date is James E. Orr, The Fervent Prayer.

hand, the revival seemed to offer concrete evidence that the vision of the Movement was being actualized in history. The revival became a motivational force for adherents to redouble their efforts to achieve their goal. Subsequent events, however, would deal this vision a lethal blow. Therefore looking back to the revival, as Chapter Three will demonstrate, it is also proper to regard this as the point where the American Holiness Movement was impregnated with a fertilized seed that would eventually find full expression in Pentecostalism.

The Revival

The revival began in Hamilton, Ontario, where Phoebe Palmer was conducting meetings on the higher life.[93] It spread quickly throughout North America, making its primary impact on the urban centers of the North.[94] Wherever it appeared, the revival broke out in seemingly spontaneous prayer meetings, catching many clergy totally by surprise. Arising from below, even the leadership of this "visitation" was drawn primarily from the laity.[95] Like Palmer's Tuesday Meeting, these union sessions of prayer totally transcended denominational sectarianism:

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[93]James Orr, The Fervent Prayer, p. 2.

[94]Richard Carwardine, Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 162.

[95]Perry Miller, The Life of the Mind, pp. 88-9.

Arminians and Calvinists, Baptists and Pedo-Baptists, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Friends, sat side by side on the same benches, sang the same hymns, said Amen to the same prayers. In this Pentecost as at the first, what became evident to the followers of Jesus, was not the things in which they differed but those upon which they agreed.[96]

The meetings were marked by holiness teaching.[97] Even those who could not accept the two-fold Wesleyan scheme, nonetheless adopted the view that true conversion freed the Christian from the power of sin. Multitudes became convinced that justification in the eyes of God must be evidenced by sanctification in their own subsequent experience.[98]

Two books published during the revival period assisted in sharpening this doctrinal focus. William Arthur, an Irish Methodist, published The Tongue of Fire in 1856. The book, filled with perfectionist themes, set the tone for the revival. Eighteen editions were sold out within three years.[99] The second book, The Higher Christian Life, written by William Boardman, made its appearance in 1858. It went through more editions and sold more copies than any holiness tract published to that point.[100] Boardman, a

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[96]Ibid., p. 91.

[97]George Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, p. 75.

[98]Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, p. 141.

[99]Donald Dayton, "The Doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit," Wesleyan Theological Journal, 13 (Spring, 1978), p. 118.

[100]Melvin Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, p. 56; and Benjamin J. Warfield,

Presbyterian, sought to present the holiness doctrine in non-Wesleyan language. The book swept more non-Methodist circles into the Holiness Movement than any other single force that had preceded it.[101]

Word of the revival spread quickly to Britain and from there throughout Western Europe. Four American Holiness evangelists James Caughey, Walter and Phoebe Palmer, and Charles Finney journeyed to Britain in 1859. As the revival spread through Europe, they were instrumental in assuring that the holiness themes would take root as well.[102]

Perfectionism, ed., Samuel G. Craig (Philadelphia, PA: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1958), pp. 225-6.

[101]Influenced heavily by Finney and Mahan, Boardman agreed that it is the duty of the Christian to enter "full salvation" through "full trust." Christ is not only the Door to salvation, He is also the Way of salvation. Many Christians, he contended, entered the Door through trust in Christ's atoning work, only to seek to walk the Way in their own power. Thus a second crisis was necessary to experience "full trust" by which to enter "full salvation." See Benjamin Warfield, Perfectionism, pp. 225-6; and Melvin Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 56-7.

[102]The most complete account to date on the American influence on the European scene during this revival period is Richard Carwardine, "Transatlantic Revival," Transatlantic Revivalism, pp. 159-97. James Orr, The Fervent Prayer, argues for the American Holiness influence on the revival as well. pp. 142-6. Two other important studies: John Kent, "Holiness Revivalism," Holding the Fort, pp. 295-355; and Melvin Dieter, "From Vineland and Manheim to Berlin and Brighton: The European Holiness Revival," The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 156-203, trace the development of the Holiness Movement in Britain from the 1857-58 revival until the formation of the Keswick Convention in 1875. The Palmers were particularly influential in establishing the Holiness Movement in Great Britain, remaining there through the years of America's Civil War. The published account of their work during this period is recorded in Phoebe Palmer, Four Years in the Old World: Comprising the Travels, Incidents and

The Expectation

In the context of mid-nineteenth century America, the optimistic soteriology of Wesleyan Perfectionism combined with the post-millennial vision of Edwardian revivalism to provide an urgent immediate mission for the American Holiness Movement. Adherents believed, of course, that their message had the power to transform individual lives. However, their mission is perceived when viewed against the backdrop of their eschatological expectation.

In 1835, Charles Finney argued that if the churches of America would do their duty, the millennium could begin within three years.[103] The background for understanding his statement is spelled out in The Oberlin Evangelist. Part of the stated purpose for publication of this journal was "to call the attention of Christians to the fact that the Millennium is to consist of the entire sanctification of the church."[104] Its editor, Henry Cowles, articulated responsibility of the church in this enterprise through a series of twenty-three essays published in 1841.

Reflecting on the optimistic mood of the times, Cowles sensed a "state of expectation" for moral and social change,

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Evangelistic Labors of Dr. and Mrs. Palmer in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (New York, NY: Foster and Palmer, Jr., 1865).

[103]Charles G. Finney, "Lecture XV," Lectures on the Revivals of Religion (New York, NY: Levitt, Lord and Co., 1835); reprinted by Fleming H. Revell, 1962, p. 346.

[104]The Oberlin Evangelist, 1 (January 1, 1839), p. 11.

prevalent throughout the land. This mood, he contended, was "the noiseless but onward thread of the mighty Genius of Reform" which would result in the "restitution of all things."[105] Cited as evidence for this conviction, he noted that:

> Knowledge is gone and going abroad; . . . The arts and sciences--pioneers of the millennium--are making all things ready for the children of God to possess the earth. . . . Geographical knowledge has laid the world open before the Christian's eye. . . . Modern improvements . . . have brought points remote into near contact, and have laid the heathen world at the very door of the church. . . . The political relations of Europe and of our own nation have laid open immense portions of the heathen world to the gospel. . . . God has exalted the influence of Christian nations and crushed that of the heathen. . . . God has secured the general peace of the civilized world. . . . The sword of Christendom is sheathed. The last great disturber of her peace sleeps and will not wake.[106]

Cowles had no use for those who taught that "God will bring in the millennium by a sort of miracle and chiefly without human agency." Such a view, he contended, was a "dreadful mistake" and could only retard God's purpose. "Were it believed and acted on by the whole church we would never have a millennium."[107]

Although it was possible for the then present generation to say "it shall not come in our day," evidence abounded that the church was responding to these probings of

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[105]Henry Cowles, "The Millennium - No. 1," The Oberlin Evangelist, 3 (February 17, 1841), p. 28.

[106]Henry Cowles, "The Millennium - No. 9," The Oberlin Evangelist, 3 (June 9, 1841), p. 94.

[107]Ibid., and Henry Cowles, "The Millennium - No. 11," The Oberlin Evangelist, 3 (July 7, 1841), p. 110.

the Spirit. Denominational leaders were taking action to set aside petty distinctions which led to division and were joining together in "gospel union." The church was awakening to the "spirit of missions." Most significantly, however, was that the church was setting aside every weight of sin to experience entire sanctification in her midst. The prophecy was being fulfilled "that in those days the church will be pure: 'they shall call them the holy people.'" The present condition of the Church gives notice of "God's coming for a universal revival" which would sweep the world into the millennial kingdom.[108]

In the context of this vision, the Holiness Movement devoted itself to social reform of all kinds: engaged in evangelism and mission work, called for the unity of the church, and urged Christian believers to press on to experience the perfecting power of Perfect Love. In responding to Cowles clarion call to "expect great things, . . . expect great changes . . . live as if such a millennium were at the door," the Movement experienced spectacular success. The air of expectancy was heightened. The adherents were confident that the final mighty worldwide revival was just around the corner.[109]

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[108]Henry Cowles, "The Millennium - No. 12," The Oberlin Evangelist, 3 (July 21, 1841), p. 119.

[109]Henry Cowles, "The Millennium - No. 23," The Oberlin Evangelist, 3 (December 22, 1841), p. 204.

The Fulfillment

The Holiness adherents saw in the 1857-58 revival the fulfillment of their hopes. The Tongue of Fire appearing in 1856 anticipated the event and articulated the aspirations. Arthur argued that it was God's intention for the whole human race to be converted. The Church, born in the midst of Pentecost, had been supernaturally equipped to accomplish the task. Sin and unbelief, however, had entered the ranks leaving the Church powerless for centuries. Since the Reformation, and especially since the great missionary movement of the eighteenth century, the Church had regained much of her lost estate. Taken together with the great technological developments of the recent past, the Church now stood poised on the brink of actualizing her purpose. What yet was needed was a final infusion of "Pentecostal power" issuing forth in a mighty worldwide revival. Such a Pentecostal outpouring would culminate rapidly in the establishment of the millennial kingdom. Arthur concluded with a prayer: "Renew the Pentecostal in this our age, and baptize Thy people . . . yet again with tongues of fire!"[110]

The revival which followed, so the Holiness adherents believed, was in direct answer to that prayer. Phoebe Palmer's report of the early days of the revival illustrates the feeling.

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[110]William Arthur, The Tongue of Fire; or the True Power of Christianity (New York, NY: Harper Publishing Co., 1856), pp. 189-227.

> The common experience of holiness united "Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, Quaker, United Brethren in Christ, Jew and proselyte" in a single language of praise and a common desire for "free, full, perfect, immediate salvation. . . . Are not these meetings for holiness . . . . the germs, the dawnings of millennial glory?[111]

Catherine Marsh, an English writer, watched the revival beginning in America, "like a cloud . . . rising out of the sea." Already it had spread to Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England, Sweden, Australia, and India. Soon it "shall spread over the heavens until there be 'a sound of abundance of rain.'" She urged Christians everywhere to:

> Claim now the promise, "the former rain" of which fell at Pentecost, when 3,000 souls were born to God in a day; and "the latter rain" of which was to precede the second advent of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Then would ministers proclaim "the everlasting gospel" to the nations with "holy fire" on their lips, and then would "the end of the age come."[112]

In his excellent analysis of the revival, Perry Miller summed up the feelings of the day by quoting several of the participants. Rejecting the charge that the revival was merely a natural response to the financial panic of 1857, Talbot Chambers asserted, "This movement . . . has been more like Pentecost than any since then." "There can be

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[111]Melvin Dieter, The Holiness Revival in the Nineteenth Century, p. 39, citing Phoebe Palmer, "Meetings for Holiness-Sectarianism," Beauty of Holiness, 8 (December, 1857), pp. 364-5.

[112]Catherine Marsh, "Preface," The Higher Christian Life, author, William E. Boardman (London, England: James Nisbet and Co., 1860), pp. viii-xiii.

little doubt," confirmed another, "that the millennial glory is to begin before too many years."[113]

Summary

Pentecostalism did not develop in a vacuum. It arose as a radical expression of an alternate vision to the world-view which dominated much of the nineteenth-century American scene. The majority of American Protestantism would continue to believe until well into the twentieth century that God had destined their nation to lead the world into its millennial glory. However, a much more pessimistic assessment of history emerged following the Civil War. Many would abandon the conviction that the proclamation of the Gospel would result in the continued progress of civilization. Rather history was getting darker and God would ultimately need to impose His will from outside the historical process. The commission to the Christian, they believed, was to warn the nations of pending judgment.

The American Holiness Movement, which gave birth to Pentecostalism, arose to give unique expression to the dominant vision. Rooted in Historic Pietism, Wesleyan Perfectionism, and American Revivalism, the Movement saw in the 1857-58 revival the dawning of the millennium. When this "Second Pentecost" failed to usher in the new age, the Movement was forced to reexamine its identity and mission. The "Pentecostal" expression of its holiness theology would

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[113]Perry Miller, The Life of the Mind, pp. 90-1.

be the starting point for articulating its new vision. The investigator turns now to trace the developments of a new theological understanding which would find its full expression in the birth of Pentecostalism.

CHAPTER FOUR

Gestation: The Formation of Pentecostal Thought

Now the great business of the church is to reform the world . . . to put away every kind of sin. The Church of Christ was originally organized to be a body of reformers. The Christian Church was designed . . .to reform the individual, communities and governments, and to never rest until the kingdom . . . shall be given to the saints of the most high God--until every form of iniquity shall be driven from the earth.

--Charles G. Finney[1]

I look on this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, "Moody, save all you can." . . . This world is getting darker and darker, its ruin is coming nearer and nearer. Christ will save His church, but He will save them finally by taking them out of the world.

--Dwight L. Moody[2]

The great hope for imminent millennial bliss spread by the 1857-58 revival gave way, temporarily, to the passion of war. Ministers from both North and South proclaimed their cause as a holy crusade. Only in the aftermath could the evangelical-perfectionist spirit take stock of the tragedy to try to extract from the national travail what had been promised by the revival[3]

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[1]"Letters on Revivals--No. 23, The Oberlin Evangelist, 8 (January 21, 1846), p. 11.

[2]W. H. Daniels, Moody: His Words, Work and Workers (New York, NY: Nelson & Phillips, 1877), pp. 475-6.

[3]Perry Miller, The Life of the Mind in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965), p. 94.

In 1868, Jesse Peck, a Methodist bishop holding holiness views, wrote what Perry Miller regarded as "the finest effort to salvage . . . the message of the prewar revival." Peck argued that the nation, brought into existence by God, had been judged for her sin of slavery. Released from the restraints once imposed "by a powerful internal despotism," the United States could now fulfill her calling. The American church, "the life force and organizing power of liberty," must push on ahead with more vigor than ever before.[4]

The task would prove far more complex than Peck could possibly have realized. The world of the post-war era would be different from the one that the church had experienced before. The decades which followed have been characterized by historians of American religion in terms of activity and aimlessness, conflict and creativity, realignment and reorganization. The evangelical-perfectionist synthesis that had appeared to be invincible in the midst of the 1857 revival was thrown into chaos by the unprecedented social and intellectual upheaval that beset the nation.[5]

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[4]Ibid., citing Jesse T. Peck, The History of the Great Republic: Considered from a Christian Standpoint (New York, NY: W. C. Palmer, Jr. 1868).

[5]For an extensive analysis of this era of United States religious history, see Paul Carter, Spiritual Crisis of a Gilded Age (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971); Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972) pp. 733-872; and Winthrop S. Hudson, "Years of Midpassage, 1860-1914," Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life, 2nd. ed.: New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), pp. 207-326.

The events that followed the war, as noted in Chapter Three, called into serious question the traditional revivalist approach to social ills. Church leaders responded to the crisis in a variety of ways. Two major trends, however, are readily apparent. The majority of the leadership sought to redefine the faith in terms compatible with modern thought. At the same time, they reaffirmed the covenantal theology upon which the national vision had been built. The message they proclaimed was explicated in terms of theistic evolution, Christian nurture, the social gospel, and the ongoing progress of civilization.[6]

Conservatives, on the other hand, reaffirmed their faith in the methods of revivalism while reacting to the tendencies of modern liberalism. They charged that under liberalism the Christian faith had become captive to modern culture and robbed of its spiritual transforming power. Increasingly, they looked to an unrepentant Princeton theology for a defence of Biblical authority. In addition, many rejected the covenantal model of history in favor of a dispensational understanding.[7]

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[6]For a review of the rise of American religious Liberalism, see Kenneth Cauthen, The Impact of American Religious Liberalism (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1962); Lloyd J. Averill, American Theology in the Liberal Tradition (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1967); and William Hutchinson, The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).

[7]For the conservative response to the rise of American Liberalism, see Timothy P. Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1925 (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1979); and George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The

The American Holiness Movement gravitated toward the conservative side of the spectrum. The doctrinal elements of fundamentalism and dispensationalism were incorporated into a community that continued to be concerned primarily with the "praxis" of the faith until well into the twentieth century. However, the scope of its message was narrowed to appeal exclusively to the individual. Revivalistic efforts at structural reform that were advocated by Finney became restricted to a number of rescue operations exemplified in the ministry of Moody.[8]

In the process of this conservative gravitation, The American Holiness Movement underwent a theological transformation. When complete, this paradigm shift gave birth to Pentecostalism. This transformation did not come evenly or painlessly. However, looking at the course of developments which took place over the last four decades of the nineteenth century, a general pattern can be observed.

This chapter will focus on two major shifts. First, a paradigm shift took place in the heart of the movement's theology. Christian perfection, which had been rooted in

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Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925), (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1980).

[8]Donald W. Dayton, "The Gospel to the Poor," Discovering an Evangelical Heritage (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 100. Paul Wilt notes that conservatives did participate in the temperance movement which brought about prohibition. "Premillennialism in America, 1865-1918, with Special Reference to Attitudes Toward Social Reform" (Ph. D. Dissertation, American University, 1970), pp. 94-9. However, the real focus was placed on rescuing the alcoholic and the prostitute as well as establishing soup kitchens for the poor.

soteriology, would become increasingly explicated in terms of pneumatology. Second, the movement experienced a transformation of world-view that can best be seen in its shift from a postmillennial to a premillennial eschatology.

The Pneumatological Center

It was probably inevitable that pneumatology would replace soteriology as the heart of holiness theology during the course of the 1857-8 revival. The eschatological expectations of Oberlin perfectionism, in particular, tied the coming of the millennial dawn directly to a renewed outpouring of the Holy Spirit at a Second Pentecost. Convinced that the revival--"the greatest the world had ever witnessed"--had brought forth that Pentecost, William Boardman argued that what was next needed was the widespread demonstration of the "millennial type of Christian character and life."[9]

Pentecostal language flowed naturally from this environment of heightened expectation. Phoebe Palmer is indicative of this change of mood. "Her 1857 reports are filled with the language and expressions which heralded a major change in the semantics and . . . theology of the American Holiness Movement."[10] She revealed a fully

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[9]William E. Boardman, The Higher Christian Life (London, ENG: James Nisbet and Company, 1860), p. 189.

[10]Melvin E. Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects of Pentecostal Origins,: Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins, ed. Vinson Synan (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), p. 65.

developed "Pentecostal" theology in her book The Promise of the Father published in 1859.[11]

In this context, the doctrine of entire sanctification became equated with the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Dayton correctly concludes: "The broader . . . shift toward the "Pentecostal" formulation of entire sanctification seems to have taken place in the wake of the revival of 1857-58."[12] Although Holiness leaders felt they were simply using a more biblical and concise method of expressing the same doctrine, it would become apparent that a paradigm shift had occurred.

Precedent for the Paradigm Shift

Precedent for the "Pentecostal" formulation of the holiness doctrine of entire sanctification is found in the writings of John Fletcher, Wesley's designated successor. In an effort to elucidate the two-fold nature of Wesley's understanding of salvation, he argued:

> I would distinguish more exactly between the believers baptized with the Pentecostal power of the Holy Ghost and the believer, who like the Apostles after our Lord's ascension, is not yet filled with the power.[13]

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[11]Phoebe Palmer, The Promise of the Father: Or a Neglected Speciality of the Last Days (Boston, MA: Henry V. Degen, 1859). This work, a defense of the right of women to preach the gospel, is based on a "Pentecostal" explication of sanctification.

[12]Donald W. Dayton, "The Doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit: Its Emergence and Significance," Wesleyan Theological Journal, 13 (Spring, 1978), p. 118.

[13]Letter from John Fletcher to Miss Mary Bosanquet, March 7, 1778, cited by Luke Tyerman, Wesley's Designated Successor (London, ENG: Hodder and Stoughton, 1882), p. 411.

Fletcher's explication demanded a transformation of Wesleyan categories. He divided salvation history into three dispensations, corresponding to the three persons of the Trinity. He suggested that this "Heilsgeschichte" is to be repeated in the life of all believers. Faith that conformed to the work of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, he believed, would enable a person to enter into a state of sinless perfection.[14]

Wesley refuted this explication and refused to speak of entire sanctification in these terms. As Dayton correctly points out, he remained firmly committed to the classic Protestant position of equating Spirit-baptism with regeneration. Aside from a few isolated incidents, Wesley's exegetical basis and theological formulation of the doctrine prevailed for nearly a century.[15]

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[14]Fletcher summarized this doctrine in the following manner:

> (1) Faith in God the Father Almighty, who made heaven and earth, which is the faith of the heathen.
>
> (2) Faith in the Messiah, or in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, our Lord, which is the faith of pious Jews, of John's disciples, and of imperfect Christians, who, like the apostles before the day of Pentecost, are yet strangers to the great outpouring of the Spirit,
>
> (3) Faith in the Holy Ghost; faith of the operation of God, by which Christians complete in Christ believe according to the working of God's almighty power, and are 'filled with righteousness, peace, and joy in [thus] believing."

Cited by Laurence W. Wood, "John Fletcher's Concept of Christian Perfection," Pentecostal Grace (Wilmore, KY: Francis Asbury Publishing Company, Inc., 1980), pp. 181-2.

[15]Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1987), p. 54.

The equation with Spirit-baptism resurfaced when the eschatological role of the Holy Spirit was explicated in Oberlin perfectionism. Examples can be found in The Oberlin Evangelist during the 1840's. However, pneumatological themes exploded upon the Holiness scene at the point of the 1857 revival.[16]

Analysis of the Paradigm Shift

Asa Mahan published two major treatises on the subject of entire sanctification. The first, published in 1839, is typical of the development of the holiness theology set forth before the Civil War. The second, appearing in 1870, reveals a marked change of direction which was evident in most holiness publications following the war. Dayton

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Wesley's views are clear from his correspondence. For example, he wrote to Fletcher's biographer, Joseph Benson, on December 28, 1770, objecting to equation of Spirit-baptism with sanctification.

> If they like to call this "receiving the Holy Ghost," they may; only the phrase in that sense is not scriptural and not quite proper; for they all "received the Holy Ghost" when they were justified.

On March 19, 1771, Wesley stated his position more sharply to Benson.

> Likewise, think whether you can abstain from speaking of . . . Mr. Fletcher's late discovery. The Methodists in general could not bear this. It would create huge debate and confusion.

John Telford, The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, Vol. 5 (London, ENG: Epworth Press, 1931), pp. 214, 228.

[16]Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, p. 73.

correctly cites Mahan's works as historical exemplars to demonstrate the paradigm shift that took place.[17]

In the earlier work The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection,[18] Mahan places himself squarely in the classical Wesleyan tradition. In it, he sets forth Christology as the undergirding foundation for the doctrine of entire sanctification. When the Holy Spirit is mentioned at all, He is the "Divine Teacher," who speaks not of Himself but of Christ. Salvation history is divided into two covenants: law and grace. Christ's atoning work on the cross is set forth as the pivotal point in history and the basis upon which sinless perfection can be obtained. The primary texts supporting the doctrine are taken from the Johannine and Pauline writings as well as from Christ's sermon on the mount. Luke-Acts is hardly mentioned at all. As a result, the Biblical themes of cleansing, growth, ethics and the fruit of the Spirit are emphasized. Christian perfection is seen as a goal to be sought. No allusion to the end of history is present.

In his later publication The Baptism of the Holy Ghost,[19] Mahan used pneumatology to provide the structural framework for entire sanctification. The fundamental question had become "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since

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[17]Donald Dayton, "Asa Mahan and the Development of American Holiness Theology," Wesleyan Theological Journal, 9 (Spring, 1974), pp. 60-9.

[18](Boston, MA: D. S. King, 1839).

[19](New York, NY: Palmer & Hughes, 1870).

ye believed?"[20] Instead of rooting the work of the Spirit in Christ as was evident in his earlier work, he now argued that Christ himself depended on "the indwelling, and influence, and baptism of the Holy Spirit, the same in all essential particulars as in us."[21] Salvation history is divided into three dispensations, corresponding to the work of the three persons in the Trinity. The Holy Spirit is the "crowning glory" of the present dispensation. Pentecost, rather than Calvary, is the fulcrum of history. The doctrine is rooted in Luke-Acts with supporting texts from other biblical passages interpreted through this lens. Emphasis is placed on empowerment, crisis, subsequence, experience instantaneously achieved, and the gifts of the Spirit. An eschatological concern for the fulfillment of prophecy is evident throughout.

It is doubtful that Mahan understood the radical shift that had taken place in his thinking. When seeking the Palmers to publish his new book, he wrote to Phoebe in May, 1870 "In this work the doctrine of entire sanctification is presented in a form old and yet new."[22] Further evidence that he did not see the radical implications of his Pentecostal formulation is expressed in a letter dated December 1, 1874:

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[20]Asa Mahan, Baptism of the Holy Ghost, p. iv.

[21]Ibid., p. 21.

[22]Letter from Asa Mahan to Phoebe Palmer, May 4, 1870, cited by Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, p.89.

> It is now about forty years since, after the most careful and prayerful examination of the Word of God upon the subject, I embraced the views set forth in my work entitled "Christian Perfection." All of my subsequent examinations and all my observations of facts from that period to the present have tended but in one direction--to confirm and render absolute my confidence in the truth and supreme importance of those views.[23]

None-the-less, this formulation set the stage for structural difficulties that plagued the Movement for decades.

The Inherent Problem of the Paradigm Shift

The identification of entire sanctification with the baptism of the Holy Spirit had the initial advantage of glossing over the unresolved differences between the Reformed and Wesleyan understanding of the doctrine. The diverging views regarding the nature of sin and its resolution could more easily be hidden by focusing on the "Pentecostal" event. By highlighting the moment of reception, the leadership sought to avoid the earlier disputes regarding the nature of the experience. Such a concern is evident as late as 1874 in the advice Daniel Steele, a Methodist leader, gave his audience:

> to cease to discuss the subtleties and endless questions arising from entire sanctification or Christian perfection, and all cry mightily to God for the baptism of the Holy Spirit.[24]

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[23]Letter from Asa Mahan to George Warner, December 1, 1874, Reprinted in Asa Mahan, Christian Perfection (Reprint edition, Salem, OH: Schmul Publishers, 1975), p. iii.

[24]Daniel Steele, "Baptism of the Spirit," Guide to Holiness, 20 (February, 1874), p. 37.

Although the Pentecostal formulation allowed the issue to be kept in the background for nearly twenty years following the 1857-58 revival, it would never disappear completely. Ultimately it would resurface as the adherents sought to integrate the "perfection" and "cleansing" motifs inherent in the old formulation with the "power" motif that dominated the new Pentecostal texts. Three solutions would finally be set forth that would be clearly delineated by the 1890's.

The Classical Solution. The normative position that emerged from the revival sought to combine the Wesleyan theme of "cleansing" with the Pentecostal theme of "power." Phoebe Palmer suggested that "purity and power are identical."[25] Eventually these two motifs were expressed as negative and positive aspects of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This dual concern is revealed in the titles of two important books that were written in the last decade of the nineteenth century: The Two-Fold Gift of the Holy Ghost,[26] and Holiness and Power.[27] This last expression became the

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[25]Phoebe Palmer, Pioneer Experiences; or the Gift of Power Received by Faith (New York, NY: W. C. Palmer, Jr., 1868), p. vi.

[26]Thomas K. Doty, The Two-Fold Gift of the Holy Ghost (Cleveland, OH: The Christian Harvester, 1890). Doty argued that the "Second work of grace, properly so-called includes both salvation from all sin by the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, and the Gift of Anointing of the Holy Ghost." p. v.

[27]A. M. Hills, Holiness and Power for the Church and the Ministry (Cincinnati, OH: M. W. Knapp, 1897).

consensus in many holiness contexts. Thus Nazarene theologian E. P.Ellyson could later reflect his denomination's position on entire sanctification by stating that it

> . . . is wrought by the baptism with the Holy Spirit and comprehends in one experience the cleansing of the heart from sin and the abiding, indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit, empowering the believer for life and service.[28]

The problem faced by those holding this position, however, was that only a single text could be cited to make a biblical case in support of this connection, a strained interpretation of Acts 15:8-9. "And God knows the heart bore witness to them, giving them the Holy Spirit just as he did to us, and he made no distinction between us and them but cleansed their hearts by faith."

But once the model had become clearly established, adherents simply filled the Spirit-Baptism motif with "cleansing" content making no attempt to justify it on biblical grounds. E. T. Curnick in a work entitled A Catechism of Christian Perfection provides an excellent example of this process. The book was written to "aid many in the general church to 'receive the Holy Ghost,' and thus to 'perfect holiness in the fear of God.'" Although the term "Baptism of the Holy Ghost" is used repeatedly throughout the text, the cleansing/purification theme is based on Johannine/Pauline passages. No attempt was made to

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[28]E. P. Ellyson, Doctrinal Studies (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1936), p. 106.

explicate the cleansing theme in Luke-Acts categories, nor did the author seek to justify his equation of cleansing with Spirit-Baptism.[29]

It is, therefore, not surprising that this solution proved troublesome to Calvinists and some Wesleyans alike. Two alternative solutions would be set forth.

The Keswick Formulation. The second major solution to the fundamental tension to the Spirit-baptism/entire sanctification equation was the Keswick formulation which occurred within the Reformed wing of the Holiness Movement in 1875. In this view, Spirit-baptism was divested of all association with the doctrine of Christian perfection. A "progressive" view of sanctification was adopted while the baptism of the Holy Spirit was perceived as an enduement of power for Christian service.

The Keswick understanding of sanctification is three-fold: positional, experiential, and ultimate. Positionally, every Christian believer is sanctified as a result of Christ's finished work on the cross. Experientially, every believer is transformed progressively into the image of Christ. Ultimately, the faithful will be made complete in the life to come.[30]

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[29]E. T. Curnick, A Catechism on Christian Perfection (Chicago, IL: The Christian Witness Co., 1885), p. 4.

[30]Steven Barabas, So Great Salvation: The History and Message of the Keswick Convention (London, ENG: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1952), pp. 85-6.

Although holding that sanctification is progressive, the Keswick position also teaches that a second crisis experience is normative.[31] Thus, conceptually, the Keswick pattern follows both the language and the form of the Wesleyan position which give it birth. This is true at four important points. First, both positions agree that the source of sanctification is the Finished Work of Calvary. Second, both positions concur that sanctification is apprehended by the believer through faith. Third, each maintains that there are both crisis and progressive elements in the experiential aspect of sanctification. Finally, both insist that ultimate perfection is not achieved until the death of the believer.

Despite this broad basis for agreement, the formulation defies the classical Wesleyan position at one critical point. Although Keswick adherents maintain that a second crisis is normative in Christian experience, they deny that this is necessary in God's plan for redemption. Rather, they argue that "The Finished Work of Calvary" not only brings pardon from sins committed, but also deals a death blow to the sin principle. Justification and sanctification are essentially two aspects of the one work of grace which becomes "experientially" appropriated in the individual through faith.

Thus, sanctification is the logical out-flow of regeneration. It is God's intention, Keswick adherents

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[31]Ibid., p. 86.

contend, for the believer to experience gradual continuing transformation into the image of Christ. However, human experience gives testimony to the fact that real progress is often blocked, or at least hindered by self-will, bringing the person to the point of spiritual crisis. On such an occasion, the believer is prompted by the Holy Spirit to make a consecration of self-surrender, thereby allowing Christ's will to have full control. This experience, often quite dramatic is understood to enable the Holy Spirit to become operative in His fulness.[32]

The roots of the Keswick formulation can easily be traced back to the early days of Oberlin.[33] The Oberlin faculty all denied that they had embraced the Wesleyan doctrine. Rather, they contended that they had adopted Wesleyan categories to express a view of perfection that was consistent with Reformed theology.[34] Aside from Asa Mahan, who eventually joined the Wesleyan Church, the Oberlin faculty soon abandoned the Wesleyan categories and attempted to express their view in less controversial language.

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[32]Ibid., pp. 110-7.

[33]David. D. Bundy, Keswick: A Bibliographic Introduction to the Higher Life Movements (Wilmore, KY: Asbury Theological Seminary, 1975), p. 12.

[34]James H. Fairchild, "The Doctrine of Sanctification at Oberlin," Congregational Quarterly, 18 (1876), pp. 240-1; and Benjamin B. Warfield, Perfectionism (Philadelphia, PA: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1974), p. 57.

Charles Finney's mature understanding, for example, is found in an appendix to the British edition of Mahan's Baptism of the Holy Ghost.

> This essay of four chapters on 'The Enduement of Power" uses, as usual, the Pentecostal imagery to encourage the seeking of 'the enduement of power from on high' defined exclusively as the 'indispensable condition of performing the work' Christ set before the church in the Great Commission. There is no reference to a 'sanctification' or 'cleansing' in the Pentecostal experience.[35]

Likewise, William E. Boardman, the Presbyterian minister whose book The Higher Christian Life so shaped the course of the 1857-8 revival, categorically denied that he had accepted "sanctification in the Wesleyan fashion as Christian Perfection and the eradication of the old nature." Such a position, he protested, often led people to misunderstanding and opened the way for them to fall "into an awful fanaticism."[36]

Even Robert Persall Smith, whose evangelistic activities led to the formation of the Keswick Movement, described his sanctification experience totally in terms of "power and blessing."[37] The Keswick formulation simply made explicit what had been implicit for thirty years.

English Keswick adherents were reticent to term the act of entire consecration "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit",

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[35]Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, p. 101, citing Charles G. Finney, "The Enduement of Power," appended to Asa Mahan, The Baptism of the Holy Ghost (London, ENG: Elliot Stock, n.d.), pp. 231-4.

[36]Benjamin Warfield, Perfectionism, p. 219.

[37]Ibid., p. 257.

preferring, rather, the phrase, "filled with the Spirit,"[38] The American adherents, however, had no such qualms. Most followed the lead of R. A. Torrey who declared "The Baptism with the Holy Spirit is a work of the Holy Spirit separate and distinct from his regenerating work."[39] In the context of American revivalism, the "progressive" nature of sanctification fell into the background while the focus on Spirit-baptism as enduement for service came increasingly into the forefront.[40]

The Third Blessing. The final solution to the tension which resulted from equating Spirit-baptism with entire sanctification occurred in the Wesleyan wing of Perfectionism. In this instance, the problem was resolved by claiming that Spirit-baptism was a third crisis experience subsequent to entire sanctification.[41]

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[38]Steven Barabas, So Great Salvation, p. 132.

[39]Ruben A. Torrey, The Baptism with the Holy Spirit (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1895), p. 10.

[40]Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism: 1800-1930 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 179. For a full discussion of the Keswick movement in the United States, see Edith L. Waldvogel, "The Overcoming Life: A Study in the Reformed Evangelical Origins of Pentecostalism" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1977).

[41]The most extensive discussion of this position to date is Craig Funkhauser, "The Fire Baptized Revolt: 1895-1911," in his "The Heritage of Faith: An Historical Evaluation of the Holiness Movement in America" (M.A. Thesis, Pittsburg State University, 1983), pp. 121-47. See also Vinson Synan, "The Fire Baptized Way," The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 121-47.

Like the Kewsick solution, the Third Blessing alternative had been an implicit option for years.[42] As early as 1856, for example, The Guide to Holiness carried an editorial which asked: "Does . . . entire sanctification, a clean heart, perfect love, or full salvation, etc., imply the full baptism of the Holy Ghost?" The conclusion reached in the article was a resounding "No!"[43]

By the mid-1880's, two men made this distinction explicit. Following the logic of Flecther's doctrine of "dispensations," B. H. Irwin[44] and R. C. Horner[45] taught

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[42]Dayton has provided ample evidence that several prominent holiness leaders toyed with this solution during the 1870's and 1880's. These included: Asbury Lowrey, Asa Mahan, A. B. Earle, Arthur S. Booth-Clibborn and George Watson. Donald Dayton Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, pp. 95-7.

[43]J. D., "Entire Sanctification and the Fullness of the Spirit," Guide to Holiness, 29 (April, 1856), p. 97.

Like most subscribers to this view, the unidentified J. D. appealed to John Fletcher in defense of his position, arguing that it is a logical extension of Fletcher's 'dispensation' theology. It is unlikely, however, that Fletcher, himself held to such an understanding. The text normally cited to support this view states

> If one powerful baptism of the Spirit seal you unto the day of redemption, and cleanse you from all moral filthiness, so much the better. If two or more be necessary, the Lord can repeat them.

John Fletcher, Works, Vol. 5 (London, ENG: John Mason, 1859), pp. 167-8. From the context it is clear that Fletcher was acknowledging that it sometimes take a second "crisis": to accomplish the one work of grace. He was not advocating successive works.

[44]For a discussion on Irwin and the denomination which he founded, see Vinson Synan, "The Fire-Baptized Holiness

that sanctification, accomplished by Christ's finished work on the cross, should not be confused with the work of the Holy Spirit in empowering God's people for effective Christian service.[46] The understanding of Spirit-baptism held by the adherents of this position was virtually the same as that taught by the Keswick leaders.

Benjamin Hardin Irwin, founder of the Fire Baptized Holiness Church, is the most widely known Third Blessing advocate. A native of Missouri, Irwin practiced law in Nebraska until his conversion in 1879. Shortly thereafter, he was ordained for ministry in a Baptist denomination. He came in contact with Isaiah Reid,[47] leader of the Iowa

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Church," The Old-Time Power (Franklin Springs, GA: Advocate Press, 1973), pp. 81-101.

[45]For a discussion on Horner, see Brian R. Ross, "Ralph Cecil Horner: A Methodist Sectarian Deposed, 1887-1895," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, 19 (March-June, 1977), pp. 94-103.

[46]A disciple of Horner notes, for example:

> There are those who . . . teach that we are sanctified and made holy by the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. They ascribe to the Holy Ghost the work that belongs to the Son of God.

A. A. Whitteker, The Three Blessings viz "Regeneration,": "Entire Sanctification," and the "Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire" (Ottawa, ONT: The Holiness Movement Publishing House, 1911), p. 41.

[47]Isaiah Reid, a Presbyterian minister, organized the Iowa Holiness Association in 1879 after accepting the Wesleyan view of entire sanctification. Interdenominational in scope, the Association grew rapidly and developed all the earmarks of an ecclestiastical body. It had its own publication, Highway and Banner; operated its own training school, Central Holiness University; held its own campmeetings; and licensed its own ministers. By the turn of the century, the Association claimed a membership larger than that of the National Holiness Association. Its

Holiness Association in 1890. Soon thereafter, he claimed the experience of entire sanctification. Forsaking the Baptist ministry, he immersed himself in Wesleyan thought. In this study, he came to believe that John Fletcher taught that Spirit-Baptism was a third experience, distinct from entire sanctification. Many adherents from the Iowa Holiness Association accepted this teaching.[48]

Reaction was swift. Reid excommunicated him in 1895. Irwin promptly started his own organization taking a large following with him. His teaching spread quickly to Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. However, his greatest success came in the Southeast. Within a year, groups were flourishing in the Carolinas, Georgia and Flordia.[49] By the turn of the century, the Third Blessing teaching had virtually captured the independent holiness groups of that region.[50]

Ralph C. Horner, a long-time Methodist minister, came to his understanding of the Third Blessing as a result of refuting Jeremiah Boland's attack on Wesley and the "Second Blessing" theology in the Methodist Church.[51] In the midst

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adherents lived in twenty-four states and came from twenty-six denominational backgrounds. Delbert R. Rose, The Theology of Christian Experience (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany Fellowship, Inc., 1965). p. 74.

[48]Vinson Synan, The Old-Time Power, pp. 82-4.

[49]Ibid., pp. 85-97.

[50]Charles E. Jones, A Guide to the Study of the Pentecostal Movement, Vol. I (Methuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1983), p. 252.

[51]Ralph C. Horner, Notes on Boland, or, Mr. Wesley and the Second Work of Grace (Toronto, ONT: William Briggs, 1893).

of this rebuttal, he became aware that Wesley never connected his doctrine of entire sanctification with the work of the Holy Spirit. This discovery illuminated a lacking in his own life. He became convinced that he had indeed experienced entire sanctification, but none-the less felt that his ministry lacked power. Thus he came to seek and proclaim Spirit-baptism as a third blessing. This resulted in his removal from the Methodist church. Three small denominations trace their origins to his teaching.[52] The National Holiness Campmeeting Association moved swiftly to reject the teaching, labeling it "The Third Blessing Heresy,"[53]

Thus, by the turn of the twentieth century, the Holiness Movement had divided into three distinct camps. The unity which had characterized the Movement during its formative years gave way to bitter infighting as each faction sought to impose its position as orthodoxy for the Holiness Movement as a whole.[54]

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[52]Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, p. 98.

[53]See such refutations as Peter Wiseman, Entire Sanctification Before Pentecost: Is It Methodistic and Scriptural? (Chicago, IL: Christian Witness Company, 1934), and John R. Church, Which is Right? One, Two or Three Works of Grace? (Louisville, KY: Pentecostal Publishing Company, n.d.).

[54]The final break between Keswick and the Classical position appeared to be the result of a gradual drifting apart rather than a point of confrontation. George Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, pp. 94-5. The break was clearly apparent by the turn of the century. Some 125 holiness leaders, representing 45 denominations endorsed a call for a General Holiness Assembly in 1901. Not one was

Summary

It is clear that following the Civil War, the Holiness Movement experienced a paradigm shift. Pneumatology replaced soteriology as the center of its theological understanding. Adherents appealed to John Fletcher, Wesley's designated successor, to justify making this shift. In so doing they were able to articulate a perfectionist theology far more compatible with the Reformed tradition. However, strains soon developed both from tensions inherent within the new construction and from concerns introduced by adherents from other theological traditions. A breakdown of unity was inevitable. Three major positions were taken: the Classical; Keswick; and Third Blessing. All emphasized the need for an experience subsequent to regeneration which they understood to be the Baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Transformation of World-View

The paradigm shift which took place at the heart of Perfectionist theology, which saw entire sanctification restated in terms of Spirit-baptism, was quickly followed by a wide-spread conversion from a postmillennial to a premillennial eschatology. On the surface this change appeared to be minor. In many ways premillennialism looked forward to a thousand-year period that was similar in character to that which was expected by postmillennialists.

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from the Keswick tradition. S. B. Shaw, ed., Echoes of the General Holiness Assembly Held in Chicago, May 3-13, 1901 (Chicago, IL: S. B. Shaw Publisher, 1901), pp. 12-4.

The one apparent difference was that premillennialists believed that Christ's second advent would take place *before* the inauguration of the millennium, whereas the postmillennialist position was that Christ would appear *at the end* of that period. Despite the apparent similarities, however, much more was at stake than a simple change in timetable. The new chronology disclosed a transformation in world-view.

Premillennialism emerged within the Reformed tradition. It was in that context that its theological implications were fully tested. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, premillennialism had not only penetrated all three branches of the Holiness Movement but had captured the majority of adherents in each branch. In this section, attention will first be directed to the emergence of premillennialism in America. Secondly, focus will be given to *how* the transformation took place. Finally, consideration will be given to the reasons *why* this shift occurred.

The Emergence of Premillennialism in America

The roots of American premillennialism can be traced to a revival of millenniarianism in England which gained impetus following the French Revolution. Although a minority position for the first half of the nineteenth century, it steadily gained ground until the view was seemingly discredited by such advocates as William Miller who claimed that the Second Advent would take place sometime

between 1844 and 1847. John Nelson Darby's doctrine of a "secret rapture" revived the viability of the position. By the end of the nineteenth century, his version virtually dominated American Evangelicalism, including all three branches of the Holiness Movement.

Historic Premillennialism. The form of millenniarism that first established itself on the shores of the new world was known as historic premillennialism. That is, its adherents believed that Biblical prophecy, especially the visions of St. John recorded in the Apocalypse, were being fulfilled in the course of the history of the Church. Only a few prophecies yet remained to be fulfilled before Christ returned to establish His kingdom on earth.[55]

The problem that adherents faced in adopting this view, however, was that they were unable to agree among themselves on the correlation between specific prophecies with particular historical events. The situation changed dramatically during the course of events in the 1790's culminating in the establishment of the French Republic. The violent social disruption during this troubled period convinced many Biblical scholars that the end of the world was imminent. Moreover, students of Biblical prophecy agreed that the Revolution, by bringing an end to Papal power in France and by sending the Pope into temporary exile, fulfilled the prophecies of Daniel, chapter seven and

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[55]Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 3-4.

Revelation, chapter thirteen which Protestant Biblical scholars believed, foretold the destruction of Roman Catholicism. By creating this unanimity, the French Revolution became the Rosetta Stone by which all Scriptural prophecy could be correlated with the events of human history.[56]

Such a decisive event had been anticipated by Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol (1704-1782), whose three volume work Dissertation on the Prophecies, Which Have Been Remarkably Fulfilled, and Are at the Moment Fulfilling in the World became the exemplar in the historicist tradition. Completed in 1758, the work argued that Papal power would dominate for 1260 years before being crushed. This event would be quickly followed by the conversion of the Jews and the restoration of their homeland. Then Christ would return to establish His Kingdom on earth.[57] The work went through eighteen editions and countless printings in England. First

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[56]Ibid., p. 5.

[57](London, ENG: J. and R. Johnson, and S. Dann, 1754-8). John Fletcher, a historicist, also predicted the French Revolution. Writing to Wesley on November 29, 1755, he voiced his conviction that the church was about to enter the period of great tribulation:

> We are come to the last times, the grand catastrophe of God's drama draws near apace. . . . I know that a good part of an hundred thousand Protestants scattered in France expect some great revolution that will turn at last to the good.

John Fletcher, Prophecies of the Remarkable Events Now Taking Place in Europe . . . in a Letter to the Late Rev. John Wesley, A. M. Dated London, Nov. 29, 1755 (Bath, ENG: J. C. B. Campbell, 1793).

published in the United States in 1793, it remained in print until 1868. On both sides of the Atlantic ocean, it was the fountain head for chiliastic speculation for decades. For more than half a century, American millenarians departed from the Newton model only at points of minute detail.[58]

In the wake of the French Revolution, historicist millenarian thought flourished through the publication of a profuse number of tracts and periodicals and through countless conferences both in Great Britain and the United States. The revival of the historicist interpretation in Great Britain was brought into focus by the *Albury Conferences for the Study of Prophecy* held annually during Advent for five years beginning in 1826. Organized by Henry Drummond, a philanthropist and member of Parliament, the meetings were held at his estate, Albury Court, Surrey.[59]

Drummond sought to bring together the leading exponents of the historicist position. Some forty-four clergy and laymen participated in one or more of the Conferences. They were drawn mainly from the Evangelical wing of the Church of England and from the Church of Scotland. Representatives from the Free churches also attended. The stated purpose of the Conferences was to compare views in the hope of

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[58]Robert K. Whalen, "Millenarianism and Millennialism in America, 1790-1880" (Ph. D. Dissertation. State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1972), p. 30.

[59]P. E. Shaw, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Sometimes Called Irvingite: A Historical Study (New York, NY: King's Crown Press, 1946), pp. 19, 26.

reaching unanimity on diverging points of eschatological teaching and to determine the immediate features of fulfilling prophecy that would next take place in history.[60]

The first conference ended with all participants in agreement that the times of the Gentiles (i.e., the church age) was rapidly drawing to a close. They anticipated that the conversion of the Jews and their rapid return to their ancient homeland would be the next great feature of God's prophetic time-clock. The participants agreed at the second conference that Christ would return to earth sometime between 1844 and 1847. The remaining conferences focused on the mission of the Church in view of the approaching end of the age.[61]

The 1830 conference disbanded after meeting only three days. Scottish participants reported that some strange incidents had occurred in their parishes earlier that year. Several dramatic healings had taken place. In addition, there were visions, prophecies, speaking in tongues, and interpretation of tongues. Without exception, the messages of the various media was the same: "The Lord is coming soon, get ready to meet Him."[62]

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[60]Andrew Landale Drummond, Edward Irving and His Circle (London, ENG: James Clarke & Company, Ltd, n.d.), p. 133.

[61]Edward Miller, The History and Doctrines of Irvingism, or of the So-called Catholic and Apostolic Church, Vol. 1 (London, ENG: C. Kegan, Paul & Company, 1878), pp. 36-46.

[62]Andrew Drummond, Edward Irving and His Circle, pp. 144, 152.

English observers were sent to Scotland to investigate these reports. They reconvened in October to pronounce the phenomenon genuine. This news was a source of great rejoicing for the majority attending. They believed the Holy Spirit was being outpoured, restoring His gifts to equip the Church for its end-time mission. A minority felt the manifestations were spurious. When their view did not prevail, they departed. Those remaining founded the Catholic Apostolic Church which has been associated with its most famous member, the Reverend Edward Irving. Through the Spirit of prophecy, twelve members were called out to be a restored apostolate. These men were directed to carry out the affairs of the church in its end-time mission.[63]

This energetic tradition spawned a host of other movements in Great Britain and provided the context for the

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[63]P. E. Shaw, The Catholic Apostolic Church, pp. 31-33, 48ff. The doctrine and practice of the Catholic Apostolic Church bore a remarkable resemblance to the belief and practice of the early Pentecostal Movement. Indeed, this church has often been cited in Pentecostal histories as one of the groups that practiced the Pentecostal distinctive glossolalia. However, to date, no direct historical link has been established between the two movements which would account for a transmission of ideas and practice.

The best effort is an ahistorical interpretation offered by the Lutheran Charismatic, Larry Christenson. In this account, he notes that when it became apparent to this Church that their restored Apostolate would not survive to witness the return of Christ, a prophecy was given, stating that their mission was that of the twelve. A second and greater work, the mission of the seventy, would be raised up by God in due time. Christenson suggests that the Pentecostal/Charismatic Movement of the twentieth century has fulfilled this prophecy. Larry Christenson, "Pentecostalism's Forgotten Forerunner," Aspects of the Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins, Vinson Synan, ed. (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), p. 35.

emergence of the Millerite Adventist Movement in the United States.[64] William E. Miller, the most famous millenarian in American history,[65] was a self-professed deist until his conversion in 1816. A rationalist, he felt the need to justify his new found faith through reason. He, therefore, set out to demonstrate that the entire Bible was pure revelation. Using only a concordance, he soon became convinced that a premillennial interpretation of prophecy was the key to the unity of Scripture. During a fourteen-year period, he developed a system of prophetic interpretation that virtually duplicated the historicist tradition.[66]

Miller, a shy self-educated farmer, for years refrained from making his views public. Gradually, however, he felt compelled to speak. In 1834, he abandoned his former occupation in order to devote his energies to full-time ministry. By 1839, his "crusade" became a force of national significance. In that year, Joshua Hines, a noted Boston minister who had been prominent in the abolitionist movement, converted to Miller's cause. Hines became his manager and publicity agent: editing a number of Adventist

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[64]Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, p. 42.

[65]For an excellent study of Miller and the Movement that he spawned, see David L. Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets: The Millerite Movement and Apocalyptic Thought in Upstate New York, 1800-1845 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985).

[66]Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 50-1.

periodicals, organizing a series of camp-meetings, and sending evangelists throughout the country. Within five years, the campaign had mushroomed into a movement which claimed 50,000 adherents, including a number of Oberlin perfectionists.[67]

Although homegrown, Miller's theology differed little from British Millenarianism. He held identical assumptions. Biblical prophecy was to be fulfilled literally in history. The chronologies listed in the apocalyptic books were to be interpreted by the day-year theory. Finally, they were agreed that Christ would return in the year 1844.[68]

The Millerite movement illustrated the fundamental dilemma of the historicist school. Although not all predicted the exact date of Christ's return, adherents none-the-less were committed to a chronological time-table derived from events predicted in the Scripture. Miller's disconfirmation called this whole structure of thought into serious question.[69] As a result, premillennialism promptly

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[67]Francis D. Nichol, The Midnight Cry: A Defense of the Character and Conduct of William Miller and the Millerites, Who Mistakenly Believed that the Second Coming of Christ Would Take Place in the Year, 1844 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1944), p. 204; and Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950), pp. 292-3.

[68]Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 50-2.

[69]Ibid., pp. 59-60.

went into a partial eclipse. When it revived, it would appear in a new form.[70]

Futurist Premillennialism. The Futurist position appears to have had its origin in the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The Reformers had been unanimous in applying to the papacy most of the prophecies concerning the anti-christ. The Roman Church sought to offset this charge in a number of ways. One significant direction was through the reinterpretation of prophecy. Francisco Ribera, a Jesuit scholar, published a five hundred page commentary on the Apocalypse in 1590 which broke with the Historicist tradition of prophetic interpretation. He assigned the first three chapters of the Revelation to John's own day. The remaining chapters, he contended, had not been fulfilled. All the prophecies would unfold in a three and one-half year period which would mark the end of the Church age. This understanding became the foundation for the Futurist position. It gained wide acceptance within the Roman Church but, understandably, did not easily take root in the Protestant tradition.[71]

When the futurist interpretation did penetrate American Evangelicalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was through the mediation of the Plymouth Brethren. John

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[70]Robert Whalen, "Millenarianism and Millennialism," p. 57.

[71]Henry Alford, The New Testament for English Readers, Vol. 2, Part 2 (Boston, MA: Lee and Shepard, Publishers, 1875), p. 353.

Nelson Darby, the Brethern's most dynamic leader, was especially influential.[72]

Darby argued that all human history has been divided into seven dispensations. Each dispensation was marked by a change in God's method of dealing with His creation, especially with respect to sin and human responsibility. Each age offered a new test for natural man; each age ended in failure and judgment. On this point Darby stood in agreement with most of Christendom. What separated his

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[72]The forces and concerns which gave rise to the Plymouth Brethren were identical to those which shaped the formation of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Their origins are traced to a series of annual conferences for the study of prophecy held at Powerscourt, Ireland, beginning in 1831. These conferences paralleled the Albury Conferences both in format and content. Lady Theodosia Powerscourt, the hostess, had visited Henry Drummond at Albury and entertained Edward Irving as a guest in 1830. Deeply impressed by Irving and his message, Powerscourt opened her home to a number of monthly meetings to enable the discussion to continue. The Rector of her parish, the Reverend Robert Daly presided. Later, an annual conference was established to allow interested parties from more distant parts to attend.

The first annual conference attracted thirty-five clergy, fifteen laymen and twenty laywomen. Topics of discussion included: "Is it our present duty to resist or to endure, corrupt institutions?"; "Should the 1260 days, mentioned in Daniel, be understood according to the day-year theory or as literal days?"; "Will the saints suffer the tribulation?"; "Are we living in the last days?"; and "Are the gifts of the Spirit for the present age?"

The Historicist position soon gave way to the Futurist through the influence of Darby. Likewise, through his persuasion, participants came to the conclusion that the gifts of the Spirit have functioned to establish the church and then had been withdrawn. The outbreak of "gifts" in England and Scotland, Darby maintained, were spurious. Harold H. Rowdon, The Origins of the Brethren: 1825-1850 (London, ENG: Pickering & Ingles, Ltd., 1967), pp. 86-8.

position from that of others and marked a new development in the futurist tradition were two underlying presuppositions.

First, Darby believed in the absolute separation of Israel and the Church as distinct peoples of God. As a result, he contended that the unfulfilled prophecies of the Old Testament applied only to the Jewish nation. Israel, God's *earthly* people, by rejecting Christ as their promised Messiah, was cut off for a season, while the Church, God's *heavenly* people, was called forth from the Gentile nations to be prepared as Christ's waiting bride.

Second, since many of the Old Testament prophecies remained unfulfilled, Darby believed that at end of the Church age there would be a period when the Jewish nation would be restored, the divided kingdom would be united, and the Messiah accepted.[73] C. H. Mackintosh, an able Brethren exponent of Darby's theology, summarized the position succinctly:

> Messiah, was rejected, cut off, and had nothing. What then? God signified His sense of this act by suspending for a time His dispensational dealings with Israel. The course of time is interrupted. There is a great gap. . . and all time since the death of Messiah has been an unnoticed interval -- a break or parenthesis, during which Christ has been hidden in the heavens, and the Holy Ghost has been working on earth forming the body of Christ, the church, the heavenly bride. When the last member shall have been incorporated into this body, the Lord Himself shall come and receive His people to Himself, to conduct them back to the Father's house, . . while God will by His governmental dealings,

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[73]Timothy P. Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1925 (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 16-7.

> prepare Israel and the earth for the introduction of the first-begotten into the world.[74]

Darby further believed that God would not resume the prophetic time-clock until the true church had been taken into heaven. This would occur through a secret rapture. St. Paul provided the biblical evidence.

> For the Lord himself shall descend from heave with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first, then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air and so shall we ever be with the Lord.[75]

At the time of the rapture, Darby contended, Christ would come invisibly *for* the Church. Seven years later, at the time of the Second Advent, He would appear visibly ***with*** the Church.. Between these two events, Israel would be restored as a nation, the anti-christ would be unveiled, and the great tribulation would occur.

The secret rapture, Darby's most distinctive teaching, proved to resolve neatly the most perplexing problem faced by the millenarians. The secret event would restart God's prophetic time-clock. No longer would proponents have to struggle, trying to correlate biblical prophecy with history. They could hold that Christ may come at any moment without the embarrassment of subsequent disconfirmation.[76]

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[74]Charles H. Mackintosh, Papers on the Lord's Coming (London, ENG: G. Morrish, n.d.), pp. 102-3.

[75]I Thessalonians 4:17. Prior to Darby's exposition, all futurists interpreted this passage as relating to Christ's second coming. Timothy Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming, p. 21.

[76]Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, p. 64.

Capturing American Evangelicalism. Following the Civil War, Darby's view of premillennialism began a relentless and successful penetration of American Evangelicalism. Darby himself was extremely successful in putting this assault into motion. Energetic and magnetic, he made seven visitations to the United States between 1862 and 1877. His greatest impact came at such urban centers as St. Louis, Missouri; Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; Boston, Massachusetts; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and New York, New York. In each city, several prominent clergymen were converted to his eschatological views.[77]

A monthly periodical, The Prophetic Times, was established in 1863 to champion the premillenarian cause. The journal took a futurist stance, listing Darby's secret rapture theory as its final tenet of faith. Edited by Joseph A. Seiss,[78] The Prophetic Times provided an

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[77]Among those who acknowledged their indebtedness to Darby were Dwight L. Moody, evangelist from Chicago; James H. Brooks, pastor of Walnut Street Presbyterian Church in St. Louis; Adoniran J. Gordon, pastor of the Clarendon Baptist Church in Boston and founder of Gordon College and Seminary. Ibid., pp. 70-80, 134; and Harry A. Ironside, A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1942), p. 196.

[78]Seiss edited The Prophetic Times for twelve years, resigning in 1875. He was a powerful voice for the millenarian cause until his death in 1904. His most famous work, a three volume exposition on the Revelation of John, went through dozens of printings and was translated into German and French. He wrote at least a half dozen other books on millenarian themes. In addition, to his work on behalf of the millenarian cause, he was an active and loyal Lutheran churchman. He pastored St. John's Church in Philadelphia, the largest English-speaking Lutheran church

ecumenical forum to enable millenarians from the Lutheran, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, Moravian, and Dutch Reformed traditions to articulate their views. It proved to be a major mechanism by which American Evangelicals were moulded along Darby's dispensationalist lines.[79]

Dispensationalism gained still another forum in 1875 with the advent of the Bible Prophecy Conferences. The Niagara Bible Conference, held annually until 1900, became the mother of this movement. During the twenty-five year period, some 120 Protestant leaders addressed this annual event. Dwight L. Moody, who adopted Darby's views in 1877, instituted the annual Northfield Prophecy Conference in 1880. Its first group of speakers were all veteran leaders from the Niagara conference. Northfield also attracted people from a variety of theological traditions. By the mid-80's regional conferences were being held throughout the United States and Canada.[80]

The movement continued to gain momentum. Nearly every major American evangelist of the period followed Moody's lead. Countless journals were established, numerous Bible Colleges were founded, rescue missions in urban centers were

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in the United States from 1858-1874. He served as President of the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia Lutheran Theological Seminary from 1865-1904. He edited The Lutheran from 1867-1879 and authored over two dozen book. Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. 16 (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), p. 564.

[79]Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 94-7.

[80]Ibid., pp. 132-45, 173-5; and Timothy Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming, p. 28.

set up, missionaries were sent into the foreign field, and hundreds of local associations all articulating Darby's dispensationalism were formed. Through these interlocking forums, an informal network was created which enabled the millenarian movement to challenge the prevailing views of American Christianity.[81]

The Taint of Perfectionism. The initial American converts to the Futurist premillenarian position came primarily from within the Reformed and Baptistic traditions.[82] In many ways their theological instincts fit closely with Darby's who had grounded his dispensational theology in ultra-Calvinistic presuppositions, emphasizing the sovereignty of God, limited atonement and imputed righteousness. When translated to the American context, Darby's theology quickly adapted to the prevailing perfectionistic surroundings. From the outset, Darby found his converts in the United States to be tainted by perfectionism. "Work, not truth," he once lamented, "is the American line of things." On his trip to the States in 1875, he complained, "a notion of perfectionism accompanied

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[81]Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 172-3, 181-6. Weber's list of late nineteenth century evangelists who converted to Darby's dispensationalism included George Needham, W. J. Erdman, D. W. Whittle, J. Wilbur Chapman, Leander Munhall, Ruben A. Torrey, and Billy Sunday. Timothy Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming, p. 33.

[82]Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 151-2.

by a wild looking for the Spirit is one thing one has to contend with.[83]

The perfectionist impulse in the form of the Keswick teaching penetrated Millenarianism by way of the Northfield Conference.[84] Initially, millenarian leaders were alarmed. They felt that by inviting Keswick leaders to Northfield, Moody was introducing theological heresy into the conferences. Such leaders as F. B. Meyer and Andrew Murray, however, soon convinced them that this brand of holiness was compatible with the Reformed tradition. Most soon embraced the teaching as their own. By the mid-90's, almost all the prophecy conferences included a message on the Keswick doctrine of holiness. At least two of the Prophecy conferences held in the last decade of the century were dedicated expressly to the work of the Holy Spirit.[85]

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[83]John Nelson Darby, Letters, Vol. 2 (2nd. edition. London, ENG: G. Morrish, 1914), pp. 255, 396.

[84]Moody had been conducting an evangelistic crusade in London with the Brighton Convention for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness, the precursor of Keswick, convened in May, 1875. Moody sent a telegram to Robert Pearsall Smith on the opening day, stating he had offered a prayer at his meeting: "Let us lift up our hearts to seek earnestly a blessing on the great Convention that is now being held at Brighton, perhaps the most important meeting ever gathered together." Record of the Convention for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness Held at Brighton, May 29th to June 7th, 1875 (Brighton, ENG: W. J. Smith, 1875), p. 47. Moody followed the development of the Keswick doctrine with interest and saw it fitting to introduce it to his American following.

[85]Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 176-7.

While the prophecy conferences were the vehicle for spreading the Keswick view of sanctification throughout America,[86] Darby's dispensationalist views had more difficulty penetrating the Wesleyan Wing of the Holiness Movement. Of the 122 persons who signed the "call" for the First International Prophecy Conference held in New York City in 1878, for example, only six were of Methodist background. Of these, two were German Methodists and two others had already severed their Methodist connections. Since Methodism was the largest Protestant denomination at the time, claiming over three million adherents, they were grossly under-represented at this self-consciously ecumenical conference. Presbyterianism, on the other hand, with fewer than a million constituents had forty six representatives who signed this call[87] Daniel Steele, Professor of Systematic Theology at Boston University and long-time leader in the National Holiness Campmeeting Association, took quiet delight in this discrepancy.

> This is not a matter which we are disposed to cry over. It indicates that Methodists are in too close a grapple with the present wicked world to sit down and waste time in speculation upon the future. It indicates that as a Church we are by no means so discouraged with the progress of the Gospel as to pronounce the dispensation of the Holy Spirit as inadequate to the conquest of the

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[86]The first formal American Keswick Conference was not held until 1913 when Charles G. Trumbull, editor of The Sunday School Times, organized a meeting in Oxford, Pennsylvania. The Annual Convention shifted to Princeton, New Jersey, in 1916. Victory in Christ, A Report of Princeton Conference, 1916 (Princeton, NJ: Board of Managers of Princeton Conference, 1916), pp. 1-2.

[87]Ernest Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, p. 96.

> world for Christ . . . there are theological reasons for cold shoulder of Methodism.[88]

Steele and others such as G. W. Wilson,[89] consistently argued against the doctrine. The National Holiness Camp-meeting Association banned the teaching from being preached in their meetings until well into the twentieth century.[90] As already noted, however, the Association itself was under attack by the Methodist Church in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Increasingly, those holding to the Classical Holiness view of sanctification were feeling compelled to leave the Methodist Church.[91] Once freed from denominational structures, most of these Holiness leaders quickly converted to premillennialism.[92]

By the turn of the century, the shift to premillennialism by the independent Wesleyan groups was

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[88]Daniel Steele, Antinomianism Revived: or, the Theology of the So Called Plymouth Brethren Examined and Refuted (Boston, MA: McDonald, Gill & Company, 1887), p. 193.

[89]George W. Wilson, The Sign of Thy Coming, or, Premillennialism, Unscriptural and Unreasonable (Boston, MA: The Christian Witness Company, 1899).

[90]Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, p. 133.

[91]Only two visible leaders were able to adopt a premillennial world-view and be allowed to remain in the Methodist Church. Henry Clay Morrison, editor of The Pentecostal Herald, President of Asbury College in Wilmore, Kentucky, and Founder of Asbury Theological Seminary, was by far the most influential advocate for the doctrine within Methodism. John Pike, editor of The Way of Faith, located in Columbia, South Carolina, was a second base for the propagation of the premillennial view within Methodism.

[92]Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, pp. 165-7.

almost complete. Phineas Bresee, founder of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, retained the post millennial view until his death. The same is true of A. M. Hills, the first theologian of that denomination. Their views did not prevail against the sweeping tide of premillennialism. Indications of this were evident in Hill's systematic theology. He articulated his position, and then invited a Keswick friend, J. B. Chapman to present a chapter on premillennialism.[93]

The single major exception to the prevailing trend was the emerging Church of God (Anderson, Indiana). Daniel. S. Warner, the founder of this church was a member of the Winebrenner Church of God who accepted the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification. Warner held to an amillennial view of eschatology which this church still maintains. In many respects, this understanding is similar to the postmillennial view. It teaches that most of the Old Testament prophecy has been fulfilled and that it applies to the Church. Like postmillennialism, it holds that the Kingdom of God will triumph through the process of history. However, it maintains that the 1,000 year period mentioned

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[93]A. M. Hills, Fundamental Christian Theology: A Systematic Theology, Vol. 2 (Pasadena, CA: C. J. Kinne, 1931), pp. 339-360. For an excellent discussion on the formative years of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, see Timothy L. Smith, Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes, the Formative Years (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing Company, 1962).

in the Revelation of St. John is a symbolic representation of the Church age.[94]

The Third Blessing groups, like the rest of the Wesleyan Holiness organizations who left Methodism, were swept into the premillennial camp. With a few isolated exceptions, all three branches of Perfectionism discussed in this chapter: Classical; Keswick; and Third Blessing; underwent a paradigm shift, adopting a premillennial world-view.

How This Paradigm Shift Took Place

Having traced the paradigm shift that took place within Perfectionism replacing postmillennialism with the premillennial world view, it is now necessary to ask how this transformation could happen within the movement. Most Pentecostals when tracing their roots readily acknowledge that they are indebted to Darby's dispensationalism. They assume that Darby's views are simply one of several sources incorporated into modern Pentecostal thought.

Frank Masserano, an Assemblies of God historian, for example, argues that Fundamentalism as defined by Sandeen,[95]

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[94]The best historical analysis of the Church of God is John W. V. Smith, The Quest for Holiness and Unity: A Centennial History of the Church of God (Anderson, IN: Warner Press, Inc., 1980). For an analysis of the Church's amillennial position see: Charles E. Brown, The Hope of His Coming (Anderson, IN: Gospel Trumpet Company, 1927).

[95]Sandeen argues that Fundamentalism emerged at the turn of the twentieth century as a result of a coalition of proponents of the Princeton theology of Charles Hodge and B. B. Warfield, concerned with Biblical inerrancy; and premillenarian leaders of the Prophecy Conferences. Sandeen

"helped set the stage upon which the Assemblies of God emerged."[96]

Dayton, while not denying the similarity of Darby's eschatology to that of early Pentecostalism, never-the-less notes that it had several differences. He shows, for example, that many Pentecostals held to three dispensations whereas Darby held to seven. Furthermore, Pentecostals holding three, related them to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in such a manner that showed dependence on John Fletcher.[97]

Dayton's thesis is not without problems. On the one hand, he argues for the priority of Wesleyan sources for the emergence of a Perfectionist premillennialism. On the other hand, he concedes that it was the Wesleyan branch of the Perfectionist Movement which was most resistant to this world-view. The Reformed wing embraced this understanding much earlier and much more readily. Indeed, as this study has shown, the Prophecy Conference was the vehicle by which the Keswick wing of the Holiness Movement penetrated the Reformed tradition in the United States.

Dayton's analysis, however, does provide the clues showing how the paradigm shift took place. He contends that

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contends that they joined together in an attempt to stem the tide of theological liberalism. Ernest Sandeen, Roots of Fundamentalism, pp. 168-9.

[96]Frank C. Masserano, "A Study of Worship Forms in the Assemblies of God Denomination" (Th. M. Thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1966), p. 31.

[97]Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, pp. 145, 150-2.

this transformation of world-view was made possible when *Pentecostal* categories replaced *Perfectionist* categories in describing entire sanctification. In John Wesley's understanding, the Cross of Christ stood at the focal point of history. On the other hand, John Fletcher saw two foci: The Cross and Pentecost. Once Spirit-Baptism became the paradigm by which entire sanctification was understood, it tended to be identified with Pentecost rather than with Calvary. This shifted focus to Lukan texts where Pentecost is linked with eschatological themes and where a strong theology of the cross is lacking. Thus, when Luke-Acts became the hermenutical key by which the rest of Scripture was interpreted, Pentecostal became identified with the forward look to the Second Advent.[98]

Although Darby's theology had a strong Christology, it, too, tied pneumatology to eschatology. It is important to note, for example, that his term for the *great parenthesis* or church age, was *the dispensation of the Holy Spirit*. Although he vigorously resisted all perfectionistic tendencies, he stressed the work of the Spirit in the present age and linked it directly to the Second Advent.[99] It was on the axis of Pneumatology/Eschatology reflected in Fletcher and Darby that the Holiness Movement could develop a new synthesis.

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[98]Ibid., p. 151.

[99]Harold Rowden, The Origins of the Brethren, pp. 48-9.

The theology of Arthur Tappan Pierson, a Keswick proponent, illustrates this development. Pierson, a prominent Presbyterian pastor, is best known for his interest in foreign missions. His publication The Crisis of Missions, which appeared in 1886, became a classic and did much to arouse missionary activity and stimulate interest in local churches. In 1890, he became editor of The Missionary Review of the World, a post he retained until his death in 1911.[100]

In 1878, under the influence of George Muller, the Plymouth Brethren leader who pioneered the "faith work" concept in Bristol, England, Pierson was converted to premillennialism and adopted Darby's dispensationalism.[101] He embraced the Keswick teaching of sanctification in 1895 while attending a Northfield Prophecy Conference.[102] An analysis of four of his books, published in the last decade

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[100]Dumas Malone, ed. Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. 14 (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), pp. 589-90.

[101]Delavan L. Pierson, Arthur T. Pierson: A Spiritual Warrior, Mighty in the Scriptures; A Leader in the Modern Missionary Crusade (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1912), pp. 142-3. Pierson's debt to Muller was profound. Although thirty-two years Muller's junior, the two remained friends until Muller's death in 1896. Pierson repaid a debt of gratitude by writing his biography. George Muller of Bristol and His Witness to a Prayer Answering God (New York, NY: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1899).

[102]J. Kennedy Maclean, ed., Dr. Pierson and His Message: A Sketch of the Life and Work of a Great Preacher Together with a Varied Selection from His Unpublished Manuscripts (London, ENG: Marshall Brothers, n.d.), p. 35.

of the nineteenth century reveals *how* the emerging synthesis of premillennialism and perfectionism took place.

In The Coming of the Lord (1896), Pierson spells out his philosophy of history. History, he maintained, has two foci:

> We has been accustomed to think of a circle as the most perfect form, but, for the illustrations of many truths, it serves imperfectly, for a circle allows of but one center, where an ellipse allows of a twin center. . . . this serves to illustrate the relation which the whole scheme of redemption bears to the two great events--Christ's first and second coming.[103]

In this scheme, Pierson sees the history of redemption divided into three major periods: the period of the Jew; the period of the Church; and the period of the millennial kingdom. On the negative side, each age, including the millennial kingdom, ends in failure. Humankind rejects God's plan for redemption. On the positive side, each age ends with a remnant who responds to God's plan. In addition, each age foreshadows and anticipates the next, disclosing more of God's plan for the ages. "Never," Pierson declared, "is there one backward or halting step."[104]

The implications of this philosophy of history are explicated in three other works: The Acts of the Holy Spirit (1895),[105] The New Acts of the Apostles (1894),[106] and

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[103]Arthur T. Pierson, The Coming of the Lord (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1896), pp. 9-10.

[104]Ibid., pp. 13-4, 28.

[105]Arthur T. Pierson, The Acts of the Holy Spirit: Being an Examination of the Active Mission and Ministry of

Forward Movements of the Last Half Century (1900).[107] In The Acts of the Holy Spirit, he states that Luke's mission is an unfinished task, and that the Acts of the Apostles is an unfinished book. The Acts sets forth, at the beginning of church history, what the Holy Spirit "continues to do and teach." The Holy Spirit falls on a few believers at Pentecost. They, in turn, endued with His power, set the world ablaze. One sees in the Acts, a foreshadowing of what life will be like in the millennial kingdom when the Holy Spirit is poured out upon all flesh. However, even in Luke's lifetime, there was evidence that Christians were falling away from this Pentecostal fullness. Repentance and new infusions of God's power were needed, both then and throughout the history of the Church.[108]

In The New Acts of the Holy Spirit, Pierson looked for and found evidence of effusions of the Spirit in the history of missions, especially during the nineteenth century.

> If within forty years there were four distinct and separate outpourings in the Apostolic age, who is competent to say that in the centuries succeeding there have been no other Pentecostal effusions, . . May there not be modern saints upon whom the Spirit

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the Spirit of God, the Divine Paraclete, as Set Forth in the Acts of the Apostles (London, ENG: Morgan and Scott, 1895).

[106]Arthur T. Pierson, The New Acts of the Apostles, or the Marvels of Modern Missions (New York, NY: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1894).

[107]Arthur T. Pierson, Forward Movements of the Last Half Century (New York, NY: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1900).

[108]Arthur T. Pierson, The Acts of the Holy Spirit, pp. 8, 34, 88-9, 134.

> has not yet fallen in the Pentecostal sense, but would come in power in answer to believing prayer?[109]

Based upon the positive response of the modern missionary movement, he urges his readers to respond in faith for ever greater outpourings of God's power and grace. These manifestations in recent history lead him to the conclusion that the end of the age is very near.[110]

In Forward Movements this thrust is intensified. Pierson surveyed some thirty movements that had emerged in the past fifty years. All held to a premillennial view and all held to one of the three views of sanctification described above. He saw in these movements the most significant sign of the last days with their understanding of holiness being the central key:

> All real advance finds its starting--point, as also its goal, in more conformity to God. Character lies back of conduct; what we *are* ultimately shapes what we *do*. Hence the stress of the whole word of God lies upon the transformation of the man himself. . . . Like a bold headland at sea, with its lighthouse to guide the mariner, stand, in the survey of the past fifty years, the singularly varied attempts to raise the standard of practical godliness, sometimes called "Holiness Movements." . . . . In this union of all disciples in common prayer and self-surrender to God for holy living and serving, is to be found the most significant sign of the times.[111]

He ends this survey of "Forward Movements" with an analysis of the study of the last things. "There is," he concludes,

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[109]Arthur T. Pierson, The New Acts of the Holy Spirit, p. 16.

[110]Ibid., p. 416.

[111]Arthur T. Pierson, Forward Movements of the Last Half Century, pp. x, 1.

"a general consensus of opinion that we are now on the threshold of that crisis, unparalleled in the history of the Church . . . concerning which Christ would have us pray." Pierson believed this crisis would take place before 1920.[112]

In this brief survey it becomes clear how Darby's premillennialism was combined with Perfectionism to develop a new synthesis. By pinpointing two foci in his philosophy of history, Pierson was able to translate Darby's dispensational scheme into Pentecostal categories. Once that was accomplished, the pneumatological and eschatological themes found in the book of Acts could easily be combined. Darby's understanding of the end of the age could thus be integrated with the Keswick understanding of sanctification.

The Wesleyan wing of the Holiness movement followed a similar pattern which can be illustrated in the thought of George Watson. Watson became a Christian following a terrifying battle in the Civil War. Upon being discharged at the end of the war, he prepared for pastoral ministry. He was ordained a Methodist in 1867. In 1876 he sought and received the experience of Spirit-baptism. Four years later he left the pastorate to enter full-time evangelistic work. For twelve years he held countless revival meetings mainly in southern United States. Often he shared the platform with such leaders in the National Holiness Association as

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[112]Ibid., pp. 409, 411.

John Inskip and William MacDonald. Despite his close association with prominent leaders within the Church, however, he felt the need to withdraw in 1892. Four years later he adopted the premillennial view.[113]

Watson was a prolific writer. A survey of his books reveals a clear development in his thought. In 1882 he published his first work, A Holiness Manual. Although he included a chapter entitled "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit," the work is controlled by texts and themes that dominated the discussion of Christian Perfection of the pre-Civil War period.[114] The following year he published White Robes. The same hermeneutic and understanding of sanctification prevailed, but a new theme emerged. The sanctified are set forth as the Bride of Christ who have put on their wedding garments. This theme is entirely spiritualized and there is no hint of an imminent return of Christ.[115]

By 1889, the Bride of Christ dominates his thinking. In The Seven Overcometh, he writes an exposition of the Revelation of St. John. He interprets John's imagery as allegory, calling the "Bride" to a life of entire

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[113]Eva M. Watson, Glimpses of the Life and Work of George Douglas Watson (Cincinnati, OH: God's Bible School and Revivalist, 1929), pp. 30, 53, 67-8, 114; and George D. Watson, Steps to the Throne and Holiness Manual (Cincinnati, OH: God's Revivalist Press, 1898), p. 5.

[114]George D. Watson, A Holiness Manual (Chicago, IL: The Christian Witness Company, 1882).

[115]George D. Watson, White Robes: or, Garments of Salvation (Cincinnati, OH: The Author, 1883).

sanctification. Spirit-baptism language is more pronounced throughout the book.[116] In 1891, when Love Abounding appeared, the transformation to Pentecostal categories was complete. Reference to the work of the Holy Spirit appears on almost every page. Repeated allusions are made to such themes as "the tongue of fire," "the day of Pentecost," "Spirit-baptism," and "gifts of the spirit," throughout the text. He makes reference to John Fletcher's doctrine of dispensations for the first time. Once again, full discussion of The Sanctified as "The White Robed Company" is fully discussed. Although he still articulates this in a "spiritual" dimension, one senses that Watson's conversion to premillennial thought is imminent.[117]

For the next seven years, Watson's prolific pen was silent as he struggled with the transformation taking place within his thinking. In the preface to his next work Steps to the Throne, he reveals the transformation that took place:

> For twenty five or thirty years of my life I accepted the . . . notion, which is accepted by most Protestants, that the Second Coming of Jesus would be after the millennium, and at the time of the general judgment. Then for a few years, I was unsettled in my views on the subject for I saw so many portions of Scripture that could not have any reasonable interpretation in harmony with that old theory. Early in 1896 I began to pray very earnestly for the Holy Spirit to open the Scriptures to me clearly on that

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[116]George D. Watson, The Seven Overcometh (Boston, MA: MacDonald, Gill and Company, 1889).

[117]George D. Watson, Love Abounding, and Other Expositions on the Spiritual Life (Boston, MA: MacDonald, Gill and Company, 1891).

> subject. In two or three weeks afterwards the Spirit began unfolding in my mind in a remarkable way . . . the premillennial coming of Christ.[118]

In the years that followed, Watson felt the need to rewrite much of what he had previously published to set forth his work in a manner consistent with his new understanding of God's operation within human history. His work, The Bridehood Saints, appearing in 1913 reflects his mature view. The book pulsates with the expectation of Christ's imminent return and gives a clarion call for the Church to put on her Bridal garments in preparation for the Marriage Supper of the Lamb. Only those who have been sealed with the Baptism of the Holy Spirit will be part of this Bridal party. Most significant is his discussion of his view of history. Like Pierson, he speaks of three dispensations, each initiated by a Pentecost of the Spirit.

> There are to be three great Pentecosts in the history of our world. The first was at the beginning of the Jewish age, the second was at the beginning of the Church age, and the third will be at the beginning of the Kingdom age, or the Millennium. The Scriptures tell us of three dark days, days of supernatural darkness that are to mark the history of our world, and these dark days are days of judgment, and are connected with Pentecost, as they form the prelude to Pentecost.[119]

Watson saw the first day of judgment as the Passover at which time Egypt was judged. The second came at Calvary

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[118]George D. Watson, Steps to the Throne, p. 5.

[119]George D. Watson, The Bridehood Saints: Treating of the Saints Who Are the "Selection from the Selection" . . . Those Saints Who Are to Make Up the Bride of Christ (Cincinnati, OH: Office of God's Revivalist, 1913), pp. 82-3.

when the Jews were cut off from Salvation history. The third will come at the time the Bride is raptured when the whole world will go through the time of tribulation. The first Pentecost came at Sanai when the law of God was written on tablets of stone. The second came on Pentecost when God's law was established in the hearts of the believers. The final Pentecost will result in God's law penetrating all nature.[120]

Watson's mature view of salvation-history is identical to Pierson's. Focus is on three dispensations rather than two covenants. Each dispensation is inaugurated by a Pentecost. Each anticipates the next and is more expansive than the last. The routes traveled by Pierson and Watson typify the experience of Reformed and Wesleyan adherents who embraced the doctrine of holiness. Those in the Reformed tradition experienced a transformation of world-view in the 1870's and 1880's. The emergence of eschatological themes in their new theological understanding brought into focus a new understanding of pneumatology which preconditioned them for a ready acceptance of the Keswick view of holiness.

The Wesleyans, on the other hand, first experienced a transformation of categories in their view of Christian Perfection, from a soteriological to pneumatological understanding. This process, which started in the 1860's, was complete by the 1880's. Once pneumatological themes became the exemplars for articulating entire sanctification,

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[120]Ibid.

the Wesleyan Holiness adherents were preconditioned to accept the new understanding of eschatology. This was *how* it happened. The question yet to be addressed is: ***Why***?

Why the Premillennial Paradigm Shift Took Place

George Watson noted that for several years before he adopted the premillennial position, he had been struggling with the realization that much of Scripture could not be adequately interpreted in light of his postmillennial world view. This confession corresponds to the development of thought evident in his writings. In Love Abounding, which he wrote in 1891, he expounded the Classical view of entire sanctification in terms of cleansing and power. He traced these negative/positive aspects through both the Old and New Testaments. It was then only a short step for him to translate this ***negative/positive*** dynamic which he applied to personal experience into historical categories: the three judgments and the three Pentecosts of salvation history. Having taken that step, Scriptures that he had interpreted only in spiritual categories, then took on literal meaning. The prophets, the Gospels, and the Revelation of John came to be understood in a new light. Dayton is correct when he suggests that the logic inherent in the shift of Christian Perfection to Spirit-Baptism thrust the Holiness adherents toward a premillennial position.[121]

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[121]Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, pp. 152, 165.

However, this was true only for the Wesleyan wing of the Holiness Movement. The Reformed Wing, as has been shown, accepted the premillennial world-view before they embraced the Keswick doctrine of sanctification. The logic in this instance was working in reverse. Dayton recognized that this internal logic was not alone sufficient to effect the change. Events in the external world were having disconcerting effects upon the Movement's psyche.[122]

Underlying the "end-times" issue was a far more profound concern. The basic assumptions upon which the Evangelical/Perfectionist synthesis had rested in the first half of the nineteenth century came under relentless assault in the second half of the century. Naturalistic explanations of historical development which were embodied in Darwinism and higher criticism led to conclusions that threatened the very foundations of Christian belief.[123] The dominant Protestant response was to "sanctify" the resultant secularization with Christian symbolism.[124] Postmillennialism provided the framework on which this reformulation could be constructed. Progress in history was retained. But God's working in history was now perceived as coming primarily through *natural* rather than *supernatural*

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[122]Ibid., pp. 160-1.

[123]George Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, p. 48.

[124]Martin Marty, The Modern Schism: Three Paths to the Secular (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 95.

means. Scientific investigation and education were the principal tools to be employed in future development.[125]

An excellent example of this trend can be seen in the experience of William Newton Clarke, a prominent liberal Baptist theologian. Looking back on the course of his life, he recalled that in the 1870's the battle had raged between the postmillennial and premillennial positions. Clarke, a postmillennialist, none-the-less came to the conclusion through the results of higher criticism, that the Bible taught both views. Furthermore, he noted that both Jesus and His disciples fully expected Christ's Second Advent to occur in their generation. History proved them wrong. Sound scientific exposition of "the facts" led him to abandon both his belief in the supernatural origin of the formulation of the Scripture, and his conviction that Scripture was without error. Clarke came to believe that he must be free to judge which aspects of Scripture were true. History and scientific investigation, a sort of progressive revelation through natural means, provided the answer. On this basis, he declared that Christ's kingdom is not other-worldly or in the future, it is here and now. It is not external, but rather is an internal ethic based on the ideals of Jesus.[126]

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[125]George Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, p. 51.

[126]William Newton Clarke, Sixty Years with the Bible: A Record of Experience (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 104-107; and William Newton Clarke, The

Those who would abandon the postmillennial view of history did so in part as an attempt to shore up the foundation for the traditional understanding of the Christian Faith and the accuracy of the Biblical account upon which that belief had been grounded. They were faced with the same issues as emerging liberalism. They used the same assumptions of empirical scientific investigation for their method of approach. They sought to show that the "facts" of Scripture correlated with the "facts" of history and of the natural order. Darby's doctrine of dispensations provided the framework upon which they could build their case.

This assertion can easily be demonstrated in the thought of A. T. Pierson. In his perception, most systematic theology started with a preconceived theory of reorganization to which the "facts" of Scripture were forced to fit. In contrast, he stated his view:

> One likes a ***Biblical*** theology; not a system that follows the Aristotlian method of reasoning, beginning with some hypothesis, and then warping the facts and the philosophy to fit the crook of a preconceived dogma or theory; but a theology framed on the Baconian system first gathering the teachings of the Word of God, and then seeking to induce some general law under which those facts can be classified and arranged.[127]

Idea of Jesus (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), pp. 70-1.

[127]Arthur T. Pierson, The Coming Lord, p. 7. For an excellent analysis of the impact that the Baconian ideal of the inductive method has upon American religious thinking see Theodore Dwight Bozeman, Protestants in an Age of Science: The Baconian Ideal and Antebellum American Religious Thought (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977). Bozeman argues convincingly that

Pierson argued that theology is a science, and like all science, its facts are organized around a center. Making a comparison with the natural sciences, Pierson noted that Botany is arranged "about the cellular law of growth; Zoology, about a type of structure; Geology, about an order of strata." When he came to astronomy, he observed that the laws of planetary motion could not be discovered until Kepler recognized that an ellipse, with two focal points was the organizing principle. It was the ellipse with the two foci -- Christ's first and second advents -- which became Pierson's organizing principle around which he would organize the facts of Scripture. This dual foci enabled him to "rightly divide the word of truth." The discrepancies which Clarke had found to be so distressing could be separated by chronology. , References to a present internal kingdom, where the law of God is written on the heart, relate to the present age. References to a future external kingdom, where the law of God is written in the design of the universe, refers to the Millennium. Granted Pierson's dual foci, a perfect pattern, where all the facts fit, emerged. The system was consistent with the scientific method and preserved the supernatural origins of Scripture

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Bacon's method was mediated to the American scene through the Scottish Realism of Thomas Reid. pp. 4-8.

and the Christian Faith.[128] Darby's system of premillennial thought provided the theological framework.

This effort to stave off the critical assault on the supernatural understanding for the origins of Christian Faith and Scripture was but one reason for the paradigm shift. As Dayton correctly notes, the Oberlin postmillennial vision began to show cracks and flaws "almost as soon as it was articulated." Oberlin's commitment to abolitionism came into direct conflict with her position of non-violence. During the Civil War, she had to chose between commitment to anti-slavery and commitment to peace.[129]

Following the war, the debate between the two positions centered around the question "Is the world getting perceptively better, or is it growing markedly worse?" In response to this question, postmillennialists noted advances

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[128]A. T. Pierson, The Coming of the Lord, pp. 7-11. Pierson's conviction was by no means unique among nineteenth century millenniarians. Most spoke in categories of scripture and science in the same breath. This language prevails the Inerrancy Conference held in Philadelphia in 1887. In the opening address, Thomas Hoyt made reference to the design of God which was seen in geology, geography, history, and natural science. He then asserted: "The Bible touches all human knowledge, it has a word to say on each of the subjects just passed under review, and what it has to say is the basis of all that man has to say of them." At the same conference, Hoyt's brother, Wayland, declared that prophecy was the "photographically exact forecasting of the future." Arthur T. Pierson, ed., The Inspired Word: A Series of Papers and Addresses Delivered at the Bible Inspiration Conference, Philadelphia, 1887 (New York, NY: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company, 1888), pp. 3, 17.

[129]Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, p. 160.

in science and technology; the spread of western culture through the colonialization of the third world; and the renewed activity of mission work. Premillennialists readily conceded these issues. However, they seriously questioned whether the moral climate was improving. Conservatives, especially, had problems reconciling their postmillennial world-view with the pervasive onslaught of secularization. One can sense this dilemma in the thought of William Jones, a prominent holiness evangelist. Writing in 1885, he acknowledged that "the turbid stream of immigration which is emptying its ever-increasing flood upon the national shores;" "the millions of illiterate and imbruted exslaves;" "the fetid Indians that still linger in squalor and filth upon our Western borders;" and "the degenerate spiritual inclinations in the life of the churches" posed a real problem for his world-view. He was able to retain his postmillennial vision because of his faith in the Holiness Movement which God had raised up for these last days.

> God is tunneling the world and packing it with His truth. When the Church gets ready, when the world is filled with pure Christian thought, when the ministry shall believe in the Holy Ghost, and accept His firey baptism. . . the Father will let slip one spark of Pentecostal fire . . . and the whole earth will become the Kingdom of God.[130]

As the "evil" onslaught continued to persist and with the Holiness Movement splitting into three factions, the vision could not be sustained. A. T. Pierson spoke for all

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[130]William Jones, From Elim to Carmel (Boston, MA: The Christian Witness Company, 1885), pp. 78-81.

who abandoned the postmillennial world-view in light of this historical realities of the time.

> What is the real character of our civilization? We may as well face the facts. It is gigantic in invention, discovery and enterprise, achievement, but its gigantically worldly, sometimes and somewheres monstrous, God-denying and God-defying . . . Philosophy now blooms into a refined and poetic pantheism or a gross, blank materialism, or a subtle rationalism or an absurd agnosticism. Science constructs its systems of evolution and leaves out a personal God. . . We have the ripest form of worldly civilization, but the RIPENESS BORDERS ON ROTTENNESS. . . . Our golden age is far from unfolding even the promise of a millennium.[131]

Summary

The paradigm shift that took place in the heart of Holiness theology which shifted categories from Christian Perfection to Spirit-Baptism was accompanied by a transformation of world-view. A premillennial eschatology replaced the postmillennial view that was held by the Movement during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The new understanding left the Movement filled with the expectation of the imminent return of Christ. Adherents felt compelled to announce the "end of the age" as a warning to the nations and thereby gained a renewed impetus for world mission. As the Movement neared the turned of the century, expectations arose that God was about to restore apostolic authority and power to the Church to enable It to accomplish His end-time purposes. This expectation would give rise to the Pentecostal Movement.

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[131]Arthur T. Pierson, "World-Wide Evangelism," Prophetic Studies of the International Prophecy Conference, Chicago, 1886 (Chicago, IL: Fleming H. Revell, 1886), p. 31.

Chapter Five

BIRTH: THE COMING OF THE LATTER RAIN

In the month of April, 1906, a little band composed chiefly of colored people were praying together in a mission-hall on Azusa street in Los Angeles California. Some of them had heard of a recent peculiar happening in Kansas where a strange power had taken possession of a man, and he had been apparently made to speak in 'tongues.' Day after day and night after night these people, who thought they recognized in this a sign of a second Pentecost, cried earnestly to God for a similar manifestation, and at last the 'power' fell. One by one they were taken possession by a superhuman energy that made them at times insensible to all around, and caused them to pour forth in a torrent of strange sounds often monosyllabic gibberish; and again somewhat connected expressions that seemed to be in strange languages. Their joy knew no bounds. To them had been committed, so they believed, the ushering in of the "Latter Rain" dispensation--the final Pentecost to close up the present age.[1]

Introduction

American Perfectionism entered the twentieth century convinced that the new age was about to dawn. Keswick adherent, Arthur Tappan Pierson, writing in 1900, contended, "The study of . . . last things, particularly the approaching end of the age, has taken on new interest of late." "There is," he continued, "a general consensus of opinion that we are now on the threshold of . . [a] . . crisis unparalleled in the history of the Church."[2] While

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[1]H. A. Ironside, Apostolic Faith Missions and the So-called Second Pentecost (New York, NY: Loizeaux Brothers, Inc., n.d.), p. 1.

adherents were not universally agreed on the nature of the final crisis, most had come to articulate their vision of the pending end of human history in premillennial terms. Convinced by recent events that evil had gained a strangle hold on history, they came to feel that Divine intervention alone could bring about a just resolution. Discerning the signs of the times, they perceived that God was calling forth a restored Church. Freed from the impossible and mistaken notion that their task was to convert the world for Christ, they focused on their true mission: to proclaim the gospel to the nations as a witness and to call a nominal Christendom to put on her bridal garments in preparation for the Marriage Supper of the Lamb. In this atmosphere of highly charged expectancy, several would step forward, feeling that they had been called by God to pay a decisive role in this cosmic drama.

The Welsh Revival of 1904[3] and the successful efforts of such evangelists as R. A. Torrey, C. M. Alexander, and J. W. Chapman in Australia and New Zealand fanned the flames of hope that the anticipated revival had begun to burn.[4]

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[2]Arthur T. Pierson, Forward Movements of the Last Half Century (New York, NY: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1900), p. 409.

[3]The best analysis of the Welsh Revival to date remains John Vyrnwy Morgan, The Welsh Religious Revival, 1904-5: A Retrospect and a Criticism (London, ENG: Chapman & Hall, 1909). A more recent popular treatment is Eifion Evans, The Welsh Revival of 1904 (Port Talbot, Wales: Evangelical Movement of Wales, 1969).

[4]For the best description of the world-wide impact of the Welsh revival see J. Edwin Orr, The Flaming Tongue: The

As he saw the revival spreading across the earth, A. T. Pierson asked "Is this the beginning of the latter rain?" As he reviewed the events taking place in the past year, he concluded with a resounding "yes."[5] Jessie Penn-Lewis concurred.

> For years [we] had been pleading for a Revival which should 'sweep' over the whole world.' We do not wonder that . . . the Holy Spirit is [now] saying . . . 'Get thee up--there is the sound of [abundance of rain.'[6]

G. Campbell Morgan looked out upon the scene and described what he saw in Pentecostal categories: "If anyone shall say to me, 'What do you think of the Welsh revival?' I shall say at once, 'This is That,'. . . IT IS PENTECOST CONTINUED without one single moment's doubt."[7]

A widely diversified but interlocking religious press monitored the situation closely, reporting in great detail every new outbreak of the revival. Evangelical centers all over the world were in prayer that God would send the revival to them next. With each outbreak of God's "showers of blessing," witnesses would go into the surrounding areas to spread the news. Others were delegated to take the message to other Evangelical centers across the nation.

Impact of 20th Century Revivals (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1973).

[5]A. T. Pierson, "The Revival in Wales," Experience, 13 (1905-6), pp. 94-103.

[6]Jessie Penn-Lewis, The Awakening in Wales and Some of the Hidden Springs (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell, 1905), p. 26.

[7]G. Campbell Morgan, "The Lesson of the Revival," The Story of the Welsh Revival as Told by Eyewitnesses (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell, 1905), p. 37.

Still others felt called by God to take the news to the third world. Conversely, pilgrims poured into each new center of revival when word reached them, in hopes that God would pass the torch of His revival fire to them to take to their home communities. Correspondence flowed both directions as well. To track the course of the revival, British newspapers printed a revival map to show where it was spreading.[8]

Many religious leaders in the United States responded to the news of the Welsh revival with the hope that God would move in the new world in a similar fashion. Prayer centers were established throughout the nation where people called upon the Almighty to bring the renewal to their souls. Illustrative of this is the activity of S. B. Shaw, a Wesleyan who had organized the General Holiness Assembly in 1901. He had issued a national call for "a Pentecostal waiting upon God in humble united, prevailing prayer" to bring about "the outpouring of God's Spirit" in "great revival." He saw the Welsh Revival as an answer to that prayer.[9] In 1905 he declared

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[8]R. B. Jones Rent Heavens: The Revival of 1904 (London, ENG: Pioneer Mission, 1931), pp. 69-70; James A. Stewart, Invasion of Wales by the Spirit Through Evan Roberts (Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, 1963), pp. 44-53; and George T. B. Davis, "Thirty-Four Thousand Conversions in Wales," The Great Revival in Wales, S. B. Shaw, ed. (Chicago, IL: S. B. Shaw, Publisher, 1905), p. 44.

[9] The proceedings of that convention are recorded in S. B. Shaw, ed., Echoes of the General Holiness Assemblies Held in Chicago, May 3-13, 1901 (Chicago, IL: S. B. Shaw,

> For years many of God's elect have been led out in the Spirit to cry unto Him day and night for a widespread, heaven-born revival of pure and undefiled religion--for a worldwide revival of pentecostal power and glory. . .
>
> Several National Convocations of Prayer have been held in different parts of our own land, and at every one God has granted to His own, very much of the spirit of prayer and intercession. Many have spent whole nights weeping and crying to God to revive His work, knowing in their own inmost souls the groans of the Spirit that could not be uttered. . .
>
> That God is leading out His saints, and by His own right hand of power preparing the way for a general outpouring of His Spirit in this as in other lands, is blessedly manifest.[10]

To assist the Holy Spirit in spreading the revival to the United States, he compiled some forty accounts of the outpouring in Wales "to increase faith and prayer, and so hasten the coming of the glorious day for which we watch and pray."[11]

The Pentecostal Revival which broke out in Los Angeles, California, in 1906 must be seen as the radical wing of that Revival. Everywhere the Welsh Revival had spread, Pentecostal adherents followed with the claim, that their message, with the accompanying sign of glossolalia was the evidence that the end-time world-wide revival had arrived and the era of the Latter Rain dispensation had begun.[12]

Publisher, 1901). See specifically, "The Official Call," pp. 7-14 for the objectives of the meeting.

[10]S. B. Shaw, The Great Revival in Wales, pp. 5-6.

[11]Ibid., p. 6.

[12]J. Edwin Orr concurs. He correctly sees that Pentecostalism's relationship to the Welsh revival is parallel to the emergence of the Baptist Movement during the Puritan revival of the seventeenth century and the emergence

In this chapter, the investigator will first set forth the birth of the Pentecostal revival. He will then seek to trace the way that it spread across the United States and around the world.

The Birth of the Revival

As a movement, Pentecostalism was born in the midst of the Welsh revival. Its birth took place in Los Angeles, California. William J. Seymour, a Black pastor, brought a message to the West which he had learned at the feet of Charles Parham. He set forth this vision in a new context with a fresh perspective. The results were startling. In this section, the investigator will first look at the city of Los Angeles, the setting for the revival. Second, he will consider Seymour's role in initiating the revival. Third, he will set forth the events of the revival in Los Angeles. Finally, he shall describe the break with Parham.

Los Angles: Birth Place of Pentecostalism

The citizens of Los Angeles, California, awakened on April 18, 1906, to be introduced to the birth of the Pentecostal Movement in their local newspaper. In a page one story under the headline, "Weird Babel of Tongues," the Los Angeles Daily Times reported:

> Meetings are held in a tumble-down shack on Azusa Street, near San Pedro Street, and the devotees of the weird doctrine practice the most fanatical rites, preach the wildest theories and work themselves into

> a state of mad excitement in the peculiar zeal. Colored people and a sprinkling of whites compose the congregation, and night is hideous in the neighborhood by the howlings of the worshippers, who spend hours swaying forth and back in a nerve-wracking attitude of prayer attitude of prayer and supplication. They claim to have the 'gift of tongues' and to be able to comprehend the babble.[13]

The Times flair for sensationalism, especially on the religious scene, during an era of "Yellow Journalism" was well established. The antics of Alexander Dowie and his legal struggles for Zion City, Illinois, were reported daily throughout the spring and summer of 1906 with great delight.[14] The readership was now invited to enjoy an amusing development at their own back door. The reporter had no idea that 312 Azusa Street would one day become renowned as the center from which the most far-reaching religious movement of the twentieth century radiated around the world.

The city was bursting at the seams and bustling with activity. Rapid growth and rich resources were cause for great optimism. Yet those very things also were bringing unsettling change. It was a city in search of its identity. Many would turn to religion to find solace. The cry went up in the city's religious community for revival.

A City in Search of Identity. Los Angeles at the turn of the twentieth century was the fastest growing city in the

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[13]Los Angeles Daily Times (April 18, 1906), p. 1.

[14]Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), p. 95-6.

United States. It boasted a population of 228,298 in 1906, an increase of 30,684 over the previous year.[15] The city had doubled in size during the 1890's and would triple in population during the course of the next decade. The majority of residents had been drawn from the rural areas of the Midwest. More than any other major city in the United States, at the turn of the century, Los Angeles had the highest percentage of native born Americans, mostly Anglo-Saxon. Their similarities so deeply impressed one visitor of the time, that he felt compelled to write:

> There is no other place in America, where the social stratification is so little marked, where all classes do so nearly the same thing at the same time.[16]

This cohesive majority held two commitments, derived from their past experience, which shaped their aspirations for the future of the city. First, having repudiated certain traditional values by choosing to live in southern California, they felt a need to justify that decision. As a result, they became compulsive boosters of the community. "If you do not 'come through' and tell us what a beautiful city we have," the Los Angeles Times told tourists in 1909, "we shall set you down as lacking in taste, intelligence and eloquence. We shall proceed to tell you and that will be the worse for you."[17]

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[15]Ibid.

[16]Quoted in Robert M. Fogelson, The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 189.

[17]Los Angeles Times (July 11, 1909), p. 1.

But this positive bravo inhibited dissent and betrayed a deep sense of insecurity. The residents desired growth and progress, yet feared the changes that it brought. They longed for the frontier ethos, perceiving urbanization to be in direct conflict with this goal.[18]

Thus, there was a repressed dark underside of reality in this community. The face of the city was changing. In recent years, Eastern Europeans, Blacks, Chicanos and Japanese were arriving in large numbers. By 1910, they would represent twenty-two percent of the population.[19] These new arrivals were forced to live in downtown ghettos, or in segregated pockets on the city's fringe. Brothels and saloons dominated the landscape of these areas where these groups could find temporary solace. The high rate of mobility into the city from this unacknowledged underclass intensified the common psychological effects of urban life, of loneliness, alienation, and despair.[20] It was a city engaged in a search for identity, a compulsive community in quest of its soul.

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[18]Paul Jordan-Smith, "Los Angeles: Ballyhooers in Heaven," The Taming of the Frontier (New York, NY: Minton, Blach & Company, 1925). pp. 277-9; and Robert M. Fogelson, The Fragmented Metropolis, pp. 189-90.

[19]Robert M. Fogelson, The Fragmented Metropolis, pp. 72-7.

[20]Ibid., p. 188; and Robert M. Anderson, The Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 62.

A City in Search of Revival. At the visible level, Los Angeles did not turn to religion in its quest for self identity. Only twenty per cent of the population identified with an established church. "I don't know why, but I have no desire to go to church here in the city," a recent arrival to the city admitted. "Perhaps it is because it is so hard to get acquainted." One of the ministers in town noted that people attended church when they first arrived in town, but began to drop out shortly after.[21]

In such an atmosphere the churches emerging from the holiness revival found fertile ground to establish themselves, attracting both the underclass and the recent arrivals from the mid-west. By 1906 there were well over 100 churches preaching the "Full Gospel" in the Los Angeles area. The Church of the Nazarene was the strongest with a dozen churches. The Churches of the Pentecostal Union (Pillar of Fire), the Metropolitan Church Association (Burning Bush) The Free Methodist Church, The Holiness Church, The Pilgrim Holiness Church, The Peniel Mission, and The Christian and Missionary Alliance all had active missions in the city. In addition, a host of independent missions and the occasional local Methodist, Baptist, Quaker, or Presbyterian church were also promoting the Higher Christian Life.[22]

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[21]Quoted in Robert M. Fogelson, The Fragmented Metropolis. p. 194.

[22]Timothy Smith, Called Unto Holiness: the Story of the Nazarenes (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House,

Though the little band on Azusa Street was unaware of it, these Perfectionist groups throughout the city had been preparing themselves for what was about to occur. In the spring of 1905, F. B. Meyer, an English exponent of the Keswick Convention, had brought the city a first-hand report of the Welsh revival. Joseph Smale, pastor of the First Baptist Church left for Wales to investigate for himself. He returned in June, 1905 with glowing reports, predicting that there would be a "speedy return of the apostolic gifts to the church." He initiated a series of prayer meetings that resulted in a sixteen-week revival in his church.[23]

Frank Bartleman, an independent holiness minister who arrived in the city in 1903, was ever alert for signs that the end-time revival was at last breaking forth in Los Angeles. His account, drawn from diaries which he kept at the time, reveal that he kept close tab on all the activities and expectations of many of the perfectionist groups in the area. In November, 1905, he wrote The Way of Faith articulating the essence of his hope:

> The revival for our country is no longer a question. Slowly but surely the tide has been rising until in the very near future we believe for a deluge of

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1962), pp. 112-21; Josephine M. Washburn, History and Reminiscences of the Holiness Church Work in Southern California and Arizona (Pasadena, CA: Record Press, 1912), pp. 379 ff; Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles: As It Was in the Beginning, Third Edition (Los Angeles, CA: The Author, 1925), pp. 5-6, 15-16, 29, 31, 67, 70; Robert Anderson, The Vision of the Disinherited, p. 63; and Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement pp. 96-7.

[23]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, pp. 11-19.

> salvation that will sweep all before it. Wales will not stand alone in this glorious triumph. . . The clouds are gathering rapidly, big with a mighty rain, whose precipitation lingers but a little.[24]

Though these Perfectionist groups expected an outpouring of God's Spirit in revival, they certainly did not anticipate that it would come in the form of an Azusa Street livery stable that stood amidst a lumber yard, warehouse, tombstone shop and a stockyards of a central urban ghetto.[25] The response of a Free Methodist pastor in the city spoke for many when he stated:

> It must be that this that is going on down there [Azusa] is wild fire. Why, if God had wanted to do anything new here in Los Angeles, He would certainly have chosen our church in which to do it, for you know that we have never compromised, and we have always laid emphasis upon separation from the world and upright living. If God had been going to pour His Spirit as He poured out the Holy Ghost in the days of the apostles, He would have done it in our church.[26]

Curiosity got the better of this minister. He went to see for himself. He became convinced of the reality of Azusa's claims and experienced Spirit-baptism evidenced by speaking in tongues.[27] Like many other citizens in the city, having read the reports of the Times, he had come to

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[24]Ibid., p. 39, citing The Way of Faith (November 16, 1905).

[25]Stanley H. Frodsham, With Signs Following: The Story of the Latter Day Pentecostal Revival (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1926), p. 25; and Robert Anderson, The Vision of the Disinherited, p. 99.

[26]J. Narver Gortner, "An Incident of the Early Days," The Pentecostal Evangel (April 28, 1934), p. 8.

[27]Ibid.

laugh, only to remain to pray. The revival had come at last to Los Angeles.

The Role of Charles F. Parham

The "unique" feature of the Azusa Street Revival which captured the attention of the press and which has been the focal point of Pentecostal historiography ever since is glossolalia. The conviction that glossolalia was the outward visible evidence of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and that the restoration of this gift would mark the beginning of the final Pentecostal outpouring to wrap up the end of the age was first formulated by Charles Fox Parham[28]

For several years, Parham had served as a Methodist minister in the mid-west before launching out into an independent ministry that resulted in the formation of the Apostolic Faith Movement. Although Parham's theology was

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[28]For the definitive study on Parham see James R. Goff, Jr., Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism (Fayetteville, AK: The University of Arkansas Press, 1988).

eclectic,[29] his doctrine conformed generally with B. H. Irwin's variety of Third Blessing Holiness.[30]

Like most of the premillennial holiness leaders at the turn of the century, Parham believed that God was going to pour out his spirit in a mighty world-wide, end-time revival at the turn of the twentieth century. To prepare for this event, he established a Bible School in Topeka, Kansas in October, 1900. Parham conducted a program of Bible study in such a manner that his students would come to the conclusion that the anticipated world-wide revival would be inaugurated

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[29]While a Methodist, Parham taught the typical evangelical doctrine of salvation by faith and the holiness doctrine of "sanctification as a second definite work of grace. Under the influence of his Quaker in-laws, he, for a time, rejected the need of water baptism and the Lord's Supper. Though he later changed his view toward these "church ordinances," he continued to hold his in-law's view of the Annihilation of the Wicked. A recurring illness drew his attention to the growing doctrine that healing was in the atonement. He accepted John Nelson Darby's dispensational understanding of the premillennial return of Christ as mediated through D. L. Moody. From Moody's associate, R. A. Torrey, he adopted the popular premillennial notion that Christ's second coming would be preceded by a world-wide revival. He embraced Frank Sandford's teaching that through the Anglo-Saxon race, the Church would receive the promises of Abraham. He also embraced Sandford's "faith work" principle of operating without salary or charging for any service rendered. Sarah E. Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham: Founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement (Joplin, MO: Hunter Printing Company, 1930), pp. 2, 6-9, 14, 27, 31-33; Charles F. Parham, A Voice Crying in the Wilderness (Kansas City, MO: The Author, 1902), pp. 91-104; and James R. Goff, Fields White Unto Harvest, pp. 52-61.

[30] Robert Anderson, The Vision of the Disinherited, p. 70, incorrectly identified Parham as "a typical Holiness preacher of the Keswick variety." While it is true that Parham taught the Keswick version of the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit", he also held the Wesleyan view of entire sanctification, putting him in the Third Blessing camp.

by a second Pentecost. This Pentecost, like the first, would be accompanied by foreign languages.[31]

Parham reports that at midnight, January 1, 1901, the anticipated outpouring came. His later recollection leaves the impression that this event reproduced the Day of Pentecost in almost every detail. It took place in an upper room. Approximately 120 were present including twelve ministers. Cloven tongues of fire were seen resting on the heads of those receiving the experience of spirit-baptism. One account, attributed to Parham, notes that a breeze swept the room, even through the windows were closed. The first person to receive, Agnes Ozman began to speak in tongues at the stroke of midnight, the dawn of the new century. Outside observers confirmed that actual language was spoken.[32]

Despite the initial enthusiasm generated by this event, efforts to launch a world-wide revival soon fizzled. Within months, the Bible School closed its doors, the students

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[31]Sarah E. Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, pp. 51-2.

[32]Charles F. Parham, "The Latter Rain: The Story of the Original Apostolic or Pentecostal Movements," The Life of Charles F. Parham, authored by Sarah E. Parham, pp. 51-55. See also Parham's sister-in-law's account: Lilian Thistlethwaite, "The Wonderful History of the Latter Rain," Ibid., pp. 57-68. James Goff, Parham's biographer, on the basis of primary evidence, disputes these accounts at almost every detail. See James R. Goff, Jr., Fields White Unto Harvest, pp. 69-76.

scattered, and Parham returned to a healing/evangelistic ministry for the next five years.[33]

His more conventional message brought out large crowds and produced many claims to conversion and healing. By the end of 1905 he had a gained a following of several thousand supporters. He felt the time was right at last to prepare once more for his task of world evangelization. To train workers to assist him in the task, he opened a short-term Bible School in Houston in December, 1905. One of his students, William J. Seymour, left the school in February, 1906, to take Parham's message to Los Angeles.[34]

The Role of William J. Seymour

Visitors to the Azusa Street mission in April 1906 found the services led by a thirty-six year old black, William J. Seymour. Short and stocky, he probably weighed two-hundred pounds. His hair cropped short, he wore long side burns and a well-trimmed beard. Dressed in a well-cut black suit, white shirt and bow tie, one had to look closely to notice that he was blind in his left eye. Standing behind a makeshift pulpit, Seymour radiated a sense of quiet dignity.[35] His business manager, Glenn Cook reflected on his personality:

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[33]Sarah E. Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, pp. 91-105.

[34]James R. Goff, Jr., Fields White Unto Harvest, pp. 87-105, 111,

[35]James Tinney, "William J. Seymour: Father of Modern-Day Pentecostalism," Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center, 4 (Fall, 1976), p. 35.

> I never have met a man who had such control over his spirit. The Scripture that reads 'Great peace have they that love thy law, and nothing shall offend them,' was literally fulfilled in this man. No amount of confusion and accusation seemed to disturb him. He would sit behind that packing case and smile at us until we were all condemned by our own activities . . . It was the wonderful character of the man whom God had chosen that attracted the people to keep coming to this humble meeting.[36]

Who was this man, maligned by the secular press and largely forgotten by three generations of Pentecostals who trace their religious roots to this Azusa stable? What role did he play in igniting the revival that would sweep the world within three years? The writer turns now to look at the man,then his message, and finally his style of leadership.

Seymour's Preparation. William Joseph Seymour was born on May 2, 1870 in Centerville, Louisiana, to parents recently freed from slavery. They maintained their livelihood by working on a nearby sugar plantation. Young Seymour stayed in his boyhood hometown until age twenty-five, working on the same plantation as his parents. He received little formal schooling, but in an effort to break free of his impoverished surroundings, he taught himself to read and write.[37]

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[36]Glenn A.Cook, The Azusa Street Meeting (Tract, Belvedere, CA: The Author, n.d.), p. 2.

[37]Charles William Shumway, "A Critical History of Glossolalia," (Ph. D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1919), p. 115; Charles William Shumway, "A Study of the 'Gift of Tongues,'" (B. A. thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1914), p. 173; and Douglas J.

In 1895, Seymour left his home to seek a new life in Indianapolis, Indiana. There he worked for five years, serving as a waiter in a large downtown hotel restaurant. While living in this city, he worshiped at the Simpson Chapel, a black congregation affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church. He moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1900 where he continued to practice his new vocation.[38]

While in Cincinnati, Seymour came under the influence of the Methodist evangelist Martin Wells Knapp at a time when Knapp was running afoul of his denominational officials. From 1892-1901 Knapp had encouraged blacks to attend the nightly meetings at his downtown mission, Revivalist Chapel; and allowed them to attend classes at God's Bible School and Missionary Training Home where he served as President. Located on the Ohio River, the traditional divide of the South, Cincinnati's Methodism took offense at Knapp's disregard for the community's racial sensitivities. To further compound his ecclesiastical problems, he had recently embraced premillennial eschatology[39]

Nelson, "For Such a Time as This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1981), pp. 151, 156-7, 159.

[38]Charles Shumway, "A Study of the 'Gift of Tongues,'" pp. 173-4; and Douglas Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," pp. 159-60, 162.

[39]A. M. Hills, A Hero of Faith and Prayer; or, Life of Rev. Martin Wells Knapp (Cincinnati, OH: Mrs. M. W. Knapp, 1901), pp. 203-282; Martin Wells Knapp, Lightning Bolts From Pentecostal Skies; or, Devices of the Devil Unmasked

Seymour also fellowshipped in Cincinnati with "The Evening Light Saints," a holiness group led by Daniel S. Warner, who stressed the need to return to the simplistic structures of the New Testament primitive church.[40] During this period of his life, Seymour struggled with a call to preach. At first he resisted, noting his lack of education. In the winter of 1900, however, he was stricken with smallpox, leaving his left eye blind and his face scarred. Believing this to be a judgment from God for failing to respond, he determined that he would enter the ministry. He accepted ordination with the "Saints."[41]

Seymour left Cincinnati in late 1902 or early 1903. He returned South, traveling to Texas as an Evangelist and looking for relatives separated before the Civil War. Finding family in Houston, he decided to settle there. With Houston as his base, he traveled extensively as an evangelist, speaking in several churches.[42] In the winter of 1904-5, he felt led to visit Bishop Charles Price Jones, founder of the Church of Christ (Holiness), USA, at his

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(Cincinnati, OH: Office of the Revivalist, 1898), pp. 136-161; and Douglas Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," pp. 163-4.

[40]Charles Shumway, "A Study of the 'Gift of Tongues,'" pp. 173.

[41]Ibid.; and Douglas Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," p. 165.

[42]Charles Shumway, "A Study of the 'Gift of Tongues,'" pp. 173; and Douglas Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," p. 166.

headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi. In Jones, he found a kindred spirit.[43]

Upon returning to Houston, Lucy F. Farrow, pastor of a black holiness church in the city, asked him to serve as interim pastor during the summer months. She then traveled as governess for Charles F. Parham, while he tended to his growing movement in the Tri-State area. When Mrs. Farrow returned in late October, she told Seymour about her experience during the evangelistic campaign, including Parham's conviction that the church had entered a new dispensation of Latter Rain evidenced by a second Pentecost of the Spirit. Seymour was deeply interested and desired to know more. When he learned that Parham was opening a short-term Bible school in December, he applied.[44]

Parham was reluctant to accept a Black into the program because of the racial mores of the deep South. But Seymour "was so humble and so deeply interested in the study of the Word that Mr. Parham could not refuse him." He was allowed to sit outside the classroom with the door left ajar.[45]

Parham expected Seymour to continue his ministry among the Blacks in Houston when the school term ended. He was deeply disappointed when Seymour decided to accept an

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[43]Douglas Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," p. 166.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Sarah E. Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, pp. 107-124; 131-145; and Pauline E. Parham, Interview with D. William Faupel, (July 6, 1976).

invitation to come to Los Angeles to pastor a black mission sponsored by the Church of the Nazarene. Parham believed that Seymour should at least wait until he had received the experience of Spirit-baptism. But when Seymour persisted, Parham reluctantly agreed to let him go. Just before Seymour set out, Parham laid hands upon him in a prayer of blessing, not realizing that he was passing on the leadership of the Movement. Parham's vision of a "Pentecost" with international dimensions was about to be fulfilled - but under the leadership of another.[46]

Seymour's Message. Having no formal education, Seymour's theology developed as he interacted with the traditions he encountered. Although his religious background while in Centerville is unknown, Nelson has shown that in his youth he drank deeply from the fountain of black Christian spirituality.[47] If he not had the opportunity before, during his time with the Methodists in Indianapolis, he would have gained a firm grasp of the doctrines of justification by faith and entire sanctification. Under the ministry of Knapp in Cincinnati, he was exposed to the doctrines of the premillennial return of Christ and healing in the atonement. From both Knapp and "The Evening Light Saints" he would have heard denominationalism and

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[46]Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, p. 142; and The Weekly Evangel (March 4, 1916), p. 4.

[47]Douglas Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," pp. 157-8, 173.

sectarianism called into question. Lucy Farrow and Charles Parham provided the framework in which he cast his theology, namely the Latter Rain dispensation initiated by the restoration of the gift of tongues.[48]

Seymour did not adopt these doctrines uncritically. In Los Angeles, his view of entire sanctification initially came under suspicion by those with holiness backgrounds.[49] He challenged those who criticized denominational churches, and unlike many early Pentecostal leaders, urged persons experiencing Spirit-baptism to remain within their churches as leaven.[50] It was the Black experience, however, that differentiated Seymour from the theology of his white teachers. Nelson has shown that in Seymour's theological quest, he sought out those groups where a white leadership was actively seeking to break down racial barriers.[51] In these traditions, he found the echo of his black spirituality which saw the world from the "bottom up." From this perspective, he understood that Jesus did not come to confirm the status quo, but rather to proclaim His gospel to the poor, to bring deliverance to the captives and to set at

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[48]Ibid., pp. 163-8; and Sarah E. Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, p. 142.

[49]Robert Anderson, The Vision of the Disinherited, p. 140.

[50]Douglas J. Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," pp. 161, 163-4; and William J. Seymour, "The Church Question," The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles) 1 (January, 1907), p. 2.

[51]Douglas J. Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," pp. 161, 163-4.

liberty the oppressed. In Parham's teaching of a new dispensation inaugurated by a Pentecost of the Spirit, Seymour saw the opportunity for a new beginning. The restoration of the gift of tongues for him represented a reversal of Babel, the time when all distinctions race, class, gender, would enrich rather than divide.

> Tongues are one of the signs that go with every baptized person, but it is not the real evidence of baptism in every day life. . . . The secret is: one accord, once place, one heart, one soul, one mind, one prayer and one soul, believing for this great power, it will fall and Pentecostal results will follow . . . . It brings us all into one common family.[52]

Parham had dreamed that Seymour would take "The Everlasting Gospel" to the black race. Seymour's vision, as he left for Los Angeles, was to bring all races to "This Gospel of the Kingdom." He went humble, unassuming, and trusting in God to accomplish His purposes, rather than in his own abilities.

Seymour's Leadership. "Humble, unassuming, trusting in God to accomplish His purposes," these words, more than any others characterized Seymour's leadership style at the outset of the revival. Seymour really believed the implications of the ideology he had embraced. He felt that a people, who had been forgiven their sins, had their sinful nature transformed, and who had been empowered by the Holy

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[52]William J. Seymour, "To The Baptized Saints," The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (June-September, 1907), p. 2; and William J. Seymour, "The Baptism of the Holy Ghost," The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 2 (May, 1908), p. 3.

Spirit for an end-time mission would be led by the Spirit. Glenn Cook, who became business manager at the Azusa mission once said of Seymour, "This man . . . really lived what we had been preaching for years, a sanctified life. It was the wonderful character of this man . . . that attracted the people."[53] Indeed, it affected his approach to everything during those early days. Bartleman remembers that during the height of the revival, Seymour usually sat behind the pulpit, his head bowed in prayer. The impact was startling:

> The meeting did not depend on the human leader. God's presence became more and more wonderful. In that old building, with its low rafters and bare floors, God took strong men and women to pieces, and put them together again, for His glory. It was a tremendous overhauling process. Pride and self-assertion, self-importance and self-esteem, could not survive there. The religious ego preached its own funeral very quickly.[54]

Seymour conceived of his role as initiator, motivator, and catalyst rather than that of dynamic organizer like Dowie, Sandford, or Parham. At times he was heard to urge seekers to "Be emphatic! Ask for salvation, sanctification, the baptism in the Holy Ghost, or divine healing for your sickness." At other times, he sat alone during the course of the service, his head bowed in prayer.[55]

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[53]Glenn A. Cook, The Azusa Street Meeting, p. 2.

[54]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, p. 53.

[55]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost: A History of the "Latter Rain" (St. Louis, MO: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1947), p. 41; and Rachel Sizelove, A Sparkling Fountain (Long Beach, CA: The Author, n.d.), p. 4.

Unlike Parham, Seymour initially believed that all human effort at promotion of the revival was antithetical to the work of the Spirit. No hand bills or paid advertisements were used to publicize the meetings. He even refused to allow a sign to be painted on the building to signify that it was a church. News of the revival during the early months spread by word of mouth and the periodic ridicule of the Times. Later, word was spread through the network of the Holiness press.[56] He followed the same principle in conducting the meetings as he did in promoting them.

> The meetings started themselves, spontaneously, in testimony, praise and worship. The testimonies were never hurried by a call for "pop corn." We had no prearranged programme to be jammed through on time. . . . No subjects or sermons were announced ahead of time, and no special speakers for such an hour. No one knew what might be coming, what God would do. All was spontaneous, ordered of the Spirit. We wanted to hear from God, through whoever He might speak. . . It might be a child, a woman, or a man. It might be from the back seat or the front. It made no difference . . . . The meetings were controlled by the Spirit from the throne.[57]

Such a style of leadership would bring forth the best, and the worst, in everyone. Before too long, everyone, including Seymour himself would recognize the need for some human control.

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[56]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, pp. 49, 61; and Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 41.

[57]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, pp. 58-9.

The Revival Begins

Seymour slipped into Los Angeles unheralded but with a strong sense of Divine mission early in the spring of 1906.[58] Despite his high expectations, however, his initial experience in the city ended in a public relations disaster. The Santa Fe Street mission had eagerly awaited his arrival with great anticipation. But their smiles of joy turned to anger during the course his first Sunday morning service. Choosing Acts 2:4 as the text for his sermon, he proceeded to tell them that unless they had spoken in unknown tongues, they had not been baptized with the Holy Spirit. The church, misunderstanding his intentions, resented the implications of his message and rejected it out of hand. When Seymour returned for the evening service he found the mission door padlocked. Stranded in the city without train fare to return to Houston, the estranged pastor was reluctantly taken into the home of Mr. & Mrs. Edward Lee, who were members of the church.[59]

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[58]"Bro Seymour's Call," The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 1. The exact date of Seymour's arrival in Los Angeles is unknown. Parham states that he left Houston "early in the spring," Sarah E. Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, p. 142. White also notes that it was during the spring that he stopped in Denver enroute to Los Angeles. Alma White, Demons and Tongues (Zarephath, NJ: Pillar of Fire, 1919), p. 55. Bartleman records that he first met Seymour shortly before March 26, 1906. Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, p. 43.

[59]"Brother Seymour's Call," The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 1; Frank J. Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 37; and Emma Cotton, "Inside Story of the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit, Azusa Street,

214 Bonnie Brae. Distressed by this unexpected turn of events, Seymour spent several days confined to his room in prayer, searching his own heart and seeking God's will. In the course of time, he asked the Lees to join him in his vigil for God's guidance regarding his next move. Their hostility changed to compassion as they listened to him pour out his heart to God in prayer. If they did not accept the correctness of his doctrine, at least they came to believe in his sincerity.[60]

A Baptist couple Mr. & Mrs. Richard Asbery, who were friends of the Lees, invited Seymour to attend a cottage prayer meeting they were conducting in their home at 214 North Bonnie Brae Street. Seymour accepted their invitation and again articulated his conviction that God was pouring forth His Spirit in a mighty new way. The little flock, consisting of a few poor blacks and a sprinkling of whites, were sufficiently impressed to ask him to lead their prayer meetings in the future.[61]

Over a course of few weeks they joined Seymour in beseeching God to send revival to their city. Ed Lee, a janitor at a downtown bank, began to find time for prayer while at work. One night while in prayer he saw a vision:

1906," Message of the Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (April, 1939), p. 2.

[60]Emma Cotton, "Inside Story of the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit, Azusa Street, 1906," p. 2.

[61]Ibid.

> Two men came to him: Apparently Peter and John. He said he was not asleep; he was praying. They stood and looked at him; then they lifted their hands to heaven and began to shake under the power of God and began to speak in other tongues.[62]

Lee related this vision to the group at the next meeting. If they had remained at all skeptical regarding Seymour's truth claims before, this testimony erased all doubt. With intensified fervor they sought the Lord for this new experience. Lee asked Seymour to lay hands on him that he might receive the blessing. Seymour hesitated, citing the Scripture "Lay hands suddenly on no man." But at Lee's persistence, he relented. He said, "Brother, I lay my hands on you in Jesus' Name." Lee went into a trance. His wife, thinking him dead, screamed, "What did you do to my husband?" Seymour sought to quiet her fears. In a few minutes Lee returned to normal.[63]

As Easter approached, the group entered into a ten day period of fasting and prayer, deciding to meet together each night until Resurrection morning. Ed Lee took sick on Monday, April 9. Since he did not wish to miss the evening service, he asked Seymour to lay hands on him for healing. He claimed instant recovery. Encouraged by this, he asked that hands be laid on him for Spirit-baptism. As Seymour prayed, Lee burst forth into an unknown language.[64]

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[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Charles Shumway, "A Study of the 'Gift of Tongues,'" p. 174.

The two men hurried to the Asbery home bubbling with joy. Seymour began the meeting by announcing a hymn. Then after a season of prayer, he commenced to tell the group of Lee's experience. Even as he was speaking, one of the men broke out in tongues. The whole company dropped to their knees in prayer. Jennie Moore went to the piano and began to sing in the spirit. By the time the meeting drew to a close, at least seven had uttered tongue-speech.[65]

312 Azusa. For the next several nights, the crowds grew, as the excited flock spread the news to their neighbors and friends. It quickly became apparent that the group would have to find larger quarters. Someone remembered the old African Methodist Episcopal Church on Azusa Street that was currently being used as a storage shed for construction materials. They leased the building and hastened to have it ready for services by Easter Sunday. It was a formidable task. Building materials that had been stored had to be removed and debris that had accumulated over the years, swept away. Several windows panes had to be replaced and at least one door restored. They cleared space to seat about a hundred persons, laying redwood planks across nail kegs, old boxes and chairs. J. V. McNeil, a Roman Catholic, donated lumber to make an alter. Two large wooden shoe crates were stacked one on top of the other to make a pulpit. Sawdust was then scattered on the dirt

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[65]Ibid., pp. 174-5.

floor. It had a rustic atmosphere full of symbolic meaning.

An early participant observed:

> It was such an humble place with its low ceilings and rough floor. Cobwebs were hanging in the windows and joists. As I looked around I thought of Jesus when He came to earth and was born in a manger. I thought of the fine church houses in the city of Los Angeles, but the Lord had chosen this humble spot to gather all nationalities, to baptize them with the Holy Ghost.[66]

Although primitive, the new mission was ready for services beginning on Easter evening.[67]

In the meantime, nightly services continued at the Asbery home. On Maundy Thursday, Seymour prayed through to his experience of Spirit-baptism. Jennie Moore and the Asberys carried the news on Easter morning to The New Testament Church, pastored by Joseph Smale. Following his custom, Smale gave opportunity for personal testimonies after he had concluded his sermon. Ms. Moore told of the events that had happened the past week and then provided a demonstration of her new tongue-speech. The congregation was thrown into a state of confusion. Pastor Smale sought to restore order. Many discussed the incident following the service. Several decided to attend the first meeting of the new Azusa Street Mission that evening.[68]

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[66]Rachel A. Sizelove, A Sparkling Fountain, pp. 3-4.

[67]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 1; Thomas R. Nickel, Azusa Street Outpouring (Hanford, CA: Great Commission International, 1956), pp. 6-7.

[68]Thomas R. Nickel, Azusa Street Outpouring, p. 8; and Charles Shumway, "A Study of the 'Gift of Tongues,'" p. 175.

Confirmation by Nature. A reporter from the Los Angeles Daily Times attended the service on Tuesday night, April seventeenth. The followed day, he wrote the sensationalized story cited earlier. The article closed with an account of a vision received by a man attending the service that night. He saw the population of Los Angeles flocking to perdition. He then prophesied that "awful destruction [will come] to this city unless its citizens are brought to a belief in the tenets of the new faith."[69]

The following day, the same paper headlined "Heart is Torn from Great City." The story gave the preliminary report of the damage done by the great San Francisco earthquake which had erupted the previous day.[70] Early press reports estimated the numbers killed were more than 10,000. More than 250,000 of the 400,000 residents were left homeless and the damage was estimated to exceed 350 million dollars. For days, all communications were cut off to the outside world. Tremors of the quake were felt in Los Angeles.[71] To those who were apocalyptically inclined, this was another sign of impending doom. Some 200,000 people turned up at Golden Gate Park in San Francisco to hear messages of God's call for repentance. The Baptist Herald

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[69]Los Angeles Daily Times (April 18, 1906), p. 1.

[70]Ibid.,(April 19, 1906), p. 1.

[71]Alexander P. Livingston, Complete Story of San Francisco's Terrible Calamity of Earthquake and Fire (San Francisco, CA: The Continental Publishing House, 1906), pp. 33-65; and Hurbert D. Russell, San Francisco Earthquake Horror (Chicago, IL: Chicago Chronicle, 1906), pp. 33-56.

stated that the earthquake was sent by God to "shock us into attention."[72] Charles Parham claimed credit for the disaster, publicly declaring that he had asked God "to remove his protective arm from the city on account of its wickedness."[73]

To the little band at Azusa, there was no question that the quake was a warning from God and confirmed the truth of their own claims. Bartleman records: "I felt a deep conviction that the Lord was answering our prayers for a revival in his own way." He published a tract entitled Earthquake and together with another he had previously written The Last Call, distributed over 75,000 copies in three weeks time in the Los Angeles area. He sent 50,000 copies to a friend in San Francisco for distribution and an additional 25,000 to San Diego.[74] In the minds of those embracing the new faith, the earthquake was perceived as an authenticating sign signaling the Latter Rain dispensation had begun.

> When Pentecost rocked the religious world with a world-wide spiritual awakening that struck at Los Angeles in 1906 an earthquake of frightful dimensions rocked the physical world centering in San Francisco. In all of God's great moves nature sympathizes with Him. She

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[72]The Baptist Herald, April 26, 1906 cited by Kenneth Bailey, Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 3; and Nils Block-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement (New York, NY: Humanities Press, 1964), p. 40.

[73]"Parham Says He Caused San Francisco Disaster," Topeka Daily Herald (July 30, 1900), p. 2.

[74]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, pp. 48-53.

> understands whether man does or not: At Sinai when God spoke, the earth went into convulsions. At Calvary the bosom of the earth rocked violently. The sun withdrew his face and all nature went into eclipse.[75]

The excitement caused by the earthquake and the initial press coverage of the new faith soon died down allowing the revival to develop its own momentum. Although sizable crowds sometimes attended the meetings during the summer, the revival did not "take-off" until late summer or early fall. Bartleman whose report fails to note any significant developments during the month of May, noted in his diary, "The Ark of God moved slowly but surely at Azusa."[76] When Rachel Sizelove attended an afternoon meeting in June, she noted that "there were about twelve of God's children, white and colored, tarrying before the Lord."[77]

By the end of July Rachel Sizelove noted that "the crowds were beginning to gather."[78] Frank Bartleman wrote excitedly to his friend, J. M. Pike in August that "the meetings are crowded out. . . . Thousands are here from all over the Union, and from many parts of the world."[79] The "Ark" was finally afloat. Virtually every race, ethnic

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[75]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 18.

[76]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, p. 48.

[77]Rachel Sizelove, A Sparkling Fountain, p. 4.

[78]Ibid., p. 5.

[79]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, pp. 63-4.

group, creed and social class was on board. As Bartleman exalted:

> Pentecost has come to Los Angeles, the American Jerusalem. Every sect, creed, and doctrine under heaven. . . as well as every nation is found represented."[80]

The Break with Parham

Seymour had come to Los Angeles understanding himself to be part of The Apostolic Faith Movement and, as such, under the authority of Charles Parham. At the time he left, he had asked for and received Parham's blessing. In March, 1906, before the revival began, he had written Parham requesting additional workers. Parham had responded by sending Seymour's old friend, Lucy Farrow, and another worker, J. A. Warren.[81]

Throughout the summer, Seymour faithfully provided Parham with glowing reports of the progress taking place. In July he wrote W. F. Carothers to whom under Parham's new organizational set-up, he was now directly responsible. Seymour requested his ordination credentials which Parham had begun to issue in May, so that he might be eligible for the special rail rates. He also asked for 100 buttons to give his street workers to wear when witnessing. He joyously reported that "people are getting saved three times a day, justified, sanctified, Baptized with the Holy Ghost

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[80]Ibid., p. 63.

[81]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1, (September, 1906), p. 1; and Emma Cotton, "Inside Story of the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit, Azusa Street, 1906," p. 2.

and the gift on tongues as a witness." Finally, he noted that several missionaries were preparing to leave for Jerusalem, Africa, India, and China.[82]

In August as the revival began to attract and sustain large crowds, Seymour formed a "Board of Twelve" to serve as directors. He called the new organization, "The Apostolic Faith of Los Angeles." As such, it provided local control and was in line with the organization Parham was creating in Texas, Kansas and Missouri. He then wrote to Parham requesting that he come to California to set the work in order formally. Parham responded that he hoped to arrive sometime in the fall and that he was sending Anna Hall in advance to assist with preparations for a city-wide campaign.

Parham Assesses the Revival. Seymour wrote Parham again on August 27. Noting that Ms Hall had arrived, he stated that he needed to know the exact date Parham expected to come so that he could rent a facility large enough to hold the city meeting. Giving Parham an update of the revival, Seymour eagerly anticipated his arrival:

> The revival is still going on here that has been going on since we came to this city. But we are expecting a general one to start when you come, that these little revivals will all come together and make one great union revival. . . . I shall look for a large place, by God's help, that will accommodate the people. . . . I expect an earthquake to happen in Los Angeles when you

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[82]William J. Seymour, Letter to W. F. Carothers, July 12, 1906 (Assemblies of God Archives); and James Rudolph Goff, Jr., Fields White Unto Harvest, p. 113.

> come with other workers filled with the Holy Ghost; that God will shake this city once more.[83]

Parham notified him that he planned to arrive on September 15.[84] A few days later the first issue of The Apostolic Faith emitting from Los Angeles, announced the upcoming meetings.[85] The city-wide campaign never took place. Parham's plans abruptly changed. Upon learning of the pending elections in Zion, Illinois, he decided to defer his west coast trip feeling called by God to restore "unity" to the faithful in Dowie's stronghold.[86] He notified Seymour that he now hoped to arrive by mid-October.[87]

Parham finally arrived in late October preceded by four co-workers from Texas.[88] He came expecting to assume control of the revival and to investigate distressful rumors that things were getting out of hand. The September issue of The Apostolic Faith had disclosed his first intention but gave no hint of the second:

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[83]William J. Seymour, Letter to Charles F. Parham, August 27, 1906, reprinted in Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, pp. 154-5.

[84]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (1906), p. 4; and Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, p. 154.

[85]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 1.

[86]Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, p. 156.

[87]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (October, 1906), p. 1.

[88]Douglas J. Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," p. 208; The four co-workers were Mr. & Mrs. Walter Oyler, and Mr. & Mrs. Quinton. The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (November, 1906), p. 1.

> I rejoice in God over you all, my children, though I have never seen you; but since you know the Holy Spirit's power, we are baptized by one Spirit into one body. Keep together in unity till I come, then in a grand meeting let all prepare for the outside fields. I desire, unless God directs to the contrary to meet and see all who have the full Gospel when I come.[89]

It is evident from this partially veiled message that he was requesting none of the workers leave for their perspective fields of witness until he arrived to commission them and be assured of their doctrinal soundness.

Although, the printed portion of his letter failed to reveal that he was troubled by certain developments taking place in Los Angeles, it is clear that he had received reports from a variety of sources which greatly disturbed him. While conducting meetings in Topeka in July, the Topeka Daily State Journal had run a West Coast dispatch describing the Los Angeles revival as a wild fanatical affair that flaunted social customs and threatened public security. Parham explained to the Topeka reporters that outside influences had infiltrated the Los Angeles wing and promised to visit the city "to eradicate any fanaticism."[90]

The initial Topeka "outpouring" had been an equally wild affair. Parham, stung by the criticism from the secular press and from many Holiness leaders, had determined not to allow excess emotion to run rampant again. In the past five years, he had on at least three occasions

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[89]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 1.

[90]Topeka Daily State Journal (July 25, 1906), p. 6, cited by James Goff, Fields White Unto Harvest, pp. 128-9.

confronted and countered what he considered fanaticism in his meetings. In one case it had caused a minor spilt.[91]

Parham later claimed that Seymour had written several urgent letters requesting his speedy arrival "to help him discern between that which was real that which was false" since "spiritualistic manifestations, hypnotic forces and fleshly contortions" had broken out in the meetings.[92]

Seymour's letters which survive give no hint that he had such a concern. It was true that his style of leadership, the size of the crowds and the growing publicity all had their inherent problems. The ridicule and heckling rose in direct relationship to the increased fervor. Bartleman, for example claimed that spiritualist mediums, hypnotists, and Christian Scientists came to investigate the phenomenon, often attempting to influence the direction of the Spirit. Yet, he maintained that these were mere side shows. "The outside persecution never hurt the work. We had the most to fear from the working of evil spirits within."[93]

Indeed, it was this internal dissention, if anything that was of deep concern to Seymour. Although Azusa remained the center, several other Pentecostal missions were

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[91]Ibid., p. 219, citing instances in Nevada, Missouri; Galena, Kansas; and Galveston, Texas.

[92]Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, pp. 155-6.

[93]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, pp. 49, 62-64.

emerging. The New Testament Church pastored by Joseph Smale had participated since Easter Sunday. On August eighth, Bartleman, who had been worshipping alternately with Seymour and Smale, decided to establish a third Pentecostal mission in the city at Eighth and Maple Streets. Bartleman's account of events barely conceals the rivalry developing between the three Pentecostal centers.[94] Seymour's August twenty-seventh letter to Parham had stated in part: "Satan is working, but God is mightier than Satan for he is a conquered foe and a defeated creature." This assertion illuminates his earlier comment in the letter cited above, "we are expecting . . . these little revivals will all come together and make one great union revival."[95]

In any event, Parham arrived in Los Angeles determined to restore order and assert his control. As "he approached the Azusa Mission he heard chatterings, jabberings, and screams."[96]

> Men and women, whites and blacks, knelt together or fell across one another; frequently, a white woman, perhaps of wealth and culture, could be seen thrown back in the arms of a big "buck nigger," and held

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[94]Ibid., 57-67.

[95]Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, p. 154. Goff is probably correct in suggesting that Anna Hall, the Oylers, or the Quintons were the source of the letters stating the concern about hypnotic forces. James Goff, Fields White Unto Harvest, p. 219. See Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, pp. 161-2 for the Olyer's assessment of conditions at Azusa Street.

[96]Charles Shumway, A Study of 'the Gift of Tongues,'" p. 178.

> tightly thus as she shivered and shook in freak imitation of Pentecost. Horrible, awful shame![97]

He recoiled in disgust. He worked his way through the crowd, and after briefly greeting Seymour, took the pulpit. He delivered a stinging rebuke, declaring "God is sick at his stomach!" He went on to explain that no self-respecting God could stand for such animalism.[98] Seymour was stunned, and his board of twelve directors were angry at Parham's reaction. They responded by rejecting Parham's leadership. Glenn Cook, Seymour's business manager and another of the "elders" informed Parham that he should take his message elsewhere.[99]

Parham responded by opening at meeting at the local Women's Christian Temperance Union. With his co-workers from Texas, he tried to establish a rival work. By December, he claimed that three hundred adherents had deserted Azusa for his mission. He cabled Carothers to take over the work and returned to Zion.[100] Carothers stayed only a few weeks when word of Parham's fall reached him. He left immediately to try to salvage The Apostolic Faith Movement in Texas. The W. C. T. U. Mission was closed.[101]

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[97]The Apostolic Faith (Baxter Springs), 1 (December, 1912), pp. 4-5.

[98]Charles Shumway, A Study of 'the Gift of Tongues,'" p. 178.

[99]Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, p. 163; and The Apostolic Faith (Baxter Springs), 3 (September, 1913), p. 9.

[100]James Goff, Fields White Unto Harvest, p. 134.

[101]Ibid., p. 136.

Parham's Response to the Revival Assessed. At first glance, it would appear that Parham's response to the Los Angeles Revival was simply blatant racism. Goff, however, argues that Parham's response was a little more complex. Admitting that Parham became a racist in his later years, Goff none-the-less maintains that Parham held a "paternalistic" view toward blacks at the height of his ministry, one that was far more enlightened than that of most Southern whites. He further contends that Parham's assessment of the Los Angeles Revival was based on three other factors. First, Parham failed to understand Azusa's strategic significance. Second, he misunderstood its spirituality. Finally, he failed consistently to hear uniformly produced tongue-speech which he felt necessary to be considered authentic.

By the time Parham arrived in Los Angeles in late October, 1906, Seymour had at most 1,000 adherents in the area. The pilgrimage to "Mecca" by seekers from across the nation had not yet begun. In contrast, Parham had 10,000 adherents in the Southwest. In the month he had been at Zion, he had captured 1,000 of Dowie's followers. An additional 2,000 were showing signs of sympathy to his views. His subsequent trip to the Northeast reveals his intention to secure the Dowie centers in that region and

perhaps launch a successful penetration of Sandford's network as well.[102]

Los Angeles, on the other hand, offered Parham an unanticipated bonus. Unlike Zion and other territories that he was penetrating, he saw no need, either in terms of strategy or in terms of polity, to be diplomatic. He assumed authority he had not yet fully gained and failed to recognize the consequences should his authority be rejected.[103]

If Parham had had any understanding of Seymour's vision for racial equality, he certainly would not have agreed with it. It is more likely, however, that he totally misunderstood Seymour's intention. Rather, as his accounts suggest, he saw a situation totally out of control. He moved quickly, instinctively, and without comprehension. Failing to understand what was happening, Parham managed to alienate those who, by all indications, had been prepared by Seymour to accept his leadership.

What had happened? Parham certainly was not stupid. From all his writings, it is clear that he failed to understand or appreciate the Black soul. Parham's message, like Seymour's, was essentially eschatological. But in reaction to his experience at Topeka, he had sought to strip the excessive demonstrations of emotion such a message

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[102]Ibid., pp. 113-5; and Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, pp. 175, 191-6.

[103]James Goff, Fields White Unto Harvest, p. 115.

tended to evoke. Seymour, steeped in black spirituality, understood the value of such expression and sought to encourage it.[104]

Furthermore, although Seymour had certainly believed that the Spirit-baptism of Pentecost was the means by which the Gospel of the Kingdom would be taken to the nations, for him, it went further. Unlike Parham he believed Spirit-baptism to be part of the atoning work of Christ. In an article entitled "The Precious Atonement," he stated that there were four works of grace. After setting forth the works of Justification, Sanctification, and Healing, he declared:

> Fourth. . . we get the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire upon the sanctified life. We get Christ enthroned and crowned in our hearts. Let us lift up Christ to the world in all His fullness, not only in healing and salvation from all sin, but in His power to speak all the languages of the world.

Earlier in the article, Seymour revealed what he understood by this. The root of the problem was the fall.

> Man in the garden of Eden was pure and happy . . . till that unholy visitor came into the garden, then his whole system was poisoned and it has been flowing in the blood of all the human family down through the ages until God spoke to his people.[105]

The atoning work of Christ was the antidote to the problems faced by the human family, the great reversal. This gospel was not only to be proclaimed in its fullness but modeled in its fullness as well -- the human family,

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[104]Douglas Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," p. 212.

[105]William J. Seymour, "The Precious Atonement," The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 2.

pure and happy. Black spirituality had understood that. In Spirit-baptism with its deep psychological dimensions, Seymour intuitively sensed the possibility of that radical transformation which could take place so that the whole human family could stand equal before the Lord and each other in true wholeness.

Parham certainly saw that this "full gospel" was to be taken to all nations and all races. Indeed, he was willing to challenge certain social mores in order to accomplish that purpose. In defiance of the local customs, he ministered in Seymour's church in Houston and accompanied him to the Black section of the city for street meetings and visitation. He allowed Lucy Farrow to speak at the Camp Meeting in Brunner, Texas, in the summer of 1906 where she brought word of the revival in Los Angeles. Other Blacks, including R. A. Hall, W. M. Viney and M. H. Robinson were trained by Parham and recognized as important ministers of The Apostolic Faith Movement. Even following his outburst at Azusa, Parham continued to hold interracial services and work with Black workers.[106]

His stance brought him into conflict with the sensitivities of the deep South, including those of his chief associate, W. F. Carothers. Carothers believed that

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[106]The Apostolic Faith (Houston), 1 (March, 1906), pp. 10, 12; Pauline E. Parham, Interview with D. William Faupel, July 6, 1976; B. F. Lawrence. The Apostolic Faith Restored p. 64; and Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, pp. 246, 302.

once the Blacks had received the message at the Bible School, they should be responsible to take it to their own race. He was adamant that there should be no social contact between the races at all. He barely stopped short of publicly censuring Parham for flaunting the Southern sensibilities.

> I trust, therefore, that our evangelists and workers from the North will not forget this condition of affairs and embarrass the work South by well mean[ing] but mistaken efforts to disregard them. Take the word of a native Southerner, who through the sanctifying grace of Jesus Christ is incapable of prejudice, loving the colored man's soul equally as much as the white man's, and let the race question alone until you have been South long enough to know by experience what it seems impossible for our Northern brethren to learn through other sources.[107]

The evidence of interracial equality demonstrated in the early days of the Azusa revival went far beyond Parham's paternalistic approach to Blacks, however. Like the large majority of whites at the turn of the century, he assumed white superiority and feared miscegenation. Following his rejection at Azusa and his subsequent fall from grace, Parham's views hardened and his subsequent recollections of the Azusa Revival became blatantly racist.[108]

It is clear from the early issues of the Los Angeles edition of The Apostolic Faith that Seymour believed that tongue speech was actual language as passionately as did Parham. Parham admits that much of what he heard at Azusa, he felt to be authentic. However, he castigated others for

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[107]The Apostolic Faith (Houston), 1 (March, 1906), pp. 12-3.

[108]James Goff, Fields White Unto Harvest, p. 132.

their "babbling and jabbering," for falling into trances, for workers to suggest to seekers "certain words and sounds," and "the working of the chin, or the massage of the throat."[109] Once again much of this had occurred at Topeka. But in reaction to the stinging criticism of the press, he had clamped down on excessive emotionalism. He would recognize as authentic only that tongue speech that sounded like language. Furthermore, he reasoned, if tongue-speech was authentic, the Holy Spirit did not need the kind of human assistance that he had witnessed at Azusa.[110]

The Revival Spreads

In retrospect, it is clear that Parham's fateful trip to Los Angeles was disastrous for him. It marked the beginning of the end in terms of his influence on the future course of Pentecostalism. Just what direction the Movement would have taken had he arrived sooner; had he not alienated the local leadership; and had he not been charged with homosexuality can only be speculated. Goff is undoubtedly correct, however, when he suggests that the course of the revival would have been very different.[111]

Apart from Parham's personal loss, the revival continued undeterred. Indeed, in all probability, it was spurred on by his departure. The movement on the west coast

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[109]Sarah Parham, The Life of Charles F. Parham, pp. 168-9.

[110]Ibid.

[111]James Goff, Fields White Unto Harvest, p. 133.

was reorganized and a new leader chosen. Evangelistic teams were sent out across the country and around the world. For the next three years meetings would be held continuously every day and night. Wherever the revival flame would spread, it left creative chaos in its wake.

. . . Under New Leadership

Parham's repudiation so early in the history of the movement and the failure of any one to succeed him created the impression that unlike other revival movements of the past, this one had no "human" father. The September issue of The Apostolic Faith had declared Parham to be "God's leader in the Apostolic Faith Movement.[112] The December, 1906 issue rather sheepishly acknowledged:

> We can be rather hasty, especially when we are very young in the power of the Holy Spirit. We are just like a baby--full of love--and were willing to accept anyone that had the baptism with the Holy Spirit as our leader. But the Lord commenced settling us down, and we saw that the Lord should be our leader . . . . The Lord was the founder and He is the Projector of this movement.[113]

It was clear that the Los Angeles leadership had no intention to replace Parham with Seymour. The paper went on to declare, "Bro. Seymour is simply a humble pastor of the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made him overseer."[114]

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[112]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 1.

[113]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (December, 1906), p. 1.

[114]Ibid.

It was equally clear, however, that human leadership of some sort was necessary. Following the split with Parham in late October, Seymour and his colleagues reorganized the work under the name "The Pacific Apostolic Faith Movement." They followed the general guidelines of Parham's organization in an attempt to evangelize systematically, preserve integrity, and repress fanaticism as the movement spread along the west coast.[115] Seymour was formally named pastor and manager. G. W. Evans was appointed Field Director. Florence Crawford was named State Manager and Glenn Cook, Assistant State Manager. Phoebe Sargent and Jenny Moore were appointed as City Missionaries. Hiram Smith was ordained Deacon, and Clara Lum was appointed Secretary and also functioned as managing editor of The Apostolic Faith.[116]

Plans had been made to send out workers from Azusa in a systematic way across the country and around the world. At Parham's request, however, these workers had waited for his arrival and anointing. When he delayed his arrival, some decided to leave without his blessing. Upon the establishment of The Pacific Apostolic Faith Movement, the rest were commissioned and sent forth.

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[115]Nils Bloch-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement, pp. 48, 202; and Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, p. 85.

[116]Nils Bloch-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement, pp. 48, 202; and Douglas Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," p. 217.

. . .Across the Nation

By the time the break with Parham had taken place, the revival had not only spread to several centers in Los Angeles but was beginning to dot the surrounding countryside as well. Two Baptist Churches in Pasadena and Glendale, pastored by Ansel Post and Elmer Fisher respectively, began to accept the message.[117] Other nearby communities that had experienced the Pentecostal flame included Monrovia, San Pedro, Sawtelle, Elysian Heights, and Hermon.[118] A bit further afield, William F. Manley, a pastor in Oakland, California, and editor of The Household of Faith had come down to investigate the revival and returned to Oakland with a band of workers to set his church ablaze.[119]

In response to Parham's request, however, a major systematic thrust to spread the message of the revival across the nation had been delayed until he could get to the West coast to set the work in order and lay hands upon the workers before they were sent forth.[120] When he delayed his coming in order to go to Zion, Illinois, a few set out from Los Angeles without his authorization.

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[117]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 1; and Stanley Horton, "Pentecostal Explosion," The Pentecostal Evangel (October 7, 1962), p. 9.

[118]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 4.

[119]Ibid.

[120]Ibid., p. 1.

Sending Forth Witnesses From Los Angeles. Following the break, the new leadership moved swiftly to send the remaining workers throughout the land.

Florence Crawford took a party of seven and headed North along the West coast. She stopped first in Oakland, where her party held a city-wide campaign in conjunction with Rev. Manley's Mission. From there she went to Salem, Oregon, where M. L. Ryan, a holiness pastor and editor of The Apostolic Light, had recently returned after receiving the Pentecostal experience at Azusa.[121] Crawford next arrived in Portland, Oregon, on Christmas Day, 1906, beginning a series of meetings which culminated in a thriving work. From there she went to Seattle, Washington, and then headed east, holding meetings in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, and in Winnipeg, Manitoba. She returned to Portland late in 1907, making that city the base for her future ministry.[122]

Thomas Hezmalhalch headed for a city-wide campaign in Denver, Colorado. Elsie Robinson traveled to cities in Michigan. F. W. Williams went south to Alabama.[123] Rachel Sizelove took the news to Springfield, Missouri.[124] Ivy

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[121]Ibid., pp. 1, 3.

[122]A Historical Account of the Apostolic Faith (Portland, OR: The Apostolic Faith Mission, 1965), pp. 611-8.

[123]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (November, 1906), p. 1.

[124]Rachel Sizelove, A Sparkling Fountain, pp. 7-9.

Campbell went to East Liverpool, Ohio, where she became instrumental in leading a sizable faction of the Ohio district of the Christian and Missionary Alliance into the experience.[125] Glenn Cook returned to his home city of Indianapolis, Indiana, in January, 1907, as part of a crisscross tour of the United States that took him to Denver, Colorado, Des Moines, Iowa, and Memphis, Tennessee.[126]

Other workers from Azusa began to fan out from California. Mable Smith left Azusa to respond to a call from a former Dowie adherent in Chelsea, Massachusetts.[127] Morton Plummer, editor of Word and Work (Russell,

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[125]Stanley H. Frodsham, With Signs Following: The Story of the Latter Day Pentecostal Revival (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1926), p. 45.

[126]Word and Work, 29 (March, 1907), p. 76; J. O. Patterson, et. al., The History and Formative Years of the Church of God in Christ; with Excerpts from the Life and works of its founder, Bishop C. H. Mason (Memphis, TN: Church of God in Christ Publishing House, 1969), p. 20; Eugene N. Hastie, History of the East Central District Council of the Assemblies of God (Fort Dodge, IA: Wallerick Printing Company, 1948), p. 19. In Indianapolis, Cook was successful in dividing the Christian and Missionary Alliance over the new doctrine. G. N. Eldridge, the dissenting District Superintendent of Indiana and Kentucky was transferred to the West Coast. There, he accepted the Pentecostal experience and led much of that district into the Movement. Carl Brumback, Suddenly. . .From Heaven; a History of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), pp. 75-8.

[127]Word and Work, 29 (April, 1907), p. 113. Smith had originally come into the movement in Houston, Texas, under Parham. She was one of the workers Parham had sent to California after the revival broke out in Los Angeles. Ethel Goss, The Winds of God: The Story of the Early Pentecostal Days (1901-1914) in the Life of Howard A. Goss (New York, NY: Comet Press Books, 1958), p. 52.

Massachusetts), and Samuel G. Otis, Superintendent of The Christian Workers Union, the holiness group sponsoring Plummer's periodical, had been reporting stories of the Los Angeles revival since the summer of 1906. They both accepted Smith's testimony and led their many missions throughout the North-East into the movement.[128] Smith had also made several stops enroute, including Chicago, Illinois. While there she led John Sinclair, a holiness pastor, into the movement. Sinclair later founded the Pentecostal Assemblies of God.[129]

Frank Bartleman left Los Angeles in March, 1907 for a trip across the United States. He made stops in Denver, Colorado; Chicago, Illinois; Conneaut, Cleveland, Youngstown, Akron, Alliance, and Cincinnati, all in Ohio; Newcastle, Pittsburg, and Philadelphia in Pennsylvania; Peckskill, Nyack, and New York City, New York; Old Orchard, Maine; Northfield and Boston, Massachusetts; Washington, D. C.; Dunn, North Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina; and Wilmore, Kentucky. On this tour he preached at new Pentecostal works; in Christian and Missionary Alliance Churches and camps; and in Holiness churches and camps of all descriptions. He also visited the editorial offices of The Christian Harvester, The Way of Faith, and God's

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[128]Word and Work, 29 (January, 1907), pp. 12-3; 29 (April, 1907), pp. 113-5.

[129]Stanley Frodsham, With Signs Following, p. 43.

Revivalist, all of which had published his accounts of the Los Angeles outpouring.[130]

Other workers went to cities in California. Adolph Rosa and Harmon Clifford went to Oakland where they remained to work with Manley. Ansel Post went to Santa Barbara. Violet Price and Mrs. Potter went to Fresno, and Brigido Perez headed South to San Diego.[131]

Hajj to Los Angeles. With all this activity, it did not take long for word to spread across the United States that something unusual was taking place in Los Angeles. Often the reports were mixed with negative and positive aspects. A. S. Worrell, editor of The Gospel Witness, a Holiness publication based in Louisville, Kentucky, stated

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[130]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, pp. 97-111. Ruth Fisher Carter, daughter of Elmer Fisher who pastored the Upper Room Mission in Los Angeles, was unimpressed with Bartleman.

> He was a good man but not very practical; he would leave his wife at home to support herself by taking in washings, while he went from place to place observing the Pentecostal revivals. He was rather idealistic and whether intentionally or otherwise, he gives a distorted picture of things.

Ruth Fisher Carter, Letter to Robert C. Cunningham, February 5, 1971 (Assemblies of God Archives). Carter's assessment supports Bartleman's account of this initial journey. He traveled to established centers rather than "virgin" territory as others were doing. He made little impact on the holiness centers that he visited. Though biased in his reports, he none-the-less became the unofficial chronicler of the spread of the Azusa Revival. Vinson Synan "Frank Bartleman and Azusa Street," Azusa Street (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International 1980), xi.

[131]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (November, 1906), p. 1.

the dilemma that faced all potential adherents who were expecting the imminent end-time revival:

> Personal friends of ours have written us to the effect that the wonderful gift of tongues has been bestowed upon different ones--male and female; and that many have been converted as a result of these wonderful manifestations. Others . . . seem equally sure that the work is all of the Devil . . . At our distance from the scene of the action, we do not profess to be able, in the midst of such contradictory opinions, to decide, absolutely, as to the origin of this movement. . . . we urge our readers to pray that if the work is of God, He will keep Satan out of it, and that if it is of the Devil, God's people many be kept out of it.[132]

With this injunction to his readers, Worrell left for the West coast to make his own assessment. To his delight, he found that at Azusa, "the blood of Jesus is exalted in these meetings as I have rarely known elsewhere. There is a mighty power manifest in witnessing for Jesus, with a wonderful love of souls."[133]

Soon a flood of holiness leaders were making their personal hajj to Los Angeles to determine for themselves whether this move was of God. G. B. Cashwell, of Dunn, North Carolina, went to Azusa in November, 1906. He received his Pentecost and returned to Dunn in December, where the revival took root. From Dunn, the revival spread throughout the South. Among his converts in 1907 were: George Floyd Taylor, Principal of the Falcon North Carolina Holiness School; H. H. Goff, the leader of the Free Will

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[132]A. S. Worrell, "Wonderful Works Going on in Los Angeles," Gospel Witness, 16 (September, 1906), p. 30.

[133]The Way of Faith, cited by Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, p. 85.

Baptist Church; J. H. King, Overseer for the Fire Baptized Church; N. J. Holmes, Principal of the Altamont Bible School; A. J. Tomlinson, leader of the Church of God; and M. M. Pinson and H. G. Rogers, of the Pentecostal Mission. These leaders in turn were able to bring most, if not all, of their constituents with them, thus forming the basis of several Pentecostal bodies. Although he was unable persuade his leader, A. B. Crumbler, the rest of his denomination, The Holiness Church, came into the Movement as well.[134]

Charles H. Mason, co-founder of the Church of God in Christ, took two colleagues, J. A. Jeter and D. J. Yount, set out for Los Angeles in March, 1907. Mason's first encounter with the revival, like that of many others, left him with mixed emotions. "I saw and heard some things that did not seem scriptural to me," he later recalled, but "when I heard some speak in tongues, I knew it was right though I did not understand it." Jeter became quite critical of all that he saw. But by the end of their five-week stay, all three had received the experience and returned to Memphis, Tennessee to lead the majority of their denomination's churches into the new movement.[135]

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[134]George F. Taylor, The Spirit and the Bride, p. 95; and Vinson Synan, "Pentecost Comes South," The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, pp. 117-39.

[135]J. O. Patterson, The History and Formative Years of the Church of God in Christ, pp. 16-20. When Mason returned from Los Angeles, he found that Glenn Cook had proceeded him and was making many converts in the city. C. P. Jones, Mason's co-founder of the denomination, opposed the new teaching. Losing a power struggle, he withdrew in 1907, leading a minority non-Pentecostal faction with him to

Among the many others who made the pilgrimage to Los Angeles in 1906-1907 and returned to their home communities to spread the Pentecostal flame were: R. E. McAlister, a holiness pastor from Ottawa, Ontario, and editor of The Good Report; M. L. Ryan, a holiness minister in Salem, Oregon, and editor of The Apostolic Light; and A. C. Atherton, a Presbyterian evangelist of Greenfield, Iowa.[136]

New Centers Fan the Flame. Wherever the Pentecostal flame lighted a new fire, it was a potential New Azusa. Upon hearing Mable Smith's testimony in Chicago, William H. Durham left for Los Angeles to see for himself. After receiving the experience he returned to his North Avenue Mission. It quickly became the Azusa of the mid-west. Scores of future Pentecostal leaders including E. N. Bell, A. H. Argue, W. H. Piper, Andrew Urshan, Joseph Wannenmacher, Louis Francisconi and F. A. Sangren received their Pentecostal experience through his ministry. Sangren in turn published a Scandinavian weekly religious paper that brought scores of churches and numbers of converts in the Dakotas, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Northern Michigan. Francisconi became instrumental in bringing many Italian communities into the movement. Argue went back to Winnipeg where he became the most influential leader in Canada.

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establish the Church of Christ (Holiness) U.S.A. Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 136.

[136]Gordon F. Atter, The Third Force (Peterborough, ONT: College Press, 1962), p. 35; Word and Work, 29 (April, 1907), pp. 115-6; and Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven: A History of the Assemblies of God, pp. 69-70.

Pentecostal bands fanned out from North Avenue Mission to spread the fire throughout Northern Illinois. Durham's paper, Pentecostal Testimony, resulted in literally moving the center of revival from Los Angeles to Chicago.[137]

Marie Burgess was working in a Chicago outlet of Zion City's manufactured goods when she received her "Pentecost" October 18, 1906. She left to take the message to New York City a few weeks later.[138] Nationally known Holiness evangelists such as Maria Woodworth-Etter and Carrie Judd Montgomery accepted the Pentecostal message, and subsequently influenced their enormous followings as they crisscrossed the United States.[139] Still others, like the Duncan Sisters who ran a Holiness Training Center in Rochester, New York, wrote to Azusa requesting that workers bearing the new message, be sent to them.[140]

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[137]Stanley Frodsham, With Signs Following, p. 45; and Herbert D. Knight, Ministry Aflame (Carlinville, IL: Illinois District Council of the Assemblies of God, 1972), pp. 36-7.

[138]Marie Estelle Brown, Founder and Pastor of Glad Tidings Tabernacle, New York City, 1907-1971, pamphlet (New York, NY: Glad Tidings Tabernacle, n.d.), pp. 4-7.

[139]Carrie Judd Montgomery, Under His Wings, the Story of My Life (Oakland, CA: Office of Triumphs of Faith, 1936), pp. 164-70; and Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, Signs and Wonders God Wrought in the Ministry for Forty Years (Indianapolis, IN: The Author, 1916).

[140]Elizabeth V. Baker, Chronicles of a Faith Life (Rochester, NY: The Author, n.d.), p. 134.

. . . And Around the World

The United States certainly was not the extent of the Azusa vision. Whereas Parham seemed intent on the evangelization of the North American continent before heading overseas, adherents from Los Angeles began thinking in global terms from the outset. The September, 1906, issue of The Apostolic Faith noted:

> Many are the prophesies spoken in unknown tongues and many the visions that God is giving concerning His soon coming. The heathen must first receive the gospel. One prophecy given in an unknown tongue was interpreted 'The time is short, and I am going to send out a large number in the Spirit of God to preach the full gospel the power of the Spirit.'[141]

Feeling the nearness of the return of Christ, workers feeling called to the foreign field were reluctant to wait for Parham's appearance on the scene. When Parham sent word that his coming would be delayed, a number decided to set out on their own. The September issue of The Apostolic Faith noted that Andrew Johnson, Louise Condit, Lucy Leatherman and Mrs. Bushnell had left for the Holy Land stopping enroute at Gibraltar.[142] Others would soon follow. A. G. Garr and his wife, thinking they had spoken in the Indian and Chinese tongues, embarked for the Far East, after making stops at the Burning Bush headquarters in Chicago, and their hometown of Danville, Virginia.[143] Samuel J. Mead

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[141]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 1.

[142]Ibid. p. 1. See also The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (October, 1906), pp. 3-4 for further details.

[143]Ibid., (September, 1906), p. 2.

and his wife, who had served twenty years as missionaries under Bishop William Taylor in Liberia, "providentially" were in Oakland, California, on furlough when the revival broke out in Los Angeles. Upon receiving their Pentecost experience, they began organizing a party of "spirit-filled" believers equipped by the Spirit with the African languages. The group consisted of Lucy Farrow, Mr. and Mrs. J. Hutchins and their teenage niece, Leila McKinney, and Mr. & Mrs. G. W. Bateman. Farrow left in August, 1906 stopping at the Houston campmeeting in Texas to share first-hand news of the Los Angeles revival. From there she traveled to her hometown of Norfolk, Virginia, stopping enroute at New Orleans, Louisiana. She established a flourishing Pentecostal work in Norfolk and another in nearby Portsmouth. The Hutchins left in October, stopping in Chattanooga, Tennessee. They joined the Meads in New York in November where they set sail for England enroute route to Africa.[144]

Missionaries also left from other centers that the Azusa flame had sparked. William H. Durham's North Avenue Mission in Chicago became a principal missionary sending station. A young Persian, Andrew Urshan, returned to his home country.[145] Three Italian friends, Louis Francescon, Giacomo Lombardi, and Peter Ottolini, left the North Avenue

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[144]Ibid., (September, 1906), pp. 1-4; and (October, 1906), pp. 1, 4.

[145]Andrew Urshan, The Life of Andrew Bar David Urshan (Stockton, CA: Apostolic Press, 1967), pp. 172-6.

Mission in 1907 to evangelize the Italian communities throughout the United States. Lombardi and Ottolini then headed for Italy in 1908. The same year, Francescon went to San Paulo, Brazil, to establish a Pentecostal beachhead in the Italian community there.[146] Two young Swedes, Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren, also left the North Avenue Mission to become missionaries to Brazil.[147]

Two of the Duncan sisters, Elizabeth Baker and Nellie Fell of Rochester, New York, upon receiving their Pentecost left in the midst of their 1907 annual summer campmeeting to take their joyful news to the Keswick Convention in England.[148] Most significant for the spread of the revival to Europe, however, was Thomas Ball Barrett. Born in England, he had pastored a Methodist Church in Norway for several years. He came to the United States in the fall of 1905 to raise money for a large city mission in Christiania, the capitol of Norway. After traveling throughout the United States, he made preparations to return to Europe in June, 1906. However, he received instructions from his

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[146]Joseph Colletti, "Sociological Study of Italian Pentecostals in Chicago, 1900-1930" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Costa Mesa, CA: November, 1986), pp. 15-22; Louis De Caro, Our Heritage: The Christian Church of North America (Sharon, PA: General Council, Christian Church of North America, 1977), pp. 52-6; and Walter J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), p. 251.

[147]Walter Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, p. 75.

[148]Elizabeth Baker, Chronicles of a Faith Life, pp. 97-99.

bishop to stay a bit longer. He set up headquarters at A. B. Simpson's Missionary Home in New York City. While there he learned of the Azusa Street outpouring. He exchanged several letters with Glenn Cook and May Throop, who were handling Azusa's correspondence. On November 18, 1906, he received the gift of tongues.[149]

The Meads arrived in New York on November 25. They were able to give him a clearer understanding of the revival's significance. As the missionary party gathered from the various parts of the States to embark for Africa on December 8, 1906, he decided to travel with them as far as England.[150] Through Barrett's ministry, the Pentecostal Movement was introduced to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, France, Switzerland, and England.[151]

. . .Through Creative Chaos

The above account of the revival's spread does not claim to be exhaustive. Rather, it serves to illustrate the dynamic by which it moved. Both in Los Angeles and in the centers throughout the world, the flame continued to burn brightly for three years. In sending forth workers, the Azusa leadership planned to follow Parham's guidelines. They sent their workers to population centers throughout the

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[149]Thomas Ball Barrett, When the Fire Fell and an Outline of My Life (Oslo, Norway: Alfons Hansen and Jones, 1927), pp. 99-140.

[150]Ibid., p. 136.

[151]Nils Bloch-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement, pp. 65-86.

United States where they conducted city-wide campaigns. They engaged in street witnessing and door to door evangelism during the day. A large union meeting was held each night. Without someone in authority and having strong organizational control, however, the revival soon got out of hand. It spread without plan, and workers often went forth without training. As a result, the consequences can only be described as creative chaos.

C. D. Sawtelle, the Superintendent of the North West District of the Christian Missionary Alliance,remembered well Florence Crawford coming to Portland, Oregon in December, 1906. Writing his 1907-1908 annual report to A. B. Simpson, he noted ruefully:

> It has been a year of peculiar trials . . . The new movement struck us a few months ago with its evils and with its greater blessings. It came with such force and authority as to refuse absolutely to be ignored. We knew not what to do with it, and knew less what it would do with us. We nestled up a little closer to Jesus. . . He has made us in some little measure a blessing to the movement and has made it a great blessing to us.[152]

Andrew. W. Rasmussen was a student at Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, when he received his Pentecost. He felt called by God to return to his home town of Pennock, Minnesota, to share the good news. He was invited to speak in several of the churches in his village, including his home church which was Lutheran. Soon a community-wide

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[152]Christian Missionary Alliance, Annual Report of the President and General Superintendent of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, 1907-1908 (New York, NY: Christian and Missionary Alliance, 1908), p. 75.

revival was underway in the Salvation Army chapel. Several town's folk came forward to renew their faith in Christ. One Scandinavian, a deacon in the Swedish Covenant Church, came to him saying, "Andrew, this is the kind of meeting we used to enjoy in the Covenant Church years ago."[153]

At the end of several weeks, Rasmussen announced that all who had not been baptized by immersion, should be rebaptized. The leadership of the Salvation Army, Lutheran and Covenant churches were furious. The Baptist pastor, however, was delighted and invited him to continue his meetings at his church. The first service found the church jammed as members from all the churches were present. Several came forward to submit to rebaptism. Rasmussen was convinced the time had come to begin telling the community about the source of his effectiveness, his new-found Pentecostal power.[154]

He began to speak to his recent converts privately about the new experience. One by one, he led them "into the deeper things of God." Soon the word began to spread throughout Pennock that Andrew was teaching strange doctrine. He had to leave the Baptist Church and start his own mission hall. Neighbors complained to his parents that he was "causing division in their churches." He prayed about what he should do. Finally, the answer came to him.

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[153]A. W. Rasmussen, The Last Chapter (Monroeville, PA: Whitaker House, 1973), pp. 28, 64-5, 76-7.

[154]Ibid., pp. 78-80.

> Certainly, it was not my desire to cause dissension among my friends and neighbors. It seemed quite obvious that my task was done. I had begun the ministry; now others could step in and continue as directed by the Holy Spirit. So Stella and I packed up our belongings and went back to Chicago.[155]

The creative chaos, the Pentecostal outpouring brought, was not always this disruptive. A case in point was the Elim Faith Home in Rochester, New York, where the revival hit in June, 1907. The work had been started by the Duncan sisters in 1894.[156] These sisters were the daughters of a prominent Methodist minister. Elizabeth, the oldest, had married W. A. Dawson, a principle of a theological seminary. The marriage failed. Eight years later she married C. W. Baker, an upcoming physician in Rochester.[157] Mrs. Baker, who had been sickly since early childhood, came near death in the 1880's. Her husband called upon his most skilled colleague in the city to attend to her, but to no avail.

> I was burning with fever, in a low typhoid, yet unable to swallow one drop of water and could not speak above a whisper, the muscles having become so rigid I could scarcely open my mouth.[158]

In desperation she sought divine healing. Their new minister at the Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev.

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[155]Ibid., 81-2.

[156]The four Duncan sisters included Harriet and Susan, both unmarried, Elizabeth Baker and Nellie Fell. Their stories are chronicled in Susan A. Duncan, Trials and Triumphs of a Faith Life (Rochester, NY: Elim Publishing House, 1910), and Elizabeth V. Baker, Chronicles of a Faith Life.

[157]Elizabeth Baker, Chronicles of a Faith Life, pp. 11, 16, 19.

[158]Ibid., p. 234.

C. W. Winchester, had recently accepted the doctrine of Faith Healing and agreed to pray for her. She reported that that very night she slept as sweetly as a child. Within a few days, she was completely well.[159]

As word of her healing became noised abroad, others came to her requesting prayer. In response, she visited Elizabeth Sisson in Chicago and A. J. Gordon in Boston seeking to find God's will for her life. She spent the next several years actively working in the Women's Christian Temperance Union. After reading George Muller's Life of Trust, she felt God's call to start her own ministry. By the time she opened the mission in November, 1894, she had persuaded her sisters of the truth of entire sanctification, divine healing, the life of faith, and the premillennial return of Christ. They all joined in her work. By 1907, the mission had expanded to a full-fledged faith home, Bible training school, an adjoining church, a tract ministry, a monthly periodical entitled Trust, and an annual convention held each summer. Many small missions throughout the city and surrounding countryside had been established by workers trained at their school. A few of the students had gone to the foreign field as well.[160]

When the school heard about the revival that had broken out in Wales in 1904, Mrs. Baker reports that "our hearts like those of all Christendom, were greatly stirred."

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[159]Ibid., p. 235.

[160]Ibid., 26-155.

> The Power of God working so mightily, the absence of human machinery, the tremendous results of the salvation of souls, made us very hungry to know God in His fullness. We held special meetings for the purpose of waiting upon God in which we were greatly blessed.[161]

These meetings where still going on when word reached them about the Azusa revival. The initial news they received was negative causing them to "draw back" fearing it to be fanaticism or satanic. For a year they kept getting mixed reports. During this time they prayerfully searched the scriptures and finally became convinced that "He was responsible for the movement, but not for everything that was in it." Their concerns somewhat allayed, they invited two Azusa workers to present the new message at their June, 1907, Annual Convention.[162]

Each day the speakers spoke on different aspects of Pentecostal Baptism. Each evening the congregation was invited to spend the night in quiet heart-searching and yielding to God "for His special equipment for the last great conflict of this Age." The "power" fell on Saturday afternoon at the Faith Home, where a few had gathered to pray. Among the first to receive was Marguerite Fell, the daughter of the youngest Duncan sister. Mrs. Barker reports:

> She lay helpless under His mighty power. As we listened we could see the Spirit was showing her the needs and awful darkness of the heathen fields, and a

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[161]Ibid., p. 134.

[162]Ibid., 135.

> real soul travail came upon her for the perishing souls in darkness. She cried out agonizingly in English for God to send help, then as the Spirit pointed her to the cross she broke out in joyful praise for the victory of Calvary and immediately broke out in fluent Chinese.[163]

Marguerite's mother, upon hearing the news, ran like "hinds feet" to the Faith Home. When she saw her daughter, she fell on her knees in "awe and reverence." Susan Duncan came in the room exclaiming, "Oh! the slain of the Lord. Pentecost has come to Elim." With that, Mrs. Fell was slain in the Spirit. She began to laugh and had a vision of Calvary.[164]

The following day, people gathered in the church all day. There was a "holy hush" in the auditorium. People fell prostrate on the floor, and then would begin singing spontaneously in the Spirit. The convention closed that evening. The building was filled to overflowing. Again the "Heavenly Choir" was manifested. When one of the visiting brethren rose to speak:

> a dear little woman sitting in the audience, who had received her baptism the evening before, began to sing in the Spirit. She had not heard this special manifestation of the Spirit in the others, nor had she ever herself sung in the natural. She had no ear for music, and could never tell whether on the key or not, so did not venture to sing even the simple hymns in church services. But now with closed eyes and a smile of heaven on her upturned face she sang with a wondrous voice, clear as a bird, and sweet as an angel, with a range and compass past belief.

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[163]Ibid.

[164]Ibid., p. 96.

> . . . Presently those upon who the Spirit had fallen before in song began to sing . . . and there followed an hour such song as one never dreamed of hearing from mortal lips upon earth. No words can describe it, the quality of voice, the compass hitherto unknown, the absolute harmony through half a dozen voices were singing together, now swelling out into a grand oratorio, then sinking into the softest whispers. The audience sat spellbound, not moving even a hand or a foot, but like one entranced, while tears flowed down their faces.[165]

When at last the voices of the "choir" ceased, Mrs. Baker spoke a few words and invited those wishing to receive the Baptism in the Holy Spirit to come forward. She records that "they seemed to rise as one man and press unhesitatingly forward." One man later reported seeing "an angel standing on the platform with a harp in his hands," leading the heavenly chorus. For Mrs. Fell, the scene could only be described in the words of St. Paul:

> Whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell. It was the nearest to heaven I had ever been, and the glory could never be described. . . with the new song came the new tongue with its glory and power. Only those who have entered into the experience can understand the depths and meaning of it all.[166]

Summary

By the end of 1908, reports of the falling of the Latter Rain and the establishment of Pentecostal centers came flooding in from such U. S. cities as New York City, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington D. C., Chicago, Zion City, St. Paul, Atlanta, Birmingham, Cleveland (Ohio and Tennessee), Indianapolis, Portland, Seattle, San Francisco

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[165]Ibid., pp, 136-7.

[166]Ibid., p. 97.

and Oakland.[167] In addition, the movement had girdled the globe. In November, 1908, A. H. Argue's gaze swept across the horizon as he wrote:

> Our hearts rejoice to hear of many faithful witnesses, many precious souls from nearly every part of the globe, receiving the Holy Ghost according to Acts 2:4, in Jerusalem, Syria, Arabia, Persia and Armenia, and a number of places in China. . . . In India it has broken out in many quarters and . . . in forty places in Scotland. . . Also many have been baptized in England, Ireland, Wales, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, Australia, Russia and Tebet. In Africa, West and South; San Marcial, New Mexico; Jeruca, Cuba; Egypt, Torino, Italy; and in Japan.[168]

Inspired by the hopes of the Perfectionist Movement of the nineteenth Century, the Pentecostal revival was able to accomplish the task where the efforts of such men as Dowie, Sandford, and Parham had failed. Emotional dynamite had been set loose at Azusa. Adherents went forth throughout the world to those centers where the Welsh revival had taken root. "What Meaneth this?" they were asked. "A Sign," they replied. "What does It Signify?" "All signifies that the end is at hand!"[169]

The adherents had proclaimed the Gospel of the Kingdom to the nations as a witness. Now, they could anticipate the end would come. But did they?

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[167]Robert Anderson, The Vision of the Disinherited, pp. 74-5.

[168]The Pentecostal Testimony (Toronto), (May, 1956), citing The Apostolic Messenger, (November, 1908).

[169]Elizabeth Sisson, A Sign People (Springfield, Mo: Gospel Publishing House, 1918), pp. 5, 10-1.

Chapter Six

GROWTH: Defining The Parameters of Pentecostal Thought

> *Many Pentecostal people have run wild after that which is new and sensational in the last six years, such as 'finished work,'. . . rejection of the Trinity, anti-organization . . . and many other preposterous, nonsensical sensations. . . .*
>
> *-- J. H. King (1917)*[1]

Introduction

By the end of 1908 it had become clear that the Pentecostal vision, as articulated in the midst of revival, would not be realized.[2] Experience had shown that the adherents had not received the miraculous gift of languages which would effect world evangelization by supernatural means. Consequently, they turned toward the traditional methods of missionary activity through the arduous task of learning the languages of the people whom they sought to convert. Likewise, instead of being the means to bring the Church together, adherents discovered the Pentecostal Revival had left them ostracized from their holiness/fundamentalist roots. For the more circumspect, there came the realization that Christ would probably not

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[1]Joseph H. King, "Entire Sanctification a Second Definite Work of Grace," The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (September 13, 1917), p. 1.

[2]Robert Mapes Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 137, 155.

return as quickly as they once had thought. Before them lay the strenuous task of developing structures that would enable them to survive the long haul.[3]

As the revival fires abated, so, too, did the sense of solidarity that adherents had enjoyed in the initial years. Doctrinal, racial, ethnic and personal differences, glossed over in the exuberance of their new experience and submerged by the necessity of facing a common enemy, began to surface. As with all religious warfare, the controversies were cast in theological categories. Adherents understood this new struggle as an effort to define the parameters of the new orthodoxy. What did it mean to be a Pentecostal?

Initially, this effort at definition took the form of honest inquiry. What beliefs had been brought into the movement that had been part of the old "doctrine of men," and what were true "first principles" laid down by the apostles and authentically restored to the Church since the time of the Reformation? What new truth was legitimate revelation, and what was heresy? What theological differences could be tolerated in charity, and what beliefs must be shared as essentials to the faith? Special sessions were often set aside for leaders at conferences and camp meetings to discuss these issues.[4]

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[3]Ibid., p. 138.

[4]Examples of this practice were seen at the Pentecostal Conference in Germany, December 8-11, 1908, "Special Supplement," Confidence (December, 1908), pp. 1-4; "Leaders Meetings," Sunderland International Pentecostal Conference, Confidence (June, 1909), pp. 130-136; and "Central

With the passing of time, however, such questions were stated in ways that were exclusive rather than inclusive and went to the heart of the controversies that racked the movement in the decade that followed the revival.[5] Though painful, they none-the-less brought about sustained growth to Pentecostalism. Anderson has correctly observed

> . . . the movement survived and grew, not in spite of these fratricidal conflicts, but because of them. Without the continuing stimulus provided by such agitation, the movement may have atrophied and died. Controversy became the very life and breath of the Pentecostal movement.[6]

In this chapter, attention will be directed to the three most significant issues. Two of these debates: "The Finished Work;" and "The New Issue;" rent the movement from top to bottom, leaving the movement in three distinct groups. The third, "the Nature of the Church," disappeared in the pragmatics of institutionalization that followed. It would reappear forty years later in the guise of "the New Order of the Latter Rain."

The Finished Work

Throughout the years of the Pentecostal revival, all persons coming into the movement embraced the Five-fold or Full Gospel: justification, sanctification, Spirit-Baptism,

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Pentecostal Camp Meeting, June 13-23, 1907," The New Acts (June, 1907), p. 7.

[5]Gorden Atter has listed some twenty such controversies, most of which first emerged in the decade cited. Gordon F. Atter, The Third Force, 3rd. ed. (Peterborough, ONT: The College Press, 1970), pp. 130-156.

[6]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 193.

Healing and the premillennial return of Christ. These five cardinal doctrines were seen as "first principle" truths that God had been restoring to the church since the time of the Reformation. The first four related to what adherents saw had been provided for them by Christ's work on earth, and the final claim related to Christ's work at the close of the age. The Apostolic Faith put this understanding succinctly in an article entitled: "The Precious Atonement."

> Beloved, it honors our Christ for us to seek all that He purchased for us by His atonement on the Cross of Calvary. Let us study and see all that His Blood and the offering of His precious body has bought for us. 1st. We have redemption, the forgiveness of sins . . . 2nd. We receive sanctification through the blood of Jesus . . . . 3rd. Through Christ, the precious Lamb of Calvary we have also healing of all our sicknesses and diseases. . . . 4th. Through the atonement we get the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire upon the sanctified life. . . . We the messengers of this precious atonement ought to preach all of it, justification, sanctification, healing and the baptism of the Spirit with signs following.[7]

Synan has correctly pointed out that the early leaders of the revival Charles Parham, and William Seymour as well as the Southern leaders G. B. Cashwell, A. J. Tomlinson, J. H. King, and Charles Mason had previously embraced the Wesleyan understanding of entire sanctification as a second definite work of grace which, when experienced in the life of the believer, destroyed the sinful nature. Many, if not all had also followed the lead of the Fire baptized movement which had seen Spirit-baptism as an experience separate from

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[7]"The Precious Atonement," The Apostolic Faith (Portland), 2 (September, 1908), p. 2. To make sure readers did not lose sight of the fifth principle, this piece was followed by an article entitled: "The Signs of His Coming."

either justification or sanctification.[8] It never occurred to them that their particular theory of entire sanctification might be challenged as one of the first principles. In their minds, the restoration of the gift of tongues simply marked the beginning of the Latter Rain dispensation and brought forth the full restoration of Apostolic faith..

Many others, however, were swept into the movement during the course of the revival from such groups as A. B. Simpson's Christian and Missionary Alliance and Alexander Dowie's Christian Catholic Apostolic Church. They had previously held to the Keswick view of sanctification. For the most part, they embraced the Wesleyan view for the sake of unity, but felt uneasy. In 1910, William Durham, a pastor from Chicago, spoke out. His message did not make an overt appeal to Keswick. Rather, he declared his message as a new truth that was part of Pentecostal theology, "The Finished Work of Calvary." Within five years, the message would rend the movement from top to bottom.

In this section, attention will be first directed to the role Durham played in the formation of the Pentecostal message; secondly, to the movement's immediate response to Durham's message; and finally, to the long-term implications of the message for the movement.

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[8]Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 147.

The Role of William H. Durham

Durham was born in Kentucky in 1873. He joined a Baptist Church in 1891, at age eighteen. However, according to his testimony he did not experience conversion until seven years later in 1898 while in Minnesota. Three years later, under the influence of holiness teaching and after much searching, he experienced entire sanctification. In 1902 he responded to the call to the ministry, spending some time as an evangelist. The following year he began pastoring the Gospel Mission Church, an independent holiness mission, located at 943 North Avenue in Chicago, Illinois.[9]

Durham's Ministry. Durham heard about the Azusa Street Revival shortly after it broke out in the spring of 1906. Like many holiness adherents at that time, he expected that the gifts of the spirit would be restored to the church in the last days. The word that came from Los Angeles that the gift of tongues was in operation brought joy to his heart, though at first he briefly rejected the teaching that this was a necessary evidence for spirit-baptism.[10] That fall he welcomed to his pulpit Mable Smith and Jessie Smith, who had come from Los Angeles with word of the revival.[11] Though

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[9]Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), pp. 2-3; and W. H. Durham, "A Chicago Evangelist's Pentecost," The Apostolic Faith, 1 (February-March, 1907), p. 4.

[10]Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), p. 3; and W. H. Durham, "A Chicago Evangelist's Pentecost," p. 4.

[11]Stanley H. Frodsham, "With Signs Following" The Story of the Latter Rain Pentecostal Revival (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1926), p. 36.

several of his congregation experienced spirit-baptism at that time, Durham did not. A few weeks later, he received train fare from Mr. & Mrs Louis Osterberg, former parishioners of his church, together with an invitation to stay with them in Los Angeles. Durham took this as a sign from God that he should go to the Azusa mission to wait for the Holy Spirit to fall upon him.[12]

Durham arrived at Azusa in February, 1907. Like others who made their hajj to Los Angeles in the early days of the revival, he experienced the meetings as being completely controlled by the Holy Spirit. He reported hearing the Heavenly Choir -- "the sweetest music that ever fell on my ears." He felt completely helpless before the events he witnessed. It was a time of deep soul searching. "Every thing seemed to slip away from me. The works that I had formerly rejoiced in, and the experiences that I had gloried in could not help me now." For a period of five days, February 26 - March 2, he walked about in a trance-like state, feeling "a mighty current of power turned into me from every side . . . so great was the infilling, that it seemed as if the physical life would be crowded out of my body." Finally, late in the evening of March 2, the gift of languages began to flow. William Seymour had already retired to his quarters above the mission when he felt

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[12]Herbert V. Knight, Ministry Aflame (Amherst, WI: Palmer Publications, Inc., 1972), p. 36; W. H. Durham, "A Chicago Evangelist's Pentecost," p. 4; and Pentecostal Testimony, 1 (July, 1912), p. 3.

impressed of God to return to the room were Durham was praying. Seeing him "slain in the spirit" and speaking in tongues, Seymour raised his hands over Durham, prophesying that wherever this man would preach "the Holy Spirit would fall upon the people."[13]

It was not long before Seymour's prophecy began to be fulfilled. Durham returned to Chicago, transformed. He began holding revival meetings at his mission every night. Soon people were coming in such numbers that the building could not hold them. Often the meetings ran well past midnight. Durham later recalled, "It was nothing to hear people at all hours of the night speaking in tongues and singing in the Spirit.[14]

News of the revival quickly spread. Soon hundreds and then thousands came to Chicago to hear Durham preach and left with the conviction that he was a new pulpit prodigy. "When he arose one never knew just what form the sermon would take. One could not take his eyes off the preacher, for fear of missing something precious. The longer he talked, the more fascinating the Word became." Soon Chicago began to rival Los Angeles as the Movement's center, and North Avenue Mission became the "mecca" for the Pentecostal faithful.[15]

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[13]Pentecostal Testimony, 1 (July, 1912), pp. 3-4.

[14]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven: A History of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), p. 69.

Among the hundreds who came into the Pentecostal experience under Durham's ministry in Church during the years 1907-10, were several persons destined to become major leaders in the Movement. E. N. Bell, who would become the first general Superintendent of the Assemblies of God, was then pastoring a Baptist Church in Fort Worth, Texas, when he heard of the Azusa revival. His personal study of the Scriptures convinced him that the reports he heard of the Latter Rain outpouring were about an authentic move of God. In August, 1907, he requested a year's leave of absence from his church and came to Chicago to sit under the ministry of Durham. In July, 1908, he entered into the Pentecostal experience. When he offered to resign his pastorate, his congregation refused. A year later, however, he was forced to sever his ties with the Southern Baptist Convention.[16]

A. H. Argue, an influential business man and part-time holiness evangelist of Winnipeg, Manitoba, learned of the new movement while conducting a camp-meeting in Clarksburg, Ontario, with J. H. King, General Overseer of the Fire Baptized Church in the summer of 1906. While at the camp, someone sent him an issue of Seymour's The Apostolic Faith. When he returned to Winnipeg, he wrestled with the question, "Was Pentecost being repeated?" The next spring he learned

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[15]Frank Ewart, Phenomenon of Pentecost (Houston, TX: Herald Publishing House, 1947), p. 73; and J. Roswell Flower, "History of the Assemblies of God," (Unpublished manuscript, Springfield, MO, 1949), p. 17.

[16]Stanley H. Frodsham, "A Brief Word of Biography," in E. N. Bell, Questions and Answers (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1923), pp. viii-x.

that Durham had just returned to Chicago from Los Angles, having received the experience. Argue hastened to the North Avenue Mission to discover for himself what was taking place. After seeking the Lord for twenty-one days in fasting and prayer, he, too, experienced spirit-baptism. He returned to Winnipeg to hold Pentecostal meetings in his home. Revival broke out, and soon he founded Calvary Temple which would become one of the largest Pentecostal churches in North America. He became a well known evangelist in both Canada and the United States and was one of the leaders instrumental in the formation of the Pentecostal Church of Canada.[17]

Durham's impact upon the ethnics of Chicago became well known as well. These included Persians, Swedes, and Italians. Andrew Urshan, a young Persian, was a student at Moody Bible Institute when he first attended the North Avenue Mission. After accepting the Pentecostal message, he brought in a group of his countrymen with whom he had been working in a prayer group. Under Durham's guidance he established the first Persian Pentecostal Mission. He would later become a charter member of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World in 1916. Later he became a general presbyter of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ, a

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[17]Zelma Argue, A Vision and a Vow: The Story of My Mother's Life (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d.), p. 38; J. H. King, Yet Speaketh: Memoirs of the Late Bishop Joseph H. King (Franklin Springs, GA: The Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1945), p. 112; and Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, pp. 85-6.

denomination that eventually merged to form the United Pentecostal Church.[18]

Louis Francescon, Giacomo Lombardi, and Peter Ottolini were among a host of Italian-Americans who were swept into the Pentecostal Movement at North Avenue Mission in 1907. Francescon and Ottolini had left the Italian Presbyterian Church in 1903 to form an independent evangelical community. They split into two congregations the following year with each man serving as pastor. Francescon brought his church into the Pentecostal Movement after being grounded in the message at North Avenue in April, 1907. Ottolini and his congregation came into the movement in September of that year. Lombardi was introduced to Durham and to Pentecost by Francescon in 1907.[19]

After spending nine months evangelizing the Italian community in Chicago, the three left to seek to persuade their Italian brethren throughout the United States to join the Pentecostal ranks. Ottolini conducted meetings in Buffalo, New York, and St. Louis. Francescon and Lombardi

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[18]Andrew Urshan, The Life Story of Andrew Bar David Urshan (Stockton, CA: Apostolic Press, 1967), pp. 109, 119, 286; and Ethel Goss, The Winds of God: The Story of the Early Pentecostal Days (1901-1914) in the Life of Howard A. Goss (New York, NY: Comet Press Books, 1985), pp. 123-4.

[19]John Nichol, Pentecostalism (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 133; and Stephen Galvano, ed., Fiftieth Anniversary, Christian Church of North America (Sharon, PA: The General Council, Christian Church of North America, 1977), pp.27-8; and Joseph Colletti, "Sociological Study of Italian Pentecostals in Chicago, 1900-1930" (Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Study, Costa Mesa, CA, November, 1986), pp. 15, 17, 23.

went to cities in Pennsylvania and California.[20] Their efforts prospered, especially along the eastern seaboard. By 1936 one hundred and seven churches had been established in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, and California. These churches banded together to form the Christian Church of North America.[21]

Lombardi returned to Italy in 1908 with the hope of convincing the Protestants of his homeland to accept the Pentecostal message. When he did not succeed, he established a Pentecostal mission in Rome. Shortly after Lombardi's arrival, Ottolini joined him, and after working with him for two years, went to Northern Italy, establishing thriving churches in Turin and Milan in 1910.[22]

That same year, Francescon went to San Paulo, Brazil, as a missionary. After making a beachhead in the Italian community there, he soon established an indigenous church. Eventually, the Congregacao Christa do Brasil would become the second largest Pentecostal denomination in that country. Francescon was called to Italy in 1928 to become the first

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[20]John Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 133; Louis De Caro, Our Heritage: The Christian Church of North America (Sharon, PA: General Council, Christian Church of North America, 1977), pp. 52-56; and Joseph Colletti, "Sociological Study of Italian Pentecostals in Chicago, pp. 18, 22.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., p. 205; and Walter J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), p. 251.

chairman of the national conference of Italian Pentecostal Assemblies.[23]

Two young Swedes, Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren, joined Durham's mission in 1909. Shortly thereafter, Vingren had a dream that they were to become missionaries to Para. Neither of them had ever heard of such a place. They discovered at the city library that it was a state in Brazil. They arrived in Belem, the state capital, in 1910. They worked with a Baptist congregation while they learned Portuguese. This relationship came to an end as the Baptist missionaries objected to their teaching the Pentecostal message. A small group of Baptists went with them to form the nucleus of a small congregation. From those origins emerged the Assembleias de Deus in Brazil, the largest protestant denomination in Latin America.[24]

F. A. Sandgren, a Norwegian, received the Pentecostal Baptism in 1907 and became an elder in Durham's Mission. As editor of the Scandinavian periodical Folke Vennen, he spread the Pentecostal message among its holiness subscribers in Chicago and the upper Midwest. He later established Pentecostal missions throughout that region. By the end of 1909, under Durham's direct influence there were several Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Italian, and German Pentecostal in the city.[25]

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[23]John Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 165; and Walter Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, pp. 85, 251.

[24]Walter Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, p. 75.

In addition to the Pentecostal leaders who got their start under Durham's ministry during the years 1907-10, several other leaders came under his influence. William H. Piper, pastor of the newly formed Stone Church in Chicago, was deeply impacted by Durham's message and under his influence brought his church into Pentecostal ranks in 1907. A host of future leaders from Zion City, just north of Chicago, had accepted the Pentecostal Message from Charles Parham in 1906. After Parham had been discredited, they turned to Durham for leadership.[26]

In 1908, a young Canadian couple, Robert and Aimee Semple became affiliated with the mission for several months. Robert, a Pentecostal evangelist, became Durham's associate, traveling with him to conventions in Findlay, Ohio; London, Ontario; and Toronto. After their time with Durham, they left as missionaries for China. Robert died shortly after reaching China. Aimee returned to the United States to become a well known evangelist on the North American continent and to found the International Church of the Four Square Gospel in 1927.[27]

T. K. Leonard, who pastored a large influential Christian and Missionary Alliance church in Findlay, Ohio,

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[25]Stanley Frodsham, With Signs Following, p. 42; and Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 129.

[26]William Menzies, Anointed To Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), p. 67.

[27]Aimee Semple McPherson, This Is That (Los Angeles, CA: Echo Park Evangelistic Association, Inc, 1923), pp. 56-9.

accepted the Pentecostal message in 1907. One year later he invited William Durham to hold an extensive crusade in his city. A group of twenty-six C.M.A. pastors followed Leonard's lead in 1912 by leaving the Alliance. Many of them would become significant leaders in the Assemblies of God.[28]

In 1910, Howard A. Goss went to Chicago to spend three weeks with Durham. Goss had become the leader of the Apostolic Faith Movement in the Southwest following Charles Parham's fall. He invited Durham to be the featured speaker at their camp meeting in Malvern, Arkansas, that summer. A year later Goss was instrumental in leading this group to join forces with a Church of God association in the South. Together with E. N. Bell, he issued the call in 1914 for the formation of the Assemblies of God, to which he was elected a general presbyter. He left in 1916 to become a founding officer of the General Assemblies of the Apostolic Assemblies. After a series of reorganizations and mergers, the group became part of the United Pentecostal Church in 1946 with Goss serving as its first General Superintendent.[29]

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[28]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, pp. 94, 168-9; J. Kevin Butcher, "The Holiness and Pentecostal Labors of David Wesley Myland: 1890-1918" (M.A. Thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1983), p. 106; and Aimee Semple McPherson, This is That, p. 56.

[29]Ethel E. Goss, The Winds of God, pp. 122-3. Arthur Clanton, United We Stand: A History of Oneness Organizations (Hazelwood, MO: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1970), pp. 23, 35, 128; Klaude Kendrick. The Promise Fulfilled: A History of the Pentecostal Movement

Thus, as 1910 came to a close, William Durham was well positioned in the Mid-and Southwest. He was recognized as the informal leader of the Pentecostal Movement by those groups coming into the movement via Parham in the Southwest, Dowie in the mid-west, the ethnic communities in the upper mid-west and the Pentecostal contingency within the Christian Missionary Alliance.[30]

Durham's Message. In May 1910, Durham addressed the annual Pentecostal Convention at the Stone Church in Chicago that was attended by many of the Pentecostal leaders of the mid-west. His message was entitled "The Finished Work of Calvary." Its content was a bombshell that one observer described as "A Shot Heard Round the World."[31] The impact of his message was still reverberating twelve years later when The Faithful Standard, a Church of God publication, noted:

> A certain pastor . . . was invited to address an important gathering of Pentecostal people in the Middle West. At this meeting, where all was unity and blessing and all were melted together in love--this beloved pastor made an address that has been mighty important to the Pentecostal Movement. In

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(Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), pp. 80-1; Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, pp. 154-5, 178; and Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, pp. 140, 166.

[30]William Menzies, Anointed To Serve, pp. 64-5; and Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States, p. 148.

[31]Allen Clayton, "The Significance of William H. Durham for Pentecostal Historiography," Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, 1 (Fall, 1979), p. 2; and A. J. Tomlinson, "History of Pentecost," The Faithful Standard, 1 (November, 1922), p. 8.

> fact, it caused the first great schism in the hitherto unified ranks.[32]

Durham's message was quite simple: "Identification with Jesus Christ saves and sanctifies, no second work of grace [is] taught [by Scripture] or necessary."[33] According to him, perfection was something that must be maintained by accepting the historical reality of the cross. As long as this was done, inbred sin was crucified with Christ and imputed righteousness would bear fruit in the believer's life. If, however, sin appeared, it was a sign that the relationship with Christ had been severed and the carnal nature was raising its ugly head. Perfection could be restored by the individual's again placing faith in the power of the cross.[34]

Throughout the pages of the Pentecostal Testimony, Durham placed his view over against the prevailing second definite work theory. He concurred with the holiness theory to the extent that he acknowledged entire sanctification meant a crucifixion of the sinful nature. "We believed then, as now, that when God saves a man, . . . He cleanses him from all sin."[35] However, he denied that this was a separate experience apart from justification or that

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[32]A. J. Tomlinson, "History of Pentecost," p. 8.

[33]William H. Durham, "The Finished Work of Calvary," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (January, 1912), p. 1.

[34]Ibid.

[35]William H. Durham, "Some Other Phases of Sanctification," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), p. 10.

crucifixion meant the eradication as the Holiness Movement understood it.[36]

Durham argued that Christ's atonement on the cross was complete. The Christian experienced this "finished work" by faith, identifying with Christ in his death. Using St. Paul's analogy of baptism, he asserted, by faith we are crucified with Christ, buried with him, and raised to resurrection life. Just as Christ's death was one act, so too, both justification (pardon from acts of sinfulness) and sanctification (cleansing from sin) are applied to the believer through one act of faith.[37]

This act, according to Durham, does not change one's nature. He noted that throughout scripture the normal meaning of sanctification is consecration, or the setting apart for service to God. Thus in the Old Testament the temple vessels, priestly garments, temple food, etc., were dedicated for holy service to a most holy God. If they were defiled, they had to undergo a radical cleansing. But their nature did not change. They were made sacred by virtue of their relationship to God.[38]

This, he reasoned, is what happened to the Christian at conversion. "God in conversion brings a man into Christ and makes him holy by washing away all his sins, inward and

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[36]William H. Durham, "The Finished Work of Calvary," p. 3.

[37]Ibid.

[38]William H. Durham, "Some Other Phases of Sanctification," p. 10.

outward, and giving him a new, clean heart, thus making a new creature of him." That is, by virtue of Christ's atoning work on the cross, the person is pardoned for his sins and brought into relationship with God, and is claimed by God for His service. If later the Christian becomes defiled by wrong doing, he must be cleansed just as the Old Testament priest had been.[39]

In response to the Holiness contention that unless the sinful nature in the individual were eradicated or transformed, that person could not live a holy life, Durham pointed to Romans six and twelve. He noted, that Christians are to present themselves "a living sacrifice unto God." Therefore, they are to "reckon themselves to be dead to sin, and alive unto God in Jesus Christ."[40] This was accomplished, he maintained, by the Christian's yielding his life to the power of Christ who was now abiding in him. Like an alcoholic, forever helpless and addicted, the Christian could live an overcoming life only by surrendering to the higher power now dwelling within. This need not be a life-long struggle. Through faith, Christ would fill the child of God with His Holy Spirit . Besides, Durham noted with satisfaction, experience has shown that those who claim a second work's eradicating their sinful nature find

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[39]Ibid.

[40]William H. Durham, "The Finished Work of Calvary," p. 3, quoting Romans 6:4-5, 11; and 12:1.

themselves just as subject to sin as those who reject the holiness view.[41]

Spirit-baptism was for Durham an act of sanctification in the sense that Christ was setting the person aside to be empowered for Christian service. Indeed such moments of sanctification should be expected to recur throughout one's life as God set the individual apart for specific ministries.[42]

On the other hand, he maintained, sanctification also involved growth in grace. "We believed then, as now, that when God saves a man He fully saves him. . . ."

> We believe, however, that this only brings one into the state of spiritual babyhood, and that the whole Christian life with its variety of experiences lies before him. We further believe that personal conduct of such a one will have a great deal to do with what he develops into, or is chosen for in his Christian life.[43]

Thus Durham collapsed three-work theory: justification, sanctification, and spirit-baptism into two. These corresponded to Christ's objective work in history: His finished work at Calvary, and his sending the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost. This, he believed, was "The Gospel of Christ."

> The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation. Gospel means glad tidings. It is the glad tidings concerning Jesus Christ, and His glorious and perfect work of redemption on the Cross of Calvary. This the Apostles

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[41]William H. Durham, "Some Other Phases of Sanctification," p. 10.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

> were commanded to preach, and this is what they did preach. As they preached it the Holy Spirit fell upon their receptive hearers and filled and possessed them and spoke through them in other tongues.[44]

The Response to Durham's Message

Durham's May 1910 sermon at the Stone church proved to be a gauntlet thrown down for the Pentecostal Movement. Its reception met with acceptance on the one hand and bitter repudiation on the other.

Acceptance of the "Finished Work." According to Allen Clayton, Durham's sermon left the Chicago convention in a state of shock.[45] Howard Goss attended the convention and spent three weeks conducting meetings for Durham at the North Avenue mission. He was not immediately convinced of Durham's message, but tried to keep an open mind. He invited Durham to defend his views at a camp-meeting that he was sponsoring later that summer in Malvern, Arkansas. Most of the leaders from the mid-west Apostolic Faith movement were present. By the time the camp came to a close, many, if not all of them, left persuaded by Durham's teaching.[46]

In January, 1911, Durham spent 10 days in Minneapolis, Minnesota, pressing the case for his new teaching among the Scandinavian brethren. He reported great success.[47] He

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[44]William Durham, "The Gospel of Christ," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (January, 1912), p. 8.

[45]Allen Clayton, "Jesus Paid it All" (Unpublished paper, Dallas, TX, May 8, 1978), p. 13.

[46]Ethel Goss, The Winds of God, pp. 125-6.

returned to Chicago where he found his associate, Harry Van Loon, engaged in a great battle defending the doctrine. Without explanation, Durham resigned as pastor of the North Avenue mission and left for California on February 9, 1911.[48]

Durham expected to open his west coast campaign at the Upper Room, the largest Pentecostal Mission in the city. However, when the pastor, Elmer Fisher, learned of Durham's intention to proclaim the new doctrine, he refused to allow him access. Durham turned next to the Azusa mission, the scene of his baptism four years before. Things had quieted at the mission since Durham's last visit. Only sixty people now attended services on a regular basis. With Durham preaching, this soon changed. People from the various Pentecostal missions in the area began flocking back to Azusa to hear him. By the end of the first week the place was packed. The first Sunday, five hundred people were turned away. Frank Bartleman called it the "second shower of Latter Rain."[49]

William Seymour was on the east coast conducting a preaching tour at the time Durham arrived. He returned from his trip on May 1, 1911, to find his old friend proclaiming

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[47]William H. Durham, "The Great Battle of Nineteen Eleven," Pentecostal Testimony, 3 (January, 1912), p. 6.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angles, 3rd. ed. (Los Angeles, CA: The Author, 1928), p. 145; and "Azusa St. Mission," Word and Work, 22 (April, 1911), p. 120.

a doctrine he did not believe. He demanded that Durham cease teaching the doctrine at once if he was to continue at Azusa. Durham refused. When he returned to the mission the next day, he found the building chained and padlocked. A mission hall on Kohler street was secured for him to continue his meetings. About two-thirds of Seymour's co-workers left Azusa to come with him. The building proved too small. A permanent mission was established on Seventh and Los Angles which held a thousand people. "Here," Frank Bartleman noted, "God set His seal on *present truth* to be established." The building was packed on Sundays. About 400 attended the nightly services.[50]

In November, 1911, A. H. Argue invited Durham to Winnipeg to hold a convention in that city. He arrived on November twenty-sixth and held three services daily. By the end of the first week, Argue's church would not hold the crowd and the meeting moved to Liberty Hall. Many Pentecostal leaders from throughout Southwestern Canada were present. Durham reported that the convention was marked by its freedom from controversy and strife. He left the city feeling that not only had Argue's mission become a stronghold for the finished work doctrine, but also that the groundwork had been laid for all of southwestern Canada to embrace the new teaching as well.[51]

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[50]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angles, p. 146; and Charles William Shumway, "A Study of 'The Gift of Tongues'" (B.A. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1914), p. 179.

One of the leaders attending this convention was R. E. McAlister of Ottawa, Ontario. McAlister accepted the message. His periodical The Good Report became a major vehicle for propagating the message in eastern Canada. The Apostolic Messenger, edited by Argue, provided the same function for the western provinces.[52]

Early in 1912, Durham approached Florence Crawford, requesting permission to preach his gospel from her pulpit in Portland, Oregon. She refused. He threatened to open a rival center and "take all her members away from her." She replied that he was "welcome to every member he could get." Durham made good his threat, arriving in Portland on February 1, 1912. He conducted a three-week campaign on Ankeney Street, three blocks from Crawford's mission.[53]

From Portland, Durham returned to Chicago, arriving on February 25, 1912. He planned to hold a two-week convention there to strengthen the work in the mid-west. However, several of the proposed speakers A. H. Argue of Winnipeg, Manitoba; R. E. McAlister of Ottawa, Ontario; and E. N. Bell of Malvern, Arkansas, were forced to cancel because revival was blazing in their respective churches, requiring their attention at home. Durham, therefore, decided it was

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[51]William H. Durham, "The Winnipeg Convention," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (January, 1912), pp. 11-2.

[52]The Good Report, 1 (January, 1912), p. 6.

[53]William H. Durham, "Meetings in Portland, Oregon," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (January, 1912), p. 15; and Richard Crayne, Pentecostal Handbook, Enlarged and Revised Edition (Morristown, TN: The Author, 1986), pp. 207-8, citing Allan V. McPherson, letter to Richard Crayne, November 16, 1959.

God's intention for him to conduct evangelistic services instead. Once again, the meetings were characterized by the coming together of Anglo-Saxons, Italians, Persians, Scandinavians, Germans, native Americans, and Blacks. Several denominations were also represented, including Baptists, Methodists and Salvationists.[54]

Durham laid plans to establish a second permanent headquarters in Chicago from which to push his message South and East.[55] However, in late June, his health failed. Suspecting that he was dying, he returned to Los Angles to be with his family. He died July 7, 1912 of pulmonary tuberculosis.[56]

The impact that Durham had upon the young Pentecostal movement in the last two years of his life is incalculable. During that time 382,000 copies of his magazine and 250,000 of his tracts were distributed across the continent and around the world.[57] More importantly, the Pentecostal

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[54]William H. Durham, "The Coming Convention in Chicago," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (January, 1912), pp. 14-5; and William H. Durham, "The Great Chicago Revival," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), pp. 14-5.

[55]William H. Durham, "The Great Chicago Revival," pp. 14-5

[56]"In Memoriam," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), p. 2; and William H. Durham, California State Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Standard Certificate of Death (Los Angeles, CA: Local Registration Number 3145, July 7, 1912).

[57]Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (January, 1912), p. 15; and Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), p. 16.

leadership who had been persuaded to his point of view made sure that his influence would continue.

In November, 1913, Howard Goss and E. N. Bell issued a call in their periodical, The Word and Witness, for a general convention to organize the Pentecostal Movement in the mid-west. In subsequent issues, others endorsed the call.[58] The convention was held in Hot Springs, Arkansas, from April 2 - 12, 1914. More than 300 attended the meetings. Of these, 120 registered as delegates. Some twenty states were represented. M. M. Pinson delivered the keynote address entitled "The Finished Work of Calvary."[59]

The primary purpose of the convention was to bring stability to the movement by achieving agreement on fundamental doctrines and to cooperate for missionary endeavors. But many regarded the convention as an attempt to bring the entire movement into the new theology.

> When the General Council was convened in 1914, the 'Finished Work' teaching had so permeated the Pentecostal Movement, that the Assemblies of God was looked upon as belonging to the 'Finished Work' persuasion. Many of the holiness, pentecostal groups held aloof from us on that account.[60]

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[58]Ethel Goss, The Winds of God, pp. 174-5; and Word and Witness, 9 (November 20, 1913), p. 1; and Word and Witness, 9 (December 20, 1913), p. 1.

[59] J. Roswell Flower, "History of the Assemblies of God," pp. 20-1; C. C. Burnett, Early History of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Public Relations Department, Assemblies of God, 1959), p. 8; and M. M. Pinson, "The Finished Work of Calvary," The Pentecostal Evangel (April 5, 1964), pp. 7, 26-7.

[60]J. Roswell Flower, letter to Richard Crayne, October 3, 1959, reprinted in Richard Crayne, Pentecostal Handbook, p. 203.

In the end, the convention adopted a Basis of Union that required no doctrinal agreement. However, the preamble to this document made reference to redemption and spirit-baptism but was silent on the matter of entire sanctification. Of the 120 delegates in attendance, 58 were present to sign the charter of incorporation.[61]

The initial hesitation by some to join forces with the newly formed Assemblies of God was quickly overcome. At the end of the second General Council held seven months later, the ministerial list had grown to 522 representing 35 states, Canada and six foreign countries. Apparently, most, if not all, had been persuaded to the new theological position. In any event, when a Statement of Fundamental Truths was adopted at the fourth General Convention in 1916, the Assemblies of God was firmly in the "Finished Work" camp.[62]

The composition of the Assemblies of God, not surprisingly, consisted largely of three of the four groups that Durham had influenced a few years before: The dissident Apostolic Faith faction in the mid-west; those who left the Christian Missionary Alliance, and those who left the

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[61]J. Roswell Flower, "History of the Assemblies of God," p. 20; and C. C. Burnett, Early History of the Assemblies of God, p. 9.

[62]C. C. Burnett, Early History of the Assemblies of God, p. 12; and Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, pp. 205, 356-60. The statement on "Entire Sanctification" was worded in such a way that holiness people, if they desired, could be part of the new association. p. 359.

Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion City, Illinois. The fourth component came from the deep South.

As a result of the success of the Hot Springs, Arkansas convention, most of the Anglo-Saxon "Finished Work" denominations presently in existence trace their origins back to the Assemblies of God. Two examples, The Pentecostal Assemblies of the U.S.A. and The International Church of the Four Square Gospel, illustrate this point.

John C. Sinclair attended the organizing convention in Hot Springs in 1914 and was elected a general presbyter. Sinclair had been the first pastor in Chicago to receive the Pentecostal experience in 1906 and had been a close friend of William Durham until Durham's death in 1912. Following the fifth General Council held in Chicago in 1919, he broke with the Assemblies, believing that subsequent organizational steps had caused them to become a sect. He called a convention for dissenting ministers and organized the Pentecostal Assemblies of the U.S.A.[63]

Aimee Semple McPherson became a member of the Assemblies of God shortly after it was organized, but left in 1927 over questions arising from the circumstances of her alleged kidnapping. She took with her a number of churches which she had established during her years as an evangelist

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[63]Stanley Frodsham, With Signs Following, p. 36; and Klaude Kendrick, The Promise Fulfilled, p. 147. Kendrick acknowledged that Sinclair was at the organizing convention in Hot Springs, but denied that he joined the Assemblies of God. However the May 20, 1914, issue of Word and Witness lists him as one of the twelve general presbyters.

to form the International Church of the Four Square Gospel. Both Sinclair's and McPherson's organizations subscribe to the Finished Work theory.[64]

While most of the Anglo-Saxon ministers influenced by Durham joined the Assemblies of God, the new denomination was less successful with the ethnic groups that Durham had won to Pentecostalism. The Persians are one example that did initially come in. Andrew Urshan was on a missionary tour to Persia and Russia when the Assemblies of God was organized. When he returned to Chicago, he led his group, now consisting of several missions, into the organization where they remained until the early part of 1919. They became strong advocates of the "Finished Work" doctrine.[65]

A number of the Italian churches that Durham had influenced organized as a separate Italian wing of the Assemblies of God under the leadership of Racco Santamaria. The majority, however, formed an independent fellowship under the direction of Louis Franscescan. The two groups merged in 1948 to become the Christian Church of North America. Like the Persian missions, however, they firmly rejected the second definite work theory.[66]

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[64]Richard Crayne, Pentecostal Handbook, pp. 142-3; and Klaude Kendrick, The Promise Fulfilled, pp. 145-163.

[65]Andrew Urshan, Life Story, pp. 167, 258-9; E. N. Bell, "Andrew Urshan's New Stand," Christian Evangel, (April 19, 1919), p 9; and "The Urshan Trouble," Christian Evangel (May 17. 1919), pp. 6-7.

[66]Richard Crayne, Pentecostal Handbook, pp. 139-40; and Stephen Galvano, ed., Fiftieth Anniversary, Christian Church of North America, pp. 27-8.

None of the Scandinavian missions in the upper mid-west which had come under Durham's teaching joined the Assemblies of God. They organized separately in 1918, and eventually called themselves the Independent Assemblies of God. Although, their primary influence is derived from the Pentecostal church in Sweden, they hold to Durham's views of sanctification.[67]

The remaining major group that Durham had influenced were the Canadian Pentecostals. Initially, The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada organized regionally beginning in 1917 as districts in the Assemblies of God. R. E. McAlister led the organizational effort in the east while A. G. Argue led it in the west. When it became evident that that arrangement was unworkable, the regional bodies united in 1922 to form a national Church. Their Statement of Fundamental and Essential Truths is modeled on the Assemblies of God 1916 doctrinal statement, thereby keeping the new church in the "Finished Work" camp.[68]

Durham died before he was able to turn his attention to the deep South. However, his message reached there, making a minor impact by the time the Assemblies of God were organized. A group of some thirty ministers led by H. G.

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[67]Richard Crayne, Pentecostal Handbook, pp. 141-2; and Joseph R. Colletti, "Lewi Pethrus: His Influence Upon Scandinavian-American Pentecostalism," Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, 5 (Fall, 1983), pp. 22-3.

[68]Gloria G. Kulbeck, What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (Toronto, ONT: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958), pp. 34-6, 351-6.

Rogers and M. M. Pinson from Alabama, Flordia, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee composed the fourth and final component of the organizing council in 1914.[69]

Rogers and Pinson, holiness evangelists associated with the Pentecostal Mission of Nashville, Tennessee, received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit under the ministry of G. B. Cashwell in Memphis, Tennessee, in May, 1907. They toured throughout the deep South, holding revival meetings and establishing churches.[70] In 1909 they organized a ministerial association that related to the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee).[71] In February, 1911, they severed those ties, seeking ordination with Manson's Church of God in Christ. Howard Goss, who brought the mid-west Apostolic Faith under Mason's association in 1910, sought merger which was accomplished toward the end of 1911. According to

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[69]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, pp. 153-4.

[70]B. F. Lawrence, The Apostolic Faith Restored (St. Louis, MO: The Gospel Publishing House, 1916), pp. 90-95.

[71]Assemblies of God historians claim that Rogers and Pinson were unaware of The Church of God Cleveland, Tennessee until 1911, and that their association had no connection with the church led by Tomlinson. J. R. Flower, "History of the Assemblies of God," p. 18; Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, p. 153; and William Menzies, Anointed To Serve, p. 90. However, Tomlinson appears to have been at the meeting where Rogers and Pinson were baptized. S. Clyde Bailey, Pioneer Marvels of Faith (Morristown, TN: Richard Crayne, n.d.), p. 34. He attended one of Pinson's meetings in late 1907. B. F. Lawrence, The Apostolic Faith Restored, p. 94. Most significantly, Rogers reported the work of his association to Tomlinson in 1910. Evening Light and Church of God Evangel (June 1, 1910), p. 7. It is not clear from the article whether Rogers group was formally tied to Tomlinson's church, or was in an informal arrangement.

Anderson, the merger was effected because both Goss and Rogers held the "Finished Work" view.[72]

Shortly after Durham's "shot heard round the world," Mrs. Elizabeth Sexton, G. B. Cashwell's successor as editor of The Bridegroom's Messenger based in Atlanta, Georgia, came out strongly against Durham's teaching. In an editorial entitled "Sanctification the Necessary Preparation for the Pentecostal Baptism" in the July 1, 1910, issue, she warned her followers to "Beware of the harmful teaching that it is not necessary to be sanctified before receiving the gifts of the Holy Spirit."[73]

Later as she came to understand Durham's position, she took a moderating view.

> The finished work of Christ covers every need of suffering humanity, and provides perfect redemption from the curse of sin for body, mind and spirit. Every promise of God that we plant our feet on by faith is ours because of the finished work of Calvary, but we will receive only that which we are bold enough to enter into and possess.[74]

Hattie Barth, Sexton's daughter, wrote in a similar vein in words reminiscent of Durham. "Our old nature is for crucifixion, it is to be put off, is not to [be] changed or

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[72]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, pp. 167, 278. The timing of the group's disassociation with the Cleveland group and their need to take another name in February, 1911, suggests the "Finished Work" was the issue that caused them to split with Tomlinson.

[73]Elizabeth A. Sexton, "Sanctification the Necessary Preparation for the Pentecostal Baptism," The Bridegroom's Messenger, 3 (July 1, 1910), p. 1.

[74]Elizabeth A. Sexton, "Our Lord's Finished Work," The Bridegroom's Messenger, 5 (February 15, 1912), p. 1.

transformed as the body is to be." She continued: "As we yield ourselves in complete consecration to Him . . . we are not controlled by this old nature . . . it is in a state of death."[75]

Barth acknowledged that some Christians may have yielded sufficiently at the time of their justification and entered into Spirit-baptism at one time period. In such cases, she hypothesized, it would "be like walking from the outer court of the Tabernacle into the Holy place and on into the Holy of Holies without stopping." Still, she maintained, sanctification should be perceived as an act separate from justification and, for most people, subsequent to it. Thus, eradication was denied; and subsequence focused more on human response rather than on Divine intention. The International Pentecostal Church of Christ, for which The Bridegroom's Messenger is now the official organ, continues to hold to this view.[76]

In the East three groups took positions similar to that of Mrs. Sexton. Samuel Otis, editor of Word and Work, and founder of the Christian Workers Union reported favorably of Durham's work in Los Angeles.[77] In August, 1911 he printed an article that said flatly, "Through the death and

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[75]Hattie M. Barth, "Sanctification--The Yielded Life," The Bridegroom's Messenger, 5 (September 1, 1912), p. 2.

[76]Ibid., and Richard Crayne, The Pentecostal Handbook, p. 143.

[77]"Azusa Street Mission," Word and Work, 33 (April, 1911), p. 120; and "Work in Los Angeles," Word and Work, 33 (June, 1911), p. 180.

resurrection of Christ there is complete deliverance from all sin. . . . When He was on the cross, the Father laid on Him, not only sins committed, but the sinful nature as well." The way to victory, the article maintained, is to reckon the self dead to sin, but alive to God through "absolute total surrender." Yet the article implied that this is to be an act that comes subsequent to salvation. "When we have come to Christ for the forgiveness of our sins we have received only the tiniest beginning of what Christ purchased for us on the cross."[78]

Morton Plummer, who succeeded Otis as editor of Word and Work, saw the controversy as "almost wholly a 'strife about words' and to be as uncalled-for as it is unprofitable." He argued that all sides agreed that sanctification was accomplished by Christ's finished work on the cross, that it is apprehended by the believer by faith, and that one continues to grow in sanctification throughout one's life. He implied that he, personally, preferred to understand it as two works by making an Old Testament analogy.

> The tabernacle was sanctified *to* God's glory by the anointing with blood and oil: it was afterward sanctified *by* God's glory when 'the Cloud' came and filled the house.

Yet he also stressed the process as well. "I believe the work *for* me is *done*. I believe -- I know -- the work *in* me is *being* done. I *trust* Him for the one as I *trusted* Him for

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[78]"Holiness and the Baptism of the Holy Ghost," Word and Work, 33 (August, 1911), p. 234.

the other." A few years later, Plummer led the Christian Workers' Union into the Assemblies of God.[79]

The Duncan sisters, who ran Elim Faith Home and Bible School in Rochester, New York, took a similar position. Elizabeth Baker, the oldest sister contended that sanctification was not the "*restoration* or *transformation* of the *old creation*," rather that it was the "*Substitution of the Second Adam*" and a "*new creation*." This, she argued, was not eradication on the one hand, but neither was it suppression on the other. Rather, she said, it was an "*exchange of position*" with Christ taking the place of the ego in the center of one's being. The ego remained dead on the cross as long as the person remained yielded to Christ. Like Sexton and Otis, she saw this experience taking place at a point subsequent to justification. The Elim Missionary Assemblies, the group that emerged from this work, continues to hold to this position.[80]

Christine Gibson, founder of Zion Bible Institute in East Providence, Rhode Island, also adopted this position. The Zion Evangelistic Fellowship which flowed from her work established churches throughout the Northeast. The

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[79]Morton W. Plummer, "The Finished and the Unfinished Work," The Latter Rain Evangel, 5 (August, 1912), p. 3.

[80]Elizabeth V. Baker, "Sanctification, Substitution Not Eradication," Chronicles of a Faith Life (Rochester, NY: The Author, n.d.), pp. 167-8; Elizabeth V. Baker, "Cost of the Cross," Trust, 15 (February, 1917), pp. 3-7; and Everett Moore, "Handbook of Pentecostal Denominations in the United States" (M.A. Thesis, Pasadena College, 1954), pp. 111-116.

fellowship continues to hold to her position on sanctification.[81]

Rejection of Durham's Message. It should be evident by now that Durham's message created much controversy and that not all accepted his message. He reported much opposition in 1910 while he was in the mid-west. However, most leaders from this region had accepted Durham's position by 1915.

Charles Parham remained the only significant holdout from the area to oppose the message, despite the earlier influence on him by such Keswick leaders as A. B. Simpson and Frank Sandford. Writing in 1911 he noted:

> The havoc wrought by 'The finished work of Calvary,' in Chicago is most appalling. . . . The diabolical end and purpose of his Satanic majesty, in perpetrating [sic] Durhamism on the world, in repudiating sanctification as a definite work of grace, has now clearly been revealed. By seeking to destroy the grace of sanctification he is seeking to efface the only grace of God to make us overcomers, and thereby hinder necessary preparation for Redemption.[82]

The following January he publicly charged Durham with "counting the blood of the covenant an unholy thing" and declared that he had "committed the sin unto death." He predicted his destruction within six months. When Durham died on July 7, 1912, Parham observed, "How signally God has answered."[83]

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[81]Word and Work, 33 (January, 1911), p. 21; and Everett Moore, "Handbook of Pentecostal Denominations", pp. 134-6.

[82]Charles F. Parham, The Everlasting Gospel (Baxter Springs, KS: The Author, 1911), pp. 118-19.

[83]Edith Blumhofer, "The Finished Work of Calvary: William H. Durham and a Doctrinal Controversy," Assemblies

Still, Durham's impact had a positive outcome for Parham. It enabled him to become the focal point around which the Pentecostal ministers in the mid-west who rejected the finished work message could coalesce. In December, 1910, Parham began reissuing, The Apostolic Faith, which he had not published since he had been repudiated in 1907. He gained support in six states, Arkansas, California, Kansas, Oklahoma, Missouri and Texas, having a following of some 5,600, about half the number he enjoyed in 1906. Organizing these supporters under the name Apostolic Faith, he remained their leader until his death on January 29, 1929. The church continues to hold his view of entire sanctification as a second definite work of grace.[84]

Opposition to Durham's message intensified as he turned West to California. In fact one lady in Los Angeles became so angry that she attacked him with a hat pin![85] Like this Irish lass, however, after initial opposition, most who heard Durham preach, eventually followed his message. Three leaders did not: Elmer Fisher, William Seymour and Florence Crawford.

Elmer Fisher, as noted above had the largest Pentecostal work on the west coast when Durham arrived in

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of God Heritage, 3 (Fall, 1983), p. 10, citing "Supplement" The Apostolic Faith (July, 1912).

[84]James R. Goff, Fields White unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1987), pp. 149-50; and Richard Crayne, Pentecostal Handbook, p. 123.

[85]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, pp 103-4.

Los Angeles. He initially rejected Durham's teaching, thereby keeping The Upper Room in the holiness camp. However, George Studd, his associate went with Durham, as did most of his followers.[86] After Durham's appearance in February, 1911, Fisher, for financial reasons, was unable to publish his monthly periodical, The Upper Room, until May, 1911. Sensing defeat, he courageously declared:

> It is human to stand with the crowd, it is divine to stand alone. It is man-like to follow the people, to drift with the tide; it is God-like to follow a principle, to stem the tide.

He called for men and women both young and old to stand for the courage of their convictions even though it cost them friends and fortune. It was to no avail. His mission was demolished, and The Upper Room ceased publication.[87]

William Seymour, like Fisher, refuted Durham. After he forced Durham out of the Azusa Mission, he too, would never again enjoy a large following.[88] Seymour did retain considerable influence among several small black groups on the east coast, most notably, the United Holy Church, and the Apostolic Faith Church of God. Undoubtedly, his influence helped keep them in the holiness camp.[89]

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[86]Douglas J. Nelson, "For Such a Time as This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, England, 1981), p. 251. and The Upper Room, 2 (May, 1911), p. 4.

[87]"Alone," The Upper Room, 2 (May, 1911), p. 4; Fisher eventually accepted the finished work doctrine.

[88]Douglas J. Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," pp. 246 ff.

Durham was unable to seriously threaten Florence Crawford's influence in the Northwest. His three-week campaign in February, 1912, had little immediate results.[90] Crawford retained most her following and remained a strong proponent of the second definite work theory of entire sanctification.[91] However, Durham's visit undoubtedly laid the ground work for two subsequent developments, the formation of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, and the establishment of the Bible Standard Churches.

The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World were founded in Portland in the fall of 1913. All the leaders present at the organizational council were Finished Work advocates. Among the persons attending were: Frank Ewart, Durham's successor in Los Angeles; R. E. McAlister and Glen Cook, whom Ewart had hired as his associates; George T. Haywood, who had been Cook's colleague in Indianapolis, Indiana, and J. J. Frazee of Portland who was elected General Superintendent for the group. The primary concern of the

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[89]Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, pp. 167-8; and Leon Harper, Apostolic Faith Manual of the Apostolic Faith Church of God, Inc. (Washington DC: Apostolic Faith Church of God, Inc., 1967), p. 3.

[90]Allan McPherson, a minister of the Apostolic Faith in Portland, attended one of Durham's meetings with five others from Crawford's church. He remembered only a dozen or so at the meeting. He reported that none of the group from Crawford's church was impressed. Allen V. McPherson, Letter to Richard Crayne, November 16, 1959, cited in Richard Crayne, Pentecostal Handbook, pp. 207-8.

[91]The Apostolic Faith Mission, A Historical Account of the Apostolic Faith: A Trinitarian-Fundamental Evangelistic Organization (Portland, OR: The Apostolic Faith Publishing House, 1965), pp. 68-70.

new fellowship was to confirm and establish the new teaching on the West Coast. The fact that Portland was chosen as headquarters rather than Los Angeles which was the Finished Work stronghold can only be perceived as an attempt to make a substantial inroad into Florence Crawford's territory.[92]

The Bible Standard Church came into existence six years later when a group of Apostolic Faith ministers broke with Crawford. From the beginning of the revival, she had taken a militant stand for the things that she believed. The official history of the church notes:

> Anyone who attempted to present new theories to Mrs. Crawford quickly discovered that she stood steadfastly on the solid foundation upon which the Gospel work was built, and refused to alter any of the Bible doctrines. Not just a few, but many ministers and religious leaders, through the years, challenged her and tried to sway her from her convictions, but she stood immovable.[93]

After successfully resisting Durham in 1912, Crawford became increasingly autocratic with her own following. During the years 1917-1919, a number of her church workers became discontented with her authoritarian leadership. The break finally came in August, 1919. Fred Hornshuh, the leader of the new group, took issue with Crawford on a number of points. One of these was her view of entire sanctification.

> The Bible Standard group encountered many who measured up to the Scriptural teaching of

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[92]Word and Witness, 10 (March 20, 1914), pp. 2-3.

[93]The Apostolic Faith Mission, A Historical Account of the Apostolic Faith: A Trinitarian-Fundamental Evangelistic Organization, p. 70.

> holiness, yet could not designate the moment they were sanctified. . . The great question is not where or when one receives the experience, but that the life measures up to the Bible standard of holy living.[94]

In 1935, The Bible Standard Church merged with the Open Bible Evangelistic Association, a break away group of Aimee Semple McPherson's International Church of the Four Square Gospel to form the Open Bible Standard Church. It is solidly in the finished work camp.[95]

The deep South was the one section of the country that successfully resisted the onslaught of Durham's teaching.[96] A. J. Tomlinson of the Church of God, J. H. King of the newly formed Pentecostal-Holiness Church, and C. H. Mason of the Church of God in Christ were able to stem the tide, keeping their denominations faithful to the Wesleyan view of entire sanctification. Indeed, for the Southern white Pentecostal churches, belief in the doctrine became the test of orthodoxy. Anyone professing to hold to the finished work view was considered a false teacher or a deluded Yankee![97]

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[94]Fred Hornshuh, Historical Sketches of the Bible Standard Churches Inc. in 1919 (Portland, OR: The Author, 1976), p. 11.

[95]Robert Bryant Mitchell, Heritage and Horizons: The History of Open Bible Standard Churches (Des Moines, IA: Open Bible Publishers, 1982), pp. 41, 165, 383.

[96]William Menzies, Anointed to Serve, p. 77.

[97]Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, pp. 149-50.

Although the leadership of these churches were fully aware of the events taking place in the other parts of the nation, the region seemed to be immune during the early days of the controversy. The Church of God Evangel, and the minutes of their annual conferences, for example, were silent on the subject until 1914. Even A. J. Tomlinson failed to note anything on the matter in his diary until that year. Early in 1914, Tomlinson declined a special invitation to be present for the organizing convention of the Assemblies of God. The purported reason he gave for failing to attend was that he knew the finished work issue would be openly espoused by most of the ministers in attendance.[98]

The same year, articles also began to appear in The Church of God Evangel warning the constituents to beware, because "sanctification is the target and the battle is on."[99] In one series of articles entitled "Confusion of Scripture" the author accused the "Finished Work" advocates for misunderstanding the Scriptures because they had not been sanctified themselves.

> Honest? Why, certainly they are honest and they do not purposely 'handle the Word of God deceitfully,' but the confusion of Scriptures is largely due to

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[98]Homer A. Tomlinson, Editor, Diary of A. J. Tomlinson, Vol. 1, 1901 - 1923 (New York, NY: Church of God, World Headquarters, 1949), p. 239; and Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 166.

[99]"Confusion of Scriptures," Part 1, The Church of God Evangel (June 6, 1914), p. 1. Other articles on the issue appeared in the periodical on January 10, March 28, June 13, June 20, June 27, July 18, and October 31 of that year.

> natural and mental disarrangement rather than intentional deception. The natural should be crucified and the mental sanctified. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned.[100]

No attempt was made in the article to try to understand what the "Finished Work" advocates really believed. Rather, as Durham had done with the second definite work position, the article castigated new doctrine. A defense of the second definite work position was made by appealing to tradition. "Were Wesley, Whitefield . . . and thousands of others" wrong? "Was the entire Methodist Church mistaken . . .?" Did "the holiness movement" err? "Did God not know what He was doing when He was honoring them with His power, and blessing their teaching with great revivals?" The answer of course was a resounding "NO!"

> The Church of God . . . is standing by the old land marks that were surveyed by the apostles and adhered to by the fathers of the reformation in the last centuries and honored so wonderfully by God Himself. The battle is still on, and sanctification is the great target but she has stood the tempests, storms and battles of many centuries and will never break down nor can she be dethroned while the ceaseless ages roll.[101]

Homer, A. J. Tomlinson's son, noted that the Church of God lost many ministers at this time. On balance, however, the church was successful in fending off the threat and has maintained a strong Wesleyan view of the doctrine throughout the years.[102]

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[100]"Confusion of Scriptures," Part 1, p. 2.

[101]Ibid., Part 4, (June 27, 1914), pp. 2-3.

The Pentecostal Holiness Church, like the Church of God, seemed to escape any direct encounter with the "Finished Work" teaching during the early years of the controversy.

J. H. King, the leader of the newly formed church, noted that he personally first encountered the teaching in 1915.[103] The church's official organ, The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate, did address the issue until September 13, 1917.[104]

King was well aware that the controversy was going on long before, however. In 1914, he, too, was invited to attend the organizing council of the Assemblies of God to consider bringing his church into the new denomination. Like Tomlinson, he declined to go, and for the same reason.[105] He called the new teaching "Satan's big gun" in the Pentecostal movement. "It crowns the flesh and lets in the deadly influences of the world."[106] The same year he

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[102]Homer Tomlinson, Diary of A. J. Tomlinson, p. 239. See Charles Conn, Like a Mighty Army Moves the Church of God, 1886-1955 (Cleveland, TN: Church of God Publishing House, 1955), pp. 271-2, for subsequent reiterations of this church's stand on entire sanctification.

[103]Blanche L. King, Yet Speaketh: Memoirs of the Late Bishop Joseph H. King (Franklin Springs, GA: Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1949), p. 300.

[104]Joseph H. King, "Entire Sanctification a Second Definite Work of Grace," The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (September 13, 1917), p. 1.

[105]Vinson Synan, The Old-Time Power: A History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church (Franklin Springs, GA: Advocate Press, 1973), pp. 139-40.

[106]Blanche L. King, Yet Speaketh, p. 300.

published a major monograph From Passover to Pentecost in which he continued his attack on Durham's position.

The book as a whole was an articulation of Pentecostal theology from a Wesleyan perspective. In it, King sets forth a two-fold hermeneutic. First he traced the exodus of the Jewish people from Egypt to the land of Promise. He perceived the Passover to be a shadow or type of Calvary, and the Feast of Pentecost upon entrance into the land of Promise to be the counterpart of the coming of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost. The second part of King's hermeneutic related to the fact that the Jews were commanded to commemorate these events on annual festal occasions. This, he argued applied to the experiential subjective side of the Christian life. He then sought to demonstrate that from Passover to Pentecost three distinct experiences occur in the Christian life: conversion, entire sanctification, and Spirit-baptism.[107]

When he turned to his chapter on "The Finished Work of Calvary," he argued that justification, sanctification, healing, Spirit-baptism, the Second Coming, and the Restoration of all things, are all accomplished in Christ's atonement.[108] On the other hand, he contended, the "Finished Work," as Durham understood it, in reality limited the atonement to justification. Thus, he lamented

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[107]Joseph H. King, "Prolegomena," From Passover to Pentecost (Memphis, TN: H. W. Dixon Printing Company, 1914), pp. 5-8.

[108]Ibid., pp. 108-9.

> We hear the cry of the 'finished work' throughout the world, heralded most ardently by many with an earnestness surpassing that of the first proclamation of Pentecost by the same individuals. It is Antinomianism, Darbyism dressed up in a Zinzendorfian garb and going throughout the land . . . doing its old destructive work among believers.[109]

Like the Church of God, the Pentecostal Holiness Church was never seriously threatened by the "Finished Work of Christ" teaching.

The Church of God in Christ, on the other hand, had ample exposure to the "Finished Work" teaching from the outset. Furthermore, Charles Mason, the church's leader did not seem unduly troubled by the teaching. Howard Goss and many of his co-workers had accepted the doctrine when he brought the Apostolic Faith Movement into relationship with the Church of God in Christ in early 1911.[110] Likewise, Mason issued ministerial credentials to H. C. Rogers and his group later that year knowing that they espoused the same position.[111]

Despite this close association, Mason was not issued a personal invitation to attend the organizing convention of the Assemblies of God but chose to attend anyway.[112] He

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[109]Ibid., p. 106.

[110]Ethel Goss, The Winds of God, pp. 126, 136, 163.

[111]Robert Anderson, The Vision of the Disinherited, p. 167.

[112]Ithiel Clemmons, "True Koinonia: Pentecostal Hopes and Historical Realities," Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, 5 (Spring, 1982), p. 53; and Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 170.

recognized the differences in the two views of sanctification but did not believe that this difference should be the basis for breaking fellowship. Although he would hold his church to the Wesleyan/Holiness perspective, he, unlike the other leaders of the deep South, would maintain cordial relationships with those who held the "Finished Work" point of view.[113]

By the time the controversy had subsided, sixty per cent of the Movement had adopted the "Finished Work" Message. Seventy-five per cent in the deep South had retained the "Second Work" theory. However, in the rest of the United States and in Canada, eighty per cent had embraced Durham's doctrine.[114]

Implications of Durham's Message

Durham's message has several implications for the Pentecostal Movement. Many of these have been noted in previous research.

Power Play. Douglas Nelson has argued that "above all other concerns," William Durham desired "to become the undisputed, dominant leader" of the Pentecostal Movement.[115]

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[113]Ithiel Clemmons, "True Koinonia," p. 53. When holding meetings in Springfield, Missouri, the headquarters of the Assemblies of God, for example, Bishop Mason would often stay in the home of Stanley H. Frodsham, the editor of The Pentecostal Evangel. Faith Frodsham Campbell, Interview with D. William Faupel, June 1, 1976.

[114]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 169.

[115]Douglas Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," p. 251.

In short, he contends that the "Finished Work" doctrine was primarily a ruse by which Durham could divide and conquer until such time as he controlled the Movement.

Undoubtedly, there is much truth in this perspective. Durham's impact on his followers must have been incredible. Frank Bartleman observed that by 1912, "His word was coming to be almost law in the Pentecostal missions, even as far as the Atlantic Coast."[116] His close friend and co-worker, Frank Ewart, felt that he was "unconscious of the tremendous influence and power he wielded in the new religious world."[117]

Durham's popularity, plus the strain of constant attack by his critics, without doubt had its effect. Bartleman parted company with him because he believed that Durham's message had degenerated into "carnal controversy."[118] Supporters of his view acknowledged that he "ridiculed" those holding the second definite work position.[119] An outside observer noted that he must "rule or ruin."[120] Parham was not the only one who felt that God had judged

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[116]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, p. 150.

[117]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 75.

[118]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, p. 150.

[119]Richard Crayne, Pentecostal Handbook citing J. Roswell Flower, letter to Richard Crayne, p. 202.

[120]Charles Shumway, "A Study of 'The Gift of Tongues,'", p. 179.

Durham with death. Even friends observed, "Too much power is unsafe for any one man."[121]

However, Durham's bid for undisputed leadership in itself does not fully account for the success of the doctrine. Indeed, a number of the leaders converted in the years after his death. Something else was going on.

Racism, Regionalism, and Religious Background. Robert Anderson has correctly observed that when the "Finished Work" controversy finally subsided, those holding the position were predominantly whites from the North or West and were from Reformed and Baptist religious backgrounds. This imbalance, he suggests, indicates that those who adopted this view were seeking to accommodate Pentecostalism to the racial, regional, and religious biases that adherents brought with them.[122] Once again, there is much truth in this perspective.

Douglas Nelson has demonstrated that William Seymour understood racial integration as a theological issue. He believed that the miracle of Pentecost was not speaking in tongues per se, but rather, that at Pentecost God brought a divided world back together and gave it a language by which people could understand one another once more. The Cross itself, he contended, was designed by God to draw all

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[121]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, p. 150.

[122]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, pp. 169-73.

mankind together at their point of commonalty -- their sinfulness. Pentecost was a gift of enablement that came upon the newborn children of God. However, Seymour insisted, if the Pentecostal Movement failed to heal "the deepest breaches of humanity" (racism), it was to deny the gospel itself.[123]

In the first burst of enthusiasm that came at the outset of the revival, it appeared that Seymour's vision might be realized. An eyewitness reported:

> Different nationalities are now hearing the gospel in their own 'tongue wherein they were born'. . . The rich and educated were the same as the poor and ignorant and found a much harder death to die. We only recognized God. All were equal. . . No instrument that God can use is rejected on account of color or dress or lack of education.[124]

In the context where there was such a sense of solidarity, it was easy to believe Bartleman might be right when he declared, "the 'color line' was washed away with the blood."[125] But as the revival abated, so did the sense of solidarity. Few white adherents understood, or at least acknowledged, integration as a theological issue. Even those who may have been free of racist attitudes felt the press of pragmatics. In view of the shortness of the hour,

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[123]Douglas Nelson, "For Such a Time as This," pp. 201-5.

[124]"Bible Pentecost," The Apostolic Faith, (Los Angeles), 1 (November, 1906), p. 1.

[125]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, p. 54.

they believed that evangelism should take place along racial and ethnic lines.[126]

When the time came to organize, the same attitude prevailed. The initial council of the Assemblies of God, for example, was clearly an attempt to unify the movement on a national, if not international, basis. Despite William Durham's efforts to make the "Finished Work" doctrine a test of fellowship, most of his followers did not share that view. It is true that a majority of the leaders who participated in the organizing council embraced his position. However, every effort was made to include the second work people as well. As noted above, both A. J. Tomlinson and J. H. King, leaders of regional second work groups, were issued personal invitations to join in the deliberations. When the Statement of Fundamental Truths was written two years later, the doctrine on "entire sanctification" was worded in such a way that both "Finished Work" and "Second Work" adherents could embrace it.[127] Yet, all the evidence suggests that this inclusive national church was intended to be for whites only. No personal

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[126]Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 174.

[127]Ibid., p. 170; Word and Witness (December 20, 1913), p. 1; and Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, pp. 356-60. At least one historian has mistaken the Assemblies of God's view of sanctification to be Wesleyan based on the wording of their Statement of Fundamental Truths. Everett Moore, "Handbook of Pentecostal Denominations," p. 40, citing Theodore Engelder Popular Symbolics (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1945), p. 339.

invitations were sent to blacks. Those who came were politely ignored.[128]

Anderson is also correct in suggesting that regionalism played a factor in who did accept the "Finished Work" doctrine and who did not. The Civil War was still fresh in the memories of many adherents. Younger Southerners were still smarting from the policies and attitudes that came with Reconstruction. Synan, for example, acknowledges that "most southern white pentecostal churches expressed the Dixie viewpoint through the early part of the century."[129] Undoubtedly, the Northern churches reflected a lack of understanding of the southern perspective as well.

However, too much should not be made from the data Anderson cites. One can only speculate at how different the landscape might have been had Durham lived long enough to focus his appeal on the South. He had experienced intense opposition in other parts of the country, yet prevailed in winning the majority of Pentecostal adherents. There appears to have been no concerted effort by his followers to win the Southern churches to his position. Rather, for the most part, they sought conciliation. The attacks that finally came from the Southern churches two to five years after Durham's death are essentially caricatures and show a fundamental misunderstanding of his message. Likewise,

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[128]Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 170.

[129]Ibid., p. 181.

given his appeal to Blacks and ethnics in Chicago, the racial equation between "Finished Work" and "Second Work" adherents might have been quite different had Durham lived to invade the South.

Anderson's analysis of the religious background of adherents to show who was predisposed to accept the "Finished Work" message has enjoyed strong support among Pentecostal historians. At first glance, it does appear that those from Reformed and Baptist backgrounds tended to accept the "Finished Work" doctrine, while those that came from a Wesleyan background did not. Upon closer examination, however, this analysis breaks down. Charles Parham, for example, in his spiritual pilgrimage rejected most of his Wesleyan heritage and was strongly influenced by Alexander Dowie, A. B. Simpson, D. L. Moody, R. A. Torrey, and Frank Sandford who all fell into the Reformed camp.[130] Elmer Fisher of the Upper Room was Baptist before entering the Pentecostal Movement.[131] A. J. Tomlinson was a Quaker when he came upon the Church of God that had primarily Baptist roots.[132] Charles Mason and most of his early converts in the Church of God in Christ came from a Baptist background.[133] N. L. Holmes, who became a major leader in

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[130]James Goff, Fields White Unto Harvest, pp. 49-61.

[131]Charles Shumway "A Study of 'The Gift of Tongues,'" p. 179.

[132]Charles Conn, Like a Mighty Army, pp. 15-6, 50.

[133]C. F. Range, "The Story of Our Church, the 'Church of God in Christ,'" Official Manual with the Doctrines and

the Pentecostal Holiness Church, led a group of Presbyterian churches into that denomination in 1915.[134] Likewise, The Free-Will Baptists who accepted the Pentecostal Message remained in the second work camp.[135]

On the other hand, men like Howard Goss, M. M. Pinson, F. F. Bosworth, Robert Brown, and H. G. Rogers, and women like Elizabeth Sexton, Aimee Semple McPherson, Elizabeth Sisson and Hattie Barth had their roots in the Wesleyan tradition, but adopted the "Finished Work" position. J. Roswell Flower from a Christian and Missionary Alliance background became the General Secretary for the Assemblies of God. Despite being in a denomination that officially held the "Finished Work" position, however, he retained belief in the "Second Work" theory until the day he died.[136]

Anderson also suggests that those who adopted the "Finished Work" position, did so in part to try to gain acceptance by the leaders of emerging fundamentalism. There is truth to this perception also. Certainly the "Finished Work" doctrine proved to be more compatible with Fundamentalism. Just how self-conscious adherents were of

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Discipline of the Church of God in Christ (Memphis, TN: Church of God in Christ Publishing House, 1973), pp. xxiii-xxvi.

[134]Vinson Synan, The Old Time Power, pp. 135-7.

[135]Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, pp. 130-1; and Discipline of the Pentecostal Free-Will Baptist Church, Inc. (Dunn, NC: The Pentecostal Free-Will Baptist Church, n.d.), p. 5.

[136]William Menzies, Interview with D. William Faupel, July 10, 1976.

this motivation is difficult to ascertain. Frank Ewart observed that once Durham's view prevailed, "the movement was regarded with much more tolerance by the nominal churches, and a great addition from their membership was enjoyed.[137] It must be noted, however, that those who retained the "Second Work" view were enmeshed in an emerging Fundamentalist mentality. They, too, desired acceptance by Fundamentalist leaders.

It is, therefore, this investigator's conclusion that prior religious tradition, though important, clearly was not a determining factor. A complex set of conditions in each case, determined the direction an individual or a group would take.

Theological Significance. The ego factor was certainly present. Racial prejudice and regional bias were clearly in evidence. Religious predisposition is apparent. In the final analysis, however, no examination of the "Finished Work" doctrine is adequate without coming to terms with the theological significance of Durham's message. Walter Hollenweger has described William Durham as "the one original theologian of the Pentecostal Movement."[138] This perception is correct. Yet little exploration has been made. To date, Allen Clayton's highly provocative essay entitled "The Significance of William H. Durham for

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[137]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 105.

[138]Walter Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, p. 25.

Pentecostal Historiography," is the only serious attempt to demonstrate this claim.[139]

Clayton seeks to refute the commonly held perception that Durham was proclaiming a Keswickian or reformed view of sanctification. He makes several points to argue this thesis. First he attempts to show that the "Finished Work" doctrine is "primarily Lutheran" and "specifically Zinzendorfian." As such, he suggests, it can hardly be classified as a view of sanctification at all. Indeed he points to several examples where the "Finished Work" functioned as a slogan devoid of specific content in the subsequent history of the moment. Secondly, he contends that conflicting views of sanctification was not the issue which caused the Pentecostal Movement to split. Rather, he suggests, a more fundamental underlying sub-structure divided the movement. Pneumatology functioned as the unifying center for the "Second Work" Pentecostals, he believes, while an emerging Christology came to the fore as the substructure for the "Finished Work" adherents. By articulating the "Finished Work" theology, Clayton maintains, Durham gave visibility to this Christological theme. He made explicit what had been implicit in the thinking of those Pentecostals who came into the movement from non-Wesleyan traditions. Finally, Clayton asserts, the "Finished Work" theology provided the foundation for the

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[139]Allen Clayton, "The Significance of William H. Durham for Pentecostal Historiography," Pneuma, pp. 27-42.

subsequent theological controversies that took place within this half of Pentecostalism.[140]

In terms of specific assertions, Clayton is dead wrong on most counts. However, his instincts are fundamentally correct. First of all, in contrast to Clayton's contention, Durham was deeply concerned about the matter of sanctification. Frank Bartleman did acknowledge that some abused the doctrine by "declaring that because the work of redemption was fully accomplished on the cross it was of necessity finished in us also, the moment we believed," thereby denying "the principle of holiness itself." But, Bartleman implored, this was a fundamental misunderstanding of Durham's message.[141] Frank Ewart, Durham's successor, concurred:

> Pastor Durham used great wisdom in supplanting the experience called 'a second, definite, instantaneous work of grace,' with the real experience of sanctification as taught by the scriptures. . . . The process was by acceptance, love of, and adoption of the truth, the gradual abandonment to the will of God as revealed by the Spirit and the Word. Here is an experience that is fathomless, and lasts throughout the longest life lived in the Spirit.[142]

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[140]Ibid., pp. 34-42.

[141]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, pp. 146-7.

[142]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 74. Another close friend, E. N. Bell, upon learning of Durham's death wrote:

> He was and is yet much misunderstood. No man among us believed more firmly than he in Bible Holiness nor insisted more strongly that without holiness no man should see the Lord, holding it as God's only standard for all believers; yet some thought he did not believe in holiness at all.

Clayton is also wrong in thinking that Durham's doctrine has Lutheran roots. There is absolutely no evidence that Durham had any exposure to that tradition. Furthermore, his doctrine of "the gradual abandonment to the will of God" is remarkably similar to the Keswick position that was being articulated within the Reformed tradition. In his classic treatment on the Keswick view, Steven Barabas sets sanctification forth as a process. He asserts, "The change here described is something more than a mere reformation of character by moral culture and discipline, but a gradual transformation by the Holy Spirit who works within."[143]

Finally, Clayton is wrong when he suggests that the fundamental division which caused the split was the underlying substructure. Donald Dayton has clearly demonstrated that this fundamental tension came into the holiness movement in the mid-nineteen century when sanctification shifted from christological to pneumatological categories. His development of the "five-fold" Gospel theme has shown that all Pentecostals, especially those from the Wesleyan tradition, had a strong christological impulse at the center of their theology. It was not the exclusive domain of the "Finished Work" camp.[144]

E. N. Bell, "Editor's Word About Bro. Durham," Word and Witness, 8 (August 20, 1912), p. 3.

[143]Steven Barabas, So Great Salvation: The History and Message of the Keswick Convention, (Westwood, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1952), p. 85.

Despite these short-comings, Clayton's analysis is very suggestive to the person seeking to understand the significance of Durham's theology. First of all, he can be forgiven for failing to recognize a Keswick understanding underlying Durham's articulation. Durham developed his understanding within Pentecostal categories. He made no conscious effort to hark back to his theological forebears. Furthermore, his opponents charged him with "Zinsendorfianism," a form of Lutheran theology.

Secondly, though there was not a fundamental split in the substructure as Clayton suggests, he is none-the-less correct in pointing to the Christological underpinnings inherent in Pentecostalism for the person attempting to understand Durham's theology.

Finally, he is absolutely on target in recognizing that Durham's theology became the foundation for subsequent developments which took place in the "Finished Work" tradition. These insights provide an excellent starting point in grasping the significance of Durham's impact on Pentecostal theology.

Shortly after Durham proclaimed his "Finished Work" theology at the Stone Church in Chicago in 1910, he wrote a rather lengthy account about his first trip to Azusa when he received his experience of Spirit-baptism. The narrative is

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[144]Donald W. Dayton, The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism (Grand Rapids, MI: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), pp. 19-23.

most revealing for understanding his subsequent theological development.

> I shall never forget my first day in Azusa Street Mission. As soon as I entered the place, I saw that God was there. There were hundreds of people present, yet no man seemed to have anything to do with what was happening. The Holy Ghost seemed to have perfect control. My soul was melted down before the Lord. After a few hymns had been sung, a wave of power and glory seemed to sweep over the place, and a song broke forth in the Spirit, known in this movement as the Heavenly Anthem. It was the sweetest music that ever fell on my ears. It was the Spirit of God Himself, and I knew it. I could not sing in that choir, though I would have given much to do so. I had not received Him, who was doing the singing. I saw clearly, for the first time, the difference between having the influence and presence of the Spirit with us, and having Him dwell within us in person.
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> Now began a time of waiting and real heart searching. I became more helpless from day to day. Everything seemed to slip away from me. The works that I had formerly rejoiced in, and the experiences that I had gloried in could not help me now. I reached the place that I could truly say with David, 'My heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God.' I had done everything I knew to do, and refused to struggle more. I simply waited, claiming God's promise, trusting in the merits of the Blood of Christ alone.[145]

For several days he remained in this state of waiting, feeling empty of self, trusting God to "finish the work" in him. Again and again he would feel the spirit of the Lord come upon him. He would bask in God's presence, only to feel the Lord depart. Each time he would be made conscious of Christ's finished work on the cross. "Finally," he reports, on March 2, 1907:

> He, for Whom my soul had longed, did not leave me this time, but remained, and for a long time I could

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[145]William H. Durham, "Personal Testimony," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), pp. 3-4.

> not help speaking in tongues. O, how glorious it seemed to have the blessed Holy Ghost abiding within me, so that I was as conscious of His presence as I was of my own life, and O, how real the precious Blood of Christ and all that pertains to His work of redemption on the Cross of Calvary was made to me.[146]

Durham's experience was not unique. In 1908, A. A. Boddy printed the testimony of similar experience of spirit-baptism.

> Passages from the Word of God came to me with precious new meanings. Not long after this I had a vision of the work of His Cross as never before. The blessing and power abides, and He prays and speaks through me. . . I pray that I may be kept as clay in His hands; that I may be kept very low at His feet, and never get in His blessed way. He keeps me continually standing by faith in His finished work, not walking by sight.[147]

Robert Follette was a student at Elim Bible Institute when he experienced spirit-baptism in June, 1907. Shortly afterward he had a vision of Christ's birth. As he "stood" before the manger "a sense of the humiliation of the God-head overwhelmed him." He was made to realize "beyond power to describe, the condescension of the Almighty in the incarnation; not the poverty in the manger, but the advent into the human race; the giving of the Son to partake in human weakness."[148]

The content of these Spirit-baptism experiences must be understood in the context of the world-view described in Chapter Two. These early adherents believed that they were

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[146]Ibid.

[147]Confidence, 1 (November 15, 1908), p. 6.

[148]Elizabeth Baker, Chronicles of a Faith Life, pp. 139-40.

living in the era of the Latter Rain. The Gospel of Apostolic Faith given at Pentecost, was now being restored to the Church. The Acts of the Apostles provided the model both of what they should expect to experience and of the message they should proclaim. All other Scripture was perceived and interpreted through this lense. The Apostolic Gospel, they all agreed, was that because of the finished work of Calvary, Christ was Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, . Baptizer and Soon Coming King.

It is clear from reading the accounts of these early adherents that the Pentecostal world-view had preconditioned them to focus on the work of Christ while on earth, especially, his work on the cross. The doctrines they had been taught often became existentially alive for them in new ways at the time they received the experience of Spirit-baptism.

Like countless others, this was true for Durham as well. Unlike others, however, it had a jarring effect on him. He reports

> From that day to this, I could never preach another sermon on the second work of grace theory. I had held it for years, and continued to do so for some time, but could not preach on the subject again. I could preach Christ and . . . holiness, as never before, but not as a second work of grace.[149] Something had happened. Instinctively, Durham sensed that the Acts account as well as his own experience at Azusa had not fully jibed with the theology he had previously

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[149]William H. Durham, "An Open Letter to My Brother Ministers," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), p. 14.

proclaimed. The Acts account suggested that there were, at most, two major points of crisis experience in a person's life, conversion and spirit baptism, whereas he had been proclaiming three. Durham experienced within his own person the same dilemma which the Holiness Movement had faced in the last half of the nineteenth century at the time they equated spirit-baptism with entire sanctification. As pointed out in chapter four, those holding to the classical holiness position did so in part, because they could not find three experiences modeled in the Book of Acts. On the other hand, those who took the "third blessing" option, did so primarily because their exegetical interpretation of Acts uncovered no basis for finding entire sanctification in the experience of Spirit-baptism. Durham, essentially chose the third option which was the Keswick position. He asserted that conversion was the time in which sanctification would begin in the life of the believer.

Durham's shift of position did not come about simply as a result of an effort to square his doctrinal position with Scripture, however. Nor did it come simply because he had another significant religious experience at Azusa. Had that been the case, he would much more like the route that so many classical holiness adherents before him had traveled. Once they recognized that Spirit-baptism was distinct from entire sanctification, they simply acknowledged it as the third blessing. Indeed, his initial response to the Azusa revival clearly functioned at this level.

> When I heard the teaching, that speaking in tongues was the evidence of the baptism in the Holy Ghost, it stirred me to the depths. I fearlessly denounced this point of doctrine as false; but when I saw the people who were filled with the Spirit and speaking in tongues, I knew that their experience was genuine. I simply thought that they were wrong on this point. If this teaching were true, I had not the baptism. This would mean, that I would have to come down and take the place of a seeker. It is easy to see how hard it would be for me to do this, as I had preached the Gospel for about five years, and all the time professed to have the Holy Ghost, and tried to lead others into the same experience. So I said, "no man can ever convince me, that I have not received the Holy Ghost." No man ever could have done it; but God did it.[150]

Durham's theological transformation came directly as a result of the *kind* of experience he had at Azusa. No doubt to his own surprise, when he received the experience he has sought, he found the third blessing option was not open to him. Spirit-baptism brought him to a point of crisis which he had not anticipated. His internalized theological system had brought him to the point where Christ became alive for Him in a totally new way. As he noted in his testimony, "The works that I had formerly rejoiced in, and the experiences that I had gloried in could not help me now." His previous religious experiences, and his previous theological understanding of those experiences had to be recast in light of his new insight. Unexpectedly, this experience had transcended the very theological categories which had brought him to it. He had to find new language to express what he now believed. It was traumatic.

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[150]William Durham, "Personal Testimony," p. 3.

> It was so contrary to all that I had taught and had been taught, that I dared not admit, even to myself, that I could find nothing in the Word of God to establish the doctrine that sanctification was a definite second work of grace. Still the Spirit kept revealing in my heart the precious Gospel as preached by the Apostles: identification with Jesus Christ in his death, burial and resurrection. This led me to pray and search the Word of God as never before, and the more I searched, the plainer it was to me that many Pentecostal preachers, myself included, were preaching a doctrine that God's Word did not teach.[151]

As he became overwhelmed with the sense of Christ's finished work during the period that led up to his experience of Spirit baptism, two things came to bother him about the theory of sanctification: subsequence and eradication. The thought of a Christian having a sinful nature became both repugnant and absurd. He cites Bishop Ralph Horner, a third blessing advocate from Canada, as claiming "a converted person has enough sin in him to damn a nation." He continued:

> Of course, if this loathsome doctrine were true, no man is saved till he receives a second work of grace. If the Word of God taught any such thing we would heartily sanction it . . [but] . . such teaching is . . . unscriptural.[152]

Likewise, his experience at the time of his Spirit-baptism caused him to reject the eradication aspect of the "Second Work" theory. In light of his new vision of the Cross, he saw his own past life, his experiences, and his

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[151]William Durham, "An Open Letter to My Brother Ministers," p. 14.

[152]William H. Durham, "The Finished Work of Calvary--It Makes Plain the Great Work of Redemption," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), p. 6.

theological understanding as a form of works-righteousness.[153]

Durham's friend, A. S. Copley, who was present for the famous Stone Church address in May, 1910, elaborated on this theme the following month in an article entitled "Sanctification--'Jewish' and 'Christian'."

> There are two methods of sanctification taught. They may be distinguished as "Jewish" and Christian. The first is taught by the holiness people generally. Of course they both aim at the same results, viz., deliverance from sin and victory in life. But the process for reaching these ends differ widely. . . . "Jewish" sanctification is . . . partly by works, i.e., being once freed from sin, the soul must itself, by God's help, live a holy life. Its aim now is human perfection, or a restoration to the innocent Adamic state.[154]

Thus, by his own testimony it is clear that Durham had not rejected the "Second Work" doctrine because of his prior Baptist roots. Nor had he initially embraced the doctrine with an uneasy conscience when he came into the Pentecostal Movement to maintain unity as many Pentecostal historians have suggested. The "Second Work" theory had been an intricate part of his experience and theological understanding until the point of his Spirit-baptism. However, by taking this step, his theological subsystem was brought into conflict.

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[153]William H. Durham, "Some Other Phases of Sanctification," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), p. 10.

[154]A. S. Copley, "Sanctification -- 'Jewish' and 'Christian'," A Call to Faith (June, 1910), reprinted in Confidence, 3 (July, 1910), pp. 168-9.

Durham's articulation struck a deep chord in other Pentecostal adherents, for it squared with their own experience as well. Some, like Frank Ewart, could accept it readily because of his prior religious background.[155] Generally, however, the reaction was similar to Durham's experience. They were stunned. They felt initial resistance, but the message struck deep. After searching the Scriptures through the lense that Durham offered, they often embraced his teaching. At the end of 1911, Durham observed

> One after another under challenge said, 'I will find it in the Word of God, and convince Durham that he is wrong.' They would then begin the most careful search of the Scriptures and after days would be compelled to acknowledge to themselves and others that they could not find sanctification taught as a second definite work of grace in the New Testament, nor anywhere else as to that. Then they would write . . . and inform us that they had taken their stand for the Finished Work.[156]

A few, of course, did reject him message for some combination of the factors noted above. Durham died before he was able to direct his attention to the South. His successors attempted to heal the breach by being conciliatory in the interest of preserving unity in the Pentecostal Movement. In addition, new issues would soon preoccupy the minds of those who had already embraced his message. Thus the networks into the South were spared the trauma of becoming enmeshed in the controversy. By the time

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[155]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, pp. 74-5.

[156]William Durham, "The Finished Work of Calvary--It Makes Plain the Great Work of Redemption," p. 5.

the "Finished Work" did become an issue in that region, the message had become garbled and misunderstood. The Southern leaders had little problem refuting the caricature.

Clayton is correct in his perception that the "Finished Work" would prove to be a transitional one and that within a few years would cease to have precise theological content for its adherents. Durham had planned to publish a book on the subject but died before its completion.[157] The controversies that followed diverted the energies of his successors to other matters. Few of his adherents would go on to develop his ideas systematically.

One of the few who did was Franklin Small of Winnipeg, Manitoba. He was aware that following Durham's death a misunderstanding of the "Finished Work" doctrine developed. In an illuminating essay entitled "The Finished Work of Calvary Versus Modern Interpretations -- Their Origin Exposed," Small lists six misperceptions regarding the subject.

> These foregoing interpretations were foreign teachings to the original Latter Rain movement so called, from its first inception and during a number of subsequent years.

Noting that little had been written on the issue by the early adherents, he explained how these perceptions entered the movement.

> As the young movement commenced to grow, aspirations for schools of learning developed. Naturally teachers by appointment went in search of ready matter to give to student bodies, which material was found on book

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[157]The Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), p. 16.

shelves from the hand of so-called fundamentalists. In these books there was found the subject of the Adamic sin in believers. These books have some good things admittedly, nevertheless, we know they are wrong on a number of very vital points of doctrine associated with the experimental aspect of the Gospel.[158]

The New Issue

Durham's sudden death in July, 1912, brought both shock and relief; sadness and reflection; even to his friends. On the one hand, his adherents felt that a mighty warrior had fallen in battle. They were convinced that he had been used of God to bring new truth to the Pentecostal Movement, restoring yet another link in the apostolic gospel chain. Yet they had been uneasy about the manner in which he had presented his gospel.

E. N. Bell, who had been a close friend since the time he, himself had received Spirit baptism through Durham's ministry four years before, wrote upon Durham's death that he was a man "much misunderstood," who "in his zeal for the truth may have made some mistakes."[159] Another co-worker would later reflect: "Possibly his work was done. For him to have remained much longer might have destroyed his victory. . . Too much power is unsafe for any one man."[160]

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[158]Franklin Small, "The Finished Work of Calvary Versus Modern Interpretations--Their Origin Exposed," Living Waters: A Sure Guide to Your Faith (Winnipeg, MAN: The Columbia Press, n.d.), pp. 25-6.

[159]E. N. Bell, "Editor's Word About Bro. Durham," Word and Witness, 8 (August 20, 1912), p. 3.

Even Durham, himself, must have been aware that he was losing the inner struggle with his ego. A few months before he died he confided to his associate, Frank Ewart:

> Ewart, pray that I'll keep hidden away in Jesus; for if ever I get the false notion that I'm anything, I'll die so suddenly that you'll wonder what happened.[161]

Following his death, most Finished Work advocates sought to retreat from the divisive tenor of Durham's message to take a more conciliatory tone. It was as if they sensed that Durham had led them to the edge of a deep chasm and that his death had given them an opportunity to step back from the brink.

L. C. Hall, a "Finished Work" advocate, attended a campmeeting in Falcon, North Carolina, the heart of the Pentecostal Holiness territory in August, 1912. He did not try to persuade those in attendance to accept Durham's message, but rather sought "healing" and "perfect unity" with the second work brethren.[162]

Likewise, A. A. Boddy, an advocate from England, visited several Pentecostal centers throughout the United States during the latter part of the year. He was distressed to find that the issue had been so divisive in so many parts of the country. He was particularly troubled by the state of affairs that he found in Los Angeles. "I

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[160]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, p. 150.

[161]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 75.

[162]L. C. Hall, "Falcon Camp Meeting," Bridegroom's Messenger, 5 (November 1, 1912), p. 1.

pleaded with them," he wrote, "to allow others to be fully persuaded in their own minds. . . and to pray for the other side lovingly, whichever side they belonged to."[163]

By the time he returned to England, he believed that his plea had been heard. Sending a farewell letter to Elizabeth Sexton in Atlanta, Georgia, he commented: "The message of unity has often been given and we have seen different elements come together in the meetings after being separated far too long.[164]

Mrs. Sexton also actively campaigned for reconciliation, publishing the activities of both camps and sometimes being severely criticized by both as well. In defending this policy, her.daughter Hattie Barth asked:

> Friends, is this difference among us serious enough to warrant such a spirit of division? Both believe in the Deity of Christ, and in the merits of His blood, in the baptism of the Spirit with signs

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[163]A. A. Boddy, "The Los Angeles Camp at Colegrove," Confidence, 5 (November, 1912), p. 246. Boddy felt so deeply about this matter that he presented a resolution to the campmeeting that was in progress just outside Los Angeles. The resolution stated:

> Recognizing the great need of unity in the Body of the Lord . . . and noting the opportunities Satan is getting through sad divisions, We by the help and grace of our Lord do undertake individually and collectively to refrain from condemning one another on the matter of the question known on the one hand as "The Second Work of Grace," and on the other as "The Finished Work of Christ."

He reported that the resolution was warmly endorsed. He then determined to present it to all the remaining Pentecostal centers he planned to visit on his trip. The Latter Rain Evangel, 5 (September, 1912), p. 12.

[164]"A Farewell from Pastor A. A. Boddy," The Bridegroom's Messenger, 5 (November 1, 1912), p. 1.

following and in the soon coming of Christ. Also both believe in sanctification, only one believes that both justification and sanctification are included in conversion, and the other believes that the two are separate and both may be received at one altar service or received separately. But both make a sanctified life a necessary condition before receiving the baptism and both have the experience. I say, is this difference enough to divide Pentecostal people?[165]

But although the "Finished Work" adherents sought to achieve reconciliation, they remained convinced that God had restored new truth through Durham's ministry and that with time and through patience their "Second Work" brethren would see the light. Expectations ran high that God was not finished yet. Many among them believed that even further revelation and a greater outpouring of Latter Rain was coming as they sought to carry out the great commission which would bring about the close of the age.

In this context--a desire for reconciliation on the one hand, and of great expectancy on the other--a "New Issue" arose. Initially, this controversy was about the proper baptismal formula; but, eventually it developed into a debate about the nature of the Trinity. The issue was largely confined to the "Finished Work" camp. When the dust had settled by the end of 1916, not only was reconciliation with "Second Work" Pentecostals impossible, "Finished Work" Pentecostals were split in two as well.

Attention will now be devoted to this New Issue. First, the writer will set the stage in which the Issue

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[165]Hattie M. Barth, "A Word to the Sanctified in Christ Jesus," The Bridegrooms Messenger, 5 (October 15, 1912), p. 1.

emerged. Second, he will set forth the content of its message. Third, he will trace the development of the controversy that followed. Finally, he will reflect upon the significance the New Issue had for the Pentecostal Movement as a whole.

The New Issue Emerges

The New Issue emerged while the shadow cast by William Durham's death still hovered over Pentecostal skies. The threatened schism within the ranks, brought about by Durham's manner of presentation, created a longing for reconciliation on the part of his adherents. At the same time they were filled with expectancy that through the restoration of this truth, God was about to move in a new and mighty way. Preparation for the New Issue took the form of an extended revival in Dallas, Texas. The actual birth of the new controversy, however, took place in Durham's final resting place, Los Angeles, California.

Preparation for an Idea. Less than three weeks after the death of William Durham, the fresh wind of revival fanned the Pentecostal flame. This time, the focal point centered in Dallas, Texas. Maria Woodworth-Etter, a sixty eight year-old holiness evangelist who had recently accepted the Pentecostal message began what was to be a two-week city-wide crusade on July 25, 1912. The meetings would continue nightly for five months.[166]

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[166]F. F. Bosworth, "Pentecostal Outpouring in Dallas, Texas," The Latter Rain Evangel, 5 (August, 1912), p. 11;

Woodworth-Etter had come to Dallas at the invitation of F. F. Bosworth, who pastored a Pentecostal Mission in the city. Bosworth had come into the Pentecostal Movement in 1906 when Charles Parham attempted to take over John Alexander Dowie's collapsing empire. Bosworth resigned as Director of Dowie's band to devote himself full-time to the work of the new movement. He moved to Dallas where he learned that Woodworth-Etter had also accepted the Pentecostal message. After reading her autobiography, The Acts of the Holy Ghost, he became convinced that if she would come to Dallas, a mighty revival would take place. He sent her a written invitation in April and later traveled to Indianapolis, Indiana, where she was conducting a campaign. After meeting with Bosworth in person, she agreed to come.[167]

The meetings were an instant success. By September, five thousand people were reported in attendance at the services each night and hundreds more were turned away.[168] People came from every state in the Union. Hundreds reported that they were healed during the meetings. At

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and Wayne E. Warner, The Woman Evangelist: The Life and Times of Charismatic Evangelist Maria B. Woodworth-Etter (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1986), pp. 159, 164.

[167]F.F. Bosworth, "Dallas Meeting Report," cited in Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, Signs and Wonders God Wrought in the Ministry for Forty Years (Indianapolis, IN: The Author, 1916), p. 172.

[168]F. F. Bosworth, "Miracles of Healing in Dallas," The Latter Rain Evangel, 5 (October, 1912), p. 10; and F. F. Bosworth, "Dallas Meeting Report," cited in Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, Signs and Wonders, p. 173.

least 1,200 came into the Pentecostal experience.[169] The Pentecostal press gave widespread coverage to the news of the revival. Soon leaders from across the nation traveled to Dallas to get a new touch from God.[170]

Despite her age, Woodworth-Etter presented a commanding figure on the platform. People claimed to see "flashes of light, like lightning with some of the most brilliant colors" going from her like "great waves of light resting over different ones in the meeting."

> One night there appeared a light like a white star and a two edged sword going out from Sister Woodworth-Etter's mouth while she was preaching and there were like flames of fire in rainbow colors around her.[171]

On other occasions people reported that "the Spirit of God" would "envelop her like a cloud." At such times she would stand motionless for several minutes "with the light of Heaven streaming radiant in her face." It seemed to them as if she were "the high priest entered into the Holy of Holies." They waited patiently until she returned in spirit to minister to them once more.[172]

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[169]Stanley H. Frodsham, "Wonders of God in Dallas, Texas," cited in Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, Signs and Wonders, p. 166; and Stanley H. Frodsham, "The Dallas Revival," Victory, no. 13 (January, 1913), p. 3.

[170]F. F. Bosworth, "Dallas Meeting Report," p. 173; and Wayne Warner, The Woman Evangelist, pp. 164-5.

[171]Carrie Judd Montgomery, "The Mighty Power of God at Dallas, Texas," Triumphs of Faith cited in Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, Signs and Wonders, p. 171.

[172]Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, Signs and Wonders, p. 176.

The atmosphere was charged with a sense of solemnity. Again and again, messages in tongues with interpretation came forth exhorting the congregation, as the Bride, to prepare for the Bridegroom's soon return.[173] Her great burden was to bring healing to the division that Durham's ministry had brought. Carrie Judd Montgomery, a sister evangelist who attended the crusade, noted:

> She believes in working for the unifying of all the members of the body of Christ, and therefore she does not preach mere theories, but holds up a living Christ, receiving all who are honest in their hearts and purposes towards Him, even if they do not yet see the truth just as she teaches it. She also avoids laying stress upon certain words or expressions, with which the enemy is trying to cause divisions in the body of Christ. Therefore there is no contention or strife in these meetings, but love and unity.[174]

Stanley Frodsham, who had traveled from England to attend the meetings, observed the same concern. "There is so much love here, there is no room for division. There is no fight for terms, *Jesus is the theme* and they are not looking for another."[175]

Indeed, Jesus *was* the theme that characterized her message. She urged sinners to get right with Jesus. She laid hands on the sick and prayed for their healing "in Jesus' Name." When she sensed people were looking to her for healing, she urged them to gaze "upon the Saviour

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[173]Carrie Judd Montgomery, "The Mighty Power of God at Dallas, Texas," p. 168.

[174]Ibid., p. 169.

[175]Stanley Frodsham, "The Dallas Revival," p. 4.

alone." Continually, she urged the saints "to seek for more of Jesus."[176]

The magnitude of the revival revived hopes that Christ's return was to be anticipated any moment. Scores of prophecies went forth to that effect. One even named the date![177] Bosworth wrote to E. N. Bell, editor of Word and Witness, in October asking him to call upon "the saints everywhere [to] join us in prayer that this wave might sweep around the world. This is God's time! We feel the coming of Jesus is very near."[178]

The meetings drew to a close at the end of the 1912 with a sense of expectancy that God was about to break forth in a mighty new way. After attending the meetings, M. M. Pinson concluded, "God is doing a new thing for these days in Dallas."[179]

Conception of an Idea. Among the Pentecostal leaders who attended the Dallas meetings were three from California: Frank Ewart and Harry Van Loon, who had been Durham's associates in Los Angeles, and R. J. Scott, a "Finished

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[176]Carrie Judd Montgomery, "The Mighty Power of God at Dallas, Texas," p. 168-70.

[177]A. A. Boddy, "The Woodworth-Etter Meetings in Dallas, Texas," Confidence, 5 (November, 1912), p. 259.

[178]F. F. Bosworth, "God's Mighty Power," Word and Witness, 8 (October 20, 1912), p. 3.

[179]M. M. Pinson, Word and Witness, cited by Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, Acts of the Holy Ghost, or the Life, Work, and Experience of Mrs. M. B. Woodworth-Etter, Evangelist (Dallas, TX: John F. Worley Printing Company, 1912), p. 352.

Work" advocate from nearby Pasadena. Arriving on November fifteenth, they soon were captivated under Woodworth-Etter's spell[180]

Scott, in particular, was moved by her appeal for unity. He had originally come to Los Angeles in November, 1906, from Winnipeg, Manitoba, where he served as Superintendent of a Holiness mission.[181] After receiving the Spirit-baptism, he had planned to return to Winnipeg, but felt compelled by God to stay. He had no idea why he felt he could not leave. When by the following April, it still was not clear, he became desperate. He vowed to fast and pray until he received an answer. After three days he had a vision.

> About midnight I heard a rap at my door. I awoke and listened, and while listening Jesus appeared in a door about six feet wide and eight feet high, standing, it seemed between me and heaven, with His arms stretched out and a most beautiful mantle covering Him to the tips of his fingers, and said to me: 'It is not my will that you should take your family back to Winnipeg just now.'
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> And he disappeared. I then feel asleep, but again the same knock as before came on my door and awoke me. This time I was more certain than ever that someone was at my door, and as I listened for the knock to be repeated again Jesus appeared in the same position as He had just disappeared, only this time more beautiful than the eyes can behold, and as I saw past the edge of His mantle, oh such a light, man cannot imagine or eyes behold, how pure and white,--methinks I yet can

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[180]Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, Acts of the Holy Ghost, pp. 571-3, citing R. J. Scott, letter to Maria B. Woodworth-Etter; and Wayne Warner, The Woman Evangelist, p. 164.

[181]R. J. Scott, "What the Pentecost Did for One Family," The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (February-March, 1907), p. 7.

> see--and with outstretched arms He said to me: 'Go tellmy people, behold I come quickly;' and again disappeared as before.[182]

It was not for two more weeks, however, that he received specific instructions regarding why he had been ordered to stay in California. On April 23, 1907, God again came to him in the night. This time he told him organize a camp meeting on the edge of the city, so that as the revival expanded, there would be room to accommodate the crowds.[183] The site he chose was in the Arroyo Seco, a canyon basin midway between Los Angeles and Pasadena. The camp lasted from June through September, 1907. All the Pentecostal missions in the surrounding area had joined together with the Azusa Mission in hosting the camp. The results were all that Scott could have hoped for, as people streamed to Los Angeles in ever greater numbers.[184]

Now, five years later, as he sat in Woodworth-Etter's meetings, a conviction grew within him. God was about to do it again! He shared his vision with Sister Etter. To his astonishment and joy, she told him that God had already been showing her that he was about "to gather His saints together in one place and deal with them, giving a unity and power

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[182]R. J. Scott, "The Lord's Leading for the Camp Meeting," The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (May, 1907), p. 2.

[183]Ibid.

[184]"Los Angeles Campmeeting of the Apostolic Faith Missions," The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (May, 1907), p. 1; and Thomas R. Nickel, Azusa Street Outpouring (Hanford, CA: Great Commission International, 1956), p. 15.

that they have not yet known." Upon hearing Scott's vision, she concluded that God was going to begin this visitation in Los Angeles. She agreed to lead a month-long camp meeting, beginning on April, 15, 1912.[185]

Scott returned to Los Angeles to make preparations and publicize meetings. He secured the Arroyo Seco, site of the 1907 camp and pitched a tent holding 5,000 people, one of the largest to be constructed at that time. A smaller tent for holding a children's crusade was also put up near by. A small "tent city" in excess of five hundred tents was laid out for the campers. Walkways carried such names as "Praise Street," "Hallelujah Avenue," and "Glory Boulevard." Scott envisioned the camp would be truly world-wide, attracting adherents from every continent as well as from every state; and he advertised accordingly.[186]

The day before the camp meeting was scheduled to begin, a freak storm hit the Arroyo Seco, and for half an hour the basin experienced thunder, snow, hail and darkness.[187] It proved to be an uneasy omen of things to come.

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[185]R. J. Scott, "World-Wide Apostolic Faith Camp Meeting," Word and Witness, 9 (March 20, 1913), p. 1; and Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, "World-Wide Campmeeting at Los Angeles," Signs and Wonders, p. 250.

[186]A. C. Valdez, Sr., Fire on Azusa Street (Costa Mesa, CA: Gift Publications, 1980), pp. 41-2; Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, "World-Wide Campmeeting at Los Angeles," p. 250; and S. Clyde Bailey, Pioneer Marvels of Faith, p. 46.

[187]Wayne Warner, The Woman Evangelist, p. 187, citing the Los Angeles Times, (April 15, 1913).

The meeting was a qualified success. People did come from across the nation and around the world. The meetings, scheduled for a month, actually lasted six weeks. Usually there were two thousand people at any given service, often many more. At least two hundred ministers were in attendance for the duration of the meetings. By one count, 364 persons were Baptized with the Holy Spirit. Mrs. Etter claimed to have laid hands on at least two thousand others for healing during the course of the meeting. More than four thousand dollars was raised in support of several missionaries in attendance.[188] M. M. Pinson, who had followed Woodworth-Etter to Los Angeles, summed up his impressions:

> The camp is not a play ground, but a battle field. Indeed, the devil is raging. Saints are coming and God is working. A large number have been saved and filled with the Spirit. Also, many wonderful cases of healing of different diseases which I have not the space to record.[189]

It was not a bad report, but compared to the rave reviews that had flowed from the Dallas meetings, it was not particularly spectacular. His battlefield analogy could be understood at many levels. Clearly, the meeting did not begin to meet the expectations that either Woodworth-Etter or Scott had had in mind when they planned it five months

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[188]Ibid., p. 170; Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 76; Charles Shumway, "A Study of the Gift of Tongues," p. 191; M. M. Pinson, "From the Los Angeles Camp," Word and Witness, 9 (May 20, 1913), p. 1; and Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, "World-Wide Camp Meeting at Los Angeles," pp. 250-1.

[189]M. M. Pinson, "From the Los Angeles Camp," p. 1.

before. Shortly after the meetings got underway, Mrs. Etter told the congregation:

> I am sent of God to unite His people here, in this part of His vineyard, and how can it be done if this opinion and this, and that, etc., etc., is taught to the people. It binds me, I cannot fulfill my mission which God has given me to do. We must know no man, save Jesus only, love one another as little children, and stop biting and abusing one another. Let us pray for unity and love.[190]

Her frustration, hardly disguised, was due in part to the fact that virtually all in attendance were from the Finished work camp. William Seymour was there but was not given the courtesy of sitting on the platform with the other ministers.[191] Florence Crawford of Portland not only boycotted the meeting but also sent letters criticizing Woodworth-Etter and calling the event a "Compromise Camp."[192] A. A. Boddy, who had just returned to England, received reports "so contradictory and perplexing" that he found it "difficult to print anything." He expressed shock at the bitterness expressed in some of the letters he had received.[193]

Woodworth-Etter was not only disappointed that she was not able to achieve her major goal of unifying the movement, she also had trouble relating to some of those in attendance as well. The rapport that had been so evident between

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[190]Confidence, 6 (May, 1913), p. 100.

[191]Charles Shumway, "A Study of the Gift of Tongues," p. 191.

[192]Confidence, 6 (July, 1913), p. 146.

[193]Ibid.

audience and speaker in the Dallas meetings had evaporated in this new setting. One eye witness remembered her "in such bad health--so deathly pale and weak--that sometimes she had to be carried" onto the platform.[194] The other ministers became restless, and, finally, Scott reluctantly concurred with them that Mrs. Etter's ministry should be limited to the morning sessions so that others of God's servants might have a chance to speak.[195]

Thus it was that in the midst of high hopes and of bitter disappointment the New Issue was born. The Dallas Revival had heightened expectations that God was about to move again in a new way. The fact that the leader of that revival was coming to lead a camp meeting at the site of the original Pentecostal revival and that people were expected to attend from the four corners of the world added to the climate. Scott had done his job well by promoting the event and by creating the proper atmosphere. People came to the camp "on the tip-toe of expectancy." Although Woodworth-Etter was not up to a repeat performance of the Dallas crusade, she none-the-less did make a major impact on the meeting. Franklin Small, a pastor from Winnipeg, Canada, remembered one healing service in particular.

> A group of rather sophisticated people gathered near the platform where Mrs. Woodworth-Etter was praying for the sick. . . . Just then there appeared in the big tent four men carrying a cot on which lay a person covered with a white sheet. They made their way up the

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[194]A. C. Valdez, Fire on Azusa Street, p. 42.

[195]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 76.

> center aisle toward the platform. . . . As the four men ascended the rostrum with the cot, the spectators seemed breathless. An air of expectancy was in the place as Mrs. Woodworth-Etter walked over to the cot and turned back the white sheet. A woman lay motionless on the cot, just skin and bones. Mrs. Woodworth-Etter anointed her with oil and taking her by the hand said, 'In the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, I command thee to rise.' With that command the woman began to move, attempting to throw her feet out over the edge of the cot. She stood to her feet. Then began to walk to and fro across the large platform. The crowd was electrified. Praise filled the air. . . tears [were] streaming down their faces.[196]

In addition, with so many ministers present, many reasoned that surely there must be one who would have a new message that would take them forward to greater heights of Pentecostal glory and power.[197]

Early in the conference, one of the speakers captured the mood of the hour by chosing as his text, Jermemiah 31:22, and declared that God was about to perform a "new thing" in their midst.[198] From that point on, many of the ministers and other Christian workers testified to their conviction that God was about to fully restore the Apostolic Faith upon the earth.[199]

A few days later, there was a scheduled water baptismal service. Scott asked R. E. McAlister to deliver the message

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[196]Franklin Small cited by Robert A. Larden, Our Apostolic Heritage--An Official History of the Apostolic Church of Pentecost (Calgary, ALB: Kyle Printing and Stationary Ltd., 1971), p. 31.

[197]Ibid.

[198]Ibid.

[199]Frank J. Ewart, The Name and the Book (Chicago, IL: Daniel Ryerson, Inc., 1936), p. 39.

for the occasion. McAlister, a Canadian evangelist, had been in Los Angeles serving as Frank Ewart's associate since William Durham's death. McAlister took this opportunity to speak on the baptismal formula, a subject he had been pondering privately for a long time. He observed that although the church today normally baptizes "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" based on Matthew 28:19, the early church clearly baptized person "in the name of Jesus Christ" as evidenced in the Acts of the Apostles.[200]

The audience was startled by the insight. Some of them seized upon this as the "new thing" they had been expecting God to reveal. After the service many returned to their tents to ponder McAlister's words and to search the Scriptures. That night, John G. Scheppe, a minister who would return to obscurity, had a brief moment in the sun. As he reflected on the message, he prayed far into the night. Suddenly another insight dawned upon him. The power in the name of Jesus to save and to heal was connected to this baptismal formula and therefore everyone should be rebaptized in that Name. He was so excited by this "revelation" that he ran through the camp in the early morning hours, shouting that the Lord had showed him the truth on the Baptism in the Name of Jesus Christ. As a result even more people began to ponder the question.[201]

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[200]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 76.

Later Frank Ewart quarried McAlister as to the implications which he saw flowing from his insight and how he was able to reconcile the two formulae. McAlister replied that the name "Lord Jesus Christ" was the counterpart for "Father, Son and Holy Spirit,." As such he understood that the in the formula given in Matthew 28:19, Jesus was speaking in a parabolic mode to refer to Himself. The Holy Spirit, on the Day of Pentecost revealed to the Apostles the meaning of Jesus' remark.[202]

The camp meeting drew to a close in an atmosphere of ambiguity. The aspirations of those who put the event together had not been realized. Although many would leave the occasion having been blessed, the unity of the Movement had not been restored. Instead a new idea had been conceived. It would now gestate for a few years before bursting into the open, inflicting more controversy and further division upon the Pentecostal scene.

The New Issue Described

The Finished Work of Calvary doctrine had matured in William Durham's mind for several years before he began to proclaim it publicly. In contrast, the New Issue did not mature as a united front. Rather, it developed in three stages: 1) as a concern to harmonize the two baptismal

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[201]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . .From Heaven, p. 191; Arthur Clanton, United We Stand, p. 15; and Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 177.

[202]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, pp. 51, 77

formulae; 2) as a focus on the revelation of the name of God; and 3) as a revelation of the nature of the Godhead. As the New Issue developed, a case was made for the need of rebaptism.

Revelation of the Correct Baptism. The New Issue began and ended in the act of baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. From the emergence of the Pentecostal movement, adherents had been well aware of the two formulae as described in Matthew 28:19 and Acts 2:38 and had used both. The majority had used the Matthew formula baptizing "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." However, several had baptized "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ," primarily because of Charles Parham's teaching.

Parham, under Quaker influence, rejected water baptism in his early ministry in preference to the true Baptism of the Holy Spirit which he equated with sanctification.[203] He shifted positions when he recognized that both water baptism and Spirit baptism were practiced in the early church as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. Years later, when conducting the Bible School in Topeka, he came to believe that the Acts 2:38 formula was correct since "we could not be buried by baptism in the name of the Father, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, because it stood for nothing as they never died or were resurrected." From that point on Parham

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[203]James Ruldolph Goff, Jr., Fields White Unto Harvest, pp. 58-9, 61.

and many of his students baptized in "the name of the Lord Jesus Christ."[204]

Thus, when the matter arose at the Etter meeting in California in 1913, the Acts 2:38 was not a new discovery. Rather, the two formulae were raised as a problem in biblical hermeneutics. All adherents were the unwitting proponents of the Scottish Realism that had dominated the nineteenth century American scene. Furthermore, they all accepted the principle that Scripture could not be self-contradictory. As a result they believed there had to be a common sense solution which would harmonize the apparent incongruity and perhaps bring illumination as well.[205]

Parham had recognized the problem. His solution was to distinguish the incarnate earthly Jesus from the eternal Son. Baptism, as Parham came to understand it, was identification with Christ in his death so that the Christian might be raised into the unity that the Son experienced in the Triune Godhead.

> you will be baptized by single immersion, signifying the death, burial and resurrection; being baptized in the name of Jesus, into the name of the Father,

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[204]Charles F. Parham, "Water Baptism," A Voice Crying in the Wilderness (Kansas City, MO: The Author, 1902, reprinted 1944), pp. 21-3.

[205]Andrew Urshan noted that about the time he started to wrestle with the question, he came across a book published by the Free Thinkers Association of Chicago that set about to disprove the authority of Scripture by showing that it was full of inconsistencies. One of the examples they gave was the baptismal formula. It served to spur him on to find a solution. Andrew Urshan, The Life Story of Andrew Bar David Urshan, pp. 138-9.

> Son and Holy Ghost; they are one when in Christ you become one with all.[206]

Parham's solution did not meet with either widespread acceptance or understanding. Rather, water baptism received little theological reflection in the early days of the Movement. Prior to the Arroyo Seco Camp meeting only a few were beginning to wrestle with the issue. As Franklin Small noted, until 1913 "the message . . . relative to water Baptism was merely based on records only, without any illumination why it was so."[207]

When Robert E. McAlister did raise the issue in 1913, his proposed solution that "Lord Jesus Christ" was the counterpart to "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" turned the discussion and reflection to the disclosure of the Divine Name.

Revelation of the Divine Name. The primary clue was found in Matthew's use of the singular form of the word "name" in reference to Father, Son and Holy Spirit. What was the Name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit? New Issue adherents held that Apostles knew something that had subsequently been lost to the church. At Pentecost, they believed, the Holy Spirit revealed to them that Jesus was speaking of His own name. This was confirmed, they contended, when in subsequent days, they

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[206]Ibid., p. 24.

[207]Robert Larden, Our Apostolic Heritage, p. 63.

baptized believers in the Name of the "Lord Jesus Christ" as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.[208]

Ultimately, New Issue thinkers developed a theology of the Name of God. To do this, they brought together two strands of thinking that were prevalent in early Pentecostal theologizing: the Jesus-centrism so prevalent in Holiness/Keswick piety; and a study of Old Testament references to the Divine names, especially the Jehovahistic titles, in the biblical acts of salvation.

The writer has shown in an earlier chapter that nineteenth century revivalism immersed itself in pietism that was Jesus centered. Jesus became the central focus in the Full Gospel in both its four-fold and five-fold forms. It was Jesus who was evoked in testimony, prayer, and song.[209]

This theme carried readily into the Pentecostal Movement. Alexander Boddy's experience was representative. When he went to Pentecostal meetings on the Continent, "It was 'Jesus Alleen.'" In America he found the same emphasis. Arriving at one meeting a bit late, he heard the

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[208]David Arthur Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States," (Ph. D. diss., Boston University, 1978), p. 148.

[209]Dickson Bruce points out that this trend predates the rise of Gospel music. Of 186 choruses he examined from the pre-Civil War camp meeting era, Jesus was the central figure in 180 of them. Dickson D. Bruce, "And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1971), p. 129, cited in David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 32.

congregation singing "More, More about Jesus."[210] Likewise, "the same note struck his ear when he crossed over again to Great Britain and took part in the meeting in London--it was 'Jesus only." Boddy continued:

> Here is safety. Here is Full Salvation. Jesus only saves. Jesus only sanctifies. It is He who baptizes with the Holy Ghost and with Fire. He it is Who is bringing His Pentecostal people on into deeper union with Himself. . . Let this, then, ever be our heart motto--"Jesus only."[211]

This devotional emphasis on Jesus was coupled with the developing fundamentalist phenomenon in the late nineteenth century in response to the growing skepticism of Christ's deity and his atoning work. Such a Christ-centered theology is evident in J. Monro Gibson's 1888 call to arms:

> We are learning to make our theology more and more central in Christ, and we believe that as the combat thickens, our apologetics will follow in the same path, and in every department of Christian thought, Christ will be acknowledged as Himself the Truth.[212]

Although few Pentecostal adherents were directly involved in this fundamentalist/modernist debate, they did draw upon the fundamentalist side of the discussion to form their understanding of Christ's deity and His atonement.[213]

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[210]Alexander A. Boddy, "Jesus Alleen," Confidence, 3 (October, 1910), p. 236; and Alexander A. Boddy, "Further Experiences in California," Confidence, 5 (December, 1912), p. 281.

[211]Alexander Boddy, "Jesus Alleen," p. 236.

[212]John Monro Gibson, Christianity According to Christ (New York, NY: R. Carter and Brothers, 1888), p. 52.

[213]Walter Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, p. 312.

Part of the fundamentalist defense of Christ's deity, as David Reed has so splendidly shown, was through a study of the names of God in the Old Testament. They found the same promises hidden in the various forms of God's name as were made manifest in the name "Lord-Jesus-Christ"[214]

The Holiness/Keswick leaders readily incorporated these findings into their thinking. Fredrick Chapell, a professor at Gordon Bible College, presented a series of lectures on the Name's of God -- giving special attention to ***Elohim*** and ***Jehovah***.[215] Arno C. Gaebelein observed that the Greek word ***Jesus*** was the equivalent for the Hebrew word ***Joshua*** which meant "***Jehovah*** saves."[216] A. B. Simpson declared that "the Christ of the Gospels is the Jehovah of the Old Testament."[217] Both A. T. Pierson and Evan Hopkins found the counterpart to "Lord Jesus Christ" in the Old Testament names of God.[218]

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[214]David Reed, "God and His Name," in "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," pp. 46-62. The principle works that came out of this effort were: John Miller, Is God a Trinity? (Princeton, NJ: The Author, 1876); John Monro Gibson, Christianity According to Christ; and William Phillips Hall, A Remarkable Biblical Discovery, or "The Name" of God According to the Scriptures (New York, NY: American Tract Society, 1929).

[215]The lectures were later reprinted in book form under the title, Hear Ye, Hear Ye (Boston, MA: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1898).

[216]Arno C. Gaebelein, The Hope of the Ages--The Messianic Hope in Revelation, in History and in Realization (New York, NY: Our Hope, 1938), p. 34.

[217]A. B. Simpson, The Names of Jesus (New York, NY: Christian Alliance Publishing Co., 1892), p. 18.

The identification of Jesus with the Jehovah of the Old Testament also carried over into the Pentecostal movement. William Piper, pastor of the Stone Church in Chicago, for example, preached a sermon in 1909 entitled "The Covenant at Marah 'Jehovah-Rophi'" to argue that divine healing is in the atoning work of Christ.[219] In a similar vein, Fannie Rowe argued that the use of medicine was in fact Baal worship, because Jesus was Jehovah Rophi--God our healer.[220] Thus, when McAlister, Ewart and Scheppe equated the Acts 2:38 formula "Lord Jesus Christ" with the Name of God, they were simply making explicit what had implicit in the tradition from the outset of the Pentecostal Revival.

New Issue thinkers would go on to write lengthy studies on the names of God in the Old Testament and all concluded that the disclosure of the Divine Name had always been the primary means that God used to reveal Himself to his people. To know God's name was to understand Who He was.[221]

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[218]See A. T. Pierson, "Jesus-Christ-Lord," The Keswick Week (London, ENG: Marshall Brothers, 1909), pp. 16-21; and Evan H. Hopkins, "Our Lord's Names and Their Message," The Kewsick Week (London, ENG: Marshall Brothers, 1911), pp. 157-61.

[219]William Hammer Piper, "The Covenant at Marah, 'Jehovah-Rophi,'" The Latter Rain Evangel, 2 (March, 1909), pp. 18-21.

[220]Fannie F. Rowe, Jehovah Rophi: or the God of Israel versus the God of Ekron (Pacific Grove, CA: The Author, 1913).

[221]See, for example, G. T. Haywood, The Divine Names and Titles of Jehovah (Indianapolis, IN: Christ Temple, n.d.); Andrew D. Urshan, The Almighty God in The Lord Jesus Christ (Los Angeles, CA: The Author, 1919); Frank J. Ewart, The Revelation of Jesus Christ (St. Louis, MO: Pentecostal

"It was the purpose of God to make Himself known to His people," G. T. Haywood declared. Through progressive revelation, God has enriched human understanding by giving additional names. This "overplus" created the need for a single, easily understood revelation of the Divine name that would sum up the totality of God's character. The Old Testament pointed beyond its limited revelation to a time when the "secrecy of the divine name" would be disclosed. This disclosure of the Divine Name in the person of Jesus, Haywood, maintained, signified the final ultimate revelation of God to his people.[222]

Revelation of the Divine Nature. Reflection on the Divine Name, as Haywood's thinking reveals, quickly led to a reappraisal of the Divine nature. Jesus was rediscovered "not only as the *DOOR* through which alone we can *enter* into the mysteries of the Deity, but He is also the *WAY* in which we shall walk for the Ages to come."[223] He was accepted as the Old Testament Jehovah. The *Shema* became the hermenutical text for understanding God. Such a radicalization led to a rejection of the Trinity which adherents came to believe was tritheism.[224]

Publishing House, n.d.); and W. H. Offiler, God, and His Name (Seattle, WA: The Author, n.d.).

[222]G. T. Haywood, The Divine Names, pp. 9-11.

[223]Andrew D. Urshan, The Almighty God in The Lord Jesus Christ, p. 91.

[224]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," pp. 150-3.

Having been schooled in the Bible rather than speculative metaphysics, New Issue proponents attempted to formulate a doctrine of the Godhead in a context whose goal was "to know Christ and to make Him known." Placed within the framework of their restrictionist world-view, they consigned the traditional doctrine of the Trinity to the dark ages of the church where Constantine called "this council of Nice in 325 . . . to settle the dispute, by ballot, on one or three persons in the Godhead."[225]

The New Issue alternative was a form of Modalism. It was "unitarian" in that adherents self-consciously dissociated themselves from traditional Trinitarianism rather than attempting to reinterpret the doctrine from within. However, it was "Trinitarian" in that proponents insisted on the significance of a three-fold revelation of God.[226]

Adherents often spoke of the "tri-unity" of God or the "three-one" God.[227] However, they preferred to replace the term "person" with the term "manifestation" when designating this threefold distinction, believing it to be a more

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[225]Oliver F. Fauss, Buy the Truth and Sell It Not (Hazelwood, MO: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1965), p. 26.

[226]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 155.

[227]Andrew Urshan, The Almighty God in The Lord Jesus Christ pp. 47, 78, 93; Frank Ewart, The Revelation of Jesus Christ, p. 25; and Andrew D. Urshan "Seven-Fold Deity of Christ and the Divine Seven," Witness of God (June, 1920), p. 2.

"scriptural" term.[228] The analogies used to portray their perspective were the same as those used by Trinitarians: water as solid, liquid and gas; fire as heat, light and power; and a person as body, soul and spirit.[229]

They seemed unaware that their analogies often had ontological implications whereas their understanding of "manifestation" suggested only a *temporal* and *transitory* distinction. They were unconcerned about the question of time and eternity. Their battle was to show the centrality of Jesus as the "express image" of the *full* Godhead.[230]

New Issue advocates were convinced that the Trinitarian understanding of the Godhead demolished the status of Jesus. They felt, perhaps with some justification, that only the Father, was really fully God in the minds of most Christians. As Oliver Fauss noted:

> When the revelation came of who Jesus was, we found out that He was more than just "God's little boy," or just a second person in the Godhead. We learned that all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt in him.[231]

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[228]G. T. Haywood, The Victim of the Flaming Sword (Indianapolis, IN: Christ Temple Book Store, n.d.), p. 65; and Frank Ewart, The Revelation of Jesus Christ, p. 14.

[229]Andrew D. Urshan, "The Blessed Three-ness of the Godhead Slightly Revealed in Nature and Perfectly Demonstrated and Proved in the Person and Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ," Witness of God (July, 1923), p. 2 and Franklin Small, Living Waters, p. 94.

[230]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," pp. 157-8.

[231]Oliver Fauss, Buy the Truth and Sell It Not, p. 33.

Following the lead of J. Monro Gibson, they warned of the danger of seeking a knowledge of the Father, Son or Holy Spirit apart from the revelation of God made manifest in the person of Jesus Christ.[232] They believed that the whole Trinity was taken up and revealed in the Incarnation. "Just as the visible part of man, his body, answers for the whole man, so the visible side of the Godhead, Jesus, represents the entire person of God."[233]

Adherents were deeply concerned to demonstrate the two natures of Christ. They did this through the concepts of "dwelling" and "glory." The key text for this New Testament Shema was Colossians 2:9, "For in him the whole fulness of deity dwells bodily." The roots for this understanding, are of course, found in the Old Testament where God's presence is found in the Ark of the Covenant, the Tabernacle and the Temple.[234] John Paterson, a more recent New Issue theologian, sums this up nicely

> First of all, the Son of God "hath by inheritance a more excellent Name" (Heb. 1:4). What Name did He inherit? His Fathers Name of course! . . . The Name of God was in the old Temple (I Kings 8:29). It must therefore be in the new Temple of which Jesus said: "Destroy THIS temple and in three days I will raise it up" (John 2:19).

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[232]James Gibson, Christianity According to Christ p. 81. Compare with Frankly Small, Living Waters, pp. 85-6; and Andrew Urshan, The Almighty God in The Lord Jesus Christ, pp. 38; 79-83.

[233]Andrew Urshan, "The Blessed Three-ness of the Godhead," p. 2.

[234]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 281.

> Jehovah's Name was in the Ark of the Covenant. . . . This was because His glory dwelt there. Who is the Ark today, and where does the glory of God dwell? . . . "IN THE FACE OF JESUS CHRIST" (II Cor. 4:6). All the ark contained and all it represented is today found in Jesus.[235]

The most popular image, however, is that of the tabernacle in the Wilderness. The term itself becomes a synonym for dwelling. In a paraphrase of John 1:14, one writer noted that the Word "tabernacled among us."[236] Haywood believed that the wilderness tabernacle contained the roots of a christology: "The birth of Christ was the beginning of the manifestation of God's Tabernacle or dwelling place among men."[237] This "dwelling" christology became the foundation for the New Issue understanding of the two natures of Christ.[238]

Interwoven within this "dwelling" christology, is the concept of the "glory of God." Adherents blended the ideas of dwelling with the Old Testament "glory" tradition through the images of "manifestation," "image," "form," and "face." In Christ, the hidden God becomes "manifest." He who is without form, takes on the "form" of the servant. The Invisible One reveals Himself as in a mirror, Christ being

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[235]John Paters, The Real Truth About Baptism in Jesus' Name (Hazelwood, MO: The Pentecostal Publishing House, 1953), p. 20.

[236]Kenneth V. Reeves, The Godhead (Granite City, IL: The Author, 1971), p. 15.

[237]G. T. Haywood, Before the Foundation of the World (Indianapolis, IN: Christ Temple, 1923), p. 63.

[238]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 283.

His "express Image." The great mystery of godliness is the incarnation--God manifest in the flesh.[239]

To summarize briefly, the New Issue theologians were deeply concerned to preserve the radical "oneness" of the Godhead. Believing that the doctrine of the Trinity was tri-theism that had been developed in an apostate church and influenced by paganism, they opted for a form of modalism in which creator God revealed both His person and His Name in Jesus. The fullness of God's person and therefore, His glory, dwelt in Jesus, who was fully God and fully man.

Revelation of the Need for Rebaptism. The thinking now comes full cycle. Because the nature of God was so closely tied to the disclosure of His Name, it was absolutely essential for the Christian to be baptized in that name. Acts 2:38 was seen as the divine pattern to restore the "Full Gospel" before the end of the age.[240] In this act of obedience, the believer was forever identified with God's name, evoking both His Presence and His Power.

Once again, this understanding made explicit what had been implicit in the Holiness/Keswick tradition Pentecostalism had inherited. The Sunday School Times saw "the Name" as standing "for the deepest, most intimate identity or personality of the one of whom it is used."[241]

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[239]Ibid., p. 286.

[240]Ibid., p. 147.

[241]The Sunday School Times (March 5, 1910), p. 118.

George Needham extolled the Name of Jesus as "the peerless name," at whose mention will "thrill our souls with holy delight, and fill our hearts with unspeakable gladness."[242]

They believed that power also came through evoking the Name of Jesus. The English Baptist friend of Keswick, Charles Haddon Spurgeon observed:

> to enter into the meaning of the Name of Jesus and give it practical effect would re-create the basis of both the power and persecution of the Apostolic Age.[243]

William Phillips Hall was convinced that through the truth of the Name of God which he had rediscovered "the pure faith and power of the Church may be restored to us in this end time."[244] A. B. Simpson regarded "In My Name" to be the clue to the power of the apostolic church.[245]

New Issue leaders were convinced that as the "revelation" of the Name of Jesus finally came forth, it opened the door of spiritual power that had been absent from the church. Frank Ewart declared:

> At the end of the Apostolic age and subsequently until 1914, the Name was missing, and consequently the miracles performed in the Name, or by virtue of that Name, never took place.[246]

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[242]George C. Needham, "The Name Jesus--A Bible Reading," The Watchword (January, 1882), p. 92.

[243]Charles Haddon Spurgeon cited by Frank Ewart, The Name and the Book, p. 1.

[244]William Phillips Hall, A Remarkable Biblical Discovery, or "The Name" of God According to the Scriptures, p. 16. cited by Frank Ewart, The Name and the Book, p. 138.

[245]A. B. Simpson, The Christ of the Forty Days (New York, NY: Christian Alliance Publishing Co., n.d.), p. 137.

Adherents were taught that as believers identified with God, by being baptized in His Name, His glory and fullness would dwell in them and His power would be exercised through them, both through living the victorious life, and by proclaiming the apostolic faith accompanied by apostolic power. With Acts 2:38 as the key to unlock the door, the three-fold pattern of Salvation, Sanctification and Spirit-Baptism had been reduced to one act of grace with three aspects: 1) Repent; 2) be baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ; and 3) you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. Baptism in *Jesus' Name* and Baptism of the *Holy Spirit* were correlated fully with John 3:5 where Jesus spoke of being born of water and born of the Spirit, and with Paul's statement that there is "one faith, one hope, one baptism."

The New Issue's Impact

Having sketched the dimensions of the New Issue, attention is now directed to the impact that its message made on Pentecostalism as a whole. The remainder of 1913 and most of 1914 was a period of relative calm with regard to the New Issue. Those who would become the leaders kept in close contact, conferring on the matter, and spending much time in reflection and prayer. Just as William Durham's message had needed a period of incubation, so too, did the New Issue. By 1915, however, proponents felt the time had come to act. Their message took like petrol to dry

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[246]Frank Ewart, The Name and the Book, p. 79.

timber and spread throughout the "Finished Work" camp like wild fire. It first appeared that this whole segment of Pentecostalism would embrace the new doctrine. When reaction did set in, the Assemblies of God at their fourth General Council in 1916, took a firm stand to stem the tide. The New Issue advocates decided to respond by creating their own organizations, thereby institutionalizing the new message.

A Time to Reflect. Shortly after the campmeeting for reasons that have not been disclosed, Ewart abruptly resigned as Pastor of Durham's old church. With McAlister and Glen Cook as his assistants, he started a mission in another section of the city. They worked together for several months. The work grew rapidly, forcing them to move into larger buildings several times in order to accommodate the crowds. They spent much time together in prayer and reflection, discussing the New Issue. However, although they spoke with boldness about the power and authority of Jesus Name, they did not feel it was yet time to speak publicly on the issue of the baptismal formula.[247]

In the fall of 1913, Ewart agreed to accept the invitation of Warren Fisher to become his associate pastor and to merge their congregations. Fisher, by this time, had the largest Pentecostal church in the city, Victoria Hall,

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[247]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 50; and Fred Foster, Think It Not Strange: A History of the Oneness Movement (St. Louis, MO: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1965), p. 52.

which held over a thousand people. Several Pentecostal leaders had joined his staff, worshiping at Victoria Hall on Sundays and then scattering throughout the city during the week, working in smaller mission settings.[248]

Shortly after the merger, George T. Haywood was brought from Indianapolis, Indiana, for an evangelistic campaign. While he was in the city, a number of ministers on the West Coast met together to form The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, an association of Pentecostal clergy embracing the Finished Work doctrine. J. J. Frazee of Portland, Oregon, was elected General Superintendent, with Haywood, McAlister, Cook, and Ewart serving as the other officers. The editor of Word and Witness took approving notice of the action, citing the new association on the West Coast as a model the Mid-west ministers should follow when they met in council in Hot Springs, Arkansas, the following April to discuss the future of the Pentecostal Movement.[249]

Following the meeting, Frazee returned to Portland, McAlister left for Canada; Haywood returned to his pastorate in Indianapolis, Cook conducted an evangelistic tour

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[248]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 50; Aimee Semple McPherson, "Revival Meetings in California," The Bridal Call, 3 (July, 1919), p. 12; and Aimee Semple McPherson, This is That (Los Angeles, CA: Echo Park Evangelistic Association, 1923), p. 157.

[249]Word and Witness, 10 (March 20, 1914), pp. 2-3. The organization consisted of primarily, though not exclusively, ministers on the west coast. In addition to Haywood, a number of ministers from Western Canada are known to have been members during its early years. Gordon F. Atter, The Third Force (Peterborough, ONT: College Press, 1970), p. 95.

throughout the Mid-west while Ewart remained to work with Fisher in Los Angeles. All were sensing the time was soon coming when they must speak out directly on the New Issue. First, however, they needed to get a feel for the lay of the land.[250]

The organizing council of the Assemblies of God took place as scheduled in Hot Springs, Arkansas, from April 2-12, 1914, blissfully oblivious of the storm that would soon descend upon them. There is no evidence that any of the four principals were present at the conference. However, both Ewart and McAlister were nominated to fill the vacancies left open on the governing presbytery to serve as representatives from their respective regions.[251] Haywood, as pastor of the largest Pentecostal work in the mid-west, would go on to play a very prominent visible role in the new organization's formative years.[252] Cook, who was completing his evangelistic tour of the Mid-west, arrived back home in Los Angeles on April 15, 1914, three days after the Council concluded.[253]

A Time to Act. Cook's return to the city corresponded with Ewart's conviction that the time had come to speak out. After privately telling Fisher of his decision, Ewart parted

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[250]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 50.

[251]Word and Witness, 10 (May 20, 1914), p. 1.

[252]Howard N. Kenyon, "Black Ministers in the Assemblies of God," Assemblies of God Heritage, 7 (Spring, 1987), p.10.

[253]Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 51.

company and determined to proclaim the new doctrine. He pitched a tent in Belvedere, a suburb located on the east side of Los Angeles. He opened the meeting on April 15, 1914, taking his text from Acts 2:38. Cook, who was present, publicly affirmed the doctrine, staying on to become his assistant.[254]

Since neither Ewart nor Cook had been baptized by the apostolic formula, they rebaptized each other in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Others followed their example. Soon many of the Los Angeles Pentecostals who had flocked to hear Seymour in 1906 and who then embraced Durham in 1911, now pressed forward in Ewart's tent to be rebaptized. Some, who had not yet received their Spirit-baptism, came up from water speaking in tongues. A new wave of revival was under way.[255]

Ewart's position as Durham's successor gave him great standing among the early Pentecostals. Politically astute, he had gained many contacts and acquaintances throughout the movement. He put this knowledge to good use when he began publishing a new periodical, Meat in Due Season, in 1915 to propagate the new doctrine.[256] Testimonies of prominent Pentecostal leaders who accepted the new doctrine and were re-baptized were printed. Letters and reports from various

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[254]Ibid.

[255]Ibid., pp. 51-3; and Fred Forster, Think it Not Strange, pp. 53-4.

[256]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 105.

parts of the country were publicized.[257] By 1917 he was sending out 10,000 copies a month with prospects of doubling that number. The periodical circulated widely, not only in the United States, but also made inroads in other countries as well.[258]

In January, 1915, Cook embarked on another tour of the Mid-west and Southeast, this time openly proclaiming the new message. Reaching St. Louis, Missouri, he preached for a week at Mother Moise's Rescue Home that just that month had become the new site for the headquarters of the Assemblies of God. Mrs. Moise along with forty of her followers were rebaptized at the end of the week.[259]

J. Roswell Flower, who had received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit under Cook's ministry in 1907, had just arrived in town to serve in his position as office editor of the denomination's twin periodicals The Word and Witness and The Christian Evangel, which had been moved to the new headquarters. He listened to Cook's new doctrine with growing horror. Fully aware of the close contact that Haywood had had with Ewart and Cook in recent months, Flower wrote to warn him that Cook was headed next to Indianapolis proclaiming a false doctrine.[260]

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[257]Robert Larden, Our Apostolic Heritage, pp. 86-7.

[258]Meat in Due Season (August, 1917), p. 2; Frank Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost, pp. 53-4.

[259]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 178.

[260]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, p. 193. As office editor of The Christian Evangel while it was still

Haywood wrote back, "Your warning came too late, I have already accepted the message and have been rebaptized." Nearly 500 members of his church followed their leader in submitting to rebaptism.[261] Haywood, editor of The Voice in the Wilderness, became another powerful force in advocating the cause. Not only was he a spell-binding preacher who could readily sway great numbers to his point of view; but, also, as the only prominent black leader associated with the Assemblies of God, his conversion to the new issue all but guaranteed that all the blacks in the finished work camp would follow his lead.[262]

Before Cook left the city in March, a leading white congregation along with its pastor, L. V. Roberts, had also accepted the new message.[263] From Indianapolis, the

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in Finley, Ohio, Flower had published reports of Haywood's activities both in Indianapolis and his frequent trips to the west coast throughout 1914 and early 1915. Haywood's most recent trip was in November, 1914. Shortly after the move to St. Louis, the periodical's name was changed to The Weekly Evangel.

[261]William Menzies, Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: The Gospel Publishing House, 1971), p. 113. Assemblies of God historians have tended to take Haywood's reply at face value. In view of his close association with Ewart and Cook over the past two years, Oneness historians are probably closer to the truth in understanding it as a sardonic response:

> This phraseology was prevalent in that time, and has been handed down even until now concerning this experience and truth. 'You came to late; I'm already involved,' has been often heard.

Fred Foster, Think It Not Strange, p. 54.

[262]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 107.

movement spread like wildfire "from mission to mission, assembly to assembly, until it became *the* issue of the day."[264]

Rumors that the entire executive council of the newly formed Assemblies of God had embraced the new teaching was not without good foundation. By the fall of 1915, five of the fourteen presbyters had publicly embraced the message: H. A. Goss, the principal founder; E. N. Bell, the first chairman; Daniel Opperman, current assistant chairman; H. G. Rogers, father to the finished work camp in the Southeast; and B. F. Laurence, author of the first Pentecostal history. The Chairman, A. P. Collins, declared himself neutral.[265]

After his rebaptism in July, Bell spread the message throughout Iowa.[266] Goss and Opperman concentrated on Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana. Opperman's periodical, The Blessed Truth, heralded the message throughout the region. Soon, all the Assemblies of God ministers in Louisiana were swept into the new movement, and inroads were being elsewhere in the Southwest as well. By the end of the summer it seemed the entire denomination

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[263]Paul D. Dugas, comp., The Life and Writings of Elder G. T. Haywood (Stockton, CA: Apostolic Press, 1968), p. 16.

[264]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, p. 193.

[265]Ibid., p. 197; and Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 179.

[266]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, pp. 199-5; and David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 114.

would succumb. In addition, numbers of Pentecostals from other denominations as well as a host of independents had embraced the message.[267]

By June, 1915, R. E. McAlister began rebaptizing in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ throughout eastern Canada. He was later joined by Franklin Small in the West. Together, with several American evangelists, they seemed to be taking all of Canadian Pentecostalism for the new issue .[268] By the time the third general council of the Assemblies of God met in St. Louis in October, 1915, few thought that anything would be able to stem the tide.[269]

A Time to Stand. In March, 1915, officials in the Assemblies of God began to take a public stand in opposition to the New Issue. E. N. Bell, who had stepped down as Chairman at the second Council in November, 1914, in order to give more time to the denomination's twin periodicals Word and Witness and The Weekly Evangel, began a series of essays challenging certain tenants of the new teaching.[270]

Although his tone was conciliatory, his message was firm. He acknowledged that Acts 2:38 formula was valid, but argued that the Matthew 28:19 formula was valid. Since both were biblical, he deplored the practice of rebaptism. He

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[267]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 178.

[268]Robert Larden, Our Apostolic Heritage, pp. 88-9.

[269]Carl Brumback, Suddenly--From Heaven, p. 197.

[270]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 109.

also expressed concern that a number of "revelations" associated with the new issue bordered on the speculative. He pleaded that all doctrine should be firmly grounded in the Scripture. Finally, he engaged his opposition on their understanding of the "Name" of Jesus. He declared that authority in the "Name" was functional. To act in the name of Jesus was to act upon his authority. He denied that the "Name" was revelatory disclosing the "Name" of God. This, he decried, reduced Christ's authority to a ritualized formula that was totally without biblical foundation.[271]

Bell as the denomination's first chairman, most educated pastor, and editor of its journals, carried much weight. By June, 1915, he believed that his reasoned arguments had enabled the Assemblies of God to weather the storm. Encouraged by developments, he exuded: "We venture to predict it is now at high water mark, and that the old issue so needless will dwindle down, as it always has."[272]

His optimism was premature. In July he left for Jackson, Tennessee, where the Assemblies of God was hosting its Third Interstate Encampment. H. G. Rogers was the host pastor, and Bell was slated as the featured speaker. En-route to the camp, the subconscious turmoil he had been experiencing regarding the New Issue began to surface. He had a premonition:

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[271]Ibid., pp. 110-2.

[272]E.N. Bell, "The 'Acts' on Baptism in Christ's Name Only," Weekly Evangel, (June 12, 1915), p. 3.

> if he did not preach water baptism in the name of Jesus Christ in this campmeeting, things would be a failure; he would dry up and it would be the worst meeting he had ever conducted.[273]

Surely enough, the meeting got off to a horrible start. After several days of inactivity, Bell shared his premonition with Rogers. They came to the conclusion that the voice Bell had heard had been from the Lord. They cosigned a telegram to L. V. Rogers in Indianapolis, stating: "We want your message for the camp; take first train."[274]

Upon Roberts arrival, he preached from Acts 2:38. Following his sermon, both Bell and Rogers announced their intention to be rebaptized. The meeting broke wide open. In all, sixty eight submitted to rebaptism. By the final service, 4,000 were in attendance.[275]

Bell's defection to the New Issue, after so public a stand in opposition, had the effect of pulling one's finger from a hole in a dyke. The New Issue swept across the Finished Work camp like a deluge upon a flood plain. One after another, the major Pentecostal spokesmen followed Bell's lead. With them, of course, came their adherents.[276]

In the face of the on-coming flood tide, J. R. Flower, Office Editor of the Assemblies of God's periodicals and

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[273]L. V. Roberts, Letter to Frank Ewart, reprinted in Frank Ewart, Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 100.

[274]Ibid., p. 99.

[275]Ibid., p. 100.

[276]William Menzies, Anointed to Serve, p. 115.

Secretary for the denomination, took it upon himself to stand as a bulwark against it. Trained as a lawyer rather than a theologian, he none-the-less was convinced that the New Issue was nothing short of Sabellianism, and as such, an ancient heresy. He vowed to stop it at all costs.[277]

Conferring with several of the executive presbyters who had not yet succumbed to the new teaching, Flower lined up support and called a special Council to meet in St. Louis. The meeting opened on October 1, 1915. Both A. P. Collins, Chairman, and Daniel Opperman, Assistant Chairman, opposed to Flower's intentions, boycotted the opening of the meeting in protest, hoping, perhaps, to prevent or delay the process by their absence. If so, the ploy failed to appreciate Flower's singleminded determination. Flower opened the meeting and appointed J. W. Welch as temporary chairman. Welch continued to function as chair, even after Collins arrived two days later.[278]

Flower quickly recognized by the mood of the conference that a showdown was premature. He, therefore, sought to create an atmosphere of conciliation and harmony enabling him to play for time. Following the pattern of the First General Council, three days were given to preaching, testimony, and prayer. When the time came to deal with the business at hand, open debate was limited to the baptismal

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[277]William W. Menzies, Interview with David A. Reed, June 20, 1973, cited in David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 124.

[278]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 179.

formula and rebaptism. Representatives on both sides of the issue were given the floor to present their case. Finally, time for decision came. A statement of neutrality was adopted. The resolution disapproved of rebaptism on the grounds of formula alone, but allowed each minister "perfect liberty, without just censure from anyone, to baptize such persons whose consciences are not satisfied that they have fully obeyed God in Christian baptism."[279]

Flower did win several victories. Since most of the New Issue advocates had not yet embraced the "unity of the Godhead" position that Ewart and Cook were teaching, a series of oneness positions were condemned without much visible protest. The banned teachings included: failure to distinguish between the blood and the Holy Spirit; confusion of the New Birth with Spirit-baptism; identification of the Father as the Son; and identification of Christ as the Holy Spirit.[280]

In addition, J. W. Welch was elected permanent chairman. D. O. Opperman and H. A. Goss failed to be reelected to the executive, and E. N. Bell resigned as editor of the denomination's two journals. The council ended in an uneasy truce. All were admonished against

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[279]William Menzies, Anointed to Serve, pp. 115-6; Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 179; and David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," pp. 125-8.

[280]Assemblies of God, "1915 General Council Minutes," p. 5, cited by Joseph H. Howell, "The People of the Name: Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States" (Ph. D. diss. Flordia State University, 1985), p. 42.

preaching on the New Issue in such a way that would be divisive. They were urged to reflect upon the Word and to pray in the hope that the issue could be resolved peacefully but decisively the following year.[281]

Although no one withdrew from the fellowship as a result of the Council's decisions, all were aware that decisive showdown would be coming at the 1916 General Council. The interim was a period of growing unrest. The injunction to avoid divisive tactics was ignored as both sides prepared for battle.[282]

The official periodicals, officially following the Council's policy for moderation, called for a spirit of harmony. In actuality, led by Welch and Flower, the journals controlled the discussion with an undisguised Trinitarian point-of-view.[283] This tactic evoked a dire warning to Flower from his former mentor, Glenn Cook. "Roswell, if you fight against this Oneness message, the whole printing plant will be a pile of junk in six weeks."[284]

Despite the imposed blackout in the official journals, the New Issue cause continued to grow. Also sensing the

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[281]J. R. Flower, "History of the Assemblies of God," p. 26; Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 179.

[282]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 181; and William Menzies, Anointed to Serve, p. 117.

[283]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," pp. 129-30.

[284]Carl Brumback, Suddenly--From Heaven, p. 202.

need for consolidation, more and more of the New Issue adherents began embracing Ewart's "unity of the Godhead" position.[285] Tension mounted as personalities clashed as often as beliefs. By the summer of 1916 it became increasingly clear that schism was inevitable. Writing in The Weekly Evangel in June, Chairman Welch threw down the gauntlet.

> The coming Council will be what might be called an OPEN BIBLE COUNCIL. I think there is no doubt about that. It will be a Council in which the very most important question as to what the Bible teaches, will occupy the attention of all. The time has come for the interpretation of what scriptural teaching and conduct is. The time of sifting and solidifying is here. The great shaking has begun, and all that can be disturbed will be shaken into separation from that which is settled in God. This will not all be done in a few days of Council, but lines will doubtless be drawn . . . It is time to take our bearings and to assure ourselves before God.[286]

The Fourth General Council, which opened on October 1, 1916, was as hostile as the third was conciliatory. Charges and bitter responses were hurled back and forth. Stanley Frodsham, who was attending his first Council, described the proceedings as "a regular dog fight."[287] The Flower faction was clearly in charge, shaping the agenda for the debate to come. Their strategy was to force the new issue adherents to affirm the Trinity as a test of fellowship. To that end,

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[285]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 181.

[286]J. W. Welch, The Weekly Evangel (June 24, 1916), cited by Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, pp. 203-4.

[287]Stanley H. Frodsham, Letter to Robert Cunningham, July 20, 1963.

Welch appointed a committee of five Trinitarians to develop a Statement of Fundamental Truths. They presented a sixteen point document. Fifteen of the Articles of Faith were each stated in one paragraph. The second article "The One True God," however, required 10 subsections.[288]

The debate centered on the constitutionality of the proposed statement. The New Issue adherents argued that the General Council's constitution forbade the adoption of a creed as the test of fellowship. The Trinitarians concurred, but reminded their opponents that the Council did have the constitutional right "to disapprove of unscriptural methods, doctrines and conduct, and to approve all scriptural truth and conduct.[289]

When their attempt to prevent the statement to come to the floor for discussion failed, the New Issue faction, led by Ewart, Goss, Haywood, Opperman, Roberts and Rogers, voted "en block" against every article in the statement, even though they concurred on all but one. When asked why, Goss replied "You are making a creed and I am opposed to it."[290] Their stance evoked such hostility that the debate degenerated into a bitter scuffle. In an attempt to break the tension, Frodsham decided to lead the delegates in a

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[288]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, pp. 204-5, 356-8; and J. R. Flower, "History of the Assemblies of God," p. 27.

[289]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, p. 206.

[290]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, pp. 181-2.

hymn. Without thinking he burst forth singing the first song that came to his mind: "This is like heaven to me!"[291]

When the laughter subsided, sober reality set in. The New Issue faction realized they had lost. The vote on the Statement of Fundamental Truths carried by an overwhelming margin. Realizing they no longer had a place to stand in the General Council, the New Issue faction walked out, as the victors burst forth in singing "Holy, Holy, Holy, . . . God in Three Persons Blessed Trinity."[292]

When the dust had settled, 156 of the 585 ministers withdrew from the fellowship, taking their churches with them. Though set back temporarily, The Assemblies of God recovered their losses within a year. They would go on to become the largest Pentecostal body in the United States and become known as the defender of orthodoxy.[293]

A Time to Respond. Following their exclusion at the Fourth General Council in October, 1916, the New Issue adherents were in a state of disarray and shock. The newly cleansed Assemblies of God fully expected that since the New Issue had been declared a heresy it would gradually fade away. Such was not to be. Howard Goss and Daniel Opperman, called the New Issue advocates to a "General Assembly" at

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[291]Stanley H. Frodsham, Letter to Robert C. Cunningham, July 20, 1963.

[292]Oliver Fauss, Buy The Truth, and Sell It Not, p. 34.

[293]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 134.

Faith Bible School operated by Opperman and Mother Barnes in Eureka Springs, Arkansas.[294]

The Assembly convened on December 28, 1916, with such leaders as L.C. Hall, O. F. Fauss, B. H. Hite, S. C. McClain from the Midwest; and William Booth-Clibborn, Frank Ewart, John Scheppe from the West Coast in attendance. Not surprisingly, the decision was made to form a new fellowship. The name chosen was The General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies. Opperman was elected Chairman, Lee Floyd, Secretary, and Goss, Treasurer. Opperman's periodical, The Blessed Truth, was adopted as the official organ.[295]

More surprisingly, however, the organization decided to adopt an eighteen point "Articles of Faith" that closely paralleled the Statement of Fundamental Truths they had rejected three months before. Seeking to be inclusive, they did not make the "New Issue" a test of fellowship.[296]

The organization was short-lived. The United States entered World War I in 1917. The new fellowship had formed too recently for its clergy to receive exemption from the war. Also, since it was not recognized by the U.S. Government, the railroad lines would not issue the highly prized clergy passes.[297]

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[294]Fred Foster, Think It Not Strange, p. 73; and Arthur Clanton, United We Stand, pp. 23.

[295]Arthur Clanton, United We Stand, pp. 23-5.

[296]Ibid., pp. 23-4.

Therefore, sometime between December, 1917 - January 1918, the leadership met in St. Louis with the leaders of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. They agreed upon a merger. They retained the older organization's name and charter, kept the headquarters in Portland, Oregon, and reelected J. J. Frazee as General Superintendent. Opperman was named Secretary and Goss, Treasurer. Opperman's The Blessed Truth, Haywood's The Voice in the Wilderness, and Ewart's Meat in Due Season were all accepted as official organs of the newly restructured denomination.[298]

The merged organization contained the majority of New Issue adherents for five years. In 1924, the growing Jim Crow attitude forced a painful separation along racial lines. The whites left to form the United Pentecostal Church.

Largely because of the action of J. Roswell Flower, the New Issue fell far short of early fears that it would sweep all of Pentecostalism into its fold. From the time they began to institutionalize until the present, New Issue adherents represent about twenty per cent of the Pentecostal constituency.[299]

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[297]Ibid., p. 25.

[298]J. W. Welch, "New Pentecostal Body," The Weekly Evangel (February 9, 1918), p. 4; and Morris Golder, History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (Indianapolis, IN: The Author, 1973), pp. 46-7.

[299]David Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism," p. 200; and Joseph Howell, "The People of the Name, pp. 104. For an excellent treatment of the development of Oneness denominations, see Part Two, "The

The New Issue's Significance

The New Issue made a profound impact upon the Pentecostal landscape, changing forever the direction the movement would go. The issue had both practical and theological implications.

The Practical Significance. Having successfully warded off the Finished Work understanding of sanctification, Second Work Pentecostals were on guard and, almost without exception, were undisturbed by the controversy.[300] It is clear by their leaders' pronouncements at the time that they did not have to take the matter seriously, nor did they show any understanding about the theological issues involved. J. H. King, leader of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, denounced the "one name baptism" and the "rejection of the Trinity" as "preposterous, nonsensical sensations and heresies."[301] Another leader of that church declared: "This is nothing more than a revival of Unitarianism . . . it is intended to destroy the doctrine of the Trinity."[302] A. J. Tomlinson, leader of the Church of God, was so misinformed of these developments that he mistakenly labeled the New

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Growth and Development of Oneness Pentecostalism," pp. 68-185.

[300]Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 156.

[301]The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (September 6, 1917), p. 10.

[302]The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate (May 2, 1918), p. 3.

Issue adherents to be a sub-group of his own Second Work camp![303]

Charles Parham and Florence Crawford, on the other hand, could hardly keep from gloating. It was obvious to them that this issue was the direct result of persons experiencing Spirit-baptism without first having had their sinful nature eradicated. Heresies, like Unitarianism, were the logical and inevitable consequence of departing from the "true" doctrine of entire sanctification.[304] Thus for Second Work adherents, the main consequence of the New Issue was to confirm their decision in rejecting the Finished Work doctrine thereby assuring that at least a generation would pass before significant steps would be taken to resume fellowship between the two groups.

The Assemblies of God, on the other hand, was in its formative stage, and the New Issue hit them full force. The practical consequences for this group were enormous. First and foremost, as Anderson has correctly observed, the controversy over the New Issue was closely linked with an internal power struggle. The Assemblies of God had come into existence at the call of six Southern leaders: H. A. Goss, E. N. Bell, D. C. Opperman, A. P. Collins, M. M. Pinson, and H. G. Rogers. The other major grouping that came into the new denomination were former Christian

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[303]The Faithful Standard (November, 1922), p. 15.

[304]Charles Parham, The Everlasting Gospel, pp. 118-20; and Florence Crawford, The Pentecostal Movement (Portland, OR: The Apostolic Faith, n.d.), tract.

Missionary and Alliance leaders from the Upper Mid-west led by J. R. Flower, D. W. Myland, J. W. Welch, D. W. Kerr, and T. K. Leonard.[305]

Rivalry between the two groups was evident from the beginning. The first order of business at the Hot Springs convention was the appointment of a committee, dominated by the Southern group, to draft a resolution to serve as the basis for organization. That night, an unofficial committee consisting of Northerners led by Flower met to draft their own basis for organization. To stave off a floor fight, the official committee accepted the Northern resolution. Despite this concession, the new denomination emerged from the organizing council with the Southern faction clearly in control.[306]

When the showdown over the New Issue came two years later, the battle lines were drawn along this old fissure. The bulk of those who defected to the Oneness position or who were supportive of their cause came from the group led by Goss and Rogers. The Northern faction lined up behind Flower. When the dust had settled, the leadership of the Assemblies of God was firmly in the hands of the former Christian and Missionary Alliance brethren.[307] Their influence was further strengthened by the adoption of the

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[305]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 183.

[306]Ibid., pp. 183-4.

[307]Ibid.

Statement of Fundamental Truths which was taken over with minor changes from the Christian and Missionary Alliance.[308]

The organizational structure of the Assemblies of God was transformed as well, moving from a loose association of ministers to an organization with a strong centralized government. This change, coupled with a Statement of Faith, meant that the fellowship had clearly become sectarian. As a result, many Trinitarians withdrew in protest and ultimately formed the Pentecostal Assemblies of the U.S.A. upon the original principles of the Assemblies of God.[309]

There were also racial overtones in the New Issue debate. The call to form the Assemblies of God had come about in part because the Southern faction had found continued formal association with Manson's Church of God in Christ unacceptable. Informal ties continued, however. Mason and several other blacks were at the organizing convention, and many blacks from the North and Upper Mid-west, not associated with Mason, joined the new fellowship. George T. Haywood, though later claiming never to have been a member, achieved great influence in the first two years of the Assemblies of God.[310]

Haywood, who had embraced the New Issue, was singled out for derision at the show down. In a clear allusion to him and his periodical, T. K. Leonard called the doctrine

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[308]Walter Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, p. 41.

[309]Klaude Kendrick, The Promise Fulfilled, p. 146.

[310]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 189.

nothing more than "hay, wood and stubble" and declared that its adherents were "all in the wilderness and they have a voice in the wilderness." At that point, Carl Brumback reports:

> Haywood turned pale and started to rise to his feet, but was pulled back into his chair by those sitting near him. . . Gilbert Sweaza, a member from Southeast Missouri, red-faced and indignant, stomped out the door. Voices from both sides were raised in protest, and it was some minutes before things quieted down. . . From that time on, the advocates of the new doctrine took little part in the discussions, having come to the conclusion that opposition would be futile: the tide had definitely turned against them.[311]

Following the schism, Haywood took the remaining blacks with him. Since 1916 the denomination has been all but "lily white."[312]

Despite the short-term losses, the new leadership believed the pain to be well worth while. Within two years, the denomination surpassed its old membership record. The denomination from that point forward has functioned as a cohesive unit, going on to become the largest and most dominant force in Pentecostalism's future. Their clear-cut stand for "orthodoxy" was reassuring to other evangelical groups and, ultimately opened the way for reapproachment[313]

The Assemblies of God leadership were also successful in defining the New Issue as theological heresy, condemning its advocates to total isolation. Although New Issue

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[311]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven, p. 208.

[312]Robert Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 190.

[313]William Menzies, Anointed to Serve, p. 120.

proponents were able to organize and grow, they have never been able to gain recognition by outsiders as a legitimate branch of Christianity.[314]

The Theological Significance. Although the New Issue was rejected by the majority of the Movement, the fact remains that it was the logical and inevitable development of Pentecostal theology. Pentecostalism emerged as a restrictionist/eschatological movement which saw its task to call the church to prepare for its coming Lord and to warn the nations of pending judgment. As Chapter Two has shown, virtually all the early Pentecostal adherents believed that those who had received Spirit-baptism became part of the Bride of Christ, a company that was called out of and separate from the Church.[315]

In the words of the first Pentecostal theologian, Charles Parham, "The Bride is a distinct company from the Church." He continued that just as "Adam's bride was a rib taken out of his side so the Bride of the second Adam

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[314]The New Issue advocates were not invited to join either the National Association of Evangelicals which formed in 1942, nor the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America which was born in 1948. However, as Synan candidly admits, their membership is always included when Trinitarian Pentecostal leaders cite statistics to show the over-all strength and growth of the Movement. Vinson Synan, The Holiness Pentecostal Movement, p. 161.

[315]See for example George F. Taylor, "The Bride," The Spirit and the Bride: A Scriptural Presentation of the Operations, Manifestation, Gifts and Fruit of the Holy Spirit in His Relation to the Bride with Special Reference to the Latter Rain Revival (Dunn, NC: Private Printing, 1907), pp. 119-126.

(Christ) will be a small company . . . taken out of His Body (the Church)."[316] However, implied in Parham's theology was still an even more select group yet to be revealed, a company of overcomers, "the man-child."

> The people who compose this company reach the highest perfection attainable for human beings planned by God through the atonement of Jesus Christ. The Man-child being born of the Bride whose perfection is beyond description, the Bride herself being taken as a rib near the heart of the body, the Church. They are the only company of people who take part in the Rapture, and are very few in number. The Bible types are found in Enoch and Elijah, they truly are heirs of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ. . . .
>
> God gave the Revelation to show unto His Servants the things which shortly must come to pass. The Man-child was taken out of the woman and caught up to God and his throne. The Man-child will rule all nations in the 1000 years reign of Christ. The Man-child is the Raptured saints and are called the first fruits unto God, being 144,000 in number. The Man-child is the Overcomers.[317]

Before Christ returned, the company of Overcomers, the Man-Child called forth from the Bride, must be revealed. With the disclosure of the Man-Child (of which every committed Pentecostal desired to be a part) would come a fresh wind of God's revival Spirit, and further disclosure from the Word of God. The conviction, shared by most early Pentecostals that God was going to set forth new revelation must be understood in this context.

Thus, when the Woodworth-Etter revival in Dallas heightened expectations that Christ's return was about to

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[316]Charles Parham, A Voice Crying in the Wilderness, p. 86.

[317]Ibid., p. 90.

take place, it was only natural that the conviction grew that God was about to "do a new thing." The fact that Woodworth-Etter left Dallas to conduct a World-Wide Camp Meeting at the site of the initial Pentecostal Revival, intensified this conviction. It provided the perfect context for the time and setting of the new disclosure.

This does not mean that the adherents would have accepted any new idea presented at that campmeeting as the "New Thing" just because the time and place was right. It was not accidental that they seized upon baptism in Jesus Name. The "New Thing" had to fit within the parameters of their world-view. That is, it had to emerge from their understanding of the Latter Rain Covenant, The Apostolic Faith, The Day of Pentecost, and the Full Gospel as explicated in Chapter Two.

Furthermore, William Durham's doctrine of the Finished Work of Calvary helped to focus the direction the new revelation would take. This writer has argued that the Full Gospel motif had predisposed Durham to focus on the person of Jesus as he prepared himself for the experience of Spirit-baptism. In the months which followed, Durham used the book of Acts as the pattern to understand his experience. Two months after his famous declaration at the Stone Church in Chicago he wrote as follows:

> The Acts of the Apostles supplies us with a narrative of what took place on the Day of Pentecost, and, what is of equal importance, of what led up to it and followed from it.[318]

What was important for Durham, it turned out, was that the narrative in Acts provided the key to understanding the whole plan of redemption, while the Epistles elaborated on that plan. He continued:

> The all-sufficient Atonement of Christ, justification by faith, the gift of the Spirit, with His inward witness and inspired freedom, are shown to constitute a vital unity which determines the whole nature of the Christian religion.[319]

This, then for Durham, was what constituted the Full Gospel. Entire sanctification as a separate crisis experience could not be accepted as scriptural because it was not modeled in the book of Acts. Beyond that, however, the Acts narrative focused Durham's attention on the work of Christ on the Cross and on the believer's *identification* with that work.

> The doctrine of the Finished Work, brings us back to the simple plan of salvation. Christ died for us. He became a substitute for every one of us; . . . We are not saved simply because we are forgiven our sins. We are saved through identification with our Savior Substitute, Jesus Christ. We are given life because He died and rose again.[320]

Durham understood identification with Christ to be "by faith alone.[321] His friend, A. S. Copley, however, quickly recognized that this identification also implied water

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[318]William H. Durham, "The Experience is Standardized," Word and Work, 32 (July, 1910), p. 202.

[319]Ibid.

[320]William H. Durham, "The Finished Work of Calvary--It Makes Plain the Great Work of Redemption," Pentecostal Testimony, 2 (July, 1912), p. 5.

[321]Ibid.

baptism. Writing on the new doctrine of the "Finished Work of Calvary," two months after Durham's Chicago declaration, Copley noted:

> 'Jewish' sanctification sees only that Christ died for us in our stead; but Christian sanctification sees our identification with Christ. That is, it sees that we died with Christ and were buried with Him, and that we arose with Him, and are seated with Him in the heavenlies.[322]

Half the Pentecostal Movement had recently followed Durham's lead in jettisoning their old understanding of entire sanctification in order to seek complete identification with the *person* of Jesus in his Finished Work of Calvary. It should come as little surprise that many would now be inclined to identify with the ***Name*** of Jesus in the waters of baptism. Indeed the surprise is that so many "Finished Work" advocates did not.

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[322]A. S. Copley, "Sanctification -- 'Jewish' and 'Christian'," Confidence, 3 (July, 1910), p. 169.

Chapter Seven

REPRODUCTION: THE NEW ORDER OF THE LATTER RAIN

> *The great reformation began in earnest in the days of Martin Luther. That great reformation should have been called a RESTORATION. . . but it was only the beginning. The greater part of the restoration was yet to come. Let the Church awake to these great truths: . . . THE GREATEST REFORMATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IS NOW ON.*[1]

During the years between the wars, Pentecostalism experienced steady if unspectacular growth. As denominational structures developed, the Movement entered a period of increasing isolation. Aside from an occasional episode like the "Aimee Semple McPherson kidnapping," the Movement was largely ignored by the rest of society. This seclusion was not confined to the outside world alone, but persisted within the Movement between Pentecostal denominations as well.[2]

Following World War II, the situation began to change. There were several factors that produced this change. First was the war itself. For the most part, Pentecostals had been conscientious objectors during World War I. Indeed the

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[1]George R. Hawtin, "The Great Restoration," The Sharon Star (May 1, 1952), p. 3.

[2]William Menzies, "Withdrawal into Isolation," Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), pp. 177-82.

war was, at least in some instances, a major factor for hastening denominational development.[3] When World War II broke out, however, most Pentecostals found themselves supporting the war effort and encouraging their sons to enlist, thereby helping to break down the isolation with the larger world.[4] Secondly, in 1942, the newly formed National Association of Evangelicals invited several Pentecostal groups to join fellowship with them. Most accepted the invitation and became members the following year.[5] Finally, in 1947, the first World Pentecostal Conference was held in Zurich, Switzerland, laying the groundwork for the establishment of the World Pentecostal Fellowship. The Americans attending returned home to establish the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America at Des Moines, Iowa, in 1948.[6] Such developments assured Pentecostals that their movement would abandon its isolationist stance for the foreseeable future.

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[3]". . . by 1917, this group had been organized long enough to secure non-combatant status for its young ministers. For this reason, it seemed good to the Oneness ministers of the General Assembly of the Apostolic Assemblies to seek consolidation with the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World." Arthur L. Clanton, United We Stand: A History of Oneness Organizations (Hazelwood, MO: The Pentecostal Publishing House, 1970), p. 27.

[4]For a thorough discussion on this issue, see Jay Beaman, "Pentecostal Pacifism: The Origin, Development and Rejection of Pacific Belief Among Pentecostals" (M.A. Thesis, North American Baptist Seminary, 1982).

[5]John Thomas Nichol, Pentecostalism (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1971), pp. 209-11.

[6]Donald Gee, Wind and Flame (Croydon, ENG: Heath Press, 1967), pp. 226-7.

These trends did not come without opposition. Charles Conn perhaps downplayed the negative response when he noted:

> Some of the Church of God preachers questioned the propriety of such close association with non-Pentecostals. Nevertheless, a majority of the delegates realized that there is but a hair's-breath between the current of conviction and the shoals of bigotry.[7]

Indeed, such organs as The Pentecostal Evangel, of the Assemblies of God; The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate, of the Pentecostal Holiness Church; and The Church of God Evangel, of the Church of God; all devoted much space throughout 1942-43 advocating the shift, preparing their constituencies for the change, and most importantly, responding to severe objections that were being raised. The main concern voiced by these opponents was that such steps represented a step backward, not forward--a betrayal of the original aims of the Movement and an accommodation with "this world." One troubled Assemblies of God pastor who could not go along with the shift put the issue succinctly:

> It was not designed of God that we act like contented kittens about a bowl of rich cream from God. We should have the faces of pioneers that peer eagerly in the direction of God's frontiers of undiscovered truth. Pentecostalism has had the opportunity of being a despised people in defense of unpopular Bible teaching, but the days of Pentecostal unpopularity are about over. Pentecostalism is about to have its nest stirred. Our once bitter enemies are now bragging about our achievements in the earth and that suggests peril for us in the immediate future. Men and movements seldom fail when poor and struggling against great odds of antagonism while defending misunderstood truth, but when success attends the efforts of the

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[7]Charles W. Conn, Like a Mighty Army Moves the Church of God (Cleveland, TN: Church of God Publishing House, 1955), p. 259.

servants of God, we may look for real danger to be lurking in the shadows.

Outstanding editorial writers who drove us to our knees in prayer for grace to stand as outcasts a few years ago now come into public print with praise that puffs our egotism and pride. It is never a sign of spiritual health to warm ourselves at the camp fire of the enemy as did Peter the Apostle and the first sign of back-sliding in a child of God is to be elated over popularity with an unbelieving world. Believe it or not, Pentecostalism is establishing peaceful relationship with its bitterest foes and that means that Pentecostalism is no longer an outright factor of religious disturbance among professed followers of Jesus Christ.[8]

In this context -- a recent national victory at war; the ending of Pentecostal isolationism; and growing concern by a minority of Pentecostals about apostasy -- a revival broke out that spread throughout Pentecostalism. It would become known as the New Order of the Latter Rain.

In this chapter the writer will examine this revival by 1) tracing the revival's course; 2) analyzing the revival's teachings and expectations; 3) recording the response to the revival; and 4) assessing the revival's results.

The Revival

At the First World Pentecostal Conference in Zurich, Switzerland in 1947, David Duplessis, general secretary, ended his opening address by stating,

> There is nothing that can ever take the place of the Holy Spirit in the church. Let us pray for a greater outpouring than ever, and remember when the floods come it will not keep to our well prepared channels but it

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[8]Jonathan Ellsworth Perkins, What the Bible Says About the Laying on of Hands, or, Pentecostal Truth Defended (Seattle, WA: The Author, n.d.), pp. 7-8.

> will overflow and most probably cause chaos in our regular programs.[9]

Duplessis was not alone in calling for revival. Many felt a sense of "dryness" during the 30's and 40"s and hungered for renewal.[10] First generation leaders were passing away.[11] The second generation leadership, having

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[9]David J. Duplessis, "Chaff-Fire Wheat," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 21 (March 1950), p. 6.

[10]See, for example, Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . From Heaven: a History of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), p. 331. Klaude Kendrick, an Assemblies of God historian, admitted: "In this connection one cannot help but observe that the fervor of the Holiness and Pentecostal movements cooled as the social and economic status of the participants improved." Klaude Kendrick, The Promise Fulfilled: A History of the Modern Pentecostal Movement (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), p. 45. While most concurred that the revival fervor was in decline, not all agreed, that this merited the anticipation of another Latter Rain outpouring. O. H. Bond, a former disciple of Charles Parham, noted in 1948:

> It is now plainly evident that the real power of God is receding; and that only occasional 'outpourings' are in evidence--just a 'shower' falling her and there, occasionally. . . the rain is over and gone. . . .
>
> and YET, there are those who anticipate . . . another GREAT OUTPOURING--a great revival period; . . .It begun to be advocated even before the close of the late war, that following the close of the same, there would be a great revival break out; but now it has been practically two years since actual fighting ceased, and with no more evidence of a wonderful revival period than has been in evidence for several years past. . .
>
> We need not look for any great revival to sweep the world . . . The LAST GOSPEL CALL the world will ever have, is now spending its echo upon the hills and valleys.

O. H. Bond, "Are We to Expect Another Outpouring of the 'Latter Rain?'" The Apostolic Faith Messenger (October 1, 1948), p. 2.

[11]The movement was forced to note the passing of its first generational leadership in 1947 when three of its most

risen up through the organization, left many feeling something to be desired. A. G. Ward, a Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada pastor, took note of the situation and flatly stated that a new kind of leadership was necessary if Pentecostalism was to accomplish its mission in its second generation:

> Such a revival as we have in mind will require a new order of leadership. Many of our present leaders are men of God and, we believe, men who are ably filling their respective positions, but the church must be presented with a more challenging program than the one she has before her at this hour--a program which only the most daring leaders will venture to advance . . . . leaders who will dare to be reckless adventurers in God. . . leaders who will be strategists rather than tacticians.[12]

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prominent leaders died: Charles Price, Smith Wigglesworth, and Dan Williams. Donald Gee wrote:

> After forty years it had become inevitable that one by one some of the outstanding leaders of the Pentecostal Movement should slip away from the scenes of earth, and very soon hardly any were left who had taken any prominent part in the beginning of the Revival.

Donald Gee, Wind and Flame, pp. 218-19.

[12]A. G. Ward, "A Postwar Revival," The Pentecostal Evangel (May 10, 1941), p. 3. The feeling was echoed by many. For example, Gordon Lindsay, editor of The Voice of Healing, when commenting on the emergence of William Branham's healing ministry in 1946, observed:

> A generation ago the Full Gospel movement sprang into existence, attended by many signs and wonders. But now a new generation has arisen, and many of the young people, though they have heard of the works done in a previous day, have never themselves witnessed a miracle. In many churches the tendency has been to seek substitutes for the power of God and to gravitate to a purely human level of worship.

Gordon Lindsay, William Branham: A Man Sent From God (Jeffersonville, IN: William Branham, 1950), p. 122.

The Revival Begins

The Latter Rain Revival broke out in February, 1948, at the Sharon Orphanage and Schools in North Battleford, Saskatchewan. Herrick Holt, founder of the orphanage, had been pastoring a church affiliated with the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel in North Battleford for several years. In the mid-40's he purchased a 1,000 acre farm 10 miles outside the city to establish the orphanage.[13]

In the fall of 1947 he invited George Hawtin and Percy Hunt to found a Bible College at Sharon. Hawtin, a former minister in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (P.A.O.C.), had been Principal of Bethel Bible Institute in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. He pioneered Bethel as an independent school in 1935 but turned the school over to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in 1942. He broke with the P.A.O.C. over a policy dispute in the spring of 1947, resigned as Principal of Bethel, and withdrew his credentials from the denomination. Hunt, who had been on Bethel's board, resigned in sympathy, following Hawtin to North Battleford.[14]

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[13]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948 and the Mid-Twentieth Century Evangelical Awakening" (M.C.S. Thesis, Regent College, 1979), p. 202. In addition to the orphanage, Holt intended to establish a Bible College, a high school, a trade school and an a retirement home. Letter from George Warnock to Richard Riss, November 7, 1976, cited in Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 202.

[14]Ibid., pp. 77-9; and L. Thomas Holdcroft, "The New Order of the Latter Rain," Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, 2 (Fall, 1980), p. 47.

The school opened in October, 1947, with Principal Hawtin calling the student body to an extended period of fasting and prayer.[15] The following month, while classes were still in session, he journeyed to Vancouver, British Columbia, to hear healing evangelist, William Branham, who was conducting a campaign in that city.[16] Upon returning from the meeting he confessed:

> Never in my life have I ever seen anything to equal what I saw in Vancouver. The meetings were held in the Exhibition Garden, a building seating possibly between four and five thousand people. There was very little advertising of the meetings--just a few posters here and there giving only the time and place of the services. The first meeting the place was jammed to the doors and from then on, unless one arrived early for the afternoon meeting, there was no hope at all to get in at night. . . . I saw the deaf receive their

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[15]George R. Hawtin, "How it Started," The Sharon Star (March 1, 1950), p. 1.

[16]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 80. Branham, a minister of the United Pentecostal Church, began his healing ministry in 1946 after he had an "angelic" visitation in May of that year. For the next two years he conducted his healing campaign under the province of the United Pentecostal Church. In the late summer of 1947, Gordon Lindsay became his manager and began to set up city-wide crusades that had the endorsement of several local evangelical churches. The Vancouver campaign, held in November, 1947, was the first of these crusades. Lindsay reports that 70,000 attended the fourteen day crusade. Gordon Lindsay, William Branham, pp. 77, 116-25. Branham was the first of dozens of healing evangelists, whose ministries began in the late Forties. Lindsay became coordinator for many of these men, giving them publicity through his magazine, The Voice of Healing. David Edwin Harrell, All Things Are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1975) provides a comprehensive study of this movement. Although the healing evangelists intersected with the Revival at several points, Riss is correct in his assessment that "the Healing revival and the Latter Rain Movement were actually parallel developments during 1947-1952." Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 2.

> hearing. I heard the dumb speak. . . . I saw a goiter vanish. I saw sick people get up from their beds. . . To my best knowledge I did not see one person who was not healed when brother Branham took time to pray specially with him.[17]

This campaign had a profound effect upon the events that followed.[18] Hawtin called upon the Sharon community to renew their efforts at fasting and prayer with the hope that revival might come to North Battleford. However, in spite of the thrill of the Branham meetings, the atmosphere at Sharon remained quite different. Though fasting and prayer continued "week after week," and classes were often suspended "as a great burden of prayer" swept in upon them, the "classes nevertheless were dry and the praying often difficult and hard."[19]

Finally, the long awaited visitation arrived. On February 11, 1948, a young woman prophesied that they were "on the very verge of a great revival." All they had to do was "open the door" and "enter in". In response, Hawtin rose to his feet, confessing: "Father, we do not know where the door is, neither do we know how to enter it."[20] Apparently no further clarification came forth that day.

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[17]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (January 1, 1948), pp. 2-3.

[18]After noting the importance of their fasting, Ernest, Hawtin's brother asserted: "The second great event in preparation of our hearts was the coming of Wm. Branham to Canada with his ministry of healing." Ernest H. Hawtin, "How This Revival Began," The Sharon Star (August 1, 1949), p. 3.

[19]George R. Hawtin, "The Great Restoration," p. 2.

[20]George R.Hawtin, "How it Started," p. 1.

The next day further instructions were given; this time through Hawtin's younger brother, Ernest.

> These are the last days, my people. The coming of the Lord draweth nigh, and I shall move in the midst of mine own. The gifts of the spirit will be restored to my church. If thou shalt obey me I shall immediately restore them. . . . They shall be received by prophecy and the laying on of hands of the presbytery.[21]

What followed next is somewhat confusing from the conflicting published reports. However, all sources agree that the prophecy came forth when the younger Hawtin took another young man by the hand and proceeded to prophecy concerning his life and future ministry. At that point, according to A. W. Rasmussen, everybody present became confused.

> Nobody there had ever seen such an odd manifestation, so they finally agreed to take three days off for fasting and prayer and searching the Word. Every student and every member of the faculty earnestly sought God's guidance. If this manifestation was of God, they certainly didn't want to fight it. But if there was an error, they knew it had to be corrected.[22]

Other accounts suggest that attempts were made to lay hands on some of the students but these efforts were "very faltering and imperfect."[23] Milford Kirkpatrick recalled: "It was rather amusing how in the beginning the revival got started. The question was who would have the faith to start

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[21]Ernest H. Hawtin, "How This Revival Began," p. 3.

[22]A. W. Rasmussen, The Last Chapter, (Monroeville, PA: Whitaker House, 1973), p. 145. Rasmussen did not arrive at Sharon until July, 1948. His account is based on the testimony of one of the faculty members present at the time.

[23]Ernest H. Hawtin, "How This Revival Began," p. 3.

doing it."[24] According to this reading, it was only after inconclusive results that they retired for "two days' searching the word of God to see if we were on scriptural grounds."[25] In any event, by February 14, everyone agreed that Ernest Hawtin's prophecy had come from God and was in accord with Scripture. George Hawtin continues the narrative:

> I can never begin to describe the things that happened on that day. It seemed that all Heaven broke loose upon our souls, and Heaven came down to greet us. The power and the glory were indescribable.[26]

The revival was finally rolling! However, no mention was made of it in the March issue of The Sharon Star. Instead, it announced the first annual "Feast of Pentecost" camp meeting would be held March 30 - April 4, 1948. The ad did hint that something remarkable was taking place: **"SCORES OF PEOPLE HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR MONTHS FOR AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE THE GREAT THINGS GOD IS DOING AT NORTH BATTLEFORD. THIS IS YOUR OPPORTUNITY."**[27]

Word of the revival was mentioned on Sharon's radio program and also traveled rapidly by word of mouth.[28] The

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[24]Milford E. Kirkpatrick, The 1948 Revival and Now (Dallas, TX: The Author, n.d.), p. 15.

[25]Ernest H. Hawtin, "How This Revival Began," p. 3.

[26]George R. Hawtin, "How It Started," p. 2.

[27]The Sharon Star (March 1, 1948), p. 4.

[28]Tom Craig Darrand and Anson Shupe, Metaphors of Social Control in a Pentecostal Sect (New York, NY: The Edwin Mellon Press, 1983), p. 47.

size of the crowd that attended the "Feast" indicated, that, by whatever means, the news of the revival had spread effectively. Milford Kirkpatrick remembered:

> We never saw such a variety of cars and license plates before, from many provinces in Canada and from so many states across the border. People drove for miles.[29]

They did not leave disappointed. The Sharon Star reported that "People hungry to meet God had come many hundreds of miles, and God met them." It continued: "the sick are being healed; the Devils are being cast out; Saints are being edified; sinners are being saved." Anticipation was so high that this "visitation" was compared to the 1906 Azusa Street revival.[30]

A second camp meeting was held from July 7-18, 1948. This time "thousands of people throughout the continent who had heard of awakening at North Battleford" were reported in attendance.[31] People had come from as far north as Peace River, Alberta; as far west as Vancouver, British Columbia; as far east as Prince Edward Island; and from twenty states

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[29]Kirkpatrick, The 1948 Revival and Now, p. 9. George Hawtin noted more detail, stating that "The whole of Canada was well represented from Montreal to Victoria." and that ". . . delegations came from Washington, Idaho, Oregon, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin and Iowa." George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (May 1, 1948), p. 2.

[30]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," and "Local Church Government," The Sharon Star (May 1, 1948), pp. 2, 4.

[31]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," pp. 102-3, citing Noel McNeill, "As of a Rushing Mighty Wind: An Assessment of North America's Pentecostal Movement" (Unpublished manuscript. Haliburton, Ontario, 1964), p. 27.

south of the Canadian border.[32] "Day after day the Word was taught, and then the signs followed its teaching. Morning, afternoon and evening, people were slain under the power of God and filled with the Holy Spirit."[33] Phyllis Spiers, upon returning home from the meeting, wrote:

> How long we have desired to see the signs following the preaching of the Word! With this hunger, and also mingled feelings, we landed at the North Battleford camp. Although we saw things that we had never seen before, we sensed that the place whereupon we stood was Jehovah's holy ground, and that place was vibrating and pulsing with the dynamic power of God. . . . Oh how our hearts went up in praise, for we realized that this was the promise of the coming latter rain.[34]

<u>The Revival Spreads. . .</u>

As people returned to their homes, they took the revival with them. A pastor from Rainy River Valley in northwestern Ontario wrote that upon his return home from the Feast of Pentecost, his first meeting at "his assembly was wonderful; the next was glorious, and the next more glorious." Another pastor wrote that he could "no longer confine his ministry to his own church, but is needed abroad."[35] It is beyond the scope of this study to trace

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[32]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," <u>The Sharon Star</u> (August 1, 1948), p. 2, and Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 103 citing James A. Watt, <u>The Latter Rain Movement</u> (Surrey, British Columbia: Christian Centre, Spring 1976), tape cassette.

[33]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," <u>The Sharon Star</u> (August 1, 1948), p. 2.

[34]Phyllis Spiers, "Marvelous Support for Call to Chinese Missions," <u>The Sharon Star</u> (August 1, 1948), p. 3.

[35]<u>The Sharon Star</u> (June 1, 1948), p. 2.

all the locations where the revival took root, but it is important to sketch the major developments as the revival spread throughout the North American Continent and around the world.[36]

. . . Throughout the North American Continent. After Feast of Pentecost camp meeting concluded, the Hawtin brothers were invited to hold meetings at a Full Gospel Assembly in Saskatoon. George exalted: "To be in one of these meetings is like living in another Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles." He continued: "Denominational pastors and evangelists are coming in to see what it is all about and many are going away never to be the same again."[37] The May, 1948, issue of The Sharon Star also reported that "Mighty outpourings are taking place among the saints in Prince Albert and McDowall."[38]

Following the July camp meeting local revivals broke out in the Saskatchewan communities of Elrose and Alsask and continued in Saskatoon.[39] A. W. Rasmussen left the camp

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[36]In tracing the spread of the Latter Rain Revival, the writer wishes to acknowledge his dependence on the work of Richard Riss. His seminal work for his Master's thesis has brought together most of the extant literature that the revival has produced. Currently, Walter Willett and Janet Appleby Smith of San Jose, California, are doing research on the revival in preparation for publication. The writer is grateful for their readiness to exchange materials with him.

[37]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (May 1, 1948), p. 2.

[38]Ibid.

[39]The Sharon Star (September 1, 1948), p. 2.

meeting to take the message to the Eastern United States.[40] Jim and Phyllis Spiers traveled to Hibbing, a small town in northern Minnesota, where they found E. H. Blomberg, pastor of the local Assembly of God, receptive to the message. Spiers wrote:

> The Pastor here is very much on fire and longs for the moving of the Spirit. He has seen the revival coming for some time. . . . When we came here, the Lord came forth in the very first meeting.[41]

The work progressed so rapidly that George Hawtin and Milford Kirkpatrick were asked to come to take charge.[42]

After making sure the revival was firmly grounded in Minnesota, George Hawtin returned to Canada in early October; this time to Calgary, Alberta. He reported that the meetings there were a great success. Describing the results, he exulted: "It is wonderful to see the scenes of Samaria, Damascus and Ephesus repeated in our day."[43]

Leaving Calgary, Hawtin accepted the invitation of A. W. Rasmussen to be the featured speaker at the annual Canadian National Convention of the Independent Assemblies of God which was scheduled to be held October 24-31, 1948, in Edmonton, Alberta. There he was joined by his brother Ernest and other leaders from North Battleford.[44] In

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[40]The Sharon Star (October 1, 1948), p. 2.

[41]Ibid.

[42]George Rasmussen, "Report From Northern Minnesota," The Pentecostal Evangel (December 18, 1948), p. 16.

[43]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (November 1, 1948), p. 2.

addition to the Independent Assemblies of God brethren, a number of Assemblies of God and Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada pastors were in attendance. One of the persons present, J. Mattson Boze, an Independent Assemblies of God pastor and editor of The Herald of Faith, returned to his church in Chicago, Illinois, transformed. His church would become a strategic center for the Movement and his magazine a leading voice for the revival activity.[45]

Following the Edmonton Convention, George Hawtin and James Watt returned with E. H. Blomberg to the work at Hibbing, Minnesota, for a further series of meetings in November. A month later, The Pentecostal Evangel, the official organ of the Assemblies of God, carried a news article about the meeting, noting that the revival was spreading throughout northern Minnesota.[46]

From Minnesota the revival spread to Vancouver, British Columbia. Reg Layzell, pastor of Glad Tidings Temple, invited the Hawtin brothers, the Spiers family, Milford Kirkpatrick, and others to hold services November 14-28.[47]

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[44]The Sharon Star (October 1, 1948), p. 4.

[45]The Sharon Star (December 1, 1948), pp. 2-3. Boze began publishing the news of the Revival early in 1949. See the article "Good News from Canada," Herald of Faith (February, 1949), pp. 1-2.

[46]James Watt, "Progress With God," The Sharon Star (December 1, 1948), p. 1; George R. Hawtin, "Report from Hibbing, Minnesota," The Sharon Star (February 1, 1949), p. 3; and George Rasmussen, "Report from Northern Minnesota," p. 16.

[47]"Advertisement," The Sharon Star (November 1, 1948), p. 4.

Meetings were held twice daily throughout the week and three times on Sunday. James Watt reports that "the temple was always full and on Sundays it was jammed."[48]

By this time the Hawtins were swamped with invitations. In the February 1, 1949, issue of The Sharon Star, George Hawtin reported: "Calls are coming in daily from all over the continent. We have never been so busy."[49] On February 20, 1949, he received a call from Dr. Thomas Wyatt, pastor of the Wings of Healing Temple in Portland, Oregon, requesting that the Hawtin party come for a convention there. When they arrived on February twenty four, they found awaiting them some ninety ministers, who had come from Montana, Iowa, Kansas, Texas, California, Utah, Idaho, Colorado, Washington, and Canada.[50] They had planned to stay four days but found themselves still there three weeks later. Wyatt had a radio program that went out on a network of 64 stations. From that vantage point, word of the revival began to saturate the country.[51]

One of the pastors in attendance at Portland was Dr. A. Earl Lee, pastor of Immanuel Temple in Los Angeles, California. Some months later he wrote the Hawtins:

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[48]James Watt, "Progress With God," p. 3.

[49]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (February 1, 1949), p. 1.

[50]"Heaven's Great Spiritual Offensive," The Sharon Star (May 1, 1949), pp. 1, 3.

[51]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (April 1, 1949), p. 1.

> On the twenty-fourth of February, 1949, I found myself in Wings of Healing Temple in Portland, Oregon, listening to . . . our Brother George Hawtin of Canada. From that moment on, the Latter Rain has been falling, not only in my heart, but in the church of which God has set met as pastor. After the laying on of hands, I returned to Los Angeles, and beginning with the Sunday service of February 27, until this present hour, two services have been held daily in our church, with three on Sunday.[52]

By the end of the year, Hawtin had written that "Immanuel Temple . . . is expanding rapidly and is a mother church for hundreds of miles around, with many assemblies looking there for help and supervision."[53] Hawtin also reported that Lee was preaching on the radio every day. In October, 1949, he began publishing a monthly periodical, The Latter Rain Evangel.[54]

Toward the end of March, 1949, the Hawtin party left Portland, Oregon, to hold a series of meetings in Tacoma, Washington. Four churches cooperated in this effort, dismissing their scheduled services. Hawtin reported that the meeting hall was packed every service. "It was a glorious week."[55] At that point the party returned to North Battleford to wrap up the end of the term at Sharon Bible School and to prepare for the upcoming camp meeting.

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[52]A. Earl Lee, "From Los Angeles," The Sharon Star (December 1, 1949), p. 2.

[53]George R. Hawtin, "A Report on Meetings By E. H. Hawtin Party," The Sharon Star (December 1, 1949), p. 2.

[54]Ibid., and The Latter Rain Evangel [Los Angeles], 1 (October, 1949).

[55]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (April 1, 1949), p. 2.

The meetings were conducted from July 5-17, 1949. The local newspaper, The North Battleford News, took note of the occasion. "Hundreds of visitors from every part of the prairie provinces, from the North West Territories, and from many of the United States, including as far south as Alabama. . . . are arriving daily." It continued: "North Battleford hotels and cafes are crowded . . . with visitors," and observed that never before had the city "witnessed anything quite like it." The paper reported that close to 3,000 attended the meetings, returning "to their various places refreshed and ready to go on with their work with new vigor."[56]

Though the July camp meeting was successful, by the summer of 1949 the center of the revival had shifted to Bethesda Missionary Temple, an Assembly of God in Detroit, Michigan. The church's pastor, Myrtle D. Beall, had traveled six days and 2,500 miles by car to attend the November, 1948 meetings in Vancouver. Reg Layzell, the pastor of the Vancouver church, recalled:

> We still remember Mrs. Beall of Detroit standing up in a meeting and testifying that this was of God. She testified that God had told her to build an Armory. The building was now about finished, but she was greatly concerned about how to equip an armory and what to do with it. Now, after coming to Vancouver, she saw the answer.[57]

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[56]"Large Group Now in Attendance at Sharon Camp," North Battleford News (July 7, 1949), p. 1; "Large Crowds at Annual Sharon Summer Camp," North Battleford News (July 13, 1949), p. 1; "Sharon Devotionals," North Battleford News (July 14, 1949), p. 2; and "Successful Camp Held by Sharon Group Now Over," North Battleford News (July 21, 1949), p. 1.

During the course of the meeting, the Hawtins called her to come forward. They laid hands on her and prophesied "They shall come to thee from the ends of the earth and shall go forth from thee as lions equipped as from a mighty Armory."[58] She confided that as she left, she felt "like the Queen of Sheba, that the half was never told." She continued: "God met us here in a wonderful way. . . .and we feel we are carrying something back to our assembly we never had before."[59]

Upon her return to Bethesda, she told her congregation of the things that had transpired in Vancouver. She called them to a season of fasting and prayer that God would bring the revival to Detroit, also. Stanley Frodsham recalls the days that followed:

> I arrived in Detroit in time for the Watch Night service on December 31, and stayed for ten days. There is a prayer service each morning at 5 a.m., and another at 10:30 a.m. I was amazed at the number attending. They had prayed for seven years and two days for revival. God has blessed during these seven years, but in December God began to

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[57]Maureen B. Gaglardi, The Pastor's Pen: Early Revival Writings of Pastor Reg Layzell (Vancouver, BC: New West Press, 1965), p. 53. In her autobiography, "A Hand on My Shoulder," Mrs. Beall elaborates the story. Seven years before, in early 1942, shortly after moving into a new building holding 250 people, she felt the Lord calling her to build an "armory" holding 3000 people as a place "where soldiers get equipment." Not fully understanding and wondering where she would get the money, she none-the-less set about to respond. Myrtle D. Beall, "A Hand On My Shoulder," Chapter 29, The Latter Rain Evangel [Detroit], 3 (June, 1954), p. 13.

[58]Myrtle D. Beall, "A Hand on My Shoulder," Chapter 37, The Latter Rain Evangel [Detroit], 4 (May, 1955), p. 12.

[59]Myrtle D. Beall, "Mrs. Beall Testifies," The Sharon Star (December 1, 1948), p. 4.

> move in a new way. During the ten days I was in Detroit, every day souls were saved, every day folks received the Baptism. I saw that the whole assembly was revived, and that God was giving the gifts of the Spirit in a wonderful way.[60]

The new "armory" was dedicated on February 13, 1949, two months after Mrs. Beall's return from Vancouver. In a real sense, it marked the beginning of the revival in Detroit. The building was jammed. Extra chairs had been set up in the aisles, people sat on the stairways to the balcony, the platform was filled, and 1,000 people were in the basement. In addition an estimated 1,700 people were turned away.[61] In the weeks that followed several services were held every day. Police were brought in to help empty the building between services so that the Temple could be ventilated and that those who were waiting outside could get in for the next service.[62] The crowds continued to come. The meetings were moved to the city's Coliseum at the State Fair Grounds which had seating for 10,000. Still thousands had to stand outside and listen to the services through loud speakers.[63]

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[60]Stanley H. Frodsham, letter to J. O. Savell, August 5, 1949. (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God Archives).

[61]Myrtle D. Beall, "A Hand on My Shoulder," Chapter 38, The Latter Rain Evangel [Detroit], 4 (June, 1955), pp. 13-14, and The Latter Rain Revival (Detroit, MI: The Evangel Press, Inc., n.d.), p. 5.

[62]Myrtle D. Beall, "A Hand on My Shoulder," Chapter 39, The Latter Rain Evangel [Detroit], 5 (July, 1955), p. 12.

[63]Myrtle D. Beall, "A Hand on My Shoulder," Chapter 40, The Latter Rain Evangel [Detroit], 5 (August, 1955), p. 13.

Stanley Frodsham returned to Detroit for the dedication of the new "Armory". He wrote that "the revival had greatly deepened." He continued: "I was amazed at the deep conviction that there was on sinners, . . . and there was the same wonderful spirit of love . . . that characterized the early days of Pentecost. Frodsham return to his home in Springfield, Missouri, bringing the message back to the Assemblies of God headquarters .[64]

Bill Britton, a student at Central Bible College, the Assemblies of God ministerial training school in the city, was working part time in the publishing house in the headquarters at the time. Hearing the reports of the revival, he continued to investigate and eventually established a Latter Rain Center in Springfield.[65]

Ivan Q. Spencer, founder of Elim Bible Institute in Lima, New York, and President of the Elim Missionary Assemblies was speaking at the Pentecostal Prayer Fellowship at Zion Bible Institute in East Providence, Rhode Island, on December 30, 1948, when word reached him of Myrtle Beall's experience. As soon as his meeting was over, he headed for Detroit. He was ushered into the basement sanctuary of

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[64]Stanley H. Frodsham, letter to J. O. Savell, August 5, 1949.

[65]Bill Britton, Interview with D. William Faupel (Springfield, MO: July 7, 1976), cassette tape. Britton did not finally accept the message of the revival until May, 1950, when he visited Faith Temple, under pastored by Paul and Laura Grubb in Memphis, TN. Bill Britton, Prophet on Wheels: The Life Story of Bill Britton, Part 3 (Springfield, MO: The Author, n.d.), pp. 1-2.

Bethesda where services were being held at the time. He became aware of hundreds of people "crying out to God in humiliation and brokenness." At the same time he felt a "restfulness" in God's presence and "a flow of love and fellowship that made total strangers feel at home." He returned home to find a "similar spirit of prayer" at the college. By spring the revival was roaring full force at Elim.[66]

In March, 1949, Cecil Cousen and B. G. Evans, pastors of the Apostolic Faith Church in Great Britain, holding pastorates in Hamilton and Toronto, Ontario, took the revival fires with them after a visit to Bethesda.[67] Two months later, Fred Poole, another Apostolic Faith minister, came first to Elim and then went on to Bethesda. After hands were laid on him, he returned to his church in Philadelphia to establish a strong center there.[68]

By the end of 1949, centers for the revival had been established in major cities throughout the continent. Included among those not yet mentioned, were Faith Temple, pastored by Paul and Laura Grubb in Memphis, Tennessee; Glad Tidings Temple, pastored by Omar Johnson in St. Louis, Missouri; The Latter Rain Baptist Church, pastored by

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[66]Marion Meloon, Ivan Spencer: Willow in the Wind (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1974), pp. 147-154.

[67]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 132, citing Cecil Cousen (Scarborough, Yorkshire, England, March 20, 1977), tape cassette.

[68]Marion Meloon, p. 152; and Mrs. Fred Poole, Interview with Walter Willett, June 3, 1974.

William Kitchen in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and Christian Faith Temple, pastored by Lawrence O. McKinney in Cleveland, Ohio; The litany could go on and on. As new centers accepting the Latter Rain message were established in major cities across the continent, they assumed responsibility for providing leadership and instruction to the dozens of churches that were being swept into the movement from the surrounding communities.[69]

Upon investigating the results of the revival, E. L. Moore concluded: "Thousands of ministers and laymen . . . went to Detroit and received the spiritual blessing for which they had been seeking . . .[and] . . . began to proclaim the message of the Latter Rain throughout the country."[70]

<u>. . . and around the world</u>. In December, 1948, George Hawtin wrote that since the revival broke in February, the Sharon group had "received requests from China, India and Norway to carry the message to them."[71] The previous month, at the conclusion of the meetings in Vancouver, the Revival's first missionaries, Brother and Sister Swaan, set sail for the Fiji Islands.[72] In April, 1949, two more

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[69]James Lee Beall, Interview with D. William Faupel, August 4, 1976.

[70]Everett L. Moore, "Handbook of Pentecostal Denominations in the United States" (M.A. Thesis, Pasadena College, 1954), p. 318.

[71]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," <u>The Sharon Star</u> (December 1, 1948), p. 2

couples left the shores of Canada, in this instance for Liberia, Africa. Another single missionary went to India. By June, Global Missions had started a shortwave radio broadcast to communicate the latest news of the revival to their missionaries.[73] The North Battleford News, reporting the results of the July, 1949, camp meeting, noted that a minister from New Zealand had attended, and planned to take the message with him.[74] He returned to the Sharon camp a year later to report that he had "succeeded by the help of the Lord in bringing the truths of this revival into working knowledge among the churches."[75]

Another foreigner, who came to investigate the revival in 1949 was Lewi Pethrus, pastor of the Filadelfia Church in Stockholm, Sweden.[76] Receiving an invitation to attend a

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[72]Ibid.

[73]"Global Mission News," The Sharon Star (June 1, 1949), p. 2.

[74]"Successful Camp Held by Sharon Group Now Over," North Battleford News (July 21, 1949), p. 1. The previous month, Hawtin had noted that the Swaan's had stopped in New Zealand, awaiting clearance to the Fiji Islands. "Global Mission News," p. 2. It is quite possible that they were the source of news that brought the pastor from New Zealand to the Sharon camp.

[75]"Camp Meeting News," The Sharon Star (August 1, 1950), p. 2.

[76]Pethrus was a young Baptist minister when he came into the Pentecostal Movement in February, 1907 after reading about the Azusa Street Revival of 1906. Learning that his Methodist pastor friend, T. B. Barratt, of Kristiania (nee Oslo), Norway, had accepted the Pentecostal Message, he immediately left for the Norwegian capital. After talking with Barratt, he too, accepted the message, and became known as the Father of the Pentecostal Movement in Sweden. Host pastor at the European Pentecostal Conference in 1939, his church had 6,000 members at that

convention in Edmonton, Alberta, he confided, "With great anticipation we set out for a visit in that northern part of North America." Meeting with the principal leaders, including George Hawtin and A. W. Rasmussen, Pethrus accepted the revival as a true spiritual visitation from God and returned to commend it to his Swedish homeland.[77]

The following January, Mattsson Boze, together with Rev. and Mrs. William Freeman, returned Pethrus' visit, holding meetings in his church in Stockholm. From there they traveled to Norway, Finland, and England.[78] In March, 1950, The Pattern, the official organ of The Bible-Pattern Church Fellowship reprinted Lewi Pethrus' report of his trip to North America, thereby endorsing the revival to the Free Pentecostal Churches throughout the British Isles.[79]

It was not until November, 1950, however, that the Latter Rain leadership began systematically to seek to

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time. His church supported 140 evangelists working in Sweden and 500 missionaries. Donald Gee, Wind and Flame, pp. 171-7.

[77]Lewi Pethrus, "The Revival in Canada," The Herald of Faith (December, 1949), pp. 10-1. Pethrus does not mention the nature of the convention nor its dates. From internal evidence, however, it is clear that it was the 1949 Canadian National Convention of the Independent Assemblies of God held in October. This organization, consisting mainly of peoples of Scandinavian origin, had a fraternal relationship with the Pentecostals in Sweden.

[78]"To Europe," The Herald of Faith (December, 1949), p. 11.

[79]Lewi Pethrus, "The Revival in Canada," The Pattern (March, 1950), pp. 3-4. The Bible-Pattern Church Fellowship was founded in 1940 by George Jefferys after he broke with the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance, the largest Pentecostal denomination in Great Britain which he founded in 1915. Donald Gee, Wind and Flame, pp. 181-2.

spread the message around the world. The first "National Latter Rain Convention" hosted by Omar S. Johnson, pastor of Glad Tidings Temple, was held in St. Louis, Missouri, from November 8-15, 1950. Dr. Thomas Wyatt, of Portland, Oregon, brought the climaxing message. He disclosed that God had revealed to him it was His desire to bring this Latter Rain outpouring, not only to the North American continent, but to the ends of the earth.[80] Watts message deeply stirred the audience. By the end of the convention, teams of the revival's leaders made plans for missionary crusades to the Holy Land, India, Japan, and Latin America.[81]

Wyatt led the first team to Jamaica in January, 1951. He was accompanied by his associate, Raymond Hoekstra; Harry Hodge, pastor of Sabine Tabernacle in Beaumont, Texas; Theodore Fitch, pastor in Council Bluffs, Iowa; Cecil Cousen, pastor of the Apostolic Faith Church in Hamilton, Ontario; Fred Poole of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Arnold Washborn and Roscoe Davies. Meetings were held in Kingston and Christiania.[82]

Omar Johnson, host pastor of the convention, together with Ivan Spencer and Donald Murphy, spent the first three months of 1951 in India traveling to Madras, Bangalore,

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[80]Ivan Spencer, "Spiritual Advance at St. Louis," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 20 (November-December, 1950), p. 6.

[81]William A. Mulford, "Sons of God March Forward," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 20 (November-December, 1950), p. 7

[82]Fred C. Poole, "Rain Falls on Sunny Jamaica," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 21 (March, 1951), p. 1.

Calcutta, Hyderabad, Bombay, and New Delhi. They reported that they were completely overwhelmed with the demands to minister, speaking several times daily with thousands in attendance.

> Vast numbers of Indian nationals are receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the 'laying on of hands' . . . There has not been such magnitude of the Holy Spirit's power since the days of the early church! Some of these new Indian converts have been called and set apart for a chosen ministry unto the Lord. Revelations of their ministry was given by prophecy, and these too, shall soon go forth in full apostolic and prophetic power by the Spirit of the Lord.[83]

Enroute home, Ivan Spencer spent the month of April in East Africa, traveling throughout Kenya and Ethiopia.[84]

In the meantime, Milford Kirkpatrick left for Japan, arriving January 4, 1951. After ministering throughout the country for four months, he returned at the end of April to prepare a group of workers to take back with him. They returned in January 1952.[85]

From January, 1951, the Latter Rain periodicals are filled with reports of teams going throughout the world. Earl Lee led a party to Australia and New Zealand in February, 1951. Fred Poole took a party to the British Isles in April, going on to the European continent from

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[83]"Flash," The Voice of Faith, 1 (February, 1951), p. 3.

[84]Ivan Q. Spencer, "Our Editor Returns," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 21 (April-May, 1951), pp. 2-3.

[85]Milford Kirkpatrick, "Missionary News and Reports," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 21 (January, 1951), p. 31; and "Kirkpatrick Returns to Japan," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 22 (January-February, 1952), p. 14.

there.[86] Other tours of note included the John Owen team that went to Switzerland and France;[87] Reg Layzell to Sweden;[88] Richard Iverson and Adam McKeown to Ireland;[89] and Harry Hodge to the Philippines.[90] The list could go on and on. Once the revival began, the Latter Rain Movement, like the Pentecostal Movement before it, spread rapidly across the continent and around the world.

The Message of the Revival

The message of the Latter Rain Revival was a complex system of belief that would require several volumes for complete exposition. In most cases the doctrines involved were a new emphasis on existing Pentecostal teaching or the acceptance of a belief that had been briefly considered by some wing of Pentecostalism but which subsequently had been rejected. Built upon the foundation of the Pentecostal world-view, and using doctrinal teachings which flowed from that Movement, Latter Rain theology none-the-less soon developed into its own unique coherent whole. Its origins date back to the founding of the Sharon Orphanage.

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[86]"Schedules of Missionary Tours," The Voice of Faith, 1 (February, 1951), p. 8.

[87]"Mitchell and Owens in Europe," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 21 (November-December, 1951), p. 14.

[88]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 192, citing Cecil Cousen to Richard Riss (March 20, 1977), cassette tape.

[89]Ibid.

[90]The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 21 (November-December, 1951), p. 15.

About the time Herrick Holt established his orphanage outside North Battleford, he began preaching that God was about to do a "new thing".[91] The context for this biblical phrase is found in Isaiah 43:18-21:

> Here and now I will do a new thing; this moment it will break from the bud. Can you not perceive it? I will make a way even through the wilderness and paths in the barren desert; the wild beasts shall do me honor, the wolf and the ostrich; for I will provide water in the wilderness and rivers in the barren desert, where my chosen people may drink. I have formed this people for myself and they shall proclaim my praises.

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[91]Cornelius John Jaenen, "The Pentecostal Movement" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950), p. 87. The phrase was used by Pentecostals from the outset of the Movement. G. A. Murray, for example, in reporting on the outcome of a Convention in Toronto in 1908, remarked:

> Surely God is doing a new thing in the earth and awakening His people to a sense of their responsibility in carrying out our Lord's last commission.

G. A. Murray, "Toronto Convention," Confidence, 1 (December 15, 1908), p. 19. Historically, the phrase has become associated with the Oneness Doctrine. David Arthur Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1978), p.98. However, it was often used by Pentecostals when they claimed God was about to introduce a new revelation. According to Jaenen, at least five groups in Western Canada were using the term prior to the revival in 1948. pp. 85-6. This tendency often became rather problematic for the Pentecostal Movement. As Howard Goss so aptly put it:

> a preacher who did not dig up a new slant on some scripture, or get some new revelation to his heart every so often; . . . was considered slow, dull and unspiritual.

Ethel E. Goss, The Winds of God: The Story of the Early Pentecostal Days (1901-1914) in the Life of Howard A. Goss (New York, NY: Comet Press Books, 1958), p. 155. It did, however, generate a spirit of expectancy. Such was the case when the "visitation" burst forth in the 1948 revival.

Just what "new thing" Holt thought God was about to do is not clear. Whatever he believed, it soon would be subsumed in George Hawtin's vision.

From the evidence that came forth from his writings in The Sharon Star, George Hawtin had a fairly definite perception of what he believed God was about to do. However, he seemed content to allow this plan to unfold, step by step. Undoubtedly, a few developments caught him by surprise.

In most general terms, Hawtin believed that God was about to pour out His Spirit upon all flesh in a mighty final world-wide revival. As in previous moves of God's Spirit, he also believed that the revival would be accompanied by the restoration of new truth.

Upon his return from the Branham campaign in Vancouver in November, 1947, he_gave full expression to this theme. Like his Pentecostal forebears before him, Hawtin placed his perception in the context of the restoration of the Full Gospel.

> I came home from those meetings realizing as never before that the real gifts of the Holy Spirit are far mightier than any thing we have imagined in our wildest dreams.
>
> All great outpourings of the past have had their outstanding truths. Luther's truth was Justification by faith. Wesley's was Sanctification. The Baptists taught the premillenia coming of Christ. The Missionary Alliance taught Divine Healing. The Pentecostal outpouring has restored the Baptism of the Holy Ghost to its rightful place. But the next great outpouring is going to be marked by all these other truths plus such a demonstration of the nine gifts of the Spirit as the world, not even the Apostolic world,

> has ever witnessed before. This revival will be short and will be the last before the Rapture of the church.[92]

When the revival came, the "truth" of the nine gifts of the Spirit was restored,[93] and other "new truths" would follow. Hawtin exulted: "To be in one of these meetings is like living in another Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. God is working in a new way."[94]

As adherents reflected on their experience, they came to the realization that internal coherence of the revival's message could be summarized in one word -- *Restoration*.[95] Primarily, this restoration of truth would focus on one major doctrine, the Doctrine of the Church. The message was concerned about four aspects of the Church: 1) its nature; 2) its mission; 3) its worship; and 4) its authority.

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[92]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (January 1, 1948), p. 3.

[93]The nine gifts of the Spirit, to which Hawtin makes reference, are recorded in I Corinthians 12:7-11.

> To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good. To one is given through the Spirit gift of wisdom, and to another the gift of knowledge according to the same Spirit, to another faith by the same Spirit, to another gifts of healing by the one Spirit, to another the working of miracles, to another the ability to distinguish between spirits, to another various kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues. All these are inspired by one and the same Spirit who apportions to each one individually as he wills.

[94]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (May 1, 1948), p. 2.

[95]Paul N. Grubb. Interview with D. William Faupel, July 1, 1976.

The Nature of the Church

Despite the claim that the writer just made, the surface reading of the literature of the New Order of the Latter Rain would suggest that instead of a coherent unifying doctrine being expressed, the revival brought a series of unrelated truths that were being "restored" to the church. Only as they are analyzed in the context of the whole does the internal coherent structure begin to unfold. What follows is a distillation of the essential features of the Latter Rain theology in roughly the order that they emerged during the course of the revival.

Fasting and Prayer. The first mark of the revival at Sharon was the fact that it was preceded by several months of fasting and prayer. Ernest Hawtin attributes this to have been one of the great contributing factors to the initiation of the revival. He records that Sharon had been called to fasting through the reading of a book by Franklin Hall.[96] From a reading of his works, the magnitude of the school's expectation is readily apparent. Hall asserts:

> The truth of fast is being revealed to us now that we may secure the greater things of God, that we may receive the 'Gifts of the Spirit,' and that a mighty world-wide revival of spiritual power will sweep over

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[96]"The revival would never have been possible without the restoration of this great truth through our good brother Hall." Ernest Hawtin, "How the Revival Began," pp. 3-4. Hawtin was in a good position to know. He had been confined in bed for several weeks in February, 1947. A friend, Brother Fredricks from Salem, Oregon, sent him Hall's book. After several days of fasting he reported being healed. Walter Willet, Interview with D. William Faupel, December 17, 1976.

> the world, with major signs and miracles in these last days.[97]

The implication is clear. If Sharon Bible Institute would fast and pray, revival would fall on them, perhaps starting the anticipated world-wide revival. When the revival did follow, the teaching was secure. Extended fasts would remain a hallmark throughout the course of the revival.[98]

The Laying on of Hands. The second teaching which came to characterize the movement was "the laying on of hands". Milford Kirkpatrick recalled:

> People came to the meetings from many areas to have hands laid upon them. We always admonished them to fast and pray for several days, and then, as God would indicate to us, his servants, we would pray over them.[99]

This practice also dates back to the outset of the revival. George Hawtin, as noted above, believed that the coming revival would be accompanied by the restoration of the gifts of the Spirit, but had confessed that he did not know how to implement it.[100] His brother's prophetic words

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[97]Franklin Hall, Atomic Power with God with Fasting and Prayer (San Diego, CA: The Author, 1946), p. 9.

[98]Franklin Hall had a great impact, through his writings, not only on the Latter Rain Revival, but on the Healing Movement as well. According to David Harrell, "All of the major evangelists began following his fasting regime." David Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 81.

[99]Milford Kirkpatrick, The 1948 Revival and Now, p. 14.

[100]George R.Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (January 1, 1948), p. 3; and George R. Hawtin, "How It Started," p. 1.

on February 12, 1948: "They shall be received by . . . the laying on of hands" proved to be the catalyst.[101]

The concept of laying on of hands had hardly come totally out of the blue. A. W. Rasmussen reports that Ernest Hawtin had been mulling the idea over in his mind for several days before he felt led to give the prophecy.[102] Furthermore, according to Jaenen, the aspect of the Branham meetings which impressed George Hawtin the most was that the spectacular healings he had witnessed came as Branham laid hands upon the individual.[103] Finally, James Watt remembers, the school had been deeply influenced through the book of Episcopalian, J. E. Stiles, entitled The Gift of the Holy Spirit. Stiles attacked the then common Pentecostal practice of "tarrying" for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit which was modeled on the disciples' experience in the Upper Room. He argued that the disciples had to wait for the Holy Spirit until Pentecost, because He had not yet been given dispensationally. Stiles' analysis of other New Testament evidence led him to conclude that the Holy Spirit was conferred subsequently through the laying on of hands.[104]

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[101]Ernest H. Hawtin, "How This Revival Began," p. 3.

[102]A. W. Rasmussen, The Last Chapter, pp. 138-144.

[103]Cornelius J. Jaenen, p. 86.

[104]J. E. Stiles, The Gift of the Holy Spirit (Glendale, CA: The Church Press, n.d.), pp. 79-89. Stiles indicates that he has been associated with the Pentecostal Movement for twenty-five years. p. 50. He does not mention his previous denominational background, however, he was aware that in an Episcopal confirmation service, the Bishop lays

It is quite probable the Hawtins were influenced by Stiles prior to the revival. Stiles was at Gordon Lindsay's church in Oregon holding meetings in March, 1947, when Lindsay received his call to become William Branham's crusade manager.[105] Stiles followed the Branham campaign to Vancouver in late 1947. He remained in Canada for eight months, holding meetings throughout the western Provinces, including a meeting at Hawtin's former school, Bethel Bible Institute, in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.[106]

The practice of laying of hands had been common in the early days of the Pentecostal movement. Agnes Ozman, the first person to receive the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in tongues, had hands laid upon her.

> On New eYar's [sic] night, January 1, 1901, near eleven o'clock, I asked that prayer be offered and hands be laid on me to fulfill all scripture, that I might receive the baptism which my whole heart longed to have. There as I was praying I remembered in the Bible hands were laid on believers as on me and prayer was offered for me; and I began to talk in tongues and had great joy and was filled with glory.[107]

Likewise, the revival in Los Angeles did not begin until Lucy Farrow, "whom God has greatly used as she laid

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his hand upon the candidate and says "Receive ye the Holy Ghost."
p. 89.

[105]Gordon Lindsay, William Branham, A Man Sent from God, p. 115.

[106]J. E. Stiles, The Gift of the Holy Spirit, pp. 175-192.

[107]Agnes N. O. La Berge, What God Hath Wrought--Life and Work of Mrs. Agnes N. O. La Berge, nee Miss Agnes N. Ozman (Chicago, IL: Herald Publishing Company, 1921), p. 29.

her hands on many who have received the Pentecost and the gift of tongues" came to assist William Seymour.[108] Hundreds of other examples could be cited. One will suffice. "Mother Hicks of Mercer, Missouri. . .

> fell and dislocated her ankle. . . . The foot was pressed clear to one side, the ankle completely dislocated. Suffering was intense. By the time two workers got there to pray for her the ankle had swollen fully twice its natural size, and already great portions of clotted blood had gathered, making the ankle black and blue. As the workers laid on hands, praying in the name of Jesus, the Lord himself set the foot.[109]

The practice fell into disuse and, in some quarters, was viewed as heretical.[110] The probable reason for the discontinuance of the practice by the two Trinitarian wings of the Pentecostal Movement can be observed in the quotation cited above. In the early days of the Pentecostal movement, the laying on of hands was almost always accompanied by prayer "in the name of Jesus." Glenn Cook, a leading oneness proponent, was characterized by his success in leading people into Spirit-baptism through the laying on of hands.

> Literally thousands were brought into this great experience in his meetings. God gave him the gift of laying on hands for the reception of the Spirit, and so many hundreds received the Holy Spirit under

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[108]The Apostolic Faith [Los Angeles], 1 (September, 1906), p. 1.

[109]Daniel C. O. Opperman, "North Missouri and Iowa Camps Victorious," Word and Witness, 8 (October 20, 1912), p. 2.

[110]Cornelius J. Jaenen, p. 86, citing the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, Manitoba District Conference Minutes, January 14, 1948.

> his hands that the enemies of this great work stigmatized him as "Cook, the Hypnotist."[111]

The Gifts of the Spirit. The 1948 revival was accompanied by the "gifts of the Spirit" as George Hawtin and Franklin Hall before him had anticipated. In his first written account of the revival appearing in the April 1, 1948 edition of The Sharon Star, Hawtin noted: "the Gifts of the Spirit are definitely being restored to the Church."[112] Later, as he reflected on the events of February 14, 1948, the day the revival began, he elaborated in more detail:

> I can never begin to describe the things that happened on that day. . . .Men and woman [sic] received the gift of healing, and immediately began to heal the sick. Discernment of spirits was given, and the influence of evil spirits was discerned, and the evil spirits were cast out. Some received the gift of faith, and faith began to operate in our midst.[113]

But while the manifestation of all nine gifts continued to be claimed by the Movement, the gift of prophecy became the focus of attention. Ernest Hawtin declared: "The Gift of Prophecy is in particular prominence in these last days."[114] The seminal understanding for this emphasis was rooted in the events which took place at the outset of the revival as they were later remembered.

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[111]Frank Ewart, Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 104.

[112]George R. Hawtin, "Revival At Sharon," The Sharon Star (April 1, 1948), p. 2.

[113]George R. Hawtin, "How It Started," The Sharon Star (March 1, 1950), p. 3.

[114]Ernest H. Hawtin, "The Other Side of the Picture," The Sharon Star (November 1, 1948), p. 3.

While Ernest Hawtin struggled on February 12, 1948, trying to decide whether he should act on his impression to lay hands on the young man, one of the young women went to him "saying the same words, and naming the identical student he was to pray for."

> He went in obedience and a revelation was given concerning the student's life and future ministry. After this a long prophecy was given with minute details concerning the great thing God was about to do. The pattern for the revival and many details concerning it were given. . . .
>
> Immediately following this prophecy a sister who was under the power of God gave by revelation, the names of five students who were ready to receive.[115]

The prophecies usually contained a "word of knowledge" of past events in the person's life that was unknown to the person speaking, and a "word of wisdom" revealing events of future ministry.[116] This became a standard practice in the Movement and became known as the act of Impartation and/or the act of Confirmation. As Raymond Hoekstra asserted, "By the laying on of hands and prophecy, gifts are imparted, and

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[115]Ernest H. Hawtin, "How This Revival Began," The Sharon Star (August 1, 1949), p. 3.

[116]Once again, exponents of the revival followed standard Pentecostal teaching on this point. Harold Horton, for example, taught:

> The Word of Wisdom is distinct from the Word of Knowledge, though they are closely related . . . The World of Knowledge is the revelation of *past* happenings or of things existing or events taking place in the *present*. The Word of Wisdom is the revelation of the purpose of God concerning people, things or events in the *future*.

Harold Horton, The Gifts of the Spirit (London, ENG: F. J. Lamb, 1934), p. 58.

ministries are confirmed."[117] By this he meant that through the laying on of hands and prophecy, a person receives one or more of the nine gifts of the Spirit and is established to function in his or her ministry. Thus, for example, when Myrtle Beall attended the meetings in Vancouver:

> They called me to come forward. . . layed hands on me and among the many things that were prophesied, this is the part . . . that brought such great confirmation and encouragement to my own heart . . . 'They shall come to thee from the ends of the earth and shall go forth from thee as lions equipped as from a mighty Armory.' . . . There also was prophesied the gift of healing . . . discernment of spirits . . the gift of wisdom and knowledge.[118]

According to Mrs. Beall, she had not told the brethren in Vancouver that God had told her to call the Church she was building an Armory. For her, the prophecy contained both a word of knowledge and wisdom. She continued:

> So it, was with the Armory - when I returned from Vancouver, people began to come from the ends of the earth to the Armory to have hands layed on them and the prophetic Word to go over them. . and Impartation of spiritual equipment given them in words of confirmation by the Spirit.[119]

The leadership found support for this practice throughout the Scripture. The two key passages were taken from the Acts of the Apostles and I Timothy. In Acts, Chapter six, seven men were set aside as deacons to tend the temporal needs of the church. "These they set before the apostles,

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[117]Raymond G. Hoekstra, The Ascension Gift Ministries (Portland, OR: Wings of Healing, 1950), p. 39.

[118]Myrtle D. Beall, "A Hand on My Shoulder," Chapter 37, The Latter Rain Evangel [Detroit], 4 (May, 1955), p. 12.

[119]Ibid.

and they prayed and laid their hands upon them." Two passages were cited from I Timothy. "This charge I commit to you, Timothy my son, in accordance with the prophetic utterances which pointed to you, that inspired by them you may wage the good warfare." [I Timothy 1:18]. The second passage came from I Timothy 4:14: "Do not neglect the gift you have, which was given you by prophetic utterance when the council of elders laid their hands upon you."

The prospect that God would reveal both one's past, and future ministry held compelling appeal for many. Raymond Hoekstra did not exaggerate when he wrote of what transpired at Bethesda upon Mrs. Beall's return from Vancouver.

> Within a few months the prophecies were mightily confirmed as ministers and Christians from all parts of this nation and others came to the Detroit meeting. Hundreds of ministers have received spiritual weapons in this revival center through the laying on of hands and prophecy.[120]

The Ascension Gift Ministries. The revival was barely under way when the leadership began to claim that not only had the gifts of the Spirit been restored to the church, but also that the Ascension Gift Ministries were being reestablished as well.[121] Paul N. Grubb reflected the

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[120]Raymond G. Hoekstra, The Ascension Gift Ministries, pp. 37-8.

[121]In June, 1948, for example, George Hawtin declared: "Now MY BIBLE SAYS: 'GOD HATH SET SOME in the church, FIRST APOSTLES, SECONDARILY PROPHETS, THIRDLY TEACHERS, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, etc.'" George R. Hawtin, "Local Church Government," The Sharon Star (June 1, 1948), p. 2. The reference is to the last half of I Corinthians 12 where St. Paul discusses offices in the church as opposed to the nine gifts mentioned in the first

representative view when he wrote: "The revival is also a restoration to the church of the five ministries mentioned in Ephesians 4." He continued, "The Spirit gave the gifts of I Cor. 12. Now Christ gives gifted men to the church."[122] These ministries or offices are set forth in Ephesians 4:8-13.

> When he ascended on high he led a host of captives, and he gave gifts to men." . . . And his gifts were that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists some pastors and teachers, to equip the saints for the work of the ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ, until we attain to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God.

Adherents recognized that the offices of evangelist, pastor, and teacher had been operative in the church throughout the centuries. The focus of their attention, therefore, was directed to the offices of apostle and prophet. They believed that these offices were received by Divine appointment.[123]

They took issue with those who would claim that the ministry of the apostle had ceased with the twelve disciples. They pointed out that many others in the New

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half of the chapter. Though slightly different from the Ephesian listing, the leaders in the Latter Rain Revival regarded this to be parallel if not identical categories. Both Apostles and Prophets, the two offices which were critical for them, are cited in both cases. Hawtin spelled out his thinking on this subject in a series of articles beginning with "The Ministry of an Apostle," in the April-May, 1951 issue of The Sharon Star.

[122]Paul N. Grubb, The End-Time Revival, (Memphis, TN: The Author, n.d.), pp. 34-5.

[123]Paul W. Stewart and Barbara Franzen, Confirmation, Book 2 Harvest Rain Series (Detroit, MI: Evangel Press, 1954), p. 79.

Testament had held the title and noted that in the Ephesian passage quoted above, this ministry was included among those who were to "build up the body of Christ until we attain the unity of the faith." Since unity of the church had still not been achieved, they argued, the need for an apostolic ministry was still present. At the same time, however, they were careful to distinguish between the twelve disciples of Jesus and present day apostles.

> A simple study of the New Testament will reveal there were two different orders of apostles. The first were the 'Twelve apostles of the Lamb.' The second were the apostles that were given by Christ to the church, after his ascension, as part of the ascension gift ministries. . . .[The First] are kept intact as a special group, 'The Twelve.'[124]

The leadership understood the work of an apostle to be that of the missionary in its broadest sense, that is one who establishes churches and is responsible to convey the faith to those churches. But this ministry embodied the other ascension gift ministries as well. Paul was seen as the example par excellence.

> His ministry was apostolic, which necessitated governing churches, establishing and confirming churches. He was able to preach teach, minister to the sick, discern and cast out demons, heal the sick and even work special miracles as God's gifts and graces operated through him.[125]

The prophetic ministry was seen as of second in importance to that of an apostle. The prophet's unique ministry was to prophecy the "mysteries of God" making them

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[124]Raymond G. Hoekstra, The Ascension Gift Ministries, pp. 9, 14.

[125]Ibid., p. 30.

plain to the Church. "It is not their voice that is heard, but it is THE VOICE OF GOD."[126] In the service of Confirmation, the Prophet speaks for God in separating persons to specific ministries. The prophet is understood to embody many if not all of the other ministries except that of an apostle.[127] Three levels or realms of prophecy were recognized. First, there were those who functioned in the local church. These persons were understood to have the gift of prophecy but did not hold the office of prophet. Secondly, there were prophets who, like the apostles, were given authority to minister to the church at large. Finally, it was believed, that there would be "a few prophets . . .

> whose ministry will be in the extraordinary use of the term. These are 'raised-up' for special purposes. They shall enter a phase of ministry such as Samuel, Elijah, Moses, Ezekiel. There will be unusual manifestations of 'the word of knowledge' and the 'word of wisdom' in their ministry. They will not be limited in scope of ministry to just the church, but they are sent as witnesses for special purposes to the world as well.[128]

Evangelists, pastors and teachers had ministries that were much the same as those bearing similar titles in Protestant denominations. In all cases, however, they were

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[126]Morris R. Ungren, "The Prophet, His Ministry and Office," The Voice of Faith, 1 (September-October, 1950), p. 5.

[127]Raymond G. Hoekstra, The Ascension Gift Ministries, p. 48

[128]Morris R. Ungren, "The Prophet, His Ministry and Office," p. 10.

to function as a traveling ministry and were under the authority of the apostles and prophets.[129]

The five ascension gift ministries combine to form *The Presbytery*, that is the leadership of the church. Once a church is established, it is through them that new ministries are set aside and confirmed.[130]

Elders and Deacons. Other ministries, such as elders and deacons, were recognized by the Movement. Like the ascension gift ministries, these also were confirmed by the presbytery through the laying on of hands, accompanied by prophecy.[131] Local churches were to be under the authority of Elders and Deacons. These persons were called forth from the local church to be placed in authority through the laying on of hands by the presbytery. In addition, every member of the local church was to have a ministry. These ministries, also would be imparted and confirmed through the laying on of hands with prophecy.[132]

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[129]George R. Hawtin, "Ministries in the Body of Christ," The Sharon Star (January 1, 1951), p. 3.

[130]Paul W. Stewart and Barbara Franzen, Confirmation, pp. 76-7.

[131]George R. Hawtin, "Restoration of Elders and Deacons," The Sharon Star (May, 1952), p. 4.

[132]George R. Hawtin, "Ministries in the Body of Christ," The Sharon Star, p. 3. Other ministries that Hawtin suggests includes such things as "the ministry of tongues," "the ministry of helps" and "the ministry of giving."

The Body of Christ. In June, 1948, Hawtin took up the issue of Church Organization. In an article entitled "Local Church Government," he wrote: "No church exercises or has any right to exercise authority or jurisdiction over another church, its pastors or members."[133] The tone and content of the article suggested a congregational church government in which each local church owned its own property, called its ministry, and governed its own affairs. In this respect it sounded very much like the pattern of church governance practiced by the Independent Assemblies of God, who, in turn, had taken their structure from the Pentecostal Churches in Sweden. Indeed, the January and February 1948 issues of The Sharon Star carried a two-part article by A. W. Rasmussen, entitled, "Scriptural or Unscriptural Church Order," setting forth the principles of Church government of the Independent Assemblies of God.

> I have diligently searched the Scriptures to see if there is any organization instituted by the Apostles beyond and above the local church. I have been unable to find it. On the other hand the order of the local church is clearly taught. For example, the first New Testament church was instituted in Jerusalem with a membership and they in turn had elders and deacons that took the oversight of the flock. This pattern the Apostles followed in establishing churches in every place throughout the entire Apostolic Church Age.[134]

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[133]George R. Hawtin, "Local Church Government," The Sharon Star (June 1, 1948), p. 1.

[134]A. W. Rasmussen, "Scriptural or Unscriptural Church Order," The Sharon Star (February 1, 1948), p. 3.

Hawtin entoned the same theme again during the July 7-18, 1948 Sharon Camp Meeting.[135] In August, 1949, he and his brother co-authored a book entitled Church Government, which appeared to be their definitive thinking on the matter. They wrote:

> The Church is the most democratic of all institutions . . . . The believers themselves accept new members into the church, and when a member is excommunicated, the believers are the final voice in the matter.[136]

Throughout the work they continue in the same vein. Large churches would be established in the major population centers. These mother churches would have responsibility for shepherding the clusters of smaller churches that were springing up in their areas. In most cases, these new churches would be under the direct oversight of persons who had been trained in the large mother church. Likewise, the local church would send forth missionaries to establish churches in non-Christian lands. The training and support for these missionaries would be the local church.[137]

However, in the months that followed, Hawtin gave more and more attention to "the Divine Pattern" or "Original New Testament Pattern" of the Church,. As 1950 came to a close it had become clear that he did not understand the nature of the church to be congregational at all, but rather believed

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[135]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (August 1, 1948), 3.

[136]George R. Hawtin and Ernest H. Hawtin, Church Government (North Battleford, SASK: Sharon College, 1949), p. 19.

[137]Ibid., pp. 26-9.

that it was hierarchical in structure. Although elders and deacons were to have jurisdiction over local affairs, they none-the-less were to come under the authority of those called to the "traveling" or "Ascension Gift ministries". This was clearly set forth in an article entitled "Ministries in the Body of Christ," which appeared in the January 1, 1951, issue of The Sharon Star:

> For many months now we have been writing and teaching upon the Body of Christ . . . . This whole revival which is now sweeping the earth concerns mainly the Body of Christ which is the Church. No other revival in history ever took this into consideration; but now in these last days, God is raising up His church to be a glorious church without spot or wrinkle, holy and without blemish before Him. To make the Church without spot or wrinkle it is necessary that the truths concerning the Body of Christ should come to the forefront. . .
>
> The Church is being established on the foundation of the apostles and prophets. The pattern must be followed because it is the pattern which has been laid down by the Word of God.[138]

The Mission of the Church

As the theology of the Latter Rain Revival unfolded, the mission of the church, as well as its nature, received increased attention. While several elements were emphasized, they can be brought together into four categories: world evangelization; church unity; the perfection of the saints; and the restitution of all things.

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[138]George R. Hawtin, "Ministries in the Body of Christ," pp. 3-4.

World Evangelization. Concern for world mission was evident at Sharon from the outset of the revival. Milford Kirkpatrick recalled:

> As a result of the visitation there was a tremendous emphasis on world wide vision. There was a real missionary spirit. We felt that when God was so merciful in sending revival to us that we should tell the world about it. . . . World Evangelization seemed to be the talk of everyone.[139]

In actuality, concern for world mission preceded the revival. Shortly after the Hawtins and Hunt arrived in North Battleford, a board of Global Missions was established with George Hawtin serving as President, Percy Hunt as Vice President and Milford Kirkpatrick as Secretary.[140]

Initially, the board functioned to support local home missions in the Canadian Northwest territories. A plane was purchased to enable them to reach remote areas. Kirkpatrick, a pilot, became known as "The Flying Parson."[141]

The first real impetus for world evangelization as a direct result of the revival occurred in the meetings at

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[139]Kirkpatrick, The 1948 Revival and Now, p. 18.

[140]The Sharon Star (April 1, 1948), p. 1.

[141]The Sharon Star (January 1, 1948), p. 1. Jaenen notes: "In the spring of 1947 Rev. R. Hawtin of Saskatoon held open air meetings and distributed tracts throughout the northern section of Alberta. His missionary labours took him as far north as Yellowknife. Various Pentecostal missions of an independent nature for Indians and Eskimos were incorporated into the Sharon Group as a result of this evangelistic tour." Cornelius J. Jaenen, p. 102. See also "Global Mission News," The Sharon Star (June 1, 1949), p. 2 for a more detailed report of the work in the Northwest territories.

Vancouver that were held November 14-28, 1948. During the course of that meeting, messages in tongues were given that were understood to be real languages.

> For the first time in our lives we saw the real manifestation of the Gift of Tongues and interpretation in its full sense. Those who attended these meetings went away thoroughly convinced by experience that the Gift of Tongues is actually the gift of languages. Those possessing this marvellous gift can actually preach the gospel in foreign languages without any foreign accent, and having ability to use every idiom and axiom of the tongue.[142]

In the December 1, 1948, issue of The Sharon Star, James Watt provided an account upon which these extraordinary claims had been based. He contended that persons were understood to be speaking the Dutch and Chinese languages.

> One Sunday night we laid hands upon a young man who spoke out in a foreign tongue. No interpretation was given by the Spirit but part of his utterance was understood by people of that tongue who sat in the audience. He again spoke in another tongue and was again understood by a Dutch lady who told the crowd what he said.
>
> The greatest proof of all, however, came when brother and sister Taylor, who preach at a little town outside Vancouver, came into the meetings. Brother Taylor has the Gift of Tongues and his wife the Gift of Interpretation. While brother Taylor spoke to us God led him to speak in tongues. The language he spoke was Chinese. When he finished speaking his wife interpreted his message. She began by quoting John 3:16. then gave an exhortation and ended the interpretation by quoting Isa 55:6.
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> As soon as sister Taylor finished speaking sister Patsy got up and testified as follows: "As soon as brother Taylor began to speak I recognized John 3:16 and I also

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[142]James A. Watt, "Progress With God," The Sharon Star (December 1, 1948), p. 3.

immediately recognized Isa. 55:6." She said the interpretation given by sister Taylor was accurate, but what was most wonderful to us was this fact: Brother Taylor spoke the first scripture in the language of North China. The main part of his message was in the slang Chinese used by the boat people and the last was in the language of the South. While speaking in the first and last parts of the message Patsy said it sounded like a university professor speaking.

> This is not a passing event for brother Taylor can speak Chinese at will. He holds street meetings for the Chinese every week. His language is so perfect, the Chinese cannot believe that he never learned the language.[143]

The claim did not go without dispute. Cornelius Jaenen, a graduate student who was writing a thesis on Canadian Pentecostalism at the time the revival was going on, stated that upon investigation, all the claims were disproved.

> In four cases it has been possible in Canada to disprove the fantastic claims of the sect. . . . Two cases in Vancouver, one at Ladner, B.C., one at Haney, B.C., and another at North Battleford have been proven false. . . James Mah Ngun Ming, 3741 Hudson Street, Vancouver, B. C., has disclaimed the ability of Sharon evangelists to either speak or impart the power to speak the Chinese language as claimed by The Sharon Star, North Battleford, December 1, 1948.[144]

The claims, however, continued to persist throughout the course of the revival. Like the early Pentecostal revival, reports such as the one cited from The Sharon Star appear almost monthly in the Latter Rain magazines.

At the time of the Vancouver campaign, the claim had an immediate effect. Following the meeting, the first missionary couple, the Swaans, left for the Fiji Islands.

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[143]Ibid., p. 3.

[144]Cornelius J. Jaenen, p. 90.

Shortly thereafter, others were sent to Africa, China and India.[145]

Despite these initial activities, however, world evangelization, as a central focus, did not come to the fore until the end of 1950. Indeed, one of the chief charges by critics to that point was that "this visitation is not evangelistic nor missionary but rather self-centered."[146]

Intimations of what was coming were heard in April at the Annual Spring Convention that was held at Elim Bible Institute in Lima, New York, where several of the leaders of the revival had gathered. Alvar Lindskog from Sweden addressed the convention with a message entitled "Apostolic Methods in Missions." He proclaimed

> When we think of the world situation from a missionary point of view, we can not doubt that we are living in harvest time and that the world, men and nations are preparing for two harvests--one, the harvest salvation and the other for judgment. We are also being made aware, however, that we are living in visitation days and that the rain from heaven is being sent to ripen the harvest, to make it ready for the ingathering.
>
> In the light of these things it is no wonder to us that the Holy Spirit has emphasized . . . the great fact that the world is ready and waiting for the last all-out missionary offensive. . . . In the light of this let us consider the Word: 'And this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached . . . unto all nations and then shall the end come.'[147]

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[145]James Watt, "Progress With God," p. 3; and George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (December 1, 1948), p. 2.

[146]William A. Mulford, "Sons of God March Forward," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 20 (November-December, 1950), p. 7. Mulford's response to this criticism was that to that point "God has been preparing his people to send to the lost."

What Lindskog seemed to be saying was that in light of the imminent Second Coming, the pace of World Evangelization was going far too slowly. Dr. Thomas Wyatt provided the answer at the first National Latter Rain Convention held in St. Louis, Missouri, in November, 1950.

World Missions was the theme for the day services during the first half of the convention. Wyatt brought the climaxing message.[148] He disclosed that God had revealed to him that it was the Lord's plan to

> . . . speedily dispatch apostolic and prophetic ministries to the key-cities of all foreign lands. Thousands will have hands laid upon them with a confirmation of their ministry in the Body by prophecy, and the impartation of gifts of the Spirit for the warfare now looming upon the world scene. These will in turn go through the length and breadth of their own lands confirming others, and thereby, in a few short months, every nation on earth shall have received the last day message.[149]

Wyatt's message was immediately followed by a prophecy of confirmation that declared in part:

> I send my strong men forth to the ends of the earth, and none can stop for they shall hear my voice, and the earth shall know that the Lord has spoken. My servants shall be armed with the strong might of the Lord, and my word shall not fail for I have spoken it, saith the Lord.[150]

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[147]Alvar Lindskog, "Apostolic Methods in Missions," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 20 (July-August, 1950), p. 14.

[148]Ivan Spencer, "Spiritual Advance at St. Louis," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 20 (November-December, 1950), p. 6.

[149]"Revelation of World Evangelization Given at St. Louis Convention," The Voice of Faith, 1 (February, 1951), p. 8.

[150] "Flash," The Voice of Faith, 1 (February, 1951), p. 3.

His message sparked a ready fire. The Movement's leadership immediately began forming plans for team tours throughout the world. Wyatt's vision became the method of world evangelization that would be used until the revival had subsided.

Church Unity. In 1965, Reg Layzell, pastor of Glad Tidings Temple in Vancouver, recalled:

> The great message that stirred all our souls was first the message of the Body of Christ coming together. How we all rejoiced as we realized that God was moving to eliminate the competitive spirit. . . There was a real witness of the Spirit as Bro. George Hawtin taught under the anointing and explained how it would be one church in one great building in each center. No longer would the church be called by its divisive names but The Church of Vancouver, The Church of Detroit or The Church of Portland.[151]

It is clear from his sermon that in making this statement Layzell was reflecting on the July, 1948, Sharon campmeeting, when Hawtin, for the first time, publicly began to suggest that one of the major purposes for the revival that was underway was to bring the church together.[152] Layzell continued: "We could see, by faith, the prayer of Jesus in John 17:21 being fulfilled. At last the world would see unity so it could believe."[153]

Like world evangelization, this mission captured the imagination of the adherents from the moment it was

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[151]Maureen Gaglardi, The Pastor's Pen: Early Revival Writings of Pastor Reg Layzell, p. 65.

[152]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (August 1, 1948), p. 2.

[153]Maureen Gaglardi, p. 6.

articulated. In The Body of Christ, the most comprehensive treatment of the subject to come out of the revival, the authors took an oblique shot at the efforts of the recently formed World Council of Churches to bring about the unity of the Church.

> The Church's crying need today is not for a merger of various faiths and then another reorganization program. The answer to the Church's need is to rediscover that Jesus is the Head and the Church that is His Body. This does not speak of organization but of a living organism.[154]

Adherents did concur with the World Council and with the Roman Catholic Church that the one universal church must have visible expression. They were convinced, however, that visible unity would come through the truths being restored during the course of the revival. They felt that the manifestation of these truths would create a compelling message that all Christians everywhere would accept. George Warnock noted:

> This of course, is the foundational truth of this whole revival which God has given the Church, and one of the first revelations that came forth: that God would now at this time bring His people together to form one body. At the beginning it was hoped that Christians everywhere would catch the vision, and that before long the whole Body of saints would become one vital, living organism, united together in the bonds of the Spirit unto one common purpose.[155]

As the revival progressed, it became obvious that most Christians would remain content to ignore the revival.

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[154]Paul W. Stewart and Barbara Franzen, The Body of Christ, Book 3, Harvest Rain Series (Detroit, MI: The Evangel Press, Inc., 1954), p. 5.

[155]George H. Warnock, The Feast of Tabernacles (Springfield, MO: Bill Britton, 1951), p. 90.

Warnock lamented: "it is becoming apparent that only a remnant are returning to Jerusalem."[156]

Manifested Sons of God. As the hope for the restoration of the "unity" of the church narrowed to the concept of "faithful remnant," the third mission of the church came increasingly into focus. The Revival was to prepare a group of overcomers who would be equipped to prepare the church and the world for the second coming of Christ.

The concept inevitably took on a cloak of elitism. Contrasting the revival's faithful with the universal church, Warnock suggested:

> If men choose to remain where they are in their Christian experience, then this message is not for them. Thank God that they may eat of the manna that falls from Heaven, and drink of the water that flows out of the rock, and receive healing and strength for their journey. But sorry to say, they shall die in the wilderness, and shall not see this good heritage of the Spirit.[157]

On the other hand if some would choose to "arise and cross over Jordan" these will become the "true church," "the Body of Christ," "The Overcomers," "The Bride," "The Sons of God."[158] The terms that would become most popular, however, were "The Manchild" and "Manifested Sons of God."[159]

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[156]Ibid.

[157]Ibid., p. 121.

[158]Ibid., pp. 119-21.

Whereas, adherents of the revival first understood these terms to be identical with the church, they came to understand them to refer to a special group of overcomers within the church who would play a critical role in God's end-time plan. Thus Paul Grubb would write in the preface to his new book The End-Time Revival in 1954:

> A new and Dispensational Revival is circling the globe today. God is manifesting Himself to man in a new way. . . today the Dispensation of Grace is quickly passing, as God is hastening to bring into focus and materialization the Kingdom of Heaven. . . . As sure as Christ ushered out the Dispensation of Mosaic Law, by a manifestation of himself in an *individual* "Body prepared by the Holy Ghost" (the Son of man) an offspring of the virgin Mary, even so, He is ushering out the Dispensation of Grace by a manifestation of Himself again in a *corporate* "Body, prepared of the Holy Ghost" (composed of many Sons of men), an offspring of the visible Church.[160]

Once again, the theme was introduced to the revival by George Hawtin. In a two part article entitled: "The Great Manifestation," published near the end of 1950, Hawtin argued that not only is it possible to experience justification and sanctification in this life, but that it is possible overcome mortality in this life as well.[161] Basing the doctrine on his understanding of St. Paul's letter to the Romans, he confessed:

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[159]As has been shown in Chapter Two, the concept that these "overcomers" were an elite group within the church, was nearly universal in early Pentecostalism. See pp. 55-7.

[160]Paul N. Grubb, editor, The End-Time Revival, (Memphis, TN: Paul N. Grubb, n.d.), p. 5.

[161]George R. Hawtin, "The Great Manifestation," The Sharon Star (November 1, 1950), p. 1; and (December 1, 1950), p. 1.

> With shame of face I wish to make this confession: For years I taught and preached that we could never be free from the carnal nature in this life. My argument was this, though some preached such an experience, I had never seen one who possessed it, and therefore it could not be so. Indeed, I still doubt if anyone on earth does possess that experience today. This, however, does not alter the Word of God. 'It is not to be thought that I have already achieved all this. I have not yet reached perfection, I press on, hoping to take hold of that for which Christ once took hold of me. My friends, I do not reckon myself to have got hold of it yet. All I can say is this: forgetting what is behind me, and reaching out for that which lies ahead, I press towards the goal to win the prize which is God's call to the life above, in Christ Jesus.' (Philippians 3:12-14). . . . whether or not Paul ever attained this experience does not matter. This is the experience he sought with all his might: to be rid of the carnal nature and to gain perfection, sinless perfection, to be delivered from THIS BODY OF DEATH. . . and to experimentally reach the glories of the eighth chapter of Romans.[162]

This teaching led to much speculation often articulated in apocalyptic imagery. Two months later, for example, Percy Hunt, Hawtin's faithful co-worker, contended that this group of overcomers would:

> Through the Spirit of Knowledge . . . be continually aware of the various needs of both peoples and individuals as well as groups of people. We shall move at will from country to country and from city to city, being independent of space. It will be quite possible and feasible for us to [be] in Los Angels at noon, and a few minutes later be in Calcutta, or Yokahama.
>
> Through the Spirit of Wisdom we shall have the solution to every conceivable problem, and be free to minister to whoever we wish wherever, and whenever we please.
>
> Furthermore, we shall appear to the various people to whom we minister, clad in their native costume, and our faces and forms will be changed, so that regardless of race or color there will be nothing

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[162]Ibid., (December 1, 1950), p. 1.

about us to make us conspicuous other than our gracious ministry itself. Nor shall language any longer be a barrier, for we shall be able to speak and understand every language and, or, dialect at will, with a perfect mastery of every idiom and local characteristic.

This may at first sound a little fantastic, but if we take a little time to examine the Word, we shall find that it is perfectly Scriptural.[163]

Such fanciful speculation soon gave way to more sober realities of life. Still, many would hold on to the belief that they would overcome death.[164] On the whole, however, the doctrine served to motivate adherents to their mission of preparing the world for the return of Christ. As Paul Grubb noted in 1954: "Indeed, Christ is coming again in the lives of men to prepare a people for His coming in clouds for His Bride, the Church."[165]

The Restoration of All Things. The doctrine, tied to the "Manifested Sons of God," followed closely on its heels.

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[163]Percy G. Hunt, "Some General Principles," The Sharon Star (February 1, 1951), p. 1.

[164]Such was the case of Ivan Spencer, Founder of Elim Bible School. His biographer writes:

> Secretly, deep in his heart, Ivan had held to the conviction that he would yet overcome physical death, living until the Lord's upward call would grant him power for translation with the "manchild company." Even in the face of encroaching weakness, and nights when breathing was difficult, he retained the hope, hoping against hope. Finally, he began to realize that he must go the way of all flesh. It seemed to him a bitter defeat.

Marion Meloon, Ivan Spencer: Willow in the Wind, p. 223.

[165]Paul N. Grubb, The End Time Revival, p. 6.

The phrase is taken from St. Peter's sermon in the Acts of the Apostles following the Day of Pentecost.

> Repent therefore and return, that your sins may be wiped away, in order that times of revival may come from the presence of the Lord; and that He may send Jesus, the Christ appointed for you, whom heaven must receive until the period of restoration of all things, about which God spoke by the mouth of His holy prophets from ancient time. (Acts 3:19-21).

The doctrine conformed closely to the premillennial understanding of the millennium. Hawtin introduced the teaching to his constituency in the November-December, 1951 issue of The Sharon Star in an article entitled: "Thy Kingdom Come." He opened by declaring: "The Kingdom of Heaven, the seventh dispensation, is at hand--that great Sabbath of rest when we shall reign with Christ for a thousand years." After giving a summary of the previous six dispensations, Hawtin continued:

> And she brought forth a man-child who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron, and her child was caught up unto God and throne.' (Rev. 12:5) The man-child is the body of overcomers that keeps his works. They are the manifested sons of God for which the whole creation groaneth and travaileth. (Rom. 8:22). The man-child of Luke 2:7 was Jesus Christ. The man-child of Rev. 12:5 is the many sons of that the Captian of our salvation is bringing to glory. (Heb. 2:10). He is the first-born; we are the many brethren. (Rom. 8:29).
>
> This glorious reigning-company does not include all the church. It is the Body of Christ that is being formed in this present revival; not the body of the bride, but the body of Christ who is the HEAD, the firstborn among many brothers. . . . It was this same glorious MAN whom Daniel, the prophet, saw: I saw in the night visions and behold, one like the SON OF MAN came with clouds of heaven.[166]

After reminding his readers that Daniel did not see the Son of Man, but "one like the Son of Man", he went on to tell them of their task. Abandoning the pre-tribulation theory of Darby, he declared that these overcomers would undergo much suffering to bring in the new dispensation. "The possessing of Kingdom of Heaven by the saints of the most high is not going to be a mere 'push-over' but through MUCH TRIBULATION we will enter it."[167]

Hawtin concluded by telling his adherents, that if they were faithful they would enter the millennial Kingdom. All things would be restored to the prefallen state, and they, the Overcomers would rule and reign with Christ with a rod of iron.[168] Then and only then would the mission of the true church, the Latter Rain Movement, be complete.

The Worship of the Church

Like the restoration of doctrine, the restoration of worship goes back to the outset of the Revival. The concept Worship was two-fold: 1) Worship as Sacred Place where God will tabernacle with His people; and 2) Worship as Praise that God inhabits in His people.[169]

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[166]George R. Hawtin, "Thy Kingdom Come," The Sharon Star (November-December, 1951), p. 1.

[167]Ibid.

[168]Ibid., pp. 2-4.

[169]Tom Darrand's analysis of the "tabernacle" metaphor in the context of Latter Rain theology is superb. Although he developed his analysis to demonstrate how the Latter Rain leadership used the metaphor to maintain social control, it serves also to trace how Latter Rain worship developed.

Worship as Sacred Space. On February 11, 1948, when the prophecy was uttered by a young woman at Sharon Bible School, she declared to the community that they "were on the very verge of a great revival" and that all they had to do was "open the door" and "enter in."[170]

This image of a "closed door" with a great revival on the other side became the "key" to the Latter Rain understanding of worship. In the context of their roots, the community was waiting for renewal of the "latter rain" that had fallen at the beginning of the century with the Pentecostal revival. The "closed door" epitomized their conviction that the rain had ceased and the waters had evaporated leaving the Pentecostal soil hard and dry.

George Hawtin responded by saying, "We don't know where the 'door' is neither do we know how to 'enter it'" and prayed that God would show them.[171] The next day his brother Ernest provided the key. As we have seen, he prophesied that the revival would come through "the laying of hands." Hawtin had gone on to prophecy:

> These are the last days, my people. The coming of the Lord draweth nigh, and I shall move in the midst of mine own. . . . But oh my people I would have you to be reverent before me as never before. Take the shoes off thy feet for the ground on which thou standest is holy. If thou dost not reverence the Lord

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This writer gratefully acknowledges dependence on Darrand's analysis.

[170]George R. Hawtin, "The Church--Which Is His Body," The Sharon Star (March 1, 1950), p. 1.

[171]George R. Hawtin, "The Great Restoration," p. 3.

and his house, the Lord shall require it at thy hands. Do not speak lightly of the things I am about to do for the Lord shall not hold thee guiltless. Do not gossip about these things. Do not write letters to thy nearest friends, of the new way in which the Lord moveth, for they will not understand. If thou dost disobey the Lord in these things take heed lest thy days be numbered in sorrow and thou goest early to the grave. Thou hast obeyed me and I shall restore my gifts to you. . . They shall be received by prophecy and the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.[172]

In addition to coming to understand the act of "laying on of hands" as the key that opened the door to the revival, the adherents believed that as they crossed the threshold, they entered sacred space. The very place where they had gathered became hallowed. Like Moses they were to take off their shoes, for they were on holy ground.

Milford Kilpatrick upon reflection came to understand this part of the prophecy as the most significant. He recalled it in the following manner: "If my people will reverence my name, my presence and my house, I will begin to restore what has been lost to the church." For him, reverence for God's Presence, Name, and Place became the first principle learned from the revival.[173]

The next development of worship as Sacred Place took place at the The Sharon Camp Meeting in July, 1948. James Watt, one of the Bible teachers at the meeting, was teaching on the meaning of the Old Testament Feasts for the Church. He noted that the Feast of Passover had been fulfilled in the Cross, the Feast of Pentecost had been fulfilled with

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[172]Ibid., p. 3

[173]Milford Kilpatrick, The 1948 Revival and Now, p. 5.

the Coming of the Holy Spirit in Acts, but the Feast of Tabernacles had not yet been fulfilled for the Church. The observation struck a responsive cord in George Warnock.

> I somehow never forgot that, . . . James certainly dropped a seed in my heart when he spoke of the Feast of Tabernacles . . . . Somehow the simple reference to 'Tabernacles' as something yet to be fulfilled came as something new . . . and it grew on me for months. It was probably at least a year, or a year and a half before I ministered on it.[174]

In July, 1951, Sharon press published Warnock's Feast of Tabernacles.[175] It was regarded as one of the major publications to come out of the revival. In the Introduction, Warnock transfers "the door" image to the exodus account, and Israel's call to "possess the land of promise."

> The first generation that came out of Egypt by Moses failed to enter in because of unbelief, and God decreed that they should die in the wilderness. However, He had already sworn that Abraham's seed would possess the land, and therefore He raised up a new generation who would go in and possess what their fathers saw but refused to appropriate. And they did. God's purposes cannot miscarry. He will have a people who shall believe their God and possess their possessions.
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> The early generation of Spirit-filled people at the turn of the century took their journey from the

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[174]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 104 citing George Warnock, Letter to author, November 7, 1976.

[175]The theological underpinnings for this work are remarkably similar to those ofJ. H. King, From Passover to Pentecost (Memphis, TN: H. W. Dixon Printing Co., 1914) which he wrote in defense of sanctification as a second definite work in response to William Durham's view of the Finished Work of Calvary. The irony of Warnock's treatise is that the Feast of Tabernacles would have better provided a biblical model for three works of grace. Warnock, however, held the "Finished Work" point of view.

> blighting wilderness of denominationalism and encamped at their Kadesh-Barnea on the very door-step of Canaan--but they too failed to enter in because of unbelief. . . .
>
> As surely, therefore, as God's Word is true and His oath immutable--so surely is the Lord now raising up a new generation who shall be empowered to take the promised land of spiritual power and authority, and enter into the *realm of the Spirit*.[176]

Using the hermeneutics of typology, Warnock developed the thesis that the Latter Rain Revival is the dispensational move of God for the true Church to possess the land. He saw the Feast of Tabernacles as the type foreshadowing this event. Among other things, he called Tabernacles "The Feast of Joy," "The Feast of Ingathering," "The Feast of Rest," "The Feast of Glory," "The Feast of Unity," and of course, "The Feast of Restoration."[177]

The Tabernacle as the type of the place of God's presence became an organizing motif in Latter Rain theology. The metaphor of tabernacle was merged with "body of Christ," and "heart." The Old Testament tabernacle in the wilderness is transformed into the true church and into the hearts of true believers. The core concept underlying this belief structure is the conviction that God is looking for a place where He can dwell.[178]

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[176]George H. Warnock, The Feast of Tabernacles, pp. 6-7.

[177]Ibid., pp. 52, 56, 59, 64, 76, 89.

[178]Tom C. Darrand, Metaphors of Social Control, p. 128. In light of this discussion, it is not surprising that most of the Latter Rain churches are normally called Tabernacle or Temple.

The "door" which Hawtin and other leaders discovered, came to represent their conviction in a limited access to the latter rain which was falling. With the restoration of new truths coming forth, they claimed to possess the corresponding "key" for entry into God's overflowing presence; the Tabernacle, the dwelling place of God.[179]

Worship As Praise. The leadership of the revival believed that the dwelling place of God was a "felt" presence. One should expect to experience His presence in worship. The question yet remained, "How does one 'enter in' to God's presence." Fasting and prayer followed by the Laying on of Hands of the Presbytery became the initiation rite of entry for the individual. However, for the gathered community of faith, the point of entry lay elsewhere.

The clue can be seen in James Watt's article "Progress with God" which appeared in The Sharon Star at the end of the first year of the revival. Throughout the article, Watt reflected upon the things that God had done during the past year and then concluded with an admonishment to his readers:

> Beloved, let us bear with the word of exhortation. Now is our salvation closer than at first appeared. . . . Fast and pray over God's word and you will receive the manna of heaven. The Feast of Tabernacles is upon us. Now are the living waters, the rivers of living water of Jno 7:37-39 about to be outpoured through the church. Jerusalem is about to be made a praise in the earth, and the waters of Zech. 14:8 are about to flow. Prepare ye your hearts. Break up the fallow ground. Now

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[179]Ibid., p. 125.

> cometh the day of the manifestation of the Sons of God.[180]

The key phrase for this discussion is "Jerusalem is about to be made a praise in the earth." "Jerusalem," for Watt, meant the restored church. The church was about to be made a "praise" in the earth.

The early Latter Rain literature abounds with such references as "Praise is the door-opener," "Praise opens doors," and "Praise unlocks doors." Such scriptures as Psalm 65:1: "Praise waiteth for Thee, O God, in Zion," and Psalm 22:3: "Thou art Holy, O Thou that inhabits the praises of Israel," were also cited repeatedly.[181] Praise, was the "key" that enabled the gathered Latter Rain community to "enter in" to the Holy of Holies of the Tabernacle.

Reg Layzell claims that God revealed this truth to him in January, 1946, two years before the revival began. The details are spelled out in his biography, The Pastor's Pen.

At the time, Layzell was a sales manager for a large office furniture firm and was serving as a lay preacher on the side. He was called to hold a week of meetings at a small church in Abbotsford, British Columbia, a town near the border of the United States and some forty miles southeast of Vancouver.

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[180]James A. Watt, "Progress with God," pp. 2-3.

[181]Tom C. Darrand, Metaphors of Social Control, pp. 120-122.

The meetings did not go well. Midway, he began to despair. He started a fast and asked God for some kind of breakthrough. As he prayed, the verse from Psalm 22 burst in upon his memory "Thou art holy, O Thou that inhabits the praises of Israel." As he reflected on what this verse might mean, it suddenly dawned on him: "God actually lives in the praises of His people."[182] Maureen Gaglardi, Layzell's biographer, elaborated:

> This was a revolutionary thought. Even though God is high and lifted up, yet He will actually dwell or live where praise ascends to Him. The thoughts tumbled through his mind in rapid succession: -- if He dwells in praise, the thing to do is to fill this building with praise and God will come down and live in it.[183]

He acted on what he believed was a revelation from God. "Around 3:00 p.m. I began to praise the Lord loudly! 'Praise the Lord! Glory to God! Hallelujah!" He walked around the piano, went in and out of every pew in the building, into the bathrooms, the cloakroom, even the furnace room, all the time with his hands in the air and praising God. The congregation was not used to public praise services, so that night he praised the Lord silently as he announced the opening hymn, "There is Power in the Blood."

At the end of the second verse, a young lady threw up her hands and began to speak in tongues. Then another, and still another received the baptism of the Holy Spirit evidenced by glossolalia. He interpreted this response to

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[182]Maureen Gaglardi, The Pastor's Pen, pp.9-11.

[183]Ibid, pp. 11-2.

be confirmation to the insight he had received that afternoon.[184]

He was so deeply moved by this experience that he left his job to become the pastor of a Pentecostal Assembly of Canada in Mission City, some ten miles north of Abbotsford. There he expounded on his message of "praise" for two years. The congregation tripled in size under his ministry. He left Mission City in the summer of 1948 to accept the pastorate of Glad Tidings Temple in Vancouver. Attending the Sharon campmeeting in July, he invited the Hawtins to Vancouver. They arrived in November to launch the church into two months of continuous meetings.[185]

Layzell shared his revelation with the North Battleford brethren. He found the Hawtin party readily prepared to accept his message. They had recently left the Canadian National Convention of the Independent Assemblies of God in Edmonton, Alberta, where the "Heavenly Choir" had been introduced to the revival[186] George Hawtin described the phenomenon in The Sharon Star:

> We have heard vague rumors of the so-called Heavenly Choir in association with the outpouring of the Spirit which occurred around the turn of the century and have longed to hear it. But having heard it we must confess that it completely beggars not only description but also in large part

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[184]Reg Layzell, Into Perfection: The Truth About the Present Restoration Revival (Mountlake Terrace: The King's Temple, 1979), p. 1.

[185] Ibid., and Gaglardi, The Pastor's Pen, pp. 7 ff.

[186]James A. Watt, "Progress With God," p. 4.

> both appreciation and understanding. . . A deep consciousness of the Spirit of Worship and Song always pervades the meeting as a prelude to the Choir. It usually begins with a few solo or duet parts of an instructional nature often in the form of questions and answers sung by several individuals or groups of individuals. Then at the psychological moment, under the direction of the Holy Spirit, the whole congregation bursts forth into song. This singing is sometimes in English, sometimes in an unknown tongue, and sometimes just a song apparently without words. The most outstanding thing about it is the amazingly complicated depth of harmony. . . . From a little distance it sounds like a master choir accompanied by a matchless symphony orchestra. It seems difficult to credit that such sound could be reproduced by human vocal organs. There is such perfect order and timing as the mighty chords swell and roll that one is forced to concede that there is an unseen conductor.[187]

As with so many other revelations of the revival, this phenomenon did not come out of the blue. In this instance, the teaching had been introduced by James Watt. In 1944, Watt came across Marie Woodworth-Etter's autobiography, Signs and Wonders.[188] He was particularly impressed by her descriptions of the "heavenly music" which she experienced from time to time in her meetings. She described one such occurrence that took place at a convention in Long Hill, Connecticut in 1913:

> Suddenly there fell upon my ear--for the sound, strange to say, all seemed to pour into my right ear--a song of the most wonderful description. It did not at all appear like human voices, but seemed much more like the tones of some wonderful instrument of music, such as human ears never before heard. It began on the right side of the audience and rolled from there over the

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[187]George R. Hawtin, "Heavenly Choir Restored," The Sharon Star (December 1, 1948), p. 1.

[188]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 118, citing James Watt, Interview with author, March 1976.

> entire company of baptized saints in a volume of sounds resembling in its rising and falling, its rolling and sinking, its swelling and receding character, the rolling waves of the ocean when being acted upon by the wonderful force which produces the tides. . . .
>
> It filled me with such holy awe, worship and praise to the Lord, that before I was able to realize the fact fully, the Holy Ghost lead me to join in that heavenly song of praise with the rest. . . . We were permitted to hear that glorious song twice, and sometimes three times a day; every day while I was there, and as the saints got more and more in the spirit, and in the presence of the Lord, the volume and power of that song was increased, until it often came forth with a perfect roar which almost made one's breath quiver.[189]

Watt had pondered the phenomenon that Etter described and became convinced that it was scriptural. He shared this conviction with Ernest Hawtin when they met as guest speakers at the Edmonton Convention. Hawtin was impressed and encouraged Watt to share the teaching from the platform. Watt not only shared Etter's experience, but went on to express his conviction that some of the anthems sung in the Roman Catholic Church were initially given by Spirit.[190] George Warnock remembers that Watt then presented the scriptural support for the practice and finally "exhorted the people to expect its restoration." He continued:

> It seemed he was about to sit down, having thus ministered, when suddenly he burst forth in prophetic song. Immediately after, the spirit of prophecy rested on others in the congregation, who sang forth prophetic utterances, and then the whole congregation joined in, with spiritual anthems of praise.[191]

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[189]Marie B. Woodworth-Etter, Signs and Wonders God Wrought in the Ministry for Forty Years (Indianapolis, IN: Hammond Press, 1916), pp. 262-263.

[190]James A. Watt, "Progress with God," p. 4; and Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 118, citing James A. Watt, Interview with Richard Riss.

Years later Warnock would recall, "It was a very sovereign ministry that came forth; . . . and from that day forth scriptural song became part and parcel of [the] ministry."[192]

The experiences of Layzell and the Convention at Edmonton, became the basis for the Latter Rain understanding of worship. What had first come forth in a somewhat spontaneous manner became routinized and institutionalized. Reflection on these experiences led to the conviction that "'praise' produces the divine presence -- an 'atmosphere' in which 'supernatural' manifestations can take place."[193] "Praise" would become the "key" to crossing the threshold into the tabernacle of the Lord.

The Authority of the Church

The final aspect of the Latter Rain Message to be considered is the claim to Divine authority. This claim to authority had at least three implications for the leadership: 1) Authority to understand Divine History; 2) Authority to interpret Divine Scripture; and 3) Authority to require absolute obedience of its adherents.

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[191]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 119, citing George Warnock, Letter to author, November 7, 1976.

[192]Ibid.

[193]Maureen Gaglardi, The Pastor's Pen, p. 152.

Authority to Understand History. February 12, 1948, for Latter Rain adherents was the hour when divine revelation had struck. Ernest Hawtin's prophecy marked the point when the dispensation of the Latter Rain had begun. With the keys of "the laying of hands" and "praise" God had given to them, the true church, the power and authority to carry out His end-time program. Before the Revival of 1948 was a year old, adherents had begun to record the founding events of Latter Rain Movement. The purpose of these mini-histories was not to acquaint potential adherents with the details of the movement per se. Rather these recitals were presented in such a manner that the *meaning* of Latter Rain history preempted and sometimes distorted the *factuality* of that history. Often, they served to establish the authority of the particular leader or group seeking to win the allegiance of potential converts. To demonstrate how these histories functioned in seeking to establish claim to Divine authority, the writer will consider two cases, an account by George Hawtin and the account by the biographer of Reg Layzell.

George Hawtin presented his first account of the revival in March, 1950, as part of an article entitled "The Church--Which Is His Body." Hawtin opened the article by proclaiming: "A great revival is sweeping around the earth. It is shaking the Church of Today to its very foundations." He went on to declare: "We believe that this is the

fulfillment of the prophecy, or the promise, as it is found in Heb. 12:25-27:"

> See that you do not refuse him who is speaking. For if they did not escape when they refused him who warned them on earth, much less shall we escape if we reject him who warns from heaven. His voice shook the earth; but now he has promised, 'Yet once more I will shake not only on earth but also the heaven.' This phrase, 'Yet once more,' indicates the removal of what is shaken, as of what has been made, in order that what has not been shaken may remain.[194]

Having thus declared his belief that the current revival was part of sacred history foreseen by the prophets of old, Hawtin asserts that "Christians for years and years have been crying to God for revival. . . night and day, all over the land, in every organization, in every denomination, in every sect . . ." He continued that God has heard their cry, and this revival is His answer to their prayer.

Hawtin next turned to his recital of developments that led to the outbreak of the current revival. All these events are placed in the context of divine history. "Twenty years ago, in one of our west coast's cities of the United States, . . a prophecy was given *by the Spirit of God* in which it was declared that the next great revival that would sweep the earth would begin in Northern Canada." Or again, "In 1947 in the month of September we were *led of the Lord* to open a Bible College in North Battleford." The burden for fasting and prayer that settled in as the school opened is likewise attributed to divine origin. It was *by prophecy*

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[194]George R. Hawtin, "The Church -- Which is His Body," The Sharon Star (March 1, 1950), p. 1.

that the young woman said that they "were on the very verge of a great revival, and all we had to do was open the door and . . . enter in." The next day "*God showed us by the Spirit* how to enter it."[195]

Details of human influences, like the Branham meetings, Franklin Hall's book on fasting, or even Hawtin's own prior teaching on what adherents should expect when revival came, are conspicuous by their absence. More interesting is the subtle shift in nuance in detailing the course of events that transpired on those crucial days of February 12-14, 1948.

There is no mention made of Ernest Hawtin's hesitancy. Rather he *"rose to prophecy."* In earlier accounts, this prophecy was the source of mixed response, there were *"faltering and imperfect attempts"* to lay hands on people. Two or three days were spent seeking *"God's guidance"* to make sure that *"we were on scriptural grounds."*[196] In Hawtin's account, however, all hesitancy, doubt, and confusion had been replaced by confidence.

Upon the completion of his brother's prophecy, Hawtin asserts: "This, we knew, was according to the Word of God; but we had not been able to see it until *that moment* when the Spirit of God revealed it to us." Instead of spending two or three days seeking God's guidance to make sure they

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[195]Ibid.

[196]See for example, Ernest H. Hawtin, "How This Revival Began," The Sharon Star (August 1, 1949), p. 3.

were on Scriptural grounds, they now proceed with confidence during a shorter period of time as God unfolds the Word to ground them in the new revelation.

> During the next day, February 13th, we searched the Word of God practically all day in the class-room to see these things that had been prophesied according to God's Word. We found that Paul had said to Timothy "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. . ." (Tim. 4:14) and "Stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands" (2 Tim. 1:6). We found how that King Saul had received the gift of prophecy, by having this gift prophesied to him by Samuel. We saw how Joshua had received the Word of Wisdom, when Moses laid his hands on him.[197]

The truth of the revival's message, Hawtin explained, had been demonstrated by the fulfillment of prophecy. God was bringing together the true church out of "every denomination, every organization, every sect, and the divisions which have so long hampered it and kept it separate one member from another." As a result "the very foundation" of every denomination and organization are being shaken at the present time. "Even though man may slam their doors, it will avail nothing." With the supernatural gifts of the spirit again in operation, there were "few places . . . over the North American continent. . . and also Europe . . . that have not felt this power in some way or another." He concludes the section by predicting that within the next year or two the foundations of the denominations would be completely shaken, and that from around the world, God would ingather the scattered faithful to form His new church. [198]

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[197]Ibid., p. 2.

The move to place the origins of the Revival within the parameters of Divine history and to accentuate its meaning at the expense of factuality becomes more pronounced with the passage of time. This can be seen, for example in the writings of Maureen Gaglardi, biographer of Reg Layzell and his successor as pastor of Glad Tidings in Vancouver. In her book, The Key of David, she seeks to demonstrate that Reg Layzell is the legitimate preserver of the original truths that came forth in the 1948 revival. She begins by drawing a parallel to her own situation with that of St. Luke when writing his gospel. After quoting Luke's introduction, she modestly disclaimed:

> I in no way compare myself to Luke or his gospel. I only draw this comparison, that many have run with the message of praise, yet without knowledge; while still others have refused it because of hearsay or other reasons. . . .
>
> 'It seemed good to me also' to write, since I have seen the message of the sacrifice of praise from the very beginning of its restoration to the church in 1946 until this day. . .[199]

By disclaiming the Lukan parallel, she none-the-less placed herself in the continuum of divine history by stating "It seemed good to me also." Later in the book she relates the importance of the laying on of hands and other truths that came forth during the revival. However, at the outset she asserts the primacy of both Layzell's experience in 1946

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[198]Ibid.

[199]Maureen Gaglardi, The Key of David (Vancouver, BC: New West Press, 1966), pp. 2-3.

and her own association with this apostle of the Latter Rain. Meaning takes priority.

Writing twelve years later, Gagliardi has other authenticating concerns in mind. The location shifts back to North Battleford and the date of the Revival back to 1948. This time she seeks to tie the Revival to the establishment of Israel as a nation.

> May the fourteenth, 1948, Israel was restored as a nation. And on May the fourteenth, 1948, revival broke out in our country for the first time in world history in a little wittle bitty place called North Battleford, Saskatchewan. Hallelujah. And God moved there and Restoration was the message.
>
> Now in Isaiah chapter eleven, verses eleven and twelve it goes like this, that out of every nation on earth Jews are going to make their way back to the land of Palestine in the last days and be free in their land. And in John 17 in the New Testament we have the message of revival that out of every denomination on earth believers are going to make their way back to God to be free to worship him in the power of the Holy Spirit.
>
> So to both the Jew and Christian, God's Word and God's Message is the same. He said it in the beginning and He's saying it in the end, 'Let my people go!' . . . and so we went out of bondage, out of old doctrine. Glory to God. And the Jews started coming out of every nation and going back to their land, restored into worship for God. . . singing, rejoicing, dancing and praising God . . . I want you to know that the very same thing happened in our revival in 1948.[200]

Minor details like the fact that the date of the Revival's origin is shifted by three months, and that the Jewish rituals referred to come from the Old Testament exodus rather than contemporary experience, are of no consequence.

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[200]Tom C. Darrand, Metaphors of Social Control, pp. 101-2, citing Maureen Gaglardi, "A Tribute to Israel," Unpublished sermon, May 14, 1978.

Events are remembered and interpreted in such a way that they can become part of Divine History.

Authority to Interpret Scripture. Converts to the revival often were heard to say that for the first time in their lives the Bible really came alive for them. As one Texas pastor exclaimed: "All of a sudden the Word opens up to you front and back."[201] Part of the reason for this, as has been shown in the preceding section, is that the Latter Rain Movement is seen as part of God's plan for the ages.

The Revival as direct fulfillment of prophecy was the method that the leadership used to establish their place in this Divine History. Once that had been accomplished to their satisfaction, the rest of Scripture, especially the Old Testament, was applied to the Latter Rain movement by means of typology. The exodus of the Jews from Egypt and the return of the Jews from Babylon were seen as types of their call to "come out from the bondage of apostate man-made organizations" of denominationalism.[202] As has been shown in George Warnock's book, the Jewish feasts were seen to have their counterpart in the Christian Church with the Feast of Tabernacles being the proto-type of the Latter Rain Revival. The tabernacle in the wilderness during the exodus

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[201]Tom C. Darrand, Metaphors of Social Control, p. 102.

[202]See, for example, Paul W. Stewart and Barbara Franzen, "The Spirit of Babylon," The Body of Christ, Book 3 Harvest Rain Series (Detroit, MI: The Evangel Press, 1954), p. 95.

became the type of dwelling place of God that is now found in the gathered Body of Christ, the true church.[203]

Perhaps most telling, however, is how such typology can be used to point to events subsequent to the outset of the revival. One such example used is a comparison of David's Tabernacle to the Latter Rain Revival, followed by Solomon's Temple set forth as a type of the Millennium.

> David's Tabernacle . . . was up for around about thirty, between thirty and forty years . . . during the time that Solomon's Temple was being built. And it's interesting to note . . . that while they were worshipping and praising God at David's Tabernacle the men and the ministries were down in the quarries getting the stones all ready and getting them all shaped up for the temple. All the material was being prepared for the final dwelling place of God's presence which was Solomon's Temple during or in an atmosphere of worship and praise. In the atmosphere of the presence of God the preparation work was going on for Solomon's Temple. And that's exactly what's gong on now. God is preparing Solomon's Temple, the people of God, you and I, in an atmosphere of worship and praise. The stones are being cut out in an atmosphere of praise and worship.[204]

For the astute the meaning was clear. Not only is David's tabernacle a type of the 1948 Revival, but Solomon's Temple, the Millennium, could be expected in thirty or forty years after that date.

The justification for the Latter Rain hermeneutic was clearly set forth by George Warnock in 1951. "It is essential therefore, that the saints know for a certainty

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[203]Reg Layzell, Into Perfection, p. 22.

[204]Tom C. Darrand, Metaphors of Social Control, pp. 98-9, citing David Jackson, Direction for the Last Day Church (Oakland, CA: Shiloh Tape Ministry, 1973), tape cassette.

that the Old Testament was written for *us*." Its truths, he suggested, once applied only to natural Israel but are now "applicable to a heavenly and spiritual Israel, only on a much higher and much more glorious spiritual plane." Since "God's hour of revelation" has struck, "the Spirit of God is gloriously present to remove the veil from God's secrets and initiate His people in the mysteries of God." His method of interpretation, Warnock maintained, was the same as that of the apostles.

> The most conclusive evidence of all is the fact that the apostles, in their writings, refer constantly to the Old Testament to prove the truths they are declaring to the Church, and make innumerable quotations from all portions of the Law and the Prophets to confirm their doctrines of Christ and the Church. Nor do they make any apologies whatsoever, or even intimate that they are taking an Old Testament Scripture out of its context. Therefore if it should seem strange to some that we should quote from the Law and the Prophets to confirm some spiritual truth concerning the Body of Christ--let the reader take careful note when reading the New Testament, as to how the apostles applied the Old Testament to the Church which Christ built, and applied to spiritual Israel what the prophets originally prophesied concerning natural Israel.[205]

Authority Through Submission. When Latter Rain adherents thought about authority in the Church, their minds were directed toward Christ, the elder brother, who in obedience to the Father "made Himself of no reputation . . . wherefore God hath highly exalted Him." Again and again,

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[205]George H. Warnock, The Feast of Tabernacles, pp. 5, 10-1.

adherents were reminded that *self* must be crucified on the cross before a person could be used of God.[206]

> Authority in the hands of the lawless Lucifer, produced a devil. Authority in the hands of men, inoculated with the same spirit of rebellion, has put a world into chaos. But authority in the hands of the Lamb of God will usher in the Millennium.
>
> . . . . Our active authority in the spiritual realm is measured by the degree of our voluntary submission to the Lordship of Christ.[207]

But how was this submission to the authority of Christ to be worked out in practical terms? George Hawtin, as always, supplied the answer.

> The Church is not perfected by prayer, by the reading of the Word, nor the many other ways we have been taught. But God has set in the Church . . . apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers for the PERFECTING OF THE SAINTS for the WORK OF THE MINISTRY for the BUILDING UP of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man.[208]

To submit to Christ meant to submit to those that God has set in authority over them. Beginning in North Battleford in February, 1948, adherents believed the true church had been established on the foundation of apostles and prophets.

Hawtin made this understanding of divine authority explicit in the May 1, 1948, issue of The Sharon Star.

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[206]Paul W. Steward and Barbara Franzen, "God Wants Our All," The Body of Christ, p. 43; and Myrtle D. Beall, "At the Cross," The Latter Rain Evangel, 1 [Detroit] (March, 1952), p. 6.

[207]R. E. Sternall, "Authority under Authority," The Voice of Faith, 1 (February, 1951), p. 8.

[208]George R. Hawtin, "Submission," The Sharon Star (May, 1952), p. 7.

> The receiving of spiritual gifts by prophecy and laying on of hands is a delicate and important matter that must not be attempted by anyone who has not been ordained of God for the task. He must have the ministry of a prophet, an apostle, or a teacher. Novices attempting this important work are bound to get into fanaticism or wildfire.
>
> BECAUSE OF THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF THE ABOVE FACTS, we have laid our hands upon certain men who have been given these ministries by God and who have had the same confirmed by prophecy and the laying on of our hands. . . Pastors who desire to see the revival started in their churches and who wish to have proper instruction from the Word of God as to the new revival should contact any of the following:[209]

Readers of The Sharon Star were constantly urged to follow the pattern that had been laid down by the Word of God. In June, 1952, Hawtin asserted that "God is more interested in submission and obedience than anything else."[210] A few months later he warned: "There can be no Spirit-filled life without obedience to authority."[211]

Adherents came to understand this as a "theocratic chain of command" that came "from Christ down, not from people up." Authority came from The Father to the Son to those whom the Holy Spirit had revealed to be apostles and prophets. These divinely appointed leaders then were given the wisdom and knowledge to appoint pastors, evangelists, and teachers and to confirm them through the laying on of hands. Together, as the Ascension Gift Ministers, they

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[209]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (May 1, 1948), p. 2.

[210]George R. Hawtin, "Submission," The Sharon Star (June-July, 1952), p. 8.

[211]George R. Hawtin, "A Letter to the Ecclesia," The Sharon Star (November-December, 1952), p. 6.

appointed first Elders and then Deacons in the Local Church. Finally, came the "congregational ministries." Each rank stood in a descending order, not only having less authority, but also less direct access to God.[212]

> This principle of headship is the same principle that works in the armed forces. All of the power and authority is in the Commander-in-Chief. When the Commander-in-Chief looks for instruments or channels to carry out his purposes, he looks for those who are properly submitted to him. How does a person demonstrate his submission? He demonstrates submission by obeying the one who is over him. When the Commander finds obedient and loyal subjects, he gathers them around him as his Generals and bestows great power and authority. Now the General is able to give orders and commands that carry the same force as if they came directly from the Commander-in-Chief. As long as the General remains properly submitted, this will always be the case. He will always speak with the authority of the head.
>
> In the armed forces there are various ranks, and each man has his charge (those that are under him) and his head (those that are over him). If he is properly submitted to his head, he has authority over his charge because he is a partaker of the authority of the head. As the Sergeant submits to the Lieutenant, he becomes a partaker of the authority, not of the Lieutenant himself, but of the power with which the Lieutenant has been entrusted. All the actual power is in the head; there are only various stewards of this same power. This same principle must apply in all three institutions ordained of God -- the government, the family and the Church.[213]

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[212]Tom C. Darrand, Metaphors of Social Control, pp. 66-7.

[213]Richard Iverson, Present Day Truths (Portland, OR: Bible Press, 1975), p. 71.

Response to the Revival

A Revival so sweeping and making the exclusive claims as that of the New Order of the Latter Rain was bound to cause controversy. Criticism was swift in coming. The debate raged not only between the movement and the older Pentecostal bodies, but within the movement as well.

Rejection From Without

Darrand is at least partly correct when he states flatly: "The Latter Rain Movement was born in 1947 as a result of a power struggle."[214] His statement suggests that the Latter Rain Revival was, from its inception, fated to be rejected by the majority of Pentecostalism. It is helpful to keep this perspective in mind as the responses to the revival by several Pentecostal denominations are discussed.

The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. The group which was first encountered by the Latter Rain Revival was George Hawtin's old denomination, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Hawtin had been a pastor of long standing with this, the largest Pentecostal denomination in Canada. Recognizing that there was no training school for Pentecostal pastors in Saskatchewan, he felt led to pioneer Bethel Bible Institute. He opened the school with eight students enrolled in 1935 at Star City, where he served as a local pastor.[215] Although the school flourished, two years

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[214]Tom C. Darrand, Metaphors of Social Control, p. 34.

later he moved the college to Saskatoon to be in a more central location. Classes were conducted at Elim Tabernacle, a church affiliated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, until 1939 when the Institute purchased its own property.[216] From its inception, the school was affiliated with the Penetecostal Assemblies of Canada but owned and controlled by Hawtin and Percy Hunt. The denomination had reservations about this arrangement. C. B. Smith, District Superintendent for Western Canada, explained why:

> while Brother Hawtin was good as a practical teacher of God's Word, his own education was very limited. . . [we] . . . opposed him launching without close co-operation . . . into the field of education.[217]

Thus in 1942, the denomination purchased the school for $6,000, agreeing to pay that amount over a ten year period. The District executive plus Hawtin and Percy Hunt formed the Board of Management which was responsible for all matters of finance, policy, and expansion. A second committee, with Hawtin serving as Chairman, was established to govern the day to day affairs.[218]

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[215]Gloria Grace Kulbeck, What God Hast Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (Toronto, ONT: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958), p. 60. Kulbeck notes that prior to 1935, several short-term Bible Schools, modeled on those conducted by the early Pentecostal Movement, had been conducted in Saskatoon in the mid-twenties. p. 59.

[216]Ibid.

[217]C. B. Smith, "An Explanation Concerning Bethel Bible Institute," The Pentecostal Testimony (November 15, 1947), p. 9.

[218]Ibid.

With soldiers returning following World War II, the school grew rapidly, surpassing one hundred in the student body. To meet growing space needs, Hawtin decided to build a new building for the Bible College. In addition, he made plans to start a high school and also began construction for a Principal's residence on campus, using institutional monies. Although he had the approval of the day to day committee which he controlled, he did not seek the advice of the Board of Management.[219]

Response was swift. The Broad of Management requested Hawtin's resignation effective with the end of the term in the spring of 1947. However, definitive action could not be taken until the District Annual Conference met that summer. Hawtin resigned, but hoped his actions would be vindicated at the Conference. However, the District soundly supported the decision of the Board of Management.[220]

Hawtin's departure left many bitter feelings on both sides. Without the Board of Management's permission, he paid off the remaining indebtedness to Hunt and himself. In addition, he took with him $1,500 dollars that was in the account of Global Missions, an organization still in his name but supported with funds that had been raised by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Perhaps most galling of all for the denomination, however, was the manner and

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[219]Ibid.

[220]Ibid., and L. Thomas Holdcroft, "The New Order of the Latter Rain," p. 47.

occasion that Hawtin chose to announce his resignation. Smith claims that this took place in a classroom with the design "to draw our former students away from our own Bible school."[221]

Hawtin spent the remainder of the spring and summer in northern Alberta and northern Saskatchewan ministering on behalf of Global Missions. Working among Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and independent Pentecostal missions, he sought to bring them under the control of the mission board now transferred to North Battleford.[222]

When Hawtin set forth his doctrine of the nature of the church in June, 1948, he undoubtedly had the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in mind when he declared: "No church exercises or has any right to exercise authority or jurisdiction over another church, its pastors or members."[223]

Despite much cause for provocation, The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada was slow to act and never did issue an official denunciation of the revival. The first public response came in an article by Dr. J. E. Purdie, the

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[221]C. B. Smith, "An Explanation Concerning Bethel Bible Institute," pp. 21-22. Bethel had only a handful of students the following year. An overwhelming majority went with Hawtin. L. Thomas Holdcroft, "The New Order of the Latter Rain," p. 47.

[222]Cornelius J. Jaenen, pp. 88, 102.

[223]George R. Hawtin, "Local Church Government," The Sharon Star (June 1, 1948), p. 1. In retaliation, he circulated a tract entitled, "How To Take a P.A.O.C. Church." L. Thomas Holdcroft, "The New Order of the Latter Rain," p. 48.

unofficial theologian of the denomination, which appeared in the October 15, 1948, issue of The Pentecostal Testimony. Purdie warned the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada constituency that "the division in the Canadian ranks of the Pentecostal family, apparently setting forth new claims and new interpretations, presents a challenge and a problem such as the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada has never before had to face."[224] He continued:

> The history of the Church demonstrates that if any group of Christians leaves out the proper teaching on the infilling of the Holy Spirit and His normal operations, barrenness is bound to follow. On the other hand if they over-emphasize the Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit at the expense of the Person of Christ and His Finished Work on Calvary, and justification by faith plus nothing, declension, unbalanced emotionalism, and fanaticism follow.[225]

Purdie recognized that the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada was vulnerable to the charge that the manifestations of the supernatural had declined in the midst of their denominational ranks. He concluded the article by exhorting the Bible Colleges to continue to "provide the very best, all-round training" to counterbalance the unhealthy beliefs and practices arising within the ranks.[226] The following year, The Pentecostal Testimony ran a succession of articles articulating the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada's position on the gifts of the Spirit. These articles made little

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[224]J. E. Purdie, "The Report of the National Committee on Bible Colleges and Schools to the General Conference," The Pentecostal Testimony (October 15, 1948), p. 6.

[225]Ibid.

[226]Ibid., p. 7.

mention of the controversy caused by the revival. In June, 1949, the General Executive featured an article entitled "An Explanation of Our Position Relative to Spiritual Gifts" in which they set forth three reasons why they felt the North Battleford position was extreme.[227]

The major counterattack was left for R. E. McAlister. McAlister, one of the founding father's of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, had been General Superintendent of the denomination and long-time editor of The Pentecostal Testimony. Recently retired, he began publishing an occasional bulletin, The Truth Advocate, in August, 1949. From the outset it was clear that his one aim was to stop what he considered to be false doctrine.

> My only apology for this contribution, humble though it may be, is that the appeal of necessity in this crisis hour demands it. I do not regard the issue in question as satanic, but rather erroneous. . . . There is only one step between the sublime and the ridiculous. You cannot go too far until you have first gone far enough. To stop when you have gone far enough and not go off the "deep end", is the problem. . . . Since scores are being . . . misled by so-called prophecies which are nothing more than the imagination of a sub-conscious mind, I am willing to risk friendship with those I love in the bonds of Christ, that I may avert disaster.[228]

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[227]"An Explanation of Our Position Relative to Spiritual Gifts," The Pentecostal Testimony (June 15, 1949), p. 2. The other articles include: "Spiritual Gifts" (May 15, 1949), p. 3; "More about Gifts" (June 15, 1949), pp. 8-9; and "Caution Shipmates" (July 1, 1949), pp. 3-4.

[228]R. E. McAlister,"Editorial," The Truth Advocate, 1 (August, 1949), p. 2.

McAlister countered Hawtin's teachings almost point for point. He argued that the office of apostle had been restricted to the twelve disciples plus St. Paul. He taught that the office of prophet as Hawtin understood it, ceased with John the Baptist. He maintained that the laying on of hands in the case of Timothy was for the purpose of ordination rather than for the impartation of spiritual gifts. He sought to refute by Scripture and by interview all claims that Latter Rain adherents had spoken in actual languages that they had not learned.[229] In a telling article "We Learn by Experience," McAlister admitted that all the doctrines being taught by the Revival had been practiced by the Pentecostal Movement in its early days. He concluded:

> History being our evidence, no one can successfully deny the fact that any individual group or movement which has made the exceptions of God's Word the rule, have gone off the "deep end". Predictive prophecy, foretelling and guiding utterances, calls by voice gifts, and bestowing of ministries, are the most dangerous. Being the exception to the rule, they are in God's sovereignty. Since man is able to imitate them, together with the law of average, makes some of them come true, although they are of human product, and come from a subconscious mind.[230]

Some 50,000 copies of the first issue of The Truth Advocate were circulated among Pentecostals. The prestige of McAlister's position as long-time father of the Canadian Pentecostal faithful proved to be sufficient to stem the swelling tide of both pastors and laymen who were leaving

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[229]Ibid., pp. 1, 4, 8, 18.

[230]Ibid., p. 16.

Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada ranks to join the Revival. By holding steady, the church most directly affected by the Revival had to take no official action. Gordon F. Atter, historian for the denomination later observed, "For a time it seemed as if this view would split the Pentecostal Movement wide open." He continued:

> R. E. McAlister did much to defeat the doctrine by his sane arguments and Bible teaching. Soon many who had been sympathetic saw that the trend they were following would lead to disaster, and withdrew their support. By 1952 the error began to lose its drive. The more serious heresies that developed brought about its defeat.[231]

The United Pentecostal Church. Other Pentecostal bodies, however, felt compelled to take official action.

One such denomination was the United Pentecostal Church, the group to which William Branham belonged. By the fall of 1948, the Revival had made a large enough impact on the church that the officials felt the need to take note of it at their General Conference. The Assistant Superintendent, Oscar Vouga, admitted that: "The Latter Rain has caused a few to leave our ranks." However, he maintained that on the whole, the Revival had also had a positive affect on the church by unifying the work "in a better spirit and understanding."[232] The General Superintendent, Howard Goss

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[231]Gordon F. Atter, "The Third Force", 3rd. ed. (Peterborough, ONT: The College Press, 1970), p. 143. Holdcroft states that "twelve churches in Saskatchewan and one in British Columbia are known to have left the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and many others were seriously weakened through the loss of a substantial portion of their members. In some cases, churches that espoused New Order views and practices were independent Pentecostal

also seemed to give the revival a qualified endorsement, though taking issue with the claim that God was doing a new thing.

> These people claim special and new things for the Lord, teaching that the gifts of the Spirit, and laying on of hands, and the offices of the church are something new, but I know personally that the Lord has given the gifts of the Spirit among His people for the past fifty years.[233]

This non-committal attitude would soon change. In February, 1950, the Executive Board passed a resolution rejecting the teaching of the revival as error. That fall, the General Conference affirmed the executive's decision and passed a ten point resolution that spelled out the error in detail. The first two points, ironically, condemn what Goss had appeared to endorse only two years before. The remaining eight speak to issues that directly affected the United Pentecostal Church as a separate Pentecostal body. According to Arthur Clanton, the United Pentecostal Church's historian, the organization condemned:

1) The promiscuous laying on of hands for the bestowing of spiritual gifts;

2) the teaching that the church is based upon present-day apostles and prophets;

3) the teaching that Christians must sever themselves from all church organization;

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churches that had been very close to affiliation with the denomination." L. Thomas Holdcroft, "The New Order of the Latter Rain," pp. 48-9.

[232]United Pentecostal Church, 1948 General Conference Minutes, cited by Arthur L. Clanton, United We Stand, p. 144.

[233]Ibid., pp. 144-5.

4) the compromising of the truths of Oneness, and water baptism in the name of Jesus Christ;

5) the teaching that one can receive the Holy Ghost without speaking in other tongues;

6) the teaching that candidates for the Holy Ghost baptism should not praise the Lord while tarrying for this gift;

7) the sowing of discord among assemblies and ministers;

8) the prophesying of prophets who speak out of their own human spirits;

9) the fellowshipping of those whose lives are ungodly;

10) the teaching that the true church is composed of all who call themselves Christians, regardless of doctrinal belief.[234]

The Assemblies of God. The denomination that would take the harshest stand against the revival was the Assemblies of God. Several Assemblies of God pastors were present for the Sharon camp meetings in April and July, 1948. However, the Revival did not take root in an Assemblies of God context until early autumn of that year when James and Phyllis Spiers came to Hibbing, Minnesota. By November, it has spread to several Assemblies of God churches throughout Northern Minnesota. The Pentecostal Evangel carried a report of this activity in its December 15, 1948, issue. The Revival was described in positive

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[234]The Pentecostal Herald (November, 1950), p. 4, cited by Arthur L.Clanton, United We Stand, p. 145.

terms with no hint of controversy.[235] That soon would change.

A few days after the Hibbing article appeared in print, Stanley Frodsham, editor of The Pentecostal Evangel, received a phone call from Myrtle Beall asking him to come to Detroit to witness the Revival that was breaking out there. Frodsham arrived in time for the watchnight service and remained for ten days. While in Detroit, he conferred with three Michigan district leaders of the Assemblies of God: Charles Scott, district superintendent; Bernard Bresson, assistant superintendent, and Bond Bowman, district presbyter and pastor of Dearborn Gospel Tabernacle.

Frodsham's assessment of the Revival was positive. However, his Michigan colleagues were torn. They had been meeting privately with Mrs. Beall and others of the Bethesda leaders. Scott, a graduate of Elim Bible Institute, who had come into the Pentecostal Movement under the ministry of Aimee Semple McPherson, was sympathetic. Still, he felt that Mrs. Beall was providing inadequate leadership resulting in extravagant claims being made that led to excesses.[236] Frodsham reminded him that several thought the Pentecostal Revival had excesses and caused havoc as well. He urged guidance and patience.[237]

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[235]George Rasmussen, "Report from Northern Minnesota," The Pentecostal Evangel (December 15, 1948), p. 16.

[236]Charles W. H. Scott, Interview with William Menzies, Springfield, MO, September 19, 1967.

Frodsham returned to Springfield, Missouri, to report to Ernest S. Williams, General Superintendent. He concluded that the revival was genuine and encouraged the General Council to endorse it.[238]

He returned to Detroit for the dedication of Bethesda Missionary Temple on February 13, 1949. The following day he attended the annual Michigan Minister's Institute in the Dearborn Gospel Tabernacle. He discovered that the Michigan leadership had reached its decision. Scott addressed the issue of the Revival head on. He outlined the history of the revival, emphasizing the errors that had been made. He stressed the misplaced emphasis on the gift of prophecy and the incorrect teaching of impartation of the gifts of the spirit by the laying on of hands of self-appointed apostles and prophets. He concluded that the revival was the result of "second generation" Pentecostals who have charged that a cooling off had taken place within Pentecostalism and who are now "with more zeal than Scriptural wisdom" attempting to force the Holy Spirit to work.[239] Following the Institute, Scott filed a report with General Superintendent Williams, giving his assessment and urging that Frodsham be censured for his public support of the Revival.[240]

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[237]Stanley H. Frodsham, Letter to J. O. Savell, August 5, 1949.

[238]Ibid.

[239]Charles Scott, "What Is Latter Rain?" (Unpublished sermon notes, February 14, 1949).

[240]Charles W. H. Scott, Interview with William Menzies, Springfield, MO, September 19, 1967.

Toward the end of March, 1949, Ernest S. Williams along with J. Roswell Flower, general secretary, Thomas F. Zimmerman, general presbyter, and Bert Webb, Illinois District Superintendent, spent several days in East St. Louis, Illinois, attending a Latter Rain conference and meeting with the Revival's leadership who had gathered there. They came away from the encounter sharing Scott's assessment. A special edition of the Quarterly Letter dated April 20, 1949, was sent to all Assemblies of God ministers enunciating the history of the Revival and spelling out the errors they felt it contained.[241]

The General Council met in Seattle, Washington, in September. A resolution was brought to the floor condemning six erroneous practices of the Latter Rain Revival. It was adopted by an overwhelming margin. Charges were brought against Frodsham but were dropped when he announced his intention to resign as editor effective October 1, 1949. Although the Assemblies of God would continue to lose several ministers and a few churches to the Latter Rain Movement during the next two to three years, the organization as a whole, ceased to feel the impact of the revival. Many within the denomination would share the view of Carl Brumback when he wrote:

> If the 'New Order' had followed their idealistic vision, perhaps it would have stayed within scriptural bounds and could have accomplished

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[241]The General Council of the Assemblies of God, Quarterly Letter, April 20, 1949.

> real and lasting benefits. As it is, the 'New Order' has practically come to naught.[242]

The Apostolic Faith Church in Great Britain. At the outset it appeared that this denomination, which had only a few churches in North America, would fully embrace the revival. Fred Poole, the District Superintendent for the United States, became a convert to the Movement in May, 1949. His church became the Latter Rain center in Philadelphia. Cecil Cousen of Hamilton, Ontario, and George Evans of Toronto, Ontario, had both accepted the message two months before. The literature reveals that by the end of 1949, Apostolic churches in several of the Canadian provinces had come under the Revival's teaching.[243]

It is clear that these men anticipated that they might have problems with their denomination over the issue of church polity. The church's annual convention was to be held at Evan's church in Toronto in October, 1950. Cecil Cousen recalled their feelings about the events that transpired:

> . . .we began holding Latter Rain meetings, as distinct from denominational Apostolic Church meetings. We . . . invited Doc Wyatt and Carlton Spencer and one or two others from the Latter Rain . . . to the October Annual Convention which we held in Toronto. . . We

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[242]Carl Brumback, Suddenly. . .From Heaven, p. 333.

[243]James A. Watt, "Visitation in Canada," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 19 (February, 1949), p. 12; and Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 132, citing Cecil Cousen, (Scarborough, Yorkshire, England, March 20, 1977), tape cassette.

> decided to called it a Latter Rain Convention. We went from our church, which was a headquarters church into an independent building. . . .
>
> And at the end of it we invited Doc Wyatt . . . to take the chair for our 'all pastors' meetings.' This was a very unApostolic thing to do because the organization had developed a very strict insistence on the hierarchy and it should have been an executive meeting first and then a Council meeting at which only apostles and prophets were allowed to attend and in those days I was only a mere pastor and I would have been precluded from attending. That was the nature of the hierarchy. But we decided to forget all that, and all of us in the ministry met under the chairmanship of Doc. Wyatt. . .
>
> We decided . . .[that there were]. . . two things we needed to do. One was, we needed to take down the name, 'The Apostolic Church,' which was our hallmark of sectarianism, and we needed to decentralize, especially to decentralize the finance. So we decided to do this. Then, of course, somebody remembered that we still had roots in the Old Country and that we all knew very well that they were very deeply entrenched; these were the heart of what it was to be Apostolic. And to be 'The Apostolic Church' and to have central government which they thought and still think was divine order. So we agreed that each one of us would write home and tell them in our own words what had happened to us personally in the way of renewal and revival and tell them what we had decided.[244]

Their fears were well grounded. Cousen, Evans, and Poole were summoned to church headquarters in Bradford, England, to give an account of themselves at the annual Council Meeting in April, 1951. Cousen reported that the people accepted the Latter Rain ministry with open hearts. But, he continued "Behind the scenes the powers that be, especially the Executive. . . believed in the Apostolic Church as such, and especially in divine government."[245]

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[244]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," pp. 147-8 citing Cecil Cousen.

[245]Fred Poole, "Days of Visitation," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 20 (July-August, 1951), p. 10; B. G.

No final solution was reached at that time. The three men were invited to minister in Apostolic churches throughout Great Britain during the summer and to remain until August for the church's International Convention which whould then be meeting in Wales.[246]

At the August convention a compromise was struck. The North American delegation agreed not to remove the "Apostolic Church" name from their buildings and to decentralize over a period of years. In return, Cecil Cousen was called and confirmed as an apostle in England, thereby enabling him to travel with fellow apostles Poole and Evans to churches throughout the Apostolic fellowship. Before they left, Ervin Edwards, a respected prophet of the Executive, prophesied that they should be free to work among churches outside the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Church. The three agreed to report back at the August Convention the following year.[247]

By August, 1951, however, reports had come in from Apostolic Churches in Australia and New Zealand, reporting that the ministry of Ray Jackson, a Latter Rain proponent was causing havoc. In addition, Thomas Wyatt's tour throughout Africa in 1950 had greatly disrupted the work of the Apostolic Churches on that continent. As a result, all

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Evans, "Latter Rain Falls," Victory, (December, 1951), p. 5; and Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," pp. 188-90, citing Cecil Cousen.

[246]Fred Poole, "Days of Visitation," p. 13.

[247]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 190, citing Cecil Cousen.

Apostolic ministers were required to reaffirm their allegiance to the constitution of the Apostolic Faith Church. Because such affirmation would prevent them from ministering in non Apostolic churches, the Latter Rain brethren felt they had no choice but to resign.[248]

The Independent Assemblies of God. It would appear at first glance that this group would have fully embraced the Revival's message from the outset. The Hawtins had been asked to address their annual Canadian National Convention in Edmonton, Alberta, in October, 1948. Lewi Pethrus, their spiritual father from the mother church in Stockholm, Sweden, gave the Revival his full endorsement. The church polity advocated by the revival's leaders was modeled on the structure of the Independent Assemblies of God.[249]

Such was not to be the case, however. A number of ministers in the denomination became increasingly distressed by other teachings in the movement, especially the evolution of the offices of apostle and prophet to a position of an organizational hierarchy. These dissenters believed that if such offices were restored to the church, these persons would respect the full local autonomy of each church.[250]

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[248]Ibid., pp. 190-1.

[249]The Sharon Star, (December 1, 1948), p. 1; and A. W. Rasmussen, The Last Chapter, p. 172.

[250]E. C. Erickson, Our Search for New Testament Local Church Principles (Los Angeles, CA: Fellowship Press, 1966), pp. 5-6; cited by Joseph R. Colletti, "Lewi Pethrus: His Influence Upon Scandinavian-American Pentecostalism," Pneuma (Fall, 1983), p. 27.

Elmer C. Erickson, one of the fellowship's most influential pastors, led the group of dissenters. Lewi Pethrus, A. W. Rasmussen, and Joseph Mattsson-Boze led the faction that embraced the Revival. They met at Boze's church in Chicago for their annual meeting in October, 1949, to attempt to resolve their differences. Lewi Pethrus agreed that the Revival was presenting some teachings which were questionable. None-the-less, he felt that on balance the Revival was genuine and that the fellowship should endorse it. Making reference to a parable of Jesus, he urged them to "buy the whole field to get the treasure."[251]

The 1949 convention ended in a stalemate, and an uneasy truce remained in force for two years. By the 1951 convention, Erickson had gained a clear majority of the ministers. They were able to prevent the "New Order" faction from gaining access to the floor[252] As a result, the smaller group, led by Rasmussen, left to found the Independent Assemblies of God, International.[253]

The following January, Pethrus renounced the New Order in his daily newspaper Dagen in an article entitled "In Spite of It All." He accused the New Order leadership of

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[251]Henry H. Jauhiainen, Interview with Joseph Colletti, June 26, 1980, cited by Joseph R. Colletti, "Lewi Pethrus: His Influence Upon Scandinavian-American Pentecostalism," pp. 27-8.

[252]Henry H. Jauhiainen, Interview with Ern Baxter, August 18, 1953, cited by Joseph R. Colletti, "Lewi Pethrus: His Influence Upon Scandinavian-American Pentecostalism," p. 28.

[253]Ibid.

guiding its adherents away from biblical truths through "spiritual claims" which did not represent "real Christianity."[254]

The Elim Missionary Assemblies. The final group whose response to the Revival this dissertation shall consider is the Elim Missionary Assemblies. This fellowship of churches appears to be the only organization to have fully embraced the Revival. Their leader, Ivan Q. Spencer, had been anticipating it for many years. When it came, its teachings were compatible with his beliefs. However, the Revival exacted a price on the group, especially on its leader.

In 1949, the Elim Missionary Assemblies had accepted the invitation to become a charter member of the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America.[255] Spencer had attended the second annual convention in Oklahoma City in October, 1949. He had been deeply moved by what he witnessed.

> One could not tell from the discussions on the floor or from the ministry of the Word in the afternoon or night services that there were any distinctions of doctrine or practice. The messages were heart-searching and the congregational response was spontaneous and unrestrained. . . .
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> The necessity of recognizing differences of Church government, custom, practice and doctrine was evident to all. But it was recognized also that, in view of the common experience of the new birth and the baptism

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[254]"Lewi Pethrus Renounces So-Called 'Latter Rain' Revival," Herald of Pentecost (February, 1952), pp. 2, 12, cited by Joseph R. Colletti, "Lewi Pethrus: His Influence Upon Scandinavian-American Pentecostalism," p. 28.

[255]Ivan Q. Spencer, "Pentecostal Fellowship of North America," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 19 (November, 1949), p. 14.

> in the Holy Spirit, there is a basic unity of spirit, and there should be greater fellowship and cooperation in the ranks of Pentecostal people.[256]

The aims of the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America for Pentecostal unity seemed to Spencer to be fully compatible with the theme of the Revival. He returned to the third annual Pentecostal Fellowship of North America Convention in Memphis, Tennessee in October 3-5, 1950, having hopes of being a bridge builder -- bringing reconciliation between the Pentecostal denominations and the Latter Rain Revival. As the leader of a charter member, he was on the Board of Administration and was expected to attend all executive sessions. He thought that he was in an excellent position to accomplish such an endeavor.[257]

He was met with disappointment. The Assemblies of God, of course, had already taken a position against the Revival. Others had reports of abuses in their cities and denominations. They were unmoved by Spencer's report of the blessings which the visitation had brought to him, personally, and to the Elim Fellowship. When, in the midst of the convention, the delegates learned via radio that "Ivan Spencer, a member of the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America's board of administration" was to be guest speaker the following Sunday at Faith Temple, the Latter Rain center in Memphis, Spencer's fate was sealed. He

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[256]Ibid.

[257]Marion Meloon, Ivan Spencer: Willow in the Wind, p. 166.

resigned from the Board. For several years, The Elim Missionary Assemblies were dropped from the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America.[258]

When writing about this experience, Spencer expressed+ both the hurt and the defiance that many Latter Rain adherents experienced by the response of their former denominations to the Revival.

> On the morning of the fifth . . . as I awakened . . . I was reminded of the healing of the blind man by Jesus, . . . as a result of His testimony of what had been done for him, he was cast out of the midst of the Pharisees. The 12th and 13th verses of the 13th chapter of Hebrews also came to me. "Wherefore Jesus, also, that He might sanctify the people with His own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us go forth therefore unto Him without the camp, bearing His reproach." [259]

Dissension From Within

The Revival not only experienced rejection by the Pentecostal denominations from whom it sought recruits but also disagreement among its own adherents. In some cases, controversy arose when recent converts went forth without fully understanding the message of the Revival.[260] In other instances, there were charges that this or that leader was pushing the implications of certain doctrines to the extreme.[261] However, the most critical problem to emerge

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[258]Ibid., p. 167.

[259]Ivan Q. Spencer, "Outside the Camp," The Voice of Faith, 20 (September-October, 1950), p. 2.

[260]See, for example, George R. Hawtin, "Running Without the Message," The Sharon Star (April 1, 1950), pp. 2-3.

[261]Such concerns are expressed repeatedly in the literature. The leadership was well aware that they were

within the Movement, was the same issue that plagued those who rejected the Revival -- the matter of authority.

Authority Established. As the founding leader of the Revival, George Hawtin believed that the restoration of apostolic authority resided with the North Battleford presbytery, or more precisely, with those at Sharon Bible Institute who had been set aside as apostles and prophets. As time passed and the Revival spread, he quickly recognized that it was impossible for the North Battleford group to attend to the responsibilities at Sharon and meet all the demands from groups throughout the continent to establish the revival on "biblical grounds" and set these local churches in order. He, therefore, decided to share this authority. In the May 1, 1949, issue of The Sharon Star he placed the following notice.

> We have laid our hands upon certain men who have been given these ministries [of apostles and prophets] by God and the laying on of our hands. . . . Pastors who desire to see the revival started in their churches

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vulnerable to such charges by opponents of the Revival and continually sought to curb excesses. One example will suffice. Paul Grubb ran an article in the September, 1951, issue of The Voice of Faith entitled "A Perverted 'Gift-Consciousness'." The article stated in part:

> Nothing more surely defeats the purpose of any love-gifts than for the recipients of it to put the gift before the giver. Yet, such a danger is decidedly real where spiritual gifts are concerned. There can easily arise a morbid 'gift-consciousness' that dwells upon either the real or the fancied possession of some spiritual gift far more than upon the life of fellowship with the Giver. There have been believers who have become so taken up with 'gifts' and 'offices' that the whole subject has become nauseous. Only the divine Giver can satisfy the soul--never just His gifts.

> and who wish to have proper instruction from the Word of God as to the new revival should contact any of the following.

He then supplied the names and addresses of J. T. Owens, Harold Allcock, Reg Layzell, A. W. Rasmussen, James Routley, D. Bruzilius and E. Blomberg who were recognized to set local churches in order.[262]

At the outset, Hawtin's authority was recognized. Reg Layzell wrote following the Hawtins visit to Vancouver in November, 1948, "Without hesitation I say that the Sharon group have been a great blessing to us and I believe God has called them to spearhead the way to a God given revival."[263] The Pentecostal Evangel noted that Hawtin's "leadership was acknowledged" at the revival in Hibbing, Minnesota.[264] His authority was also recognized by the leadership at Bethesda. Ivan Spencer wrote following the May, 1949, Latter Rain Convention in Detroit:

> The ministry of teaching through Brother Hawtin of North Battleford, Saskatchewan was certainly a great blessing to the gathering. We were especially glad to hear him tell how the visitation first began in February, 1948, over a year ago . . . .
>
> We were encouraged to recognize the leadership that God has set in the Body. Warning was also given not to take independent action in matters that effect the Body in general.[265]

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[262]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (May 1, 1949), p. 2.

[263]"Editorial," The Sharon Star (February 1, 1949), p. 2.

[264]George Rasmussen, "Report from Northern Minnesota," The Pentecostal Evangel (December 18, 1948), p. 16.

Authority Exclusively Asserted. The authority of the North Battleford group would soon be questioned, however. Already, in April, 1949, Hawtin had lamented, "Unfortunately, now as always there are OPPORTUNISTS circulating themselves among the people, with no real understanding of the revival, and only zealous for their own ends."[266] Although the remark did not appear to refer to the main centers where the revival was being established, in retrospect, it proved to be a premonition of things to come.

By January, 1950, The Sharon Star ceased to make any mention of events taking place in Vancouver, Detroit, Elim and other major centers that were emerging in the States. Likewise, these centers no longer carried reprints from The Sharon Star in their publications. By that point, Milford Kirkpatrick and James Watt who had been at North Battleford from the beginning had also broken with Hawtin.[267]

What had happened? The literature is imprecise. Cecil Cousen, who had come into the Movement at Detroit in March, 1949, later recalled.

> My impression was at the time that although Latter Rain had undoubtedly begun there, North Battleford very

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[265]Ivan Q. Spencer, "Report of Latter Rain Convention, Bethesda Missionary Temple," The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 19 (June, 1949), p. 6.

[266]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (May 1, 1949), p. 2.

[267]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 157.

> quickly became unimportant and more or less discredited. At least in the circles in which I moved we had little or nothing to do with North Battleford except to acknowledge that the Latter Rain or New Thing began there. I think the Hawtin brothers very quickly got into very strange doctrines . . . at least during the time I was in Canada, that is, 1949-1951.[268]

The charge of the Hawtin brothers advocating strange doctrine is reported by several within the Movement. However, a careful reading of The Sharon Star during the years 1949-52, when compared with the other Latter Rain periodicals, reveals no deviation in doctrinal teaching. The testimony of James Watt clarifies the charge somewhat. He claims that in early 1949 he became disturbed with some of the teachings that were beginning to come forth among the North Battleford brethren. He believed that they were beginning to depart from the standards of Scripture. Specifically, he noted that they were accepting "revelation and prophecy without carefully balancing it with the written Word." Of more concern to him, they promoted "an extreme position on the manifestation of the Sons of God." He confronted them about this, but was unheeded, so he withdrew.[269]

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[268]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 133, citing Cecil Cousen to Richard Riss (March 20, 1977), tape cassette.

[269]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 133, citing James A. Watt, "A Historical Analysis of the Development of Two Concepts of Presbytery," (Unpublished manuscript, Seattle, WA, 1972), p. 5.

Just exactly what Watt meant by "an extreme position of the manifestation of the Sons of God" is unclear. He had advocated this concept himself in December 1948.

> The feast of Tabernacles is upon us. Now are the living waters, the rivers of living water of John 7:37-39, about to be outpoured through the church. Jerusalem is about to be made a praise in the earth, and the waters of Zech. 14:8 are about to flow. Prepare ye your hearts. Break up the fallow ground. Now cometh the day of the manifestation of the Sons of God.[270]

There is little question, that by most standards, this teaching would be considered extreme. It involved, as has been shown, the conviction that the true overcoming believers would receive their resurrected bodies in this life and that like the resurrected Christ, they would be able to appear in various places with little time lapse. But the point remains that all the Latter Rain leadership believed and taught this.

What may have happened is that Hawtin was charged with teaching that the manifestation of the Sons of God had occurred, whereas the others were expecting the event in the immediate future. Hawtin vigorously denied that the anticipated manifestation had taken place. In a revealing article "Running Without The Message," published in April, 1950, charged that it was his critics who were making claims for events that had not happened.

> I would like to do some plain talking just here and say this, that all over Canada and the United States, there are literally hundreds of men who profess to have the message of the hour, who do not have it at

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[270]James Watt, "Progress With God," pp. 2-3.

all. Men are crying 'Latter Rain', 'Gifts,' 'Ministries,' and so on but they know little or nothing about what they talk. I would like to declare most emphatically that the Latter Rain has not yet fallen and is not now falling anywhere on earth. This movement that is going on at the present time is . . . the promise of the Latter Rain but this is not the Latter Rain. No one has ever heard me declare that this is 'the new thing.' These statements did not originate with me.[271]

He then proceeded to set forth what the faithful should expect to see when the Latter Rain had fallen. He notes that when the former rain had fallen on the day of Pentecost, three things had occurred: there was a sound as of mighty rushing wind that filled all the house where they were sitting; there appeared cloven tongues like as a fire that sat upon each of them; and they began to speak in other tongues. He concluded:

> I may shock you terribly when I say that the fire has not yet fallen. . . . We have explained away the fire and the wind in the light of our own experience and said it was not necessary today--just like people who do not speak with tongues try and tell us. 'That is not necessary today'. But God will begin again. I think it will be this year that God will restore to the church real baptisms of fire and wind and tongues. Then, the latter rain will begin to fall upon the earth. It was not until Elijah had called the fire of God down from Heaven upon the sacrifice that he told King Ahab to flee for there was a sound of abundance of rain.[272]

Hawtin's comments about the necessity of wind and fire needing to be present to initiate the era of the Latter Rain are especially significant in light of an incident that occurred at Northwest Bible Institute in Edmonton, Alberta,

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[271]George R. Hawtin, "Running Without the Message," The Sharon Star (April 1, 1950), p. 2.

[272]Ibid.

in March, 1949. While the principal, T. E. Crane, an Independent Assemblies of God pastor, was teaching, the school experienced the phenomenon of the sound of a mighty wind. The April 1, 1949, issue of The Sharon Star reported the incident as follows:

> A second Pentecost occurred in the Bible school at Edmonton, Alta. While classes were in session as usual, suddenly, without warning, a mighty wind swept through the building. Brother Crane was standing teaching the class, and was almost swept off his feet. The Spirit fell simultaneously upon the whole school and all began to prophesy together. This great demonstration was accompanied by a vision of the Manifestation of the Sons of God in the last days of this dispensation. This mighty army was seen conquering all before it. Sickness and disease were vanishing, and all evil spirits were seen scattered before the triumphant power of God's people.[273]

In view of the developments at Edmonton, it is significant that a year later Hawtin signals out "fire" as the sign that had not yet fallen. No mention was made that the sign of the mighty rushing wind had not occurred. It is possible that in view of the experience of Northwest Bible Institute, Hawtin beleived that the era of the Latter Rain had come and with it, the coming forth of the manifestation of the Sons of God. This is suggested in Cornelius Jaenen's account of the event.

> Spiritualistic trends were evident in the doctrine of the 'manifestation of the Sons of God.' The doctrine originated from the predictive prophesying of Rev. E. Crane of the Northwest Bible Institute in Edmonton. He believed that he had seen a vision of the victorious saints as a mighty army. . . . His entire class was affected by his belief and soon there grew the doctrine that the 'elect' would receive 'redemptive bodies' here

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[273]George R. Hawtin, "Editorial," The Sharon Star (April, 1, 1949), p. 2.

> and now and that any person who died had not been able to 'appropriate the redemption body' and was therefore not one of the 'overcomers.' In the final analysis, to be an 'overcomer' meant affiliation with the Sharon group. Affiliation alone was believed to give hope of 'manifestation.'[274]

Riss is no doubt also correct when he concludes that it was Hawtin's growing exclusiveness, also demonstrated in Jaenen's assessment of the Edmonton event, that seemed extreme to James Watt, causing him to leave North Battleford in April, 1949.[275]

The demand to submit to the North Battleford leadership had became clearly evident by 1950. In the September issue of The Sharon Star, for example, Hawtin issued a warning to those who felt they could get along without his leadership. He asserted, "I have no hesitation whatever in saying that unless this divine pattern is followed and the ministries recognized, the whole revival will wind up on the rocks."[276] In June, 1951, he acknowledged that many have been saying of the brethren at North Battleford, "We don't need them any more." But, he asked, on what basis can they say this? Nowhere in the Word, he maintained, had "God ever chose[n] a group of men to carry out some great purpose and while they were still alive . . . belittled and discarded them for no apparent reason and put others in their place." He

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[274]Cornelius J. Jaenen, p. 89.

[275]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," pp. 134-5.

[276]George R. Hawtin, "What About Latter Rain Churches," The Sharon Star (September 1, 1950), p. 2.

concluded with a plea for the dissenters to return to the fold:

> I beseech all who have entered into this revival to humble themselves and admit that God has ministries of revelation, and ministries to establish the truths that he has laid down for these last days. Forgive me of any confident boasting. I do it only that this move may return to God. Whoever you may be in Canada, in the great cities of the United States, in England, in France, Australia, Africa, India, Japan or Jamaica, I call you to witness this fact that your entrance into this revival can be directly traced to its beginnings in North Battleford, February 13th, 1948. . . . In light of this fact, I say to you as Paul said to the Corinthians . . . 'What? Came the Word of God FROM you or came it UNTO you only.' . . . 'And what have you got that you have not been given?'[277]

But where Hawtin saw rebellion on the part of those who came into the revival under his ministry, they in turn perceived arrogance and sectarianism on his part. Even friends and individuals who were originally endorsed as apostles and prophets became disillusioned and dissociated themselves from the Sharon group. Reg Layzell noted, for example, that when he first came into the Revival,

> you were made a member of the Body of Christ by the Spirit of God . . . no man could put you in or take you out. . . . But now the error . . .they claim you are only put in by them and can be put out by them.[278]

Years later Hawtin came to recognize that he had indeed become exclusive and sectarian in his thinking. Reflecting on the events of 1949 and early 1950 he lamented:

> As I look sadly in retrospect now, I can see with clearness that the great and blessed move of God was not two years old before the sectarian spirit

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[277]George R. Hawtin, "Where This Revival Is Departing from the Faith," The Sharon Star (June 1, 1951), p. 4.

[278]Maureen Gaglardi, The Pastor's Pen, pp. 16-7.

> began to show its ugly head. . . . It is true that we vociferously denied that we had become a sect [but] there was to be no fellowship with anybody who was not within the confines of our ever narrowing circle. We were the true church. We were the elect. We stood on the foundation and all other men stood on sinking sand. No man must cast out a devil unless he followed us. No teaching was worth the time it took to tell it unless it originated with us. We were the most spiritual people in the world. We were going to reign in the kingdom and even now we were beginning to reign. We had the gifts of the Spirit, and we were going to 'call the shots' in the tribulation. . . . But we did not know like Ephesus we had lost our first love, and must repent and do the first works over again.[279]

Authority Disintegrated. By 1950, the damage had been done. Division within Latter Rain ranks was inevitable. In January, Ivan Spencer wrote an article entitled, "Who are the Custodians of the Latter Rain?" It would prove to be the watershed for the Movement. The article both uncannily anticipated what Spencer would experience later that year at the Pentecostal Fellowship of North Amerrica meeting in Memphis and, at the same time, identified the division that was coming within the Latter Rain ranks. He wrote in part:

> We sometimes find expressions, either spoken or written, that some organization or group of Christian people claims to be the custodians of certain revelations of truth and that they are the recipients of special blessings and experiences from the Lord. By so doing, self is exalted and others belittled. . .
>
> Some claim the Latter Rain outpouring fell on them nearly fifty years ago and because of this they are the custodians of this mighty move of God. Others who have come into this present spiritual awakening, may feel that the Latter Rain is exclusively theirs. Such an attitude is clear evidence of the fact that they have not received a revelation of the truth God is bringing at this time of the oneness of the body of

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[279]George R. Hawtin, "Mystery Babylon," The Page (May, 1970), pp. 10-1.

> Christ, namely that all are one, regardless of denomination or organizational affiliation. . . . No organization or body can singly lay claim to anything that comes from God. It rightfully belongs to the whole mystical body of Christ.[280]

Once the break with North Battleford had occurred, other leaders came forward to claim that the mantle had now fallen on them.[281] Given the Movement's understanding of church structure, however, no one was able to maintain overall control. The Movement, as Darrand shows, eventually fragmented into five major groupings.[282]

In August, 1952, the Sharon Bible School shut its doors. Hawtin contended that God was calling the North Battleford brethren to move beyond this form of teaching to a method more conducive to a travelling apostolic ministry. The event signaled, symbolically, what had started four and a half years before, the end of the Latter Rain Revival.[283]

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[280]Ivan Q. Spencer, "Who Are the Custodians of Latter Rain?" The Elim Pentecostal Herald, 20 (January, 1950), p. 9.

[281]The efforts of Maureen Gaglardi, The Pastor's Pen; Milford Kirkpatrick, The 1948 Revival and Now; A. W. Rasmussen, The Last Chapter; and Myrtle Beall, A Hand on My Shoulder, are, in part, written to show their respective claim to authority. Each in her/his own way sought to show how God had revealed a key to the revival prior to its emergence at North Battleford.

[282]Tom C. Darrand, Metaphors of Social Control, pp. 58-9.

[283]The Sharon Star (July-August, 1952), p. 4.

Assessment of the Revival

Forty years have elapsed since the New Order of the Latter Rain burst forth in North Battleford. From the perspective of history, what has been the significance of this revival and how should its occurrence be understood?

The Significance of the Revival's Contributions

In terms of the stated aims of the leadership, the revival needs to be judged a complete failure. Far from achieving the unity of the body of Christ, it only served to further fragment it. The repeated warnings of doom and disaster for those Pentecostal denominations who did not embrace the Revival also failed to materialize. Indeed, the classical Pentecostal denominations would go on to experience the greatest period of sustained growth in the forty years that followed.

On the other hand, the assessment of classical Pentecostal historians, typified by Carl Brumback's classic comment that by the mid-fifties "the 'New Order' has practically come to naught" is clearly incorrect.[284] Walter Hollenweger is absolutely accurate when judging this appraisal to be an example of "the same wishful thinking that led the traditional churches to ignore the beginnings of the Pentecostal movement."[285]

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[284]Carl Brumback, Suddenly. . . From Heaven, p. 333.

[285]Walter J. Hollenweger, "Handbuch Der Pfingstbewegung," Vol. 2 (Th.D. diss., University of Zurich, 1965), p. 758.

It is true that the Latter Rain Movement ceased to be a threat to the Pentecostal denominations by the mid-fifties and that the unified force of the revival had fragmented and disappeared from public consciousness. Though lacking strong centralized government, the various Revival centers continued to foster daughter churches and maintain missions in the third world, many of which would become vigorous indigenous works.[286]

More importantly, leaders from the Latter Rain Revival have had much more *direct* involvement and influence on the development of the Charismatic Renewal taking place in the mainline denominations since the 1960's and in the Independent Pentecostal Churches that have been springing up across the continent since the 1970's. Richard Riss documents some forty individuals and a host of Latter Rain institutions that have been actively interacting with the renewal going on within the mainline churches.[287]

The Independent Churches have accepted much of the Latter Rain doctrine. Perhaps the most significant contribution the Latter Rain Revival has passed on to the Charismatic Movement been its worship forms. In the fall of 1949, a blind woman, Rita Kelligan, at Elim Bible Institute, began setting the Psalms to music.[288] The practice of

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[286]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," pp. 192-200.

[287]Ibid.

[288]Marion Meloon, Ivan Spencer, Willow in the Wind, p. 160.

setting scriptures to contemporary music spread throughout the Latter Rain movement and has become an important part of Charismatic worship today. The "Heavenly Choir" and other forms of praise have been passed on as well.[289]

The Significance of the Revival's Occurrence

Adherents believe that the Revival came as a sovereign move of God to set in motion His end-time program.[290] Such a faith claim for understanding the origins of the Revival is not disputed by this study. If accepting this claim, it is still legitimate to ask what were the factors that God used to bring the Revival into being.

Richard Riss, the principle historian of the movement, contends that the New Order of the Latter Rain is part of a larger Evangelical revival that swept the North American Continent following World War II. He points to such things as the formation of such ecumenical/evangelical organizations as the National Association of Evangelicals, Young Life, Campus Crusade for Christ, and Youth for Christ that were created following the War. In addition, he cites the emergence of the Healing evangelists in 1948, the Pacific Palisades Conferences held in Los Angeles, California, in 1948, and Billy Graham coming to national prominence during his Los Angeles crusade in 1949.[291]

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[289]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," pp. 198-9.

[290]James Lee Beall, Interview with D. William Faupel, August 6, 1976.

Most importantly, he points to the spontaneous revivals which took place on a host of college campuses in 1949-50. Among those colleges to experience such a visitation were Asbury College and Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky; Baylor University, Dallas, Texas; Bethel College and Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota; California Baptist Theological Seminary, Los Angeles, California; Central Bible Institute, Springfield, Missouri; Houghton College, Houghton, New York; John Brown University, Siloam Springs, Arkansas; Lee College, Cleveland, Tennessee; London Bible Institute, London, Ontario; North Park College and Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; Northwest College, Seattle, Washington; Nyack College, Nyack, New York; Seattle Pacific College, Seattle, Washington; Simpson College, Seattle, Washington; Taylor College, Upland, Indiana; University of Washington, Seattle, Washington; Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois; and Whitworth College, Spokane, Washington.[292]

Riss's assessment has obvious merit. Other historians of American religion such as Winthrop Hudson have recognized that the years following the war were characterized by religious renewal. Hudson suggests that the rise of revival fervor cannot be understood apart from World War II and its aftermath. America was both shaken and relieved by the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. But they were

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[291]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," pp. 12-35.

[292]Ibid., p. 16.

then plunged into anxiety of the cold war with Russia as characterized by the McCarthy hearings.[293] This anxiety was evident in the Latter Rain Revival. The leadership was able to exploit it by proclaiming the Latter Rain as the antidote to godless communism.[294]

But while the Latter Rain Revival should be seen as part of a larger religious renewal, caused at least in part by the anxiety of the cold war, that factor alone is not enough to understand its significance. It does not explain why, for example, that the Revival at large was embraced by existing institutions who were in turn enhanced by the awakening in terms of numerical growth, while the Latter Rain Revival was renounced by Pentecostalism.

In this respect, The Latter Rain Revival parallels the emergence of the Pentecostal Revival in 1906-9. As James Orr has shown, the Welsh Revival of 1904 which swept the world was largely embraced by the evangelical church, while Pentecostalism that followed on its heels was vigorously rejected.[295]

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[293]Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), pp. 382-4.

[294]See such examples as "Revival!--America's First Line of Defense!" The Voice of Faith, 1 (September-October, 1950), p. 1; "Prophecies of the Coming Russian Invasion of Canada and the United States," The Voice of Faith, 2 (June, 1951) p. 4; and W. T. McLean, Russia, What Will She Do? (Detroit, MI: Evangel Press, 1952).

[295]J. Edwin Orr, The Flaming Tongue: The Impact of Twentieth Century Revivals (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1973).

Tom Darrand has undoubtedly identified part of the answer to why the Latter Rain Revival was rejected by the Pentecostal Movement as a whole. It is true that the Revival was born at a time when its leader, George Hawtin, was in the midst of a power struggle with an established denomination, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Undoubtedly, Hawtin's attitude toward "the establishment" influenced many of his adherents. This in turn would have an impact on the denominational response.[296]

But this at best, can be a partial explanation. Why would such respected leaders as Stanley Frodsham and Ivan Spencer risk loss of reputation simply to aggrieve someone else's spite. This author believes, that by looking at the Latter Rain Revival in the context of the larger scope of this dissertation, a more complete explanation will emerge.

Most of the early leaders of the Latter Rain Revival had been long time adherents of the Pentecostal Movement. Indeed, in the cases of a few, participation dated back to the initial Pentecostal Revival. As time passed, they had witnessed many features, that originally characterized Pentecostalism, become marginalized. They had seen doctrines that were central to the message such as glossolalia as missionary languages; laying of hands; prophetic utterances; healing; and the bride of Christ as a called out body from the Church either dropped, down played,

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[296]Tom C. Darrand, Metaphors of Social Control, pp. 34, 58.

or portrayed as part of the "fringe" element that had plagued Pentecostalism from the beginning. They had watched respected first generation leaders die and thereby give way to a second generation whose main interest seemed to them to be numerical growth and evangelical respectability.

The Latter Rain leaders had an uneasy feeling that Pentecostalism was becoming something other than what it initially set out to be. As Nils Bloch-Hoell concluded in his study on Pentecostalism, they were protesting that the movement was "developing in the direction of the very type of religious body. . . against which it originally arose as a movement of reform."[297]

In setting forth their protest, they focused on the doctrine which they felt had caused Pentecostalism to go awry, the nature of the church. As shown in the last chapter, most of the early Pentecostal leaders, influenced by their holiness forebears, had held to a doctrine of the church similar to the ecclesiology of the New Order of the Latter Rain. But in an effort to withstand sustained attack from without; to control abuses and excesses from within; and to preserve gains that had been made, much of Pentecostalism had abandoned this understanding of the nature of the church as impractical and had organized into a multitude of denominations becoming somewhat sectarian.

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[297]Nils Bloch-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character (Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget, 1964), p. 177.

They had done so without developing a new theology of the church which was compatible with their Pentecostal worldview.

Thus, this unsettled question, was brought to the fore by the New Order of the Latter Rain. The leadership of the older Pentecostal denominations failed to understand fully what was taking place. A second generation, who had grown up from childhood knowing what it was like to be ostracized by the larger community and who had been charged with making a newly created organization run efficiently, failed to appreciate what the New Order was saying to them. Rather, they saw excesses, extremes, irresponsibility.

Men like Frodsham, Pethrus, and Spencer recognized this, also. But they pointed out that such excesses had also accompanied the Pentecostal Revival. They urged patience, understanding, and a commitment to work with the new movement to assure responsibility in the midst of renewal. Their voices were not heard. The Pentecostal leadership was capable of responding only in the same fashion as the Holiness and Evangelical leaders had been able to respond to them forty years before.[298]

Faced with attack from without and dissent from within, the Latter Rain leaders refused to organize in a manner similar to that of their Pentecostal forebears. As a result, they fragmented and became invisible. But like

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[298]Richard Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948," p. 225.

leaven, their influence did not disappear. History has yet to determine whether the Latter Rain Revival was a failure or a success.

Chapter Eight

CONCLUSION: WITHER PENTECOSTALISM?

The time has come to take a backward and a forward look at Pentecostalism in light of the findings of this study. The Movement was born with the conviction that it has been called into existence by God to proclaim *The Everlasting Gospel* which was designed to warn the nations and awaken the Church.

The task of this investigation has been to analyze the content of that initial Pentecostal message; identify its origins and trace its subsequent development. The writer will now summarize the conclusions of the study and reflect upon the implications these conclusions hold for the future of the Movement.

A Look Backward

Pentecostalism emerged in 1906 as a Movement distinct from Perfectionism when a small group of men and women experienced a revival in a tiny mission in Los Angeles, California, that was marked by an outbreak of glossolalia. This event signified for them that a new dispensation, the era of the Latter Rain, had dawned. The adherents understood the presence of unknown tongues to mean that a "Second Day of Pentecost" had been poured out which would

empower them to announce the last great message of warning to a dying world and a sleeping church. To them this experience not only signified that the dawn of the last dispensation but with the restoration of glossolalia they also felt their end-time message would be proclaimed to the nations through the miracle of the gift of languages. In addition they understood this gift of tongues to be the seal which marked those individuals who had been chosen to become members of Christ's bride.

This "Pentecostal message" had not developed in a vacuum. It was conceived in the womb of nineteenth century Perfectionism in the midst of the 1858-9 revival. Perfectionism gave birth to Pentecostalism some five decades later in the aftermath of the Welsh revival.

The mid-century revival came as the culmination of a wave of optimism and, Perfectionist adherents believed, was the vehicle by which the long anticipated millennium would be initiated. Almost as soon as the post-millennial vision was articulated, however, it began to show cracks and flaws. The American Civil War followed on the heels of the revival. The war in turn was succeeded by rapid urbanization, industrialization and mass immigration from non-Protestant European countries.

For many, the optimistic hope of transforming the world for Christ through the proclamation of the Gospel was replaced by a more sober assessment. If the world was to

have any hope at all, it must come through the direct intervention of God at the end of history.

In this new vision, Perfectionist adherents did not become passive fatalists. They still had a vital role to play. World-wide evangelization was still the task. However, the conversion of the world was no longer the objective. Rather, adherents now saw their responsibility as warning the nations of pending judgment and urging the church to put on her bridal garments in preparation for the soon-coming Bridegroom. Under this world-view only a select few were expected to respond to the call.

Perfectionist adherents entered the twentieth century convinced that the final outpouring of God's Spirit was imminent. The Bible was searched for evidence which would link this second event to the initial Pentecostal outpouring recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and yet distinguish it from other sovereign moves of God within the history of the church. Restoration of the gifts of the Spirit, especially the gift of tongues, appeared high on the list of potential possibilities for many adherents.

When the Welsh revival of 1904-5 swept the world the question was again raised: "Is this the Second Pentecost of the Spirit that we have been anticipating?" The next year the followers of William Seymour, influenced by the theology of Charles Parham, answered the question with a resounding "yes!" The restoration of the gift of tongues, they argued, signified that the second Pentecost had taken place and the

dispensation of the Latter Rain had arrived. Those who experienced glossolalia, adherents believed, were sealed as part of the Bride of Christ and empowered by the Spirit to warn the nations of pending judgment in their own languages.

The excessive claims of early Pentecostals, their humble origins, and their inability to speak in known languages at will, caused most of the Holiness movement to reject the Pentecostal message outright. Though Holiness adherents continued to look for the "true" second Pentecost, most were convinced that the tongues which flowed from Azusa street were spurious -- either of psychic or demonic origin.

Rejection by the Holiness movement only served to spur the Pentecostals on to greater effort. Once it became clear that Pentecostalism had established itself, however, internal problems had to be faced. The delay of the parousia and the inability to speak in known languages at will, forced most Pentecostals to reassess their mission. Evangelism, divine healing, and spirit-baptism were detached from the second coming message and were emphasized in their own right. Gradually the focus of the message turned from announcing the coming of the kingdom to the growing demands of a fledgling church.

The shift from a concern for ***world construction*** to that of ***world maintenance*** also brought internal conflict. The sense of unity and euphoria which the Movement experienced during its early days soon gave way and was replaced by a struggle to define the parameters of a new orthodoxy. The

structures of the message were pushed in new directions, as was evident in such controversies as *the finished work of calvary* and *the new issue*. Proponents declared these doctrine to be new revelation. Failure to accept such teaching brought the charge of apostasy. Acceptance, on the other hand, elicited an accusation of heresy by those who rejected the new message.

By 1920 the battle was over and the dust had settled. The process brought about fundamental change. To survive Pentecostals had formed several separate organizations and began to function increasingly like the denominations they had declared apostate at the time their movement arose. In addition, their respective "statements of faith" no longer functioned simply as a human articulation of their spiritual experience. Increasingly, such statements served to exclude persons who sought to articulate their spiritual experience in different categories. These statements also replaced the Bible as the lens by which subsequent insight would be viewed.

Many adherents experienced such fundamental changes as an external straightjacket. Several yearned for renewal. Following World War II, the New Order of the Latter Rain came in response to that deep yearning. Like the Azusa revival before it, this revival came with such force and suddenness that it threatened to engulf all of Pentecostalism within its embrace.

The similarities with the initial Pentecostal revival were striking. Like Azusa, this revival was understood to be a Second Pentecost of the Spirit. Once again the message proclaimed a warning to the nations and called the church to repentance in preparation for Christ's imminent return. Tongues were thought to be actual languages to enable adherents to declare the message to the nations.

The established Pentecostal movement responded to the revival in much the same manner as the Holiness movement had to the Azusa revival. Extravagant claims were noted, excesses were identified, doctrinal error was exposed. The new revival was perceived as the latest example of the "fringe" wildfire which had plagued Pentecostalism from the outset. By 1953, nearly all the Pentecostal denominations had gone on record in condemning the New Order as heresy.

Adherents of the New Order also responded in much the same manner as the first generation Pentecostals had earlier. They were stunned that the revival which they experienced as refreshing renewal could be subject to such criticism and rejection by any of God's true servants. They could believe only one thing, Pentecostalism had become apostate. Just as others before them, Pentecostals, by creating "man-made organizations" and by insisting upon "unscriptural creeds," had failed to move into the new truth and experience that God was giving.

Likewise, just as the internal unity initially experienced by early Pentecostals soon broke down, internal

tensions were quickly experienced by adherents of the New Order. Conflicting revelations were "given by the Spirit," as various factions sought to gain control of the revival. Extravagant expectations were not realized. Within a few years the force of the revival subsided. Numerous groups emerged as separate organizations to begin the long slow process of denominational formation.

A Look Forward . . .

Forty years have passed since the outbreak of the New Order of the Latter Rain. Gigantic developments have taken place since that time. Pentecostalism as a whole has become visible to the rest of American Christendom. Denominations, like the Assemblies of God and the Church of God in Christ, have been among the fastest growing church bodies in the United States. The Movement has exploded in the third world, particularly in those instances that have become truly indigenous.

At the same time that Pentecostalism was rejecting the New Order of the Latter Rain many of its constituent denominations were identifying with their old adversaries, Wesleyan Perfectionism and Fundamentalism. Together these three groups of denominations formed the National Association of Evangelicals. This decision tended to put Pentecostalism in an adversarial relationship with the old-

line denominations who were members of the National Council of Churches.[1]

Shortly thereafter, the Pentecostal experience in the form of the Charismatic Movement, penetrated both the NCC Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. This break-through caught classical Pentecostals completely by surprise. For a few years a guarded reassessment took place as Pentecostals sought to determine what the Holy Spirit was attempting to say to the "old-line" churches through the Charismatics. However, when it became clear that the Charismatics were not going to adopt Pentecostal theological categories and mores, Pentecostals felt the Charismatic Movement was failing in its task. An uneasy truce between Pentecostals and Charismatics has resulted.[2]

Another phenomenon that has developed in recent years is the emergence of a great number of non-denominational Charismatic churches. Riss correctly suggests that these churches have been highly influenced by the teachings of the New Order of the Latter Rain. As such, their leadership is highly suspicious of organized religion in an form beyond the level of the local church.[3]

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[1]William W. Menzies, Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), pp. 217-222.

[2]Ibid., pp. 222-227; and Peter Hocken, "The Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement as Revival and Renewal," Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, 3 (Spring, 1981), pp. 42-4.

Still another recent development has been the rise of Pentecostal scholarship. The appearance of Vinson Synan's The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement[4] in 1971 and the English translation of Walter Hollenweger's The Pentecostals[5] the following year, marked a break-through in the level of Pentecostal self-understanding. The Society for Pentecostal Studies, which held its first annual meeting between the appearance of these two volumes, has also done much to foster this new awareness by encouraging serious research and by keeping the various Pentecostal/Charismatic traditions in an on-going dialog.[6]

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[3]Richard M. Riss, A Survey of 20th-Century Revival Movements in North America (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988), pp. 122-4.

[4]Vinson Synan, The Holiness Pentecostal Movement in the United States (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1971).

[5]Walter J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972).

[6]David W. Faupel, The American Pentecostal Movement: A Bibliographical Essay (Wilmore, KY: Asbury Theological Seminary, 1972), p. 51. In addition to its annual meeting where scholarly papers are presented, the Society has published Pneuma, a scholarly journal, since 1979. Several members of the Society have been participants in the Commission for Faith and Order of the NCC since 1984. The Commission co-sponsored a Consultation entitled "Confessing the Apostolic Faith: Pentecostal Churches and the Ecumenical Movement" with the David Du plessis Center fo Christian Spirituality at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, CA, October 22-24, 1986. The papers were published in the Spring, 1987 issue of Pneuma. Finally, members of the Society have participated in the Roman Catholic/Pentecostal dialogue. For a Pentecostal perspective and a transcript of the texts see Jerry L. Sandidge, compiler, Roman Catholic/Pentecostal Dialogue (1977-1982): A Study in Developing Ecumenism, 2 Volumes (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 1987).

As a result of these and other factors the Pentecostal Movement approaches the end of its first century self-confident and diverse. One writer suggests, that the Movement has come to a crossroads. "It is time," he contends,

> to assess past experience, to take stock of present strengths, weaknesses, and resources, and to plot future direction. . . . to not take the opportunity for reflection and self-evaluation is to miss a precious moment for continued growth and a chance to make informed decisions.[7]

What kind of assessment will Pentecostal leaders make? What conclusions will they draw? How will the Movement face its second century? What will be the role of scholars of Pentecostalism who stand both outside and within the Movement in helping to shape the future course of the Movement? These are questions that only subsequent history can reveal.

One thing is clear. Pentecostal self-understanding will forever be changed as the result of Pentecostal scholarship of the past twenty years. No longer is it possible to believe that the Pentecostal Movement emerged de-novo at the turn of the century. Nor is it possible to accept that Spirit-baptism evidenced by glossolalia to the major concern which gave rise to the movement.

Several recent studies are suggestive to approaches, beyond the scope of this investigation, which Pentecostals

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[7]Cecil M. Robeck, "Where Do We Go from Here?" Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, 7 (Spring, 1985), p. 1.

might use to reappropriate their history and experience as they move into the future. Following the lead of Walter Hollenweger, Douglas Nelson[8] and Iain MacRobert[9] have set forth the black contributions to the origins of Pentecostalism, which in turn have raised significant implications for understanding Pentecostal spirituality. Grant Wacker's penetrating analysis reveals those roots which Pentecostalism has drawn from the "primitive" tradition in American religion.[10] Among other things this tradition's concept of the universal church provides a foundation for Pentecostalism to enter into ecumenical discussion, an emphasis that is also developed by Cecil Robeck.[11].

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[8]Douglas J. Nelson, "For Such a Time as This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival, A Search for Pentecostal/Charismatic Roots (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1981).

[9]Iain MacRobert, The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1988).

[10]See, for example, "The Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism," Harvard Theological Review, 77 (July/October, 1984): 353-75 and "Playing for Keeps: The Primitivist Impulse in Early Pentecostalism" in Richard T. Hughes, ed., The American Quest for the Primitive Church (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp. 196-219. Wacker is presently expanding his thesis in a forthcoming book to be entitled, Primitive Pentecostalism: Origins of an American Religion.

[11]For example, see Cecil M. Robeck, "Name and Glory: The Ecumenical Challenge," in Pastoral Problems In the Pentecostal Charismatic Movement, Harold D. Hunter, ed. (Cleveland, TN: The Church of God School of Theology, 1983), pp. 1-78.

Steven Land,[12] on the other hand, approaches the ecumenical issue by reflecting upon the history of Pentecostal spirituality. In his analysis he finds the heartbeat of this spirituality finding external expression in the Movement's sense of mission. On still another track, Huibert H. Zegwaart[13] seeks to recover and appropriate the initial Pentecostal worldview by reflecting upon the symbolic nature of myth. In a similar vein, Ian Barbour's use of "model construction" as articulated in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, is suggestive for setting forth some options.

It should be clear by now that the Pentecostal Movement arose out of a literalistic apocalyptic world-view, a view that Barbour labels "naive realism."[14] Like participants in all millenarian movements, Pentecostal adherents failed to understand the metaphorical nature of religious language with which they described their spiritual pilgrimage and ultimate destiny. Their view of reality was understood in

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[12]Steven J. Land, "Pentecostal Spirituality: Living in the Spirit," in Louis Dupre' and Donald E. Saliers, Christian Spirituality III: Post Reformation and Modern, vol. 18 of World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest (New York, NY: Crossroad Books, 1989).

[13]Huibert H. Zegwaart, "The Concept of 'Myth': an Attempt to Clarify a Definition in Pentecostal Thought," Pentecostal Research in Europe: Problems, Promises and People, "Proceedings from the Pentecostal Research Conference at the University of Birmingham, 1984" Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, vol. 37 (Bern and Frankfort: Peter Lang, n.d.).

[14]Ian Barbour, Myths, Models and Paradigms: The Nature of Scientific and Religious Language (London ENG: SCM Press, Ltd, 1974), pp. 33-38.

literal terms. Thus, when the faith claims of their initial message -- e.g., the imminent return of Christ, the rapid evangelization of the world, speaking in the languages of the nations at will -- failed to materialize in the manner they anticipated, their apocalyptic world-view faded into the background. It was no longer workable or useful.

Neither disillusionment nor despair followed, however. Pentecostals reformulated their message. They still understood this message to be literally true, but it was now articulated in terms of certain "propositions." The faith claims of justification, sanctification, Spirit-baptism, divine healing, and the second coming were detached from the over-arching framework of the imminent impending end of history. Evangelism and world mission came to be perceived as legitimate tasks in their own right, quite apart from the initial source of motivation. In making this change Pentecostals adopted what Ian Barbour describes as a "positivist" understanding of reality.[15]

From this perspective, the New Order of the Latter Rain must be seen as an attempt to pull Pentecostalism back to a naive realism. Adherents of the new revival correctly sensed that there had been an loss in terms of what was inherent to the Pentecostal message and the Movement's self-understanding. At the same time, the leadership of

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[15]As described by Barbour, the positivists used models to deduce "abstract concepts" or "propositional truths" which could be applied when seeking to understand the physical world. Once these truths were discovered the models could then be discarded. Ibid., pp. 35-6.

classical Pentecostalism had painfully learned that the initial world-view did not correspond to reality point for point in the way New Order advocates were insisting. Given the two philosophical points of view, there was no way the two groups could communicate. Division and mutual denunciation were the inevitable results.

This investigator is convinced that Cecil Robeck is correct when contending that Pentecostalism again stands at a crossroads[16]. This time, however, the situation is more complex. On the one hand, the Independent Charismatic Churches influenced by the leadership of the New Order, is declaring that God is restoring His true church outside denominational structures in order to accomplish His end-time mission.[17] In reading widely on the writings of such

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[16]Robeck, "Where Do We Go From Here?", p. 1.

[17]The most thorough articulation of this point of view is Charles P. Schmitt, Root Out of a Dry Ground: A History of the Church; Lending Historical Validity to the Claims of This Present Move of the Holy Spirit in the Earth (Grand Rapids, MN: Fellowship Publications, 1979). In surveying the history of the Church, including many of the events described in this dissertation, Schmitt makes one central assertion. Throughout history God has poured out His Spirit upon the Church. The fresh wind and restored truth that it brought was rejected by a church that had become institutionalized and defended by "man-made" creeds. God therefore had no choice but to bring about the restoration of the true church outside those structures, only to see the process repeated over and over again. In the present move of the Spirit, he believes the outcome will be different. He concludes his book by stating

> In this widening stream that is flowing through the very heart of this present charismatic outpouring is to be found that quest for . . . [the] fuller, purer restoration of the Body of Christ in all the earth, in the expectation that surely, at last, 'the end of all things is at hand.' p. 160.

folk, it is clear that it is a view grounded philosophically in naive realism.

On the other hand, many Charismatics within "old line" denominations feel that God is bringing renewal to the historic churches. Most share neither the philosophical nor theological underpinnings of either the Independent Church or the classical Pentecostal Movement. Yet they sense a strong kinship with both in terms of a shared spiritual experience.

The way forward for all three groups, this investigator believes, is found neither in a return to naive realism often expressed in the thinking of the Independent Charismatic Churches nor in a continuation of the positivism which dominates the understanding of the classical

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H. A. Maxwell Whyte, The Emerging Church (Monroeville, PA: Whitaker House, 1971) makes it clear that ultimately the true church must leave all denominational organizations. Only for tactical reasons are Charismatics allowed to stay within them now. He declares:

> Where do we go from here? We cannot study the Bible and use the Gifts of the Spirit in our historic churches, and yet we feel we must stay in our denomination because we have nowhere else to worship. We believe this is the restraining hand of God governing the work of the Spirit to bring the whole church back into conformity with His plan and pattern.
>
> We do not for one minute believe that this present position is a final one, but rather a fluid position as the Spirit of God breathes more heavily upon all Christendom, in both Protestant and Catholic circles. The true new testament Church would seem to be embryonic and soon to emerge upon a needy world. p. 9.

Pentecostal denominations. Rather, the way forward, he believes is by coming to an understanding of religious language which Barbour calls critical realism.[18]

Such a view would take seriously the initial Pentecostal world-view and would find the models, now discarded by classical Pentecostals, to be extremely useful. The models, however, are understood to be analogical not literal. Correspondence to reality could then be systematically tested to determine the aspects of similarity and differences with the analogy used. Because these models would be understood as partial depictions of reality to enable a person to grasp the essence of a complex whole, the believer could bare witness to the reality of his/her experience without having to deny the validity of another's experience that is articulated through a different metaphor and theological tradition.

Failure to move toward a view of reality reflected in critical realism, this investigator believes, will leave Pentecostalism facing three less satisfactory developments. Firstly, the call of the New Order -- 'back to the original vision' -- will be repeated again and again. Each time, the group breaking away will be forced to go through the painful process of moving from ***world construction*** to ***world maintenance*** if it is to survive. In time the successful break-away group will take on the characteristics of its

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[18]Ian Barbour, Myths, Models and Paradigms, p. 37.

parent and will find those in its midst accusing it of apostasy and the cycle will be repeated again.

Secondly, by retaining a "propositional" understanding of reality, classical Pentecostalism be forced to exclude meaningful fellowship with those groups who share similar religious experience but who cannot articulate it in the same theological categories. Always they will understand those groups to have some serious deficiencies if not advocating outright heresy.

Thirdly, cut-off from the initial understanding which gave them rise, "propositional truths" will ultimately lose their compelling power in new historical situations. Increasingly, persons within Pentecostalism will move toward an understanding of reality that Barbour describes as "instrumentalism".[19] In such a view, theological propositions are not judged by their truth or falsity, but by their usefulness. Adherents who remain within the tradition will continue to subscribe to the propositions, but those truths will cease to "live" for them. Such persons are apt to become cynical and disillusioned. The tradition ultimately will die.

Conversely, by adopting a "critical real" understanding of reality, the opportunity exists for openness and inclusion, rather than defensiveness and exclusion. The emergence of the Pentecostal tradition could still be faithful to its historical context and yet be transformed to

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[19]Ibid., p. 36.

live in the present environment in new and vital ways. A "critical real" understanding of Pentecostalism's history would provide bridges to other traditions. It can open the Bible, the source of all Christian traditions, to new and exciting ways.

Gerd Theissen, a German New Testament scholar, describes this point of view in terms of poetry.

> Poetry gives the hearer freedom. It does not say: you must believe this or that. It seeks to change our structures of perception in such a way that in life we have those experiences for which we have not previously had a perspective. . . . Poetic images always go far beyond reality. Anyone who takes them literally will soon suspect that they are illusions. But those who take their excesses as an invitation to explore reality will find a more appropriate attitude not only towards poetry but also towards reality. The fact that Jesus spoke of God not in dogmas but in poems should be the starting point of all our efforts to speak of God.[20]

The implications of this understanding of Pentecostal theology for mission and missiology, for ecumenical relationships with other Christian traditions and between divisions within the Pentecostal tradition, for healing the serious breach that has long existed between Black and White Pentecostals in North America, and for understanding between first and third world Pentecostalism, have not been treated in this dissertation even though this investigator acknowledges their critical importance. The development of such implications is a topic for another dissertation.

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[20]Gerd Theissen, Biblical Faith: An Evolutionary Approach (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1984), p. 128.

Rather by working within the history of the development of ideas through the paradigm of a Kuhnian model, the writer has sought to understand and interpret the emergence of Pentecostalism in its historical context. As such, he believes that this work helps to provide a bridge to those scholars such as Walter Hollenweger, Emmanual Lartey, and Karl-Wilhelm Westmeier who seek to deal with the contemporary theological questions by taking seriously Pentecostalism's oral tradition, worship forms, etc., in addition to making use of print sources that provide the foundation for this disseration.

Appendix A

GLOSSOLALIA AS FOREIGN LANGUAGE: A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CLAIM

Introduction

No feature of Pentecostalism has attracted more attention or caused more controversy than its practice of glossolalia. Carl Brumback observed in 1947:

> If speaking in tongues were taken out of the Pentecostal movement perhaps nine-tenths of opposition would disappear; Pentecost might possibly become the most popular religious movement in the Protestant world.[1]

Brumback wrote too soon. Since 1960, the practice has spread throughout both the Protestant and Catholic traditions and has been recognized as normative in the advancing church of the third world. Brumback's "Pentecost" is on the verge of becoming the most popular movement in Christendom.

Persistent throughout Pentecostal history has been the claim that, on occasion, glossolalia has been actual language unknown to the speaker but understood by others who were present. Although examples of this claim have recurred throughout the history of the Pentecostal movement, reports

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[1]Carl Brumback, "What Meaneth This?" A Pentecostal Answer to a Pentecostal Question (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1947), p. 115.

of this phenomenon are most prevalent during the initial years of the revival, 1906-1909.[2] This Appendix will examine the historical and theological factors which lay behind the claim and then seek to give an assessment of its validity.

Glossolalia As Foreign Language

The Historical and Theological Context

At the outset of the Pentecostal revival, the initial adherents understood glossolalia to have been given for three purposes: 1) the eschatological sign that initiated the era of the Latter Rain; 2) the seal of the Holy Spirit that ensured membership in the Bride of Christ; and 3) the means by which God's final message could be proclaimed to the nations.[3] Of these expectations, the last one proved to be the most controversial. As missionaries went forth, first from Los Angeles and later from other Pentecostal centers, it soon became clear that they were unable speak in a foreign language at will. The purpose for glossolalia, therefore had to be reassessed.

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[2]For examples of more recent reports see Dennis J. Bennett, "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit," The Charismatic Movement, ed. Michael P. Hamilton (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 19ff; and John L. Sherrill, They Speak with Other Tongues (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), pp. 104ff.

[3]See Chapter Two, "Conception: The Pentecostal Message," for the conceptual framework in which the phenomenon was understood.

The Means for World Evangelization

In 1941, the respected British Pentecostal theologian, Donald Gee, observed:

> In those early days of the movement there was a tendency to seek after identification of the languages spoken, doubtless because of traditional, but mistaken and unscriptural, views that the gift of tongues was 'for preaching the gospel to the heathen.'[4]

While historians of the movement have acknowledged the presence of this view, they have failed to recognize that this was the prevailing understanding at the outset of the revival.[5] That Charles Fox Parham held this view is well known.[6] His most famous comment on the subject appears in his account of the coming of the Holy Spirit to Bethel College.

> I had felt for years that any missionary going to the foreign field should preach in the language of the natives. That if God had ever equipped His ministers in that way He could do it today. That if Balaam's mule could stop in the middle of the road and give the first preacher that went out for money a "bawling out" in Arabic that anybody today ought to be able to preach in any language of the world if they had horse sense enough to let God use their tongue and throat.[7]

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[4]Donald Gee, The Pentecostal Movement (London, ENG: Elim Publishing House, 1941), p. 2.

[5]See, for example, Carl Brumback, "Suddenly. . .From Heaven" A History of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), p. 112; and Vinson Synan, The Holiness Pentecostal Movement in the United States (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), p. 111.

[6]Vinson Synan, The Holiness Pentecostal Movement, p. 111.

[7]Charles Fox Parham, "The Latter Rain: The Story of the Original Apostolic or Pentecostal Movement," Selected Sermons of the Late Charles F. Parham and Sarah E. Parham, Co-Founders of the Original Apostolic Faith Movement, comp.

After Parham was discredited as the leader of the Pentecostal revival in 1906, his successor of the Apostolic Faith work in Texas, W. F. Carothers maintained the same conviction, although he expressed it in more cautious terms:

> Just what part the gift of tongues is to fill in the evangelization of heathen countries is a matter for faith as yet. It scarcely seems from the evidence at hand to have had much to do with foreign mission work in the New Testament times, and yet, in view of the apparent utility of the gift in that sphere and of the wonderful missionary spirit that comes with Pentecost, we are expecting the gift to be copiously used in the foreign field. We shall soon know.[8]

William Seymour carried the same conviction with him to Los Angles. Shortly after the revival broke out at the Azusa Street Mission, his new journal The Apostolic Faith confidently declared, "Missionaries for the foreign field, equipped with several languages, are now on their way and others are waiting for the way to open and for the Lord to say 'Go'"[9] A month earlier, this same periodical had asserted:

> The gift of languages is given with the commission 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' The Lord has given languages to the unlearned, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Zulu and languages of Africa, Hindu and Bengals and dialects of the Indians, Exquimaux, the deaf mute language, and in fact the Holy Ghost speaks all the languages of the world through his children.[10]

Robert L. Parham (Baxter Springs, KS: Apostolic Faith Bible College, 1941), pp. 75-6.

[8]W. F. Carothers, The Baptism in the Holy Spirit and Speaking in Tongues (Houston, TX: The Author, 1906), p. 21.

[9]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (October, 1906), p. 1.

When A. H. Post, who had pastored Methodist churches in California for over thirty years, heard about the strange experiences that were taking place at the Azusa Mission, he went to investigate. He, too, was soon reporting that people were receiving actual languages for the purpose of world evangelization. "From here God has sent those living witnesses. . .into China, India, Africa and Jerusalem, each able to speak in any language to whom God sends."[11]

The Need For Reassessment

The initial expectation was soon dashed by bitter disappointment. S. C. Todd, a missionary with the Bible Missionary Society, investigated mission stations in China, India, and Japan where Pentecostals had come "expecting to be able to preach to the natives of those countries in their own tongues." By their own admission, he found that "in no single instance have they been able to do so."[12]

All but a few Pentecostals were forced by the evidence to modify their view. A. G. Garr, the first missionary to leave Azusa, went to India fully expecting to preach in Hindustani. After a few months, he admitted his failure on this point; none-the-less, he remained to carry on a successful ministry for several years, preaching to these

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[10]The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), 1 (September, 1906), p. 1.

[11]A. H. Post, The Way of Faith and Neglected Themes, reprinted in George F. Taylor, The Spirit and the Bride (Dunn, NC: The Author, 1907), p. 94.

[12]Cited in A. E. Seddon, "Edward Irving and Unknown Tongues," Homiletic Review (February, 1909), p. 109.

British subjects in English.[13] Charles Parham conceded, "To my knowledge not a single missionary in the foreign field speaks in the tongue of the natives as a gift from God."[14]

Yet Parham remained convinced from his own experience that actual languages were available: "For twenty-five years I have spoken and prayed in other languages to the conversion of foreigners in my meetings."[15] He was almost alone, however. Most Pentecostals came to echo the view of Herman Harvey, a minister who joined forces with Aimee Semple McPherson, when he acknowledged:

> It is clearly not the purpose of God to bestow a language that will work automatically upon heathen and sinners of other lands and tribes. When the Spirit was first poured out in California a few years ago a sad mistake was made by some who acted upon the belief that all they had to do was to reach some heathen land and the language would always be the very dialect needed.[16]

Despite this disconfirmation and reassessment, successful missionary activity was carried on unabated by adherents of the movement. Though disappointed, they were not shaken in their primary belief that God had called them to bear witness to the nations. Unable to speak the languages of the natives, the early Pentecostal missionaries

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[13]Twentieth Anniversary of the Garr Auditorium (Charlotte, NC: n.p., 1950), p. 3.

[14]Charles F. Parham, "A Criticial Analysis of the Tongues Question," The Apostolic Faith (Baxter Springs), 25 (June, 1925), p. 2.

[15]Ibid., p. 2.

[16]Herman L. Harvey, "The Gift of Tongues," The Bridal Call (April, 1919), pp. 7-8.

went to existing mission stations. In many cases they were successful in persuading these, in whole or in part, to accept the Pentecostal message.[17] Having secured this alternate means to proclaim their message, they remained confident that they were being faithful to the command of the Gospel and that their efforts were hastening the end of the age.

The Subsequent Understanding

The disconfirmation of the initial expectation for glossolalia forced adherents to reexamine the Scriptures to discover a more "biblical understanding" that squared with the reality of their experience. The exposition of Harold Horton published in 1934 has remained the prevailing opinion. He saw an eight-fold purpose for the use of glossolalia. These can be summarized in four categories: 1) The Scriptural evidence of Spirit Baptism; 2) Private edification; 3) Communal edification when interpreted; and 4) a sign to the unbeliever.[18]

Thus, the emphasis shifted from a public prophetic understanding to a more personal devotional perspective.

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[17]See Chapter Five, "Birth: The Emergence and Spread of Pentecostalism."

[18]Harold Horton, The Gifts of the Spirit (London, ENG: F. J. Lamb, 1934), pp. 137-144. More recent presentations expressing similar views include: Robert Chandler Dalton, "Interpretation of Glossolalia According to Present Pentecostal Theology and Exegesis," Tongues Like as of Fire: A Critical Study of Modern Tongue Movements in Light of Apostolic and Patristic Times (1947. Reprint, Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1973), p. 104; and Carl Brumback, What Meaneth This, pp. 261-337.

The view of tongues as *sign* and *seal*, while retained, was divested of its initial eschatological significance. Reports which have persisted that, on rare occasions, actual languages have been spoken, have been understood to be a "sign to the unbeliever".

An Evaluation of the Early Twentieth Century Claim

The advent of the "Charismatic Movement" in the 1960's, which introduced glossolalia throughout Christendom, has heightened interest in the nature of the phenomenon. The view that "tongues" are actual languages persists among adherents. Reports recur that, in some cases, these languages are understood by persons present. The question is continually raised, "Is glossolalia actual language?"

Studies now completed or in progress have found no evidence that this phenomenon has either the form or the structure of human speech. Robert Anderson, who takes seriously though certainly not uncritically, these Pentecostal claims, cites several studies where tape recordings of glossolalia have been analyzed by linguists who found no resemblance of language in them.[19]

The charismatic John Sherrill played forty different samples of tongue-speech to a group of linguists in New York City. Although they recognized language-like patterns, they

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[19]Robert Mapes Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 16-9.

were agreed that none of the tapes contained any of the languages with which they were familiar.[20]

Linguist, William J. Samarin, concludes that in the hundreds of examples he studied, all lacked several essential elements of languages: vocabulary, grammar, syntax, etc.[21] As a result of his study, he defined glossolalia as "a meaningless but phonologically structured human utterance believed by the speaker to be a real language but bearing no systematic resemblance to any natural language, living or dead."[22]

In the most comprehensive study of the phenomenon to date, Cyril G. Williams finds no first-hand evidence that actual language did occur and is most hesitant to accept the claims of second-hand testimony.[23] Although Walter J. Hollenweger has rightly cautioned that final judgment should be withheld until sufficient tape recordings are made and analyzed, it would appear from subsequent studies that this question is being answered in the negative.[24]

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[20]John L. Sherrill, They Speak with Other Tongues (New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 1964), pp. 112-3.

[21]William J. Samarin, Tongues of Men and Angels: The Religious Language of Pentecostalism (New York, NY: Macmillan Company, 1972), pp. 104-9.

[22]Ibid., p. 2.

[23]Cyril G. Williams, Tongues of the Spirit: A Study of Pentecostal Glossolalia and Related Phenomena (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1981), p. 184.

[24]Walter J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), p. 342.

In view of this accumulating evidence, how can one account for the thousands of reports that actual languages were uttered, unknown by the speaker but understood by an observer? Samarin maintains that these claims are not simply the result of deliberate fraud or pious deceit.[25] In an attempt at an alternate explanation, this investigator has analyzed the two thousand accounts he has on file. He has classified them into four general categories: 1) accounts which are based on rumor and hearsay; 2) reports where the observer is a "believer"; 3) narratives where the observer is converted as a result of hearing a message in a recognized language; and 4) incidents where the observer appears to be uninterested in the content of the message. Attention is now directed to an evaluation of each category in turn.

Accounts Based on Rumor and Hearsay

A large number of the reports are based on third- and fourth-hand information. They are vague in detail. These narratives can be accounted for simply on the basis of the Pentecostal world-view and the reporter's inclination to accept the account without question. Such reports provide no basis to be accepted as evidence.

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[25]William J. Samarin, Tongues of Men and Angels, p. 110.

An Adherent's Testimony

The greatest number of accounts this investigator has on file are of incidents where the message was understood by a Pentecostal believer. A typical example of this occurred at the Azusa Street Mission.

> S. J. Mead, a missionary who labored for over twenty years in Liberia, attended the Azusa Street Meetings. He heard many African dialects spoken with which he was familiar. A colored woman spoke at length in tongues as the Spirit was pleased to use her. Immediately after she had spoken, Brother Mead arose and interpreted the message and gave the name of the tribe in Africa that spoke the language.[26]

Samarin's analysis of recordings which he has heard led him to conclude that glossolalia often has many superficial similarities with those languages which the speaker is generally familiar, such as intonation, simple words and phrases, and syntax-like features.[27]

The example cited above is subject to question in light of his findings. A "colored woman" is the speaker. It is quite possible that she was "generally familiar" with an African dialect and that in a state of altered consciousness, she could have reproduced general intonation, a few words or phrases, etc. The competence of Mead's ability to recognize "many African dialects" must also be questioned. Ian Stevenson's research leads him to conclude:

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[26]Stanley H. Frodsham, "Pentecost in Los Angeles," With Signs Following: The Story of the Pentecostal Revival in the Twentieth Century (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1928), p. 39.

[27]William J. Samarin, Tongues of Men and Angels, p. 112.

"Persons only casually familiar with foreign languages . . . who perhaps studied them superficially in high school, but never mastered one--may easily mistake the semblance of a foreign language for the reality."[28] Given the initial Pentecostal world-view and its expectation for glossolalia, Mead would be predisposed to his conclusion based on a few words or general intonation.

Samarin cites a similar case that he was able to investigate. It involved a woman who had grown up in a Pentecostal church.

> A man rose to give a message in tongues. She immediately recognized it as the language she had learned in Africa as a missionary several years before. And as he spoke, she understood the sense of what he was saying. Immediately after the meeting was over, she met with her husband and son, who also spoke the language. All of them had been amazed to hear it from the lips of someone who could not possibly have had the opportunity to learn it as they had.[29]

Talking with the woman later, Samarin discovered that although she had some knowledge of the language, she spoke it with a heavy accent and did not know the intonations of its structure. Furthermore, the length of the discourse that she had recognized as the language was less than a minute, and she could only report that the man had been praising Jesus. After investigating several reports of a similar nature, Samarin concluded: "cross-examination

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[28]Ian Stevenson, Xenoglossy: A Review and Case Report (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1974), p. 11.

[29]William J. Samarin, Tongues of Men and Angels, pp. 113-4.

destroys the credibility of this sincere person who claimed to hear a language she personally knew."[30]

A Convert's Testimony

The third category of tongue-speech which is recognized as known language involves an unbeliever of a non-English speaking origin who attends a Pentecostal meeting, hears an exhortation in his own language and as a result, becomes a convert to the movement. A. W. Orwig summarized the countless such incidents which occurred at the Azusa Mission as follows:

> Persons of many nationalities were also present, of which Los Angeles seems to be filled, representing all manner of religious beliefs. Sometimes these, many of them unsaved, would be seized with deep conviction for sin under the burning testimony of one of their own nationality, and at once heartily turn to the Lord. Occasionally, some foreigner, although somewhat understanding English, would hear a testimony of earnest exhortation in his native tongue from a person not at all acquainted with that language, thereby be pungently convicted that it was a call from God to repent of sin; often such repentance followed just as on the Day of Pentecost.[31]

Many such accounts are of a second-hand nature and like the first category can be attributed to an uncritical acceptance of hearsay and rumor. The Pentecostal world-view predisposed the reporter to accept the claim without question. Others, like the summary cited, are eyewitness accounts and cannot be easily dismissed without challenging

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[30]Ibid., p. 114.

[31]A. W. Orwig, "Azusa Street Scenes," The Apostolic Faith Restored, ed. B. F. Lawrence (St. Louis, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1916), pp. 78-9.

the integrity of the observer. Samarin's findings help to explain these cases. The "languages" heard in such instances are often those known by some members of the group. Although unknown by the speaker, this person would be "generally familiar" with the language and could have reproduced intonation, some words or phrases, etc.

There is a critical difference of the reports in this category, however. The person who understands the language is an unbeliever who does not share the Pentecostal world-view. Yet this person is convicted of sin and is converted as a result of the message.

Eddison Mosimann, a psychiatrist, in his study of the glossolalia phenomenon in Switzerland, provided a possible clue. His investigation stemmed from an interest raised in this subject when one of his patients, a Pentecostal, claimed that she heard real languages. In his investigation, Mosimann found that: 1) there were many reported cases of this occurrence among Pentecostals; 2) the people involved were absolutely sincere in their belief; 3) the message provided an answer to a crisis they were facing; and 4) the actual utterance, when analyzed, was no language at all. His conclusion was that the "miracle" was in the *hearing* rather than in the *speaking*.[32] Cyril Williams concurs. After extensive investigation, he

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[32]Eddison Mosimann, Das Zungenreden geschichtlich und psychologisch inter scicht (Tubingen, Germany: J. C. G. Mohr, 1911).

concluded that auditory illusion is the most likely explanation in such cases.[33]

As A. W. Orwig noted, Los Angeles was a microcosm of immigration that took place to the western and northern American cities at the turn of the twentieth century. The recently displaced immigrant experienced heightened intensification of the common psychological effects of urban life: "loneliness, alienation and despair."[34] An encounter by the Pentecostals must have been a refreshing release. Stanley Frodsham quotes an early eyewitness who attended the Azusa Mission:

> It is noticeably free from all nationalistic feeling. If a Mexican or a German cannot speak English, he gets up and speaks in his own tongue and feels quite at home, for the spirit interprets through the face and the people say 'Amen.'[35]

In the highly emotionally charged atmosphere of the early Pentecostal revival where glossolalia was thought to be a known foreign language and where everyone found acceptance regardless of nationality, race, economic status, et cetera, it is not difficult to conceive that the lonely alienated immigrants *heard* in their own language, a message consistent with that which the Pentecostals were proclaiming in English. Accepting the message, these persons were

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[33]Cyril G. Williams, Tongues of the Spirit, p. 184.

[34]Robert M. Fogelson, The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 75-7, 146ff.

[35]Stanley H. Frodsham, With Signs Following, p. 34.

received into full fellowship of the community of faith. At last, they had found their new home.

Given the initial Pentecostal understanding for the purpose of glossolalia, the *speaker* of the utterance quite naturally felt God was issuing a call to take the Pentecostal to the country of the language which had been spoken. It was only as the missionaries arrived on site that they discovered what they had been able to do in their homeland, they could not reproduce on the mission field. Others, like Parham, who did not go abroad, could honestly believe until their dying day that they had, upon occasion, spoken an actual language which had ben unquestionably confirmed by the subsequent conversion and testimony of an American immigrant.

An Outsider's Testimony

By far the smallest category of reports involves instances where an apparent disinterested observer heard a discourse in a language they understood but which was unknown to the speaker. One such incident occurred to John Follette, who at the time was a student at Elim Bible Institute in Rochester, New York. He gave a public utterance in tongues shortly after the Pentecostal revival swept this holiness school into the new movement in June, 1907. Elizabeth Baker, the leader of the school gave the interpretation. She stated that he was seeing a vision of Christ's nativity. Follette was unable to speak in English

at that point, but signified by gestures that she was correct. Following this sequence, he burst forth in song.

> At the close of the service a lady and a gentleman who were present, called one of the sisters aside and asked, 'Who was that young Jew who spoke and sang tonight?' He was told that there was no Jew present but that it was one of the students. With great surprise he informed us that he and his wife had understood several languages, among them the Hebrew, and, he said, 'The young man spoke and sang in the most perfect Hebrew, and we understood every word he was saying, and the interpretation given was correct.'[36]

It is, of course, impossible to cross-examine the participants of this account. It would appear, however, that the lady and gentleman were competent to understand Hebrew. There is no indication that they were facing a personal crisis or that they were converted to Pentecostalism as a result of this experience. The integrity of Mrs. Baker and the Reverend Follette is beyond question. The only credible explanation appears that in this case Hebrew was actually spoken.

In seeking to allow for the *possibility* that in a few instances, Pentecostals spoke in known languages, Robert Anderson offers the theory of cryptomnesia which he defines as "the ability to recall in a trance, a language which one has heard or seen but never consciously committed to memory."[37] To be operative, he suggests "cryptomnesia requires the deep state of dissociation that was quite

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[36]Elizabeth V. Baker, Chronicles of a Faith Life (Rochester, NY: The Author, 1916), pp. 138-40.

[37]Robert M. Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p. 19.

common among the early Pentecostals." He continued: "Today Pentecostals rarely achieve this state so it is not surprising that the available recordings of tongue-speech contain no language."[38]

Though it is true that trances were a common phenomenon in early Pentecostalism, the most credible reports of glossolalia as language came from instances where such a state of deep dissociation is not in evidence. Follette certainly experienced a degree of dissociation--he was experiencing a vision while speaking in tongues and was unable to speak in English for awhile after he had finished. However, he was sufficiently aware to comprehend and affirm, by a gesture, the interpretation Mrs. Baker was giving. This level of dissociation is quite common among charismatics. Since no tape recordings to date reveal evidence that language has been spoken, Anderson's theoretical possibility for cases of cryptomnesia in early Pentecostalism cannot be validated.

Of the two thousand plus cases, that this writer has analyzed in preparation for this dissertation, only six cannot be accounted for by some alternate explanation. These few cases are now impossible to investigate further and therefore stand as a haunting possibility that in rare instances, actual language unknown to the speaker might be uttered. However, in view of the lack of a shred of evidence from present day tongue-speech and in light of the

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[38]Ibid.

disconfirmation experienced by the early Pentecostal missionaries, it must be concluded that if actual language ever has been spoken, it has been extremely rare.

Such an understanding does not deny that foreigners *heard* glossolalia in their own language as reported in the Acts of the Apostles and in early Pentecostal literature. It does not disconfirm glossolalia as a *sign* to the unbeliever. It reinforces the present Pentecostal understanding that one who speaks in tongues, speaks not to men but to God. However, it removes glossolalia from the realm of the tongues of men and places it in the arena of the language of faith. Such an understanding was expressed by an early observer:

> Those who speak in tongues seem to live in another world. The experience they have entered corresponds exactly with that which is described in the 10th chapter of Acts. The tongues they speak in do not seem to be intended as a means of communication between themselves and others, . . . rather it seems to be a means of communication between the soul and God.[39]

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[39]"The Promise of the Father and Speaking in Tongues in Chicago," Word and Work (August, 1907), p. 207.

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