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Early American Pentecostalism and the Issues of Race, Gender, War, and Poverty:
A History of the Belief System and Social Witness of Early Twentieth Century Pentecostalism and its Nineteenth Century Holiness Roots

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Abstract

Early American Pentecostalism had an ambiguous social witness, which contained both radical and conservative elements. The millennarian-restorationist core of the Pentecostal belief system was prophetic and counter-cultural in that it inspired adherents to denounce the injustices of the *status quo* and announce the justice of the soon-coming Kingdom of God. Consequently, in the earliest years of the American movement, many Pentecostals professed and practiced 1) racial equality, 2) gender equality, 3) pacifism, and 4) anti-capitalism. However, this prophetic social witness co-existed, from the very beginning, with a strong conservative ethos, which defended the norms, beliefs, and values of nineteenth-century 'Evangelical America' against the apparent religious and cultural 'anarchy' of modern society. As Pentecostal groups (especially white Pentecostal groups such as the Assemblies of God) organised, institutionalised, and rose in socioeconomic status, the prophetic voices of early Pentecostalism were increasingly ignored, and the conservative ethos grew to dominate Pentecostal social concerns.

Précis

Les premiers pentecôtistes américains préchaient un 'témoignage social' ambigu, qui contenait des éléments radicaux et traditionnels. Le coeur de la foi pentecôtiste était de tendence prophétique et contre-culturelle parce qu'il encourageait les fidèles à dénoncer les injustices du *statu quo* et à annoncer la justice du Royaume de Dieu. Par conséquent, dans les premières années du 'réveil' pentecôtiste, beaucoup de fidèles adoptaient 1) l'égalité raciale, 2) l'égalité sexuelle, 3) le pacifisme, et 4) l'anti-capitalisme. Mais, ce témoignage social coexistait avec un témoignage très traditionnel, qui défendait la foi et la culture de 'l'Amérique évangélique' du dix-neuvième siècle contre 'l'anarchie' religieuse et culturelle de la modernité. Quand les groupes pentecôtistes ont commencé à s'organiser (surtout les *Assemblies of God*, qui étaient composées principalement de membres de race blanche), le témoignage prophétique a été de plus en plus oublié, alors que la puissance du témoignage traditionnel augmentait, jusqu'à devenir un trait dominant de l'éthique sociale pentecôtiste.

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Introduction

Since Pentecostalism began spreading among the poor and the oppressed of the 'third world', scholars and Christian leaders with a commitment to economic development and social justice have been wondering about the social and political views of the movement. Does Pentecostalism promote social justice or does it support the oppressive *status quo*? Suspicion of Pentecostalism has been heightened by the fact that, in contemporary America, such 'mainstream' Pentecostal groups as the Assemblies of God have become allies of the political right and defenders of conservative middle-class values. American Pentecostals today seem, at best, apolitical and 'other-worldly', or at worst, flag-waving patriots and ardent defenders of the *status quo*. However, since the rise of Pentecostal studies in the 1960s, many Pentecostal leaders and non-Pentecostal historians have begun to question whether the Pentecostal movement always possessed such a conservative social witness.[1] Over the past few decades, these scholars have investigated the social and political views of Pentecostalism's earliest proponents, and have debated whether the early movement might have contained a positive, progressive, or prophetic social witness which was erased through years of accommodation and institutionalisation. In the face of these questions, this thesis will explore the social witness of the early American Pentecostal movement and its immediate predecessor, the 19th century Holiness movement. The study will focus on four key social issues: 1) race and racism, 2) gender and gender inequality, 3) war and pacifism, and 4) poverty.

Two rather different perspectives dominate discussion of Pentecostalism's social witness. The first perspective labels the entire movement, in every geographic context and time period, as apolitical and as a deterrent for positive social change. In 1979, Robert Mapes Anderson

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[1] The term 'social witness' refers to the moral beliefs, social practices, ethical positions, and political actions taken by an individual or group in relation to the larger society. Academic interest in Pentecostalism began with the English translation of Nils Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origins, Development, and Distinctive Character* (New York: Humanities Press, 1964). Other early scholarly works include Thomas J. Nichol, *Pentecostalism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement inthe United States* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971); and Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press, 1972).

published a Marxist critique of the early American Pentecostal movement, entitled *The Vision of the Disinherited.*[2] Anderson portrays Pentecostalism as a kind of 'opiate of the people', which prevented the oppressed from recognising structural injustice and seeking social reform or political revolution.[3] In the early 1990s, Paul Gifford studied the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements in contemporary Africa. Gifford concluded that these churches effectively distract or discourage believers from the cause of development and social justice by promoting 1) millennial anticipation, 2) a 'cult of suffering', 3) a Gospel of health and wealth, 4) belief in evil spirits, 5) an other-worldly focus, and 6) belief in the depravity of the human person.[4] Mainline Protestant and Catholic churches, on the other hand, have given birth, both in the 'first world' and the 'third world', to philanthropic projects, charitable institutions, and Christian politicians and reformers. Therefore, on the level of overt practice, these mainline and traditional churches seem to possess a greater sense of social responsibility than the Pentecostal 'sects' and the fundamentalists.

The second perspective on Pentecostalism's social witness seeks to move beyond a mere evaluation of overt political practice towards an analysis of the worldview or belief system which underlies all Pentecostal practice. According to the first perspective, if a group is not active in the formal political sphere and is not promoting specific economic projects, then it must be a bulwark of the oppressive power monopolies. According to the second perspective, however, a group which does not consistently engage in progressive politics or social work may, nevertheless, be guided by a belief system or worldview which resists, protests against, or criticises the unjust *status quo.* A prime example is Jesus Christ and His early Church. Jesus Christ was not a political agitator or a social activist (by modern standards); however, this should not lead one to the conclusion that Jesus supported the *status quo.* He had a radical vision oriented towards fundamental social and personal transformation, i.e. a vision of the coming Kingdom of God in which

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2 Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

3 Anderson, *Vision*, 239.

4 Paul Gifford, "Christian Fundamentalism and Development", *Review of African Political Economy* 52 (1991), 9-20; and Paul Gifford, "Ghana's Charismatic Churches", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 24 (1994), 241-65.

every tear would be wiped away and justice would reign. As earthly representatives of this utopian Kingdom, both Jesus and his Apostles condemned the world order and initiated an alternative community, i.e. the New Testament Church, which was built on hope, life, justice, peace, equality, and righteousness. The very existence of such a community, in any age, is a form of political and cultural protest or resistance. Being 'in the world, but not of the world', the early Church held a 'prophetic' position in relation to the larger society. However, the New Testament church aimed to fulfil its prophetic calling not through force or through legislation, but rather through reflecting or embodying the righteousness of God and the justice of His coming Kingdom. Thus the revolutionary elements of the early Church lay, first and foremost, in its worldview or belief system rather than in its formal political involvement.

This second perspective on the social witness of Christian groups, described above, highlights the prophetic or liberative potential of 'sectarian' Christian groups.[5] Scholars of Pentecostalism have applied this perspective to 1) the study of early American Pentecostalism, and 2) the study of indigenous Pentecostalism in the contemporary 'third world'. In contrast to Robert Anderson, scholars such as Cheryl Bridges Johns, Cecil M. Robeck, Leonard Lovett, Charles Barfoot and Gerald Sheppard have pointed out the creative, counter-cultural, and prophetic dimensions of the early American Pentecostal belief system.[6] Early Pentecostals believed themselves to be 1) the restoration of the New Testament Church, and 2) the gathering congregation of the end-time Church of Heaven. According to the former belief, the early Pentecostal

[5] The term 'sectarian' is here used in the sociological sense, rather than as a derogatory term. Thus, a 'sectarian' church is a group of Christians whose beliefs and practices are in great tension with the beliefs and practices of the general culture and of the cultural religion. According to Troeltsch's typology, the 'sect' type is opposed to the 'church' type. While the sect is marginal, voluntary, exclusive, experience-centred, and counter-cultural; the church is an inclusive institution which perpetuates itself and promotes the Gospel through cooperation with the dominant culture. See Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, Vol.2* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1931), 993-4; and H.Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), 17-21.

[6] Cheryl Bridges Johns, *Pentecostal Formation: A Pedagogy Among the Oppressed* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 62-71; Cecil M. Robeck, "Pentecostals and Social Ethics", *Pneuma* 9:2 (Fall, 1987), 103-7; Leonard Lovett, "Black Origins of the Pentecostal Movement", in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins* , Ed. Vinson Synan (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), 138-40; and Charles H. Barfoot and Gerald T. Sheppard, "Prophetic vs. Priestly Religion: The Changing Role of Women Clergy in Classical Pentecostal Churches", *Review of Religious Research* 22:1 (Sept., 1980), 2-17.

movement often identified with the prophetic role of the New Testament Church, as described above. According to the latter belief, Pentecostals believed their revivals were ushering in a 'New Age of the Holy Spirit', in which God's Spirit was breaking through the traditional boundaries set by religious ritual and social norms. God, through his Holy Spirit, was free to work in new and unexpected ways so as to manifest Himself and His Kingdom more fully. Consequently, certain Pentecostal groups in early 20th century America, as a witness to the righteousness and justice of God's soon-coming Kingdom, encouraged the breaking down of traditional social barriers and hierarchies. These Pentecostals promoted 1) racial equality in worship and leadership, 2) gender equality in worship and leadership, 3) equality between the rich and the poor, 4) awareness of the injustices of capitalism, and 5) awareness of the evils of war. Such prophetic elements in the social witness of early Pentecostals have led scholars, such as Cheryl Bridges Johns, to conclude that "the movement was driven by a utopian vision." She writes further,

> Pentecostalism stood as a contrast to the dominant order of its day. It was a subversive and revolutionary movement, not based upon philosophic ideology nor totally upon critical reflection. It was a movement that experienced through the Holy Spirit God's divine liberation... Thus Pentecostalism had a dual prophetic role: denouncing the dominant patterns of the status quo and announcing the patterns of God's kingdom.[7]

Scholars of 'third world' Pentecostalism, such as Cecília Mariz and Juan Sepúlveda, have argued that indigenous Pentecostal churches in the 'third world' are engaged in conscientisation and empowerment in a way similar to the Catholic Base Communities of Latin America.[8] Conversion to Pentecostalism initiates believers into an alternative worldview or belief system which understands all of reality in relation to the Kingdom of God. This alternative worldview provides hope, meaning, purpose, and self-esteem to those who had previously understood themselves as hopeless failures and unworthy poor. As a community bound together and guided by such a belief

[7] Johns, *Pentecostal Formation*, 68-9.

[8] Cecília Mariz, "Religion and Poverty in Brazil: A Comparison of Catholic and Pentecostal Communities", in *The New Face of the Church in Latin America*, Ed. Guillermo Cook (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1994), 75-81; and Juan Sepúlveda, "Pentecostalism and Liberation Theology: Two Manifestations of the Work of the Holy Spirit for the Renewal of the Church", in *All Together in One Place*, Eds. Harold Hunter and Peter Hocken (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 51-64.

system, the Pentecostal church, by its sheer existence, constitutes a radical protest against the oppressive power monopolies. On the symbolic or conceptual level, Pentecostal 'rebirth' provides adherents with maps to new sources of meaning, prestige, and power which had been denied them previously under the regnant cultural worldview. On the social level, Pentecostal communities provide 1) new networks of support and patronage for converts, and 2) an ideal context for the development of skills necessary in reconstructing oneself and one's world (e.g. skills of expression, action, organisation, and leadership).[9] Rather than being 'other-worldly', Pentecostalism in the 'third world' is 'counter-worldly' in the sense that it condemns the oppressive world order as evil, and orients its adherents towards fundamental personal and social change.

This thesis will be concerned with the history and social witness of Pentecostalism in America. If early American Pentecostalism did possess a prophetic social witness, then its history may be used to promote an interest in social justice among contemporary Pentecostals both in the 'third world' and in the 'first world'. Such promotion seems especially necessary among those contemporary American Pentecostal groups which have adopted the right-wing social and political agenda of either fundamentalists or some evangelical groups. However, before early American Pentecostalism can be held up as a 'prophetic' standard worthy of recovery, further research must be carried out to discover whether the historical facts support such a conclusion. What exactly were the prophetic elements of early Pentecostalism, how wide-spread and pervasive were they, and how were they rooted in the early Pentecostal belief system? How did these prophetic elements change over time? Thus far, discussion of early Pentecostalism's social witness has been limited, disjointed, and selective. My thesis will synthesise much of the current research, and will examine the historical evidence to discover whether and to what extent early Pentecostalism did possess a prophetic social witness.

In order to offer an adequate analysis of the social witness of the early Pentecostal movement, this thesis will be divided into three chapters. The first

[9] For a similar analysis of Pentecostalism in Africa, see Ruth Marshall, "Power in the Name of Jesus", *Review of African Political Economy* 52 (1991), 21-37. On Pentecostal communities as an ideal context for developing skills oriented towards change, see David Martin, *Tongues of Fire* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1990), 231, 284-7.

chapter will explore the belief system and social witness of the 19th century Holiness movement, which is the father of the Pentecostal movement. We will see how the rise of 'proto-Pentecostalism' coincided with a theological paradigm shift in the Holiness movement. This shift undercut the movement's overt social and political activism but opened a way for a new prophetic identity to develop. The second chapter will address the birth of Pentecostalism itself, and will examine the ambiguous and varied social views of some of its early leaders: Charles F. Parham, William J. Seymour, Frank Bartleman, Finis E. Yoakum, and Carrie Judd Montgomery. The chapter will conclude with a brief sketch of Pentecostal historiography, outlining various popular scholarly approaches to the social witness of the early movement. Some approaches present Pentecostalism as oppressive, some as liberative, and some as having an ambiguous social witness. The third and final chapter will deal with the changing beliefs and social witness of one Pentecostal group, the Assemblies of God (AoG), during the first two decades or so of its existence. Of primary interest will be the effects of organisation, institutionalisation, and cultural accommodation on the social witness of AoG Pentecostals. Throughout the thesis, discussion of the social witness of early Pentecostalism will be grounded in a discussion of the movement's belief system, and, wherever possible, changes in one will be correlated with changes in the other. While overt political involvement and social work will be examined, the most helpful indicators of a prophetic sectarian social witness will be 1) racial equality, 2) gender equality, 3) equality of the rich and the poor, and 4) pacifism.

Chapter 1
The Belief System and Social Witness of the Nineteenth Century Holiness Movement

The Holiness roots of Pentecostalism have been long recognised, and an understanding of Pentecostal beliefs, practices, and social concerns depends upon an adequate grasp of the beliefs, practices, and social concerns of the Holiness movement -- both its Wesleyan and Reformed branches. Donald Dayton, in his study *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, has argued that the four-fold Gospel at the heart of Pentecostal thought -- i.e. Christ as Saviour, Holy Spirit Baptiser, Healer, and soon coming King -- developed through a paradigm shift in late nineteenth century Holiness theology.[10] As a result, the late nineteenth century Holiness movement contained a theological system which can be described as 'proto-Pentecostal'. This theological system was the tinder which the Pentecostal revival would set ablaze. In what follows, we will examine the development of this 'proto-Pentecostal' system and attempt to correlate it with the changing social witness of the Holiness movement.

The Holiness Movement Before the Civil War

From its birth (around 1825) until at least the Civil War, the Holiness movement consisted of an all-encompassing project for the elevation or perfection, through the cooperation of God and humans, of individual Christians, whole churches, the entire nation of America, and ultimately the world (in that order). For adherents, 'holiness' was the elimination of all sin -- understood primarily as undesirable personality traits (e.g. pride, selfishness, hatred, etc.) and resultant behaviour -- through the consecration of individuals to God and the subsequent eradication (Wesleyan view) or suppression (Reformed evangelical view) of the sin principle. The Holiness movement was propelled by a vision of the imminent millennium to be established in America through moral striving and large scale revival and reform activities. Though its adherents were a minority in American Christendom, the program of the Holiness movement was perhaps the culmination of the Northern, middle-class

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

American evangelical consensus of the antebellum period. The movement represented a new blend of the Pilgrim's social vision, historic pietism, American revivalism, Wesleyan Perfectionism, and the prevailing idealism of antebellum culture. This blend developed along both Methodist and Reformed evangelical lines which, although distinct, were both rooted in the same Holiness project and greatly influenced each other.[11]

Christians in colonial America understood themselves to be pilgrims, struggling through the obstacles of life, in search of a holiness they would achieve fully only in the next world. The growing optimism, idealism, immediatism, and transcendentalism in antebellum America, however, made the 'higher Christian life' and 'Christian perfection' seem both more accessible and more necessary.[12] The American revivalist tradition grew to emphasise the conversion experience -- a crisis experience in which the sinner is 'saved' or 'justified' by the grace of God. Yet something more than mere salvation was anticipated: i.e. a perfection or holiness for the Christian soul and the Christian nation. Thus, a second crisis experience was posited, drawing especially from the teachings of John Wesley, in which God suddenly and instantaneously eradicated the sin principle from a devout Christian.[13]

Beginning in the late 1830's, Methodists like Phoebe Palmer and Nathan Bangs, as well as Reformed leaders such as Charles Finney and Asa Mahan (of Oberlin College), began developing forms of Holiness theology. While Methodist Holiness leaders originally desired a renewal of holiness within the established church, the movement grew increasingly interdenominational and independent. Holiness was promoted through special Tuesday Meetings,

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[11] The year 1825 saw the publication of Timothy Merritt's book *The Christian's Manual, A Treatise on Christian Perfection.* On the Holiness 'new blend' see M. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1980), 3; and W. Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 54-60.

[12] Synan, in *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1971), states explicitly that "the optimistic idea that one could find perfection seemed to match the general optimism that prevailed throughout American society" (22). See also T.L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America.* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), p.113.

[13] 'Instantaneous and entire sanctification' represented an 'Americanisation' of the teachings of Wesley. Wesley himself remained ambiguous on the process of achieving Christian perfection, explaining it as both an experience and a continuous process of Christian growth. The experience of entire sanctification, for Wesley, would come towards the end of a Christian's life rather than at the beginning.

itinerant evangelists, camp meetings (such as the famous Vineland meeting), the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness (est. 1867), other regional and independent evangelistic associations, and publications (such as the *Guide to Holiness*, which Phoebe Palmer and her husband later edited). When social and theological tension arose after the Civil War between the Holiness movement and mainline Methodism, the former could stand on its own and establish independent churches for those who 'came out' or were 'pushed out'.[14]

The Reformed branch of the Holiness movement, often called 'Oberlin Perfectionism', originated with Charles G. Finney and Asa Mahan (professor of theology and president of Oberlin College respectively). From the beginning, Reformed Holiness was uncomfortable with Perfectionist rhetoric of instantaneous 'eradication' and 'cleansing' (notably Wesleyan concepts), and many who were convinced of the need for holiness were hesitant to view sanctification as an experience distinct from conversion.[15] As we shall see below, the later writings of Finney, and the message of Reformed evangelists who followed Finney -- e.g. William Boardman, Robert P. and Hannah W. Smith, D.L. Moody, R.A. Torrey, A.J. Gordon, and A.B. Simpson -- represent the development of a Holiness theology more distinctly Reformed than the original Oberlin Perfectionism.

While its theological manifestations varied to some extent, the Holiness paradigm was firmly rooted in the optimism, idealism, and transcendentalism of American culture. The quest for the ideal society, the ideal church, and the ideal individual were united and galvanised by the all-consuming cry for holiness and a 'higher Christian life'.

Social Witness of the Antebellum Holiness Movement

If American idealism and pietism helped spawn the American Holiness movement, American pragmatism ensured that the quest for holiness would manifest itself primarily in ethics and action rather than mysticism. Especially in

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[14] On the tension between Holiness and Methodist church, see Dieter, *The Holiness Revival*, 204-228.

[15] Oberlin Perfectionism never received the support of the established church, as did the Methodist branch of the Holiness movement.

the North, revivalism was a call to action with limited emphasis on introspection. In response to the preacher's call, the sinner approached the 'anxious bench', but then he or she quickly got on with the task of *service* to God. Conversion had priority, but it was inconceivable without the subsequent Christian activism. When holiness was preached, it served to intensify the call to action and raise the goal from mere salvation to complete perfection. The quest for the 'higher life' required obedience to the 'higher law' and to Calvinist duty. Furthermore, the large-scale and urban nature of many northern revivals enabled them to mobilise large groups of converts and affect entire communities. In contrast, Southern revival meetings were both smaller in scale and less organically linked with reform activities and a social ethic.[16]

In the Holiness movement, individual freedom from sin, achieved through entire sanctification, was turned outwards in the attempt to create a society free from evil. According to Timothy Smith, it was Holiness adherents -- those who claimed to be sanctified and 'perfected in love' -- who pioneered social Christianity between 1840 and the Civil War.[17] This is evidenced by the role perfectionist ideals played in the reform movements of the 1840's. In Smith's words, "the quest for perfection joined with compassion for poor and needy sinners and a rebirth of [post-] millennial expectation to make popular Protestantism a mighty social force long before the slavery conflict erupted into war".[18]

The reforming impulse penetrated both the Methodist and Reformed branch of the early Holiness movement. The Wesleyan Methodist Connection, which would later be taken into the Holiness movement, split from the Methodist Episcopal Church in the early 1840's because the latter refused to take a radical stand against slavery. The Wesleyan Methodists are further proof that, in this period, piety was closely wed to a social vision of corporate sin and community reform.[19] Mrs. Phoebe Palmer's prominent role in the Methodist

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[16] On the contrast between Northern and Southern revivalism, see Samuel S. Hill, "Northern and Southern Varieties of American Evangelicalism in the Nineteenth Century", in *Evangelicalism*, Eds. Mark A. Noll *et al.* (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1994), 278-281.

[17] Smith, *Revivalism*, 176.

[18] Smith, *Revivalism*, 149. See also Dieter, *The Holiness Revival*, 23-25.

[19] D. Dayton, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* (N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1976), 76-8; Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 75-6.

Holiness movement demonstrates the egalitarian character of the Holiness message: holiness can not only be received by women, but women, once sanctified and 'filled with the Holy Spirit', shared the privilege and responsibility, in these last days, of spreading the Christian cause and of reforming society. In addition to serving as a role model, Phoebe Palmer wrote a book, *The Promise of the Father*, which defends woman's right to preach, testify, and minister.[20] Palmer argued that the day of Pentecost fulfilled the prophecy of Joel 2:28 and ushered in an age when *all* believers could receive the Holy Spirit as an empowerment and anointing to spread the Gospel.[21] Although Palmer was cautious and reserved on the issue of slavery, she expressed her concern for the poor and downtrodden by helping build a mission (along with other Methodist women) in the Five Points district of Manhattan about 1850 -- the earliest mission of its kind in America. The purpose of this mission was to serve the community with Sunday school, temperance meetings, housing developments, employment services, and a proposed hospital.[22] Finally, the Holiness periodical *Guide to Christian Perfection* (later renamed *Guide to Holiness*) regularly espoused abolitionism, pacifism, and feminism, especially in the hands of its early editors Timothy Merritt and Henry Degen.[23]

The early Reformed Holiness movement, as exemplified by the students and faculty of Oberlin College, was truly radical on almost all contemporary social issues. Oberlin was a small, young, and struggling institution when its co-founder John J. Shipherd visited Cincinnati in 1834. There he encountered Asa Mahan, a Presbyterian pastor and a member of the board of trustees of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati. Lane seminary had recently suffered

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20 Phoebe Palmer, *Promise of the Father; or, A Neglected Speciality of the Last Days* (Boston: Henry V. Degen, 1859).

21 Palmer, *Promise*, 21-22. See also Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1992), 181-3; and Dayton, *Discovering*, 96. Note that *The Promise of the Father* was also the first book in which Palmer made use of Pentecostal rhetoric of Spirit Baptism. Palmer was not as radical as secular feminists on issues of women in government, divorce, and women in the home. She believed men and women ought to move in 'separate spheres' (*Promise*, 1). However she was certainly a foremother of today's Christian feminist. She influenced such prominent feminists as Catherine Booth and Frances Willard. For a clear account of Palmer's feminism, see Charles White, *The Beauty of Holiness* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Francis Asbury Press, 1986),187-206.

22 Dayton, *Discovering*, 115. White, *Beauty*, 217-229.

23 Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 76.

a conflict between its board of trustees -- mostly conservative businessmen -- and its students, virtually all of whom had begun propounding abolitionism, racial and gender equality, and other controversial views. The board of trustees (with the exception of Asa Mahan) reprimanded the students, fired Professor John Morgan for supporting and encouraging social radicalism, and forbade all involvement in or discussion of social issues. As a result, almost forty students withdrew from the seminary in protest, and, with the financial backing of Arthur Tappan (a New York businessman and philanthropist) the students formed a 'free seminary' to continue their social activism. John J. Shipherd took the opportunity to invite the rebel students of Lane, Professor John Morgan, and Asa Mahan to join his Oberlin college. Mahan became the president of the new Oberlin, and with the financial support of Arthur Tappan the college was able to attract Charles G. Finney to become professor of theology.

Oberlin became a fortress for students espousing progressive social views. In line with Finney's revivalism and the general vision of the Holiness movement, Oberlin gave justification, sanctification, and the preaching of the Gospel first priority. But, in organic relationship with this piety, Oberlin was vocal and active in 1) defending Amerindian welfare and treaty rights, 2) promoting physical health through proper diet, manual labour, and avoidance of harmful substances (e.g. alcohol and tobacco), 3) calling for free speech and free press, 4) establishing itself as a coeducational and interracial college (the first of its kind), 5) the peace movement, and 6) the abolitionist crusade.[24] The last issue was the most significant, both for Oberlin and for America as a whole. Oberlin went so far as to advocate civil disobedience against the federal fugitive slave laws, citing the need to obey the 'higher law' of God. The college served as an important station along the underground railroad which brought escaped slaves into Canada, and it maintained a special fund for this purpose and for the general purpose of aiding fugitive slaves. Many Oberlin students and faculty were criticised or indicted, and some even served jail time.[25]

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[24] Finney's revival methods promoted an increased space for the participation of women. Oberlin graduated such notable feminist figures as Lucy Stone (suffragist and abolitionist), and Antoinette Brown (first woman to be ordained). Nancy Hardesty *et al.*, "Women in the Holiness Movement", in *Women of Spirit*, Eds. R. Ruether and E. McLaughlin (N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 230-231.

[25] Dayton, *Discovering*, 35-62

Oberlin's social witness was organically related to its Holiness theology and revival techniques. The passion of a sanctified life -- a life of perfect love -- was a completely selfless duty to transform individual lives and the whole of society into the millennial age. According to Finney,

> The great business of the church is to reform the world -- to put away every kind of sin. The church was originally organized to be a body of reformers... to reform individuals, communities and governments, and never rest until the Kingdom and the greatness of the Kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the saints of the Most High God.[26]

Although reform efforts were vigorous and extensive, the antebellum Holiness movement did not take a prophetic stand against the prevailing American culture, with its rampant individualism and growing industrial capitalism. The Holiness movement was not counter-cultural. Indeed, as a popular synthesis of antebellum American evangelicalism (emphasising Arminianism, revivalism, individual sin and piety, etc.) with American idealism and social optimism, the early Holiness movement was a master of accommodation. Both the industrialist and Holiness worldview shared a belief in the autonomous, free, and self-determining individual. Both shared a belief that a golden age would result from the efforts of these free and rational individuals. The Holiness movement's post-millennial vision was identical, in essence, to the industrialist's vision of an age of unparalleled scientific, technological, and material 'progress'. Finney's voluntarism and activism supported the middle-class' stress on the value of the enterprising spirit and the myth of the self-made man. Furthermore, where the two worldviews differed, it was due to a difference in jurisdictions: industrial capitalism commanded the natural, public, and material sphere, whereas Holiness and evangelical beliefs governed the sphere of individual morality, personal character, and social mores. Sin, while often identified and combated in certain laws and in the institution of slavery, was never thought to taint the free market economy. Usually, sin was understood as personal immoralities. Although the Holiness movement condemned greed and required charity, industrial capitalists were

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[26] Finney in Dayton, *Theological Roots*,155. The radical social vision of the Oberlin School provoked the anger of the established church. When leadership of Reformed Holiness movement passed from Finney and Mahan to William Boardman and Robert Pearsall Smith, personal piety was stressed and social reform was removed from the agenda (see Faupel, *Everlasting*, 65-6).

canonised for their generosity in supporting revivals and charities rather than demonised for promoting profit maximisation and economic injustice. Indeed, the Holiness revivals and travels of such preachers as Finney depended upon the support of such businessmen as Arthur Tappan. Benevolence thus legitimated the profit structure.[27]

In sum, the antebellum Holiness project for society, although organically connected with its project for the individual, had always been secondary and somewhat underdeveloped. Although vigorously active in reform activities like abolitionism, the temperance crusade, and the purity crusade (to eliminate prostitution), the Holiness movement's potential for a truly prophetic social witness was compromised by its accommodation to the industrial worldview and to American middle-class culture.

The Holiness Movement after the Civil War

Sometime between the Civil War and the peak of fundamentalism (in the 1920s), the social dimension of the Holiness program was diluted, neglected, or even overtly rejected. Historians often refer to this event as 'the Great Reversal', although the precise nature, extent, cause, and timing of this change are matters of much debate.[28] In essence, Holiness proponents after the Civil War began losing faith in the Puritan vision of a 'Christian America' built from reform and revival projects. The need for the evil of violence to resolve the evil of slavery broke the Holiness movement's optimism in the ability of reformers, revivalists, and Christian volunteers to perfect society; replacing it with a strong impression of the complexity and sinfulness of the social and political sphere. As Dayton puts it, "The Civil War helped to puncture earlier utopian visions and in so doing contributed to the dissolution of the reform impulse".[29] Increasingly, after 1865, Holiness adherents and evangelicals lost interest in political action or social reform and exercised their social witness primarily in private charities

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[27] R. Wauzzinski, *Between God and Gold: Protestant Evangelicalism and the Industrial Revolution* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1993), 18-19, 21, 44-50, (on Finney) 126-138, 218-224.

[28] The term 'Great Reversal' was first used by Timothy L. Smith, but was popularized by David O. Moberg's book *The Great Reversal: Evangelism versus Social Concern* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1972).

[29] Dayton, *Discovering*, 124.

and rescue missions. Marsden describes this as a shift from a Calvinist view of politics -- according to which politics is a tool for *advancing* the Kingdom on earth -- to a pietistic view -- according to which politics is only a means to restrain evil.[30] Such a shift -- which only seemed to comply with the constitutional separation between Church and state -- allowed the Holiness movement to avoid the complexities of a program of social holiness and to concentrate on its primary goals: individual salvation and individual holiness.[31] Christian workers became concerned almost entirely with verbal evangelism. As we shall see below, the decreasing emphasis on social holiness was accompanied by a theological transformation from postmillennialism to premillennialism (which predicts that Jesus will usher in the Kingdom miraculously 'from above' after this world has been destroyed in the apocalypse).

Postbellum society did little to convince Holiness adherents that things were getting better. Religious fragmentation and regionalism, new scientific knowledge (especially Darwinism), the New Theology, historical criticism of the Bible, rapid industrialisation, urbanisation, and immigration seemed, to most conservative evangelicals and Holiness adherents, to be moving America further away from the Pilgrim's vision of America as the 'New Israel'.[32] The new premillennial worldview helped Holiness adherents to make sense of the decline of 'Christian America'. 'Christian America' was no longer a future utopia to strive for (as it had been for the antebellum Holiness movement), rather it was now identified with the evangelical consensus of the early 19th century -- a consensus under increasing attack from many trends of modernity. Their desire to protect the remnants of Christian America from too steep and sudden a decline led Holiness adherents to oppose any new social, political, economic,

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[30] G. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 86. The one truly structural issue championed by the early Holiness movement was abolitionism. However, the need for a civil war to 'resolve' the issue led many Holiness adherents to address other issues, such as temperance and the 'purity crusade', as matters of personal morality rather than political jurisdiction (see Dayton, *Discovering*, 124).

[31] Dieter, *The Holiness Revival*, 98. This increased interest in private piety may have contributed to the rising popularity of the Holiness movement in the South. Southern revivalism had always emphasised personal piety and introspection, and frowned upon Christian social action.

[32] Noll, *History*, 323, 330-333. W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 18-22.

or theological developments (especially after 1890).[33] The stronghold of the evangelical consensus in the 1870s and 1880s was middle-class American values: traditional family, good order, patriotism, free enterprise economics, and competitive individualism. These values were understood as part and parcel of Biblical faith; therefore, intellectual innovations such as Darwinism or the New Social Sciences threatened Christian America as did new political movements such as Populism and Progressivism.[34] Increasingly, all expressions of social concern became suspect as Liberal Theology (perceived to be a modern innovation) championed a 'Social Gospel' built upon new social and political theories. By the 1920's the 'Great Reversal' was complete, and American Christianity was torn by a battle between the 'public party', which adhered to a Social Gospel, and the 'private party' evangelicals and Holiness adherents, who stressed that the Gospel was only for the individual.

Social Work in the Postbellum Holiness Movement

Although one may criticise the growing individualism and conservative ethos of the Holiness movement of the postbellum period, the movement did not lack a social conscience. Holiness groups considered the evangelisation of the poor and underprivileged to be a priority. Many Holiness churches began as rescue missions, orphanages, and Christian social agencies.[35] Although they lacked a similar awareness of structural evils, these groups were often more willing to move into the slums and accept lower class members than their counterparts in the burgeoning Social Gospel camp. A.T..Pierson, in his review of late 19th century 'forward movements', applauded the social work of the Volunteers of America, the Jerry McAuley Mission in New York, and other such rescue missions, orphanages, and 'homes for fallen women' based on Holiness principles. Although Pierson emphasised individual conversion and holiness as the primary goal, he clearly saw benevolent work as the natural outgrowth of

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[33] Marsden, "The Gospel of Wealth, the Social Gospel, and the Salvation of Souls in Nineteenth-Century America", in *Modern American Protestantism and its World, Vol. 6: Protestanitsm and Social Christianity,* Ed. M. Marty (N.Y.: K.G. Saur, 1992), 10-12.

[34] Antebellum Holiness had developed into a kind of 'culture Protestantism', and this close identification with 19th century middle-class culture ensured that the Holiness movement, like evangelicalism in general, would take a hostile stance towards drastic alterations to that culture.

[35] Hardesty *et al.*, "Women", 249.

this holiness.[36]

The Salvation Army and A.B. Simpson's Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) were both founded upon a burden for the underprivileged masses, and their involvement in social work between 1865 and 1920 is well documented by Norris Magnuson and John Dahms.[37] Simpson focussed his ministry on bringing sinners to Christ and Christians to an ever deeper life in Christ (through distinct post-conversion experiences). Despite an obvious emphasis on verbal evangelism, Simpson believed that a church which embraced the complete work of God must make room for practical philanthropy. Simpson's CMA was connected with 1) homes for fallen women such as the Door of Hope in New York city, 2) orphanages such as the Berachah Orphanage on Long Island, 3) Homes of Rest and Healing, 4) Industrial Missions which trained and often employed the unemployed, 5) famine relief to India and China, 6) the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and 7) various homes and institutions ministering to needy black people (such as the Lovejoy Missionary Institute in North Carolina).[38]

Further examples of prominent postbellum Holiness preachers involved in social work are Stephen H. Tyng, Sr. and Jr., and A.J. Gordon. These preachers organized local humanitarian work and built special homes and schools for the needy, despite their belief in premillennialism.[39] Even R.A. Torrey, who would later become one of the most vocal opponents of the Social Gospel, was president of the Christian Worker's Association -- a group hailed as the most important of postbellum America's Protestant social service organisations.[40] While verbal evangelism brought them into the slums, close personal contact with the poor appealed to their Christian compassion and their reformist heritage to spawn programs and specific church departments

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36 A.T. Pierson, *Forward Movements of the Last Half Century,* (N.Y.: Funk & Wagnalls CO., 1905). Reprint: N.Y.: Garland Publishing Inc., 1984. On Rescue Missions see 351-366.

37 Norris Magnuson, *Salvation in the Slums: Evangelical Social Work, 1865-1920.* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1977); and John V. Dahms, "The Social Interest and Concern of A.B. Simpson", in *The Birth of a Vision* , Eds. D. Hartzfeld and C. Nienkirchen (Beaverlodge, Alberta: Buena Book Services, 1986), 49-74.

38 Dahms, *Social,* 49-61.

39 Magnuson, *Salvation* , 1-20; on the Tyngs and A.J. Gordon, see Marsden, *Fundamentalism,* 82-3.

40 Marsden, "Gospel of Wealth", 9.

responsible for helping their audience in a more material way. In light of these examples, the transforming effect of a post-conversion experience, reinforcing a radical consecration of one's whole being to Christ, manifested itself in dedicated volunteer and social work as much as in apathetic, private piety.[41]

Internally, Holiness groups provided a nurturing environment where those marginallised by the prevailing culture could find emotional, spiritual, and often material support. But, the Holiness church not only demonstrated a concern for the poor stranger. It also struggled to be an inclusive, egalitarian, and redemptive community. Literal Biblicism declared every literate believer as competent in theology as any Doctor of Divinity. Freedom of worship and high lay involvement produced a supportive context for the development of skills of expression, organisation, teaching, and leadership. Some Holiness denominations (e.g. Salvation Army, Church of God [Anderson, Indiana], Church of the Nazarene, etc.) encouraged the full participation of women, although leadership was often reserved for men.[42]

The involvement of postbellum Holiness adherents in the realm of 'front line' social work and humanitarian aid was significant. However, sin and salvation, and poverty and redemption were understood according to the rising supernaturalism of the movement and the prevailing individualism of nineteenth century America. Therefore, social work carried out by Holiness adherents consisted of acts of charity and personal 'uplift', and was based upon the belief that poverty could be resolved by giving a downtrodden man a hot meal, a good night sleep, and a moral 'boost' (generally through the preaching of the Gospel). Structural injustice was rarely addressed.[43] A.B. Simpson, for example, never suggested government action to alleviate poverty and

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[41] Magnuson, *Salvation*, 38-44

[42] Hardesty *et al.* "Women", 238-239. For Simpson's view of women in the ministry, see Leslie Andrews, "Restricted Freedom: A.B. Simpson's View of Women", in *The Birth of a Vision*, 219-240. Simpson, as well as many other Holiness leaders, called for greater involvement of women but struggled with the question of whether women should be given positions of ecclesiastical authority.

[43] M. Marty, *Modern American Religion, Vol. 1: The Irony of it All 1893-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 283. On the other hand, Grant Wacker describes A.T. Pierson and A.J. Gordon as contributing "the most trenchant analyses of contemporary social conditions" at the 1887 meeting of the Evangelical Alliance fore the United States. See G. Wacker, "The Holy Spirit and the Spirit of the Age in American Protestantism, 1880-1910", *The Journal of American History* 72:1 (June, 1985), 46.

oppression, looking instead to the generosity of the wealthy. Indeed, Simpson discouraged the oppressed from retaliating, striking, or organising into a political party, and he condemned socialism as a "hideous war against civilisation and humanity".[44] As with many other Holiness leaders, Simpson, for reasons which are not completely clear, would lose even his interest in basic social welfare projects by around 1910.[45] Thus the 'Great Reversal' would run its course. Nevertheless, the social work of late 19th century Holiness leaders must be given due recognition. As Marsden concludes,

> They were dedicated first to saving souls, greatly occupied with personal piety, and held pessimistic social views, [but] their record of Christian social service, in an era when social reform was not popular, was as impressive as that of almost any group in the country.[46]

In historical perspective, the postbellum Holiness movement was in a transition between the optimism and reformism of the antebellum period and the suspicion or rejection of social concerns during the Fundamentalist/Modernist conflict of the 1920s. Attention will now be directed to the theological paradigm shift which took place during this transitional period -- a shift which gave birth to the theological core of the 20th century Pentecostal movement.

A Theological Paradigm Shift

In accordance with the Holiness movement's pessimistic view of society and human reform efforts, God was increasingly seen to bestow grace "suddenly, from above", rather that gradually within history.[47] The symbol which best represented the new theological focus was the day of Pentecost, in which the Holy Spirit was poured out suddenly and miraculously. This paradigm shift manifested itself in three changes to Holiness theology: 1) 'Pentecostal' rhetoric of "Baptism in the Holy Spirit" replaced traditional Wesleyan descriptions of the sanctification experience; 2) the new emphasis on divine effusions encouraged the Holiness movement to participate in the rise of the healing movements; and 3) growing pessimism led the movement to shift from a

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[44] Dahms, *Social*, 63

[45] Dahms, *Social*, 64-5.

[46] Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 85.

[47] Faupel, *Everlasting*, 17, 75-6; and Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 75-6.

postmillennial to a premillennial worldview.[48]

I. Traditional Wesleyan discourse described sanctification as Christ cleansing the believer, eradicating the taint of original sin, and perfecting him or her in love. For Wesley, sanctification was centred around Christ and Calvary, while the Holy Spirit and Pentecost were not given any distinctive role. However, John Fletcher -- Wesley's coworker -- introduced the idea that sanctification is "consequent upon the baptism of the Holy Ghost" (an idea that Wesley opposed).[49] The notion of a Pentecostal Baptism of the Holy Ghost suited the 'Americanised' version of sanctification, which tended to emphasise the 'crisis experience' over the process of growth. In addition, the Holiness movement bred a concern for 'reviving' the simplicity and vitality of primitive or New Testament faith as a remedy for the apparent formalism, coldness, rationalism, and morbidity of mainline Protestant churches. Increasingly, the root of mainline morbidity was traced to its failure to live out the paradigmatic event of the day of Pentecost, in which the early Church was baptised with the Holy Spirit. In 1855, British Methodist William Arthur travelled the United States with a draft of his book *The Tongue of Fire* , in which he prays for the Holy Spirit to "descend upon all the Churches, renew the Pentecost in this our age, and baptise thy people generally -- O, baptise them yet again with tongues of fire!" [50] 'Pentecostal' jargon gained currency after the revival of 1857-8, as Holiness leaders such as Phoebe Palmer began to speak in terms of 'Pentecostal revivals' and 'Baptisms of the Holy Ghost' in order to express their hunger for more of God.[51]

Pentecostal rhetoric was especially popular within the Reformed branch of the American Holiness movement, which had always been uncomfortable with the Wesleyan concepts of 'sanctification' and 'perfection'. Describing

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[48] This three-fold paradigm shift is derived from Dayton's study, *Theological Roots*. Faupel, in his *Everlasting*, uses a two-fold paradigm shift (79).

[49] Fletcher in Roland Wessels, "The Spirit Baptism, Nineteenth Century Roots", *Pneuma* 14:2 (Fall, 1992), 131.

[50] William Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire: or, the True Power of Christianity* (16th edition. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1859), 363.

[51] On Palmer, see Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 87-8. On the development of Pentecostal semantics in the Holiness movement see Melvin Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects of Pentecostal Origins", in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins,* Ed. Vinson Synan (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), 65-67.

sanctification as a 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit' and an 'enduement with power' had the advantage of avoiding problematic terminology while advancing the doctrine of holy living and a program of tireless evangelism. John Morgan, Asa Mahan, and Charles Finney thus increasingly made use of this jargon, especially after the Civil War.[52]

Asa Mahan carried the new concept to the Oxford (1874) and Brighton (1875) Holiness conventions, and the Keswick movement which emerged out of these conventions adopted Pentecostal rhetoric to express its Reformed 'higher life' theology.[53] The Keswick message portrayed Spirit Baptism as an experience of surrender and commitment to Christ, followed by an illumination experience which provided one with power to suppress or overcome sin (thus it was dubbed 'suppressionist theory' by its Wesleyan critics).[54] D.L Moody played a large role in bringing Keswick theology to America, where it joined the emerging synthesis of premillennialism, pneumatology, and evangelism articulated by Moody, R.A.Torrey, A.B. Simpson, and A.J. Gordon. According to Moody, perhaps the greatest problem in the life of the church and of the individual Christian was a lack of zeal, energy, power, or anointing. The required inspiration or quickening could only come from inviting the Holy Spirit to dwell within each believer. "If we have the Spirit dwelling in us, He gives us power over the flesh and the world, and over every enemy," explains Moody. This 'power' allows the fruits of the Spirit (love, joy, peace, etc.) to grow within us, but the most dramatic result is a new boldness, courage, and success in

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[52] John Morgan spoke of perfectionism in terms of a 'Baptism in the Holy Ghost' as early as 1845, in an article in the first volume of the *Oberlin Quarterly Review*. But the rhetoric did not become popular among Oberlinites until Asa Mahan published his *Baptism of the Holy Ghost* in 1870, after which Finney adopted it (Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 88-90). While Mahan would move increaingly towards Methodism, Finney's mature views seem to drop interest in sanctification and elaborate upon 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit' as a different experience (Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 100-101).

[53] Dayton, "From Christian Perfection to the 'Baptism of the Holy Ghost'", in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, 46.

[54] Wessels, "Spirit Baptism", 133.

preaching the Gospel to the lost.[55] R.A. Torrey, Moody's successor, developed Moody's emphasis on 'empowerment' to distinguish the Reformed Holiness view of Spirit Baptism from the Methodist Holiness notion of sanctification and 'eradication'. Torrey writes, "the Baptism with the Holy Spirit is not even primarily for the purpose of cleansing from sin, but for the purpose of empowering for service".[56]

The growing popularity of Pentecostal terminology created a tension in the Holiness movement between the theology of sanctification and the distinctive attributes of Spirit Baptism, causing a growing doubt that the two concepts described the same experience. What exactly was the relationship between perfectionist 'purity' and Pentecostal 'power'? The classical answer, held by the mainstream Holiness majority, maintained that Spirit Baptism *is* sanctification, and this single experience has two aspects: a purification aspect and an empowerment aspect.[57] On the other hand, both Keswick adherents and postbellum Reformed evangelical leaders portrayed sanctification as a process begun at conversion (and thus part of the first work of grace) and now emphasised Spirit Baptism as *the* distinct, second work of grace: an empowerment for the 'overcoming life' and for Christian service.[58] The third solution, branded "the third-blessing heresy" by its detractors, arose among Wesleyans who maintained that sanctification was a definite second work of grace, but who believed that Spirit Baptism was a third separate work. Such was the position of Benjamin Hardin Irwin, founder of the Fire Baptised Holiness

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[55] Quotation is from D.L. Moody, "Secret Power, or the Secret of Success in Christian Life and Work", in *Late Nineteenth Century Revivalist Teachings on the Holy Spirit*, Ed. Donald Dayton (N.Y.: Garland Publishing, 1985), 33. Originally published by Fleming H. Revell Co., in 1881. Moody's description of Pentecost is from "Secret Power", 44-5. On Moody, see Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 100-4; and Edith Waldvogel, "The 'Overcoming Life'" (PhD diss., Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1977), 17-23. On Keswick, see Waldvogel, "'Overcoming Life'", 77-121. On Moody, Keswick, and millennarianism see Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 176-181.

[56] R.A. Torrey, "The Baptism with the Holy Spirit", in *Late Nineteenth Century Revivalist Teachings on the Holy Spirit*,15. Originally published by Fleming H. Revell Co., in 1895. For a thorough examination of the ascent of the 'empowerment' theory of Spirit Baptism among Morgan, Mahan, Finney, Moody, and Torrey, see Wessels,"Spirit Baptism".

[57] Phoebe Palmer maintained that "holiness *is* power".

[58] The Keswick formula, emphasising power for overcoming sin, represents an intermediate position between the Wesleyan stress on sanctification from sin and the evangelical stress on power for service. See Wessels, "Spirit Baptism", 155.

Church (in the late 1890's). The development of the "Baptism with the Holy Spirit" from a rhetorical innovation to a distinct experience, both in its Reformed and Third-Blessing formulas, prepared the foundation of the modern Pentecostal movement. [59]

According to Dayton (1987), the adoption of 'Pentecostal' rhetoric both stemmed from and encouraged a shift "from public responsibility to private devotion" -- a shift begun long before the Civil War but galvanised by it.[60] This shift allowed the movement's pietist elements, which tended towards quietism, to overcome its perfectionist elements, which inclined towards activism. Emphasis was placed on *being* rather than *doing*.[61] Dayton also suggests that Pentecostal rhetoric emphasised divine power rather than human ability -- which had been the focus of the revivalism and theology of the antebellum Holiness movement. 'Empowerment' was for victory over private sin or for the courage and strength to engage in verbal evangelism rather than for victory over social sins or strength to reform society. Dayton explains that

> It may well be that the late nineteenth century saw the decline of confidence, at least in some circles, in the ability of human effort to cope with growing social complexity and a consequent growing search for the 'power' either to cope or to sustain one through to better times.[62]

Marsden (1982) notes that the growing emphasis on the Holy Spirit and Pentecost encouraged a dispensational reading of history which contrasted the present age of the Spirit (and the New testament) with the past age of the Law (and the Old Testament). Accordingly, holiness was decreasingly described as a result of conformity to Old Testament law, and increasingly described as a result of a freeing and empowering *experience* of the Holy Spirit. In Marsden's view,

> The contrast between the present New Testament age of the Spirit and the previous Old Testament age of the law did involve a shift toward a more 'private' view of Christianity. The Holy Spirit worked in the hearts of individuals and was known primarily through personal experience. Social activism, still an important concern, was more in the province of private agencies. The kingdom was no

[59] On these three solutions, see Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 87-108; and Faupel, *Everlasting*, 82-90.

[60] Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 76.

[61] Dieter, *The Holiness Revival*, 121-2.

[62] Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 77

> longer viewed as a kingdom of laws; hence civil law would not help its advance. The transition from postmillennial to premillennial views was the most explicit expression of this change. Politics became much less important.[63]

II. As the Holy Spirit Baptism of the day of Pentecost became the model of the post-conversion blessing, Holiness theologians shifted their emphasis to the books of Luke and Acts where Pentecost is linked closely to anticipation of the eschaton. Furthermore, the nature of the Pentecostal experience -- which rushes in from above -- prepared the way for the shift from a postmillennial vision of gradual social perfection to a premillennial vision of a secret rapture and a sudden, miraculous establishment of the millennial Kingdom (by Jesus Christ).[64] Dayton explains the correlation nicely,

> Just as postmillennialism may be seen as the social correlate of the doctrine of entire sanctification -- both emphasising the role of human agency and the process of gradual transformation culminating in a level of the vanquishment of sin and evil within history -- so may premillennialism be seen as the social correlate of the doctrine of the baptism in the Holy Spirit -- both emphasising an instantaneous event of transformation, the divine agency, and a human response of 'tarry and wait' for the 'blessing' or the 'blessed hope'.[65]

The millennarian movement in 19th century America, documented by Ernest Sandeen and Timothy Weber, overlapped and greatly influenced the Holiness movement but was distinguishable from it.[66] After the 1840's, futurist millennarianism (in which the end will come without signs or warning) became increasingly popular, especially the brand propounded by John Nelson Darby

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[63] Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 88. Belief in Spirit Baptism did not automatically or single-handedly create a lack of interest in social concerns. William Arthur, in his book *Tongue of Fire*, saw the danger of neglecting the redemption and reform of society. His vision of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit included the formation of a "holy community" in which social evils such as slavery, class conflict, neglect of workmen, inadequate housing, and economic injustice would be eliminated (132-136). Furthermore, Pentecostal rhetoric was a tool for many Holiness women to promote increased participation for women in preaching and the ministry. According to T.L. Smith, the *early* move towards a doctrine of 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit' increased social concern among men like Finney and Mahan, rather than diminishing it. See Smith, "Righteousness and Hope: Christian Holiness and the Millennial Vision in America, 1800-1900", *American Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1979), 42-3. However, my thesis highlights the *later* popularity of the doctrine, when it increasingly contributed to a shift towards a more private Christianity less concerned with social reform.

[64] Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 152; Faupel, *Everlasting*, 104.

[65] Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 165.

[66] Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*; and Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillenialism, 1875-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

called premillennial dispensationalism. Premillennial dispensationalism explained that God's true and invisible church could be raptured at any moment, without warning, before the tribulation began. After the tribulation, Christ would return with his true church in order to erect the New Jerusalem on the ruins of the old world.[67]

Those who had lost faith in social holiness through reform, and those conservative evangelicals who could not follow their liberal counterparts in interpreting modernisation as 'progress', found the premillennial vision most attractive. Although the mainstream of the Methodist Holiness movement initially resisted premillennialism, by the end of the century virtually all Holiness adherents, both Reformed and Methodist, accepted the doctrine.

The shift to premillennialism was an integral part of the privatisation of the Holiness movement and its loss of faith in human ability to reform society. Premillennialism expressed the post-War paradigm of a holiness bestowed 'suddenly, from above'. The millennium would be an other-worldly kingdom, erected in an instant on the *ruins* of human society (rather than in its heart). Consequently, the Christian ought to be concerned with the state of souls rather than the state of society. Perceiving the world as a 'wrecked vessel' made verbal evangelism a priority, and stigmatised social reform as pointless at best, and a demonic distraction at worst. Moody expressed the link between premillennialism and evangelism in his often quoted statement,

> I look on this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a life-boat, and said to me, 'Moody, save all you can.'... This world is getting darker and darker; its ruin is coming nearer and nearer. If you have any friends on this wreck unsaved, you had better lose no time in getting them off.[68]

Some premillennialists went so far as to label social work and social reform as tools of the Devil, designed to distract Christians from the crucial task of evangelism. Even evangelism was seen less in terms of converting the world or transforming culture (which had been the postmillennial view) and more in terms of 1) calling the elect to form the pure Church of Christ, and 2) proclaiming God's imminent judgment upon the world.[69] The duty of the evangelist was

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[67] Faupel, *Everlasting*, 96-8; Noll, *History*, 376-377. For a thorough discussion of Darby's eschatology in its historical context, and of his impact on American evangelicalism, see Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, 59-80.

[68] Moody in Timothy Weber, *Living* , 53. See also Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 163.

[69] Weber, *Living*, 92-3; Marty, *Modern American Religion Vol 1*, 226

understood in terms of "dispersing information rather than Christianising the whole world".[70]

III. In correlation with the rise of 'Pentecostal' rhetoric and premillennialism came a renewed interest, especially within the Reformed branch, in divine healing. This movement rested upon several supports: the belief in the 'effectual prayer of faith' (advocated by Charles Finney), Pietism's tradition of Biblical realism (which prompted the belief that texts relating divine healings were relevant to contemporary readers), the belief in present day miracles, the expectation that signs and wonders would accompany the end of the age, and Holiness teachings on either sanctification (Wesleyan) or the 'overcoming life' (Keswickian). From these roots, the divine healing movement grew to connect the eradication or suppression of sin, provided for in the experience of sanctification, with the eradication or suppression of illness and disease. The main proponents of divine healing -- which pervaded the Holiness movement by the end of the century -- were Charles Cullis, William Boardman, A.B. Simpson, A.J. Gordon, Carrie Judd Montgomery, Maria Woodworth-Etter, Captain R. Kelso Carter, and John Alexander Dowie. While differing on certain theological points, such as whether healing was automatically and universally provided for in the atonement and whether the use of medical help was strictly forbidden, all proponents shared the opinion that the saving grace of Christ had physical as well as purely spiritual effects. Captain R. Kelso Carter expressed this perspective succinctly: "He who finds in Jesus the perfect cleansing of the soul and the keeping power against all sin, can be equally consistent in placing *his body* beneath the same wonderful salvation".[71]

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[70] Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, 185. However, because futurist premillennialism held that no one could predict the precise date of the eschaton, the Holiness movement generally continued to suffer those who enjoyed passing the time in acts of Christian compassion -- as long as social work never competed with evangelism as the main priority. Some historians have even hinted that perhaps the shift from postmillennialism to premillennialism did not make much of a difference, since both views promoted an optimism about the future which could mobilize religious energies towards Christian activism (see Weber, *Living*, 96-9; Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 128; and Wacker, "Holy Spirit", 58).

[71] Carter in Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 130 (emphasis mine). For an exposition of the Reformed theology of healing of A.J. Gordon and A.B. Simpson, see Waldvogel, "'Overcoming Life'", 122-148.

Practitioners of divine healing tended to establish homes of rest and healing, many of which were as effective, from a purely medical point of view, as the hospitals of the day.[72] According to Carter, there were over 30 faith healing homes in the United States in the 1890's.[73] Charles Cullis, the early leader of the divine healing movement, was a homeopathic physician whose wife died of tuberculosis. Her death prompted both his conversion and his interest in holiness and healing. In 1864, he opened a home for incurable tuberculosis patients in Boston, with a volunteer nursing and domestic staff. By the end of the century he had expanded both his institutional work and his spiritual ministry, establishing homes for spinal and cancer cases, as well as various city rescue missions and a college for blacks in Virginia.[74] A.B. Simpson, the next most prominent healing evangelist, not only wrote extensively on the subject, but opened the Berachah Home ("House of Blessing") in 1884 in New York. Healing was linked to Simpson and his colleagues' concern for the dispossessed and suffering, which also manifested itself in the CMA's programs of social work. Evangelism brought salvation to the lost, sanctification to the saved, and now healing to the sanctified -- this was the 'fullness of salvation'.[75]

The doctrine and practice of divine healing is difficult to correlate with the trends of increased individualism, pietism, spiritualism, and other-worldliness apparent in the shift to Pentecostal rhetoric and premillennialism. On the one hand, divine healing is in keeping with the general shift, in the late nineteenth century Holiness movement, towards seeing God's grace working "instantaneously, beyond history". Bodily healing will be poured out upon the faithful "suddenly... from above", rather than gradually through the intervention of natural or human means. The concept of healing 'power', furthermore, is compatible with the rhetoric of Pentecostal 'power' and Spirit Baptism. As it became an integral part of post-War Holiness and early Pentecostal thought, however, the doctrine of divine healing ensured that these movements would

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[72] Benjamin Warfield criticised these healing homes as a contradiction of their own foundational belief in instantaneous and direct divine healing. Why should 'rest' or the ministrations of the home's staff be required for healing? See Waldvogel, "'Overcoming Life'", 132-3.

[73] Waldvogel, "'Overcoming Life'", 123 f.2

[74] Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 122-3; Waldvogel, "'Overcoming Life'",135-136; Magnuson, *Salvation*, 69.

[75] Magnuson, *Salvation*, 17-20, 70-2.

not retreat entirely into a purely spiritual expression of divine immanence and power, nor relegate the outward manifestation of the Kingdom of God strictly to the post-cataclysmic millennium. Although social perfection was impossible before the second coming, the individual could experience the *fullness* of his or her salvation *now* : made right with God, entirely purged of sin's taint, and free from all physical ailments.

The unique ministry of John Alexander Dowie (who would be a major influence on one of the founders of Pentecostalism, Charles Parham) demonstrates how the practice of divine healing can be part of a religious vision with a radical and progressive social dimension. After several years as an itinerant Holiness preacher, and head of the interdenominational 'International Divine Healing Association', Dowie founded the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in February, 1896.[76] Dowie believed that Satan, not God, was the cause of human sickness, death, and judgment. Yet, at Calvary, Christ had won the decisive victory against Satan and sickness. The Church, however, failed to bear witness to this victory and claim the full Gospel of justification, sanctification, and health. Dowie looked forward to the restoration of the Apostolic and Holy Spirit empowered Church, in which faith would claim the victory of Calvary over all aspects of life. This restoration of primitive faith and the Apostolic Church also had eschatological implications -- i.e. it would usher in the millennium itself and prepare the return of Christ.[77]

Although a premillennialist, Dowie took seriously the idea that humans could and should cooperate with God, not just in the realm of personal salvation and holiness but also in the establishment of the Kingdom. Christians ought not to sit idly by awaiting the final countdown. Believing himself to be Elijah the Restorer, he led his followers to establish a utopian community which would be the seat of government of Christ's millennial Kingdom. Zion City was incorporated in 1902, lying 42 miles north of Chicago. This theocratic city was run according to a mixture of Biblical, utopian, and modern notions, but all under the autocratic rule of Dowie himself. The city included a bank, various industries, an orphanage, a day school, a college, a home for working girls, a home for erring women, and a healing home. While not communistic,

[76] Faupel, *Everlasting*, 118-119.

[77] Faupel, *Everlasting*, 128-131.

employment was guaranteed and profits were systematically distributed to the members of the community.[78]

Dowie held progressive views on such issues as municipal reform, gun control, public ownership of utilities, taxation of church property, free compulsory public education, women's suffrage, and economic rights. He condemned capitalist greed, the atrocities of war, and American imperialism. Most radical of all, Dowie called for equality in all aspects of Zion City's life, including full racial integration at all levels (including leadership). Railing against white prejudice, Dowie went so far as to favour miscegenation as a long term solution.[79] Although his focus on personal holiness and healing would be his chief legacy to early Pentecostals, Dowie's example demonstrates that, even in the late 19th century, some Holiness believers were incorporating premillennialism, Spirit Baptism, and divine healing with a radical vision of social transformation.

Conclusions:

Heretofore, we have emphasised how the transformations in the postbellum Holiness movement, and the rise of the proto-Pentecostal belief system have coincided with a decline in the group's reformist impulse. Civil War and postbellum society led the Holiness movement 1) to move away from overt political action as a means of building the Kingdom, and 2) to oppose virtually any modern trend which appeared to threaten middle-class, evangelical American culture and values. Consequently, postbellum Holiness and evangelical groups first lost interest in a social dimension of Christianity, and later came to oppose a socially progressive Gospel as a modern innovation -- a sign of the end-times.[80] The 'proto-Pentecostal' belief system emerging in this context was given an individualistic, pietistic, and apolitical interpretation; consequently, it was not probed sufficiently for any possible progressive social

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[78] Grant Wacker, "Marching to Zion: Religion in a Modern Utopian Community", in *Modern American Protestantism and its World, Vol 11: New and Intense Movements*, Ed. M. Marty (N.Y.: K.G. Saur, 1993), 226-7.

[79] Wacker. "Marching", 230-231.

[80] In reality, it was the 'private party' Holiness adherents and evangelicals who were innovating, and abandoning the program of social redemption their own predecessors had championed in the early movement.

implications or emphases.

The rise of proto-Pentecostalism correlated with the privatisation of Holiness Christianity, including the privatisation of its social witness. However, the rise of the 'proto-Pentecostal' belief system did not *cause* the declining interest in social concerns. I would argue that there is no natural or necessary link between belief in Spirit Baptism, premillennialism, and divine healing and apathy towards social injustice. In fact, the counter-cultural character of proto-Pentecostalism could have given the postbellum Holiness movement a prophetic voice which the antebellum movement, due to its fascination with the American dream, never had. Instead of embracing and developing this prophetic potential, however, the postbellum Holiness movement, for the most part, still identified itself with American culture -- only now, instead of dreaming of a future 'Christian America', it dreamed of a past 'Christian America'.

In the following chapter, we will see how the counter-cultural character of the proto-Pentecostal belief system is heightened in the Pentecostal revival of the early 20th century. This heightened counter-culturalism, while discouraging involvement in politics or large-scale social reform, often translated into a prophetic social witness on such issues as gender, race, war, and poverty. The early Pentecostal movement struggled inwardly between its prophetic, pilgrim character and its identity as a creature of 19th century evangelical America. Consequently, we should expect to find that the social witness of the early Pentecostal movement was ambiguous and varied.

Chapter 2
The Belief System and Social Witness of Early American Pentecostalism (*ca.* 1900-1913)

The Pentecostal movement arose as an answer to the expectations, hopes, and questions generated by the belief system of the late 19th-century Holiness movement. Looking to the future, Holiness adherents expected God to manifest Himself to the world in a new and miraculous way. Premillennialists believed that these were the last days before the second coming of Christ, and adherents anticipated a world-wide revival which they thought would close the Church age and prepare the imminent return of their Lord. Increasingly, Holiness adherents envisioned this end-time revival as a repetition, on a grander scale, of the day of Pentecost described in Acts 2. They believed that, along with the increased deterioration of the world order, the end of this dispensation would be marked by 1) a complete and miraculous restoration of the Apostolic or New Testament Church, and 2) the overflowing of the Holy Spirit within each believer. Holiness adherents were expecting and praying for these events to occur. Simply put, the Pentecostal revival declared that these events had *now begun* to occur.

Early Pentecostal thought was organised around two axes: millennarianism and restorationism.[81] Historians Robert Anderson and William D. Faupel portray Pentecostalism as primarily a millennarian movement, while historians such as Edith Blumhofer and Grant Wacker emphasise the centrality of its restorationism.[82] In fact, Pentecostalism's millennarianism was inextricably linked to its restorationism: adherents expected the return of apostolic Christianity because they believed the end of the world was near, and they believed the end of the world was near because they saw signs of the return of apostolic Christianity. In essence, early Pentecostals believed that the time had finally come when God was going to restore his faithful followers to

[81] 'Millennarianism' refers to the movement's fervent expectation of an imminent eschaton or 'end of the world'. 'Restorationism' refers to the movement's anticipation of a return of primitive, apostolic, New Testament, pure, and original Christianity.

[82] Robert Anderson, *Vision* , 229-234; William D. Faupel, *Everlasting* , 20; Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism, Vol 1* (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), 13-22; and Grant Wacker, "Wild Theories and Mad Excitement" in *Pentecostals From the Inside Out*, Ed. Harold B. Smith (Wheaton, Illinois: Victor Books, 1990), 23.

their original and ideal purity, power, unity, and wisdom. At the same time that 'this world' was on the brink of ultimate destruction, the Kingdom of Heaven, Pentecostals believed, was breaking into human reality in an unprecedented way (as evidenced by a variety of signs, such as speaking in tongues, spiritual 'gifts', and divine healings).

This chapter will trace the origins and early history of the Pentecostal movement, paying special attention to the social witness which grew out of its double helix of millennarianism and restorationism. Discussion will focus first upon the beliefs, practices, and social witness of key leaders of the early Pentecostal movement: Charles Fox Parham, William J. Seymour, Frank Bartleman, Finis E. Yoakum, and Carrie Judd Montgomery. A brief sketch of Pentecostal historiography will conclude this chapter, outlining various scholarly approaches to the social witness of the early movement -- some approaches presenting Pentecostalism as oppressive, some as empowering, and some as having an ambiguous social witness.

Charles Fox Parham and the Apostolic Faith Movement

Charles F. Parham was born at Muscatine, Iowa, on June 4, 1873. In 1878, Parham's father moved the family to Kansas, in order to profit from the wheat boom sweeping the area at that time. Parham's youth was marked by both economic hardships, as Kansas suffered from an agrarian collapse in the late 1880s and early 1890s, as well as serious physical ailments. Although Parham and his family "scarcely knew anything about Church and Sunday School", Parham's mother taught him to be pious and read the Bible.[83] Parham's was an experience-centred faith. At age nine, after a terrible struggle with rheumatic fever, Parham felt that his miraculous survival indicated a divine calling to be a minister. At age 13, not long after his mother's death, Parham had a 'Damascus road' conversion experience. As he recalls, "there flashed from the Heaven, a light above the brightness of the sun; like a stroke of lightning it penetrated, thrilling every tissue and fibre of our being".[84] By age

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[83] Charles F. Parham, "A Voice Crying in the Wilderness", in *The Sermons of Charles F. Parham* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985) 12 -- a Reprint of *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness* (4th edition. Baxter Springs, Kansas: published by Robert L. Parham, 1944. 1st edition in 1902).

[84] Parham, "Voice",15.

15, he was holding his own evangelistic meetings in the local Methodist Church, and at 17 Parham decided to enrol in Southwest Kansas College for academic training. Licensed as a local preacher for the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) in March of 1893, Parham received an appointment the following June to be a supply pastor for the Eudora church -- a promising start for the young 20 year old.[85]

Parham quickly became involved in the Holiness movement, which he found more congenial to his own Christian piety. Parham increasingly found the MEC to be too formal, cold, and confining; consequently, he resigned his pastorate in March of 1895. Over the next five years, Parham struggled, after the example of men like A.B. Simpson and Alexander Dowie, to develop an independent healing ministry in Topeka, Kansas: the Bethel Healing Home.[86] Like Simpson and Dowie, the early Parham showed an interest in social work. He established a Bible Institute, a temporary orphanage service, and an ad hoc employment bureau which sought to link Christian workers with Christian employers. In 1899, Parham was a trustee for Topeka's 'Industrial League' -- a benevolent organisation helping working class people to find land and seed for vegetable gardens. With the help of a local police matron, Parham spent several weeks in the summer of 1899 running a mission where prostitutes and young working girls with low income could receive shelter and food. Apparently, the effort failed after only a short time. In November of that same year, Parham's periodical *The Apostolic Faith* carried an article on plans to build a rescue mission named 'Helping Hand', which would feed and shelter the city's poor. This mission also failed to materialise, despite a New Year's day feast for 300 of the city's needy intended to generate support for the project. In April, Parham donated space in his periodical for a fund raising project to help famine victims in India.[87]

Parham's healing ministry was relatively successful, especially among the town's lower class. However, 'relative success' was bitter failure to a man

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[85] This account of Parham's early life was reproduced from information found in James R. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest* (London: The University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 17-31; Anderson, *Vision*, 47-9; and Parham, "Voice", 11-20.

[86] Goff, *Fields*, 33-40.

[87] Goff, *Fields*, 45, 47-9.

who believed, as Parham did, that he was a divinely chosen instrument with a grand purpose. He suffered something of a nervous breakdown or a bout of depression, which he interpreted as God's way of telling him to refocus his ministry and listen for a new word from heaven.

The new word from heaven would be formed out of an eclectic mix of theological ideas which Parham picked up throughout his life. From Moody's writings, Parham adopted premillennialism. From R.A. Torrey, he adopted the popular view that a world-wide revival must precede the second coming of Christ (an idea based upon Matthew 24:14). Variations of the concept and experience of Spirit Baptism were, by that time, prominent in all Holiness circles, whether Reformed or Methodist, independent or denominational. Parham accepted the 'third-blessing' version of Spirit Baptism, as formulated by Benjamin Hardin Irwin (whose Fire-Baptised Holiness Association had achieved great success in Kansas, including Topeka). With Reformed Holiness adherents such as Moody and Torrey, Parham concurred that this experience of Holy Spirit Baptism was an 'enduement of power for Christian service'. While suffering from depression and a deep sense of spiritual hunger, Parham suspected that neither he nor anyone else had yet received the 'true' Baptism of the Holy Spirit. His theology became more focussed and systematic when he visited, in the summer of 1900, the Shiloh community and Bible school of Frank W. Sandford, a one-time Free Will Baptist minister whose spiritual quest turned him to independent Holiness work.[88] With Sandford, Parham became convinced that his anticipation of the end-time revival was linked to his hunger for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit -- i.e. the latter, when poured out upon all believers, would initiate the former. Spirit Baptism would provide missionaries, evangelists and everyday Christians with the necessary power and ability to evangelise the entire world (and thereby prepare the way for Christ's return).[89]

At Shiloh, Parham also began to suspect that speaking in tongues was the direct and inevitable consequence of Spirit Baptism. Parham witnessed some of Sandford's students speaking in tongues after periods of prolonged prayer, and was deeply impressed by the case of one Jennie Glassey, who had

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[88] For a more detailed account of Frank W. Sandford's life and ministry, see Faupel, *Everlasting* ,136-158.

[89] Goff, *Fields*, 54-59.

reportedly received the gift of a foreign language from the Holy Spirit. As related in Parham's *Apostolic Faith*, Glassey was suddenly able to read, write, translate, and sing certain African dialects -- a miraculous gift which enabled her to fulfil her divine calling to the missionary field.[90]

When Parham returned to Topeka in the fall of 1900, he opened a Bible school, Bethel Bible School, which he believed would have 'dispensational significance'. He abandoned his previous ministry at Bethel Healing Home (which, in his absence, had been taken over by two visiting evangelists), and focussed his energy on teaching his new message. According to Parham's 'Pentecostal' theology, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, evidenced by the Biblical phenomenon of speaking in tongues (as in Acts 2), provides 1) assurance of membership in the elect Bride of Christ (to be raptured before the tribulation); 2) the miraculous power to evangelise the pagan nations and the apostate churches, thereby completing the end-time, worldwide revival; and 3) the dispensational event (i.e. the second Pentecost) to end the present age and usher in the eschaton. The vague pneumatological and eschatological hopes and expectations of Holiness theology now had, for Parham at least, a specific sign to herald their fulfilment: speaking in unknown tongues.[91]

In the last days of 1900, after several months exposure to Parham's views, the students at Bethel Bible School were challenged to seek the 'true' Baptism with the Holy Spirit, even though most were not yet convinced that speaking in tongues was the evidence of such a Baptism. One student in particular, Agnes Ozman, asked Parham to pray for her and lay hands upon her so that she might receive "a personal Pentecost". Subsequently, she began speaking ecstatically and writing automatically in a language she identified as Chinese. Parham reports the effects of Ozman's experience upon the school:

> Scarcely eating or sleeping, the School with one accord waited upon God. On the night of the 3rd of January, 1901, we were all assembled in an upper room. A most wonderful power pervaded the atmosphere, and twelve students were filled with the Holy Ghost and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave

[90] Goff, *Fields*, 72-4.

[91] The hunger of Holiness adherents for the great outpouring of God's Spirit and power had generated countless revivals, many of which had been heralded as *the* great end-time revival. But, with speaking in tongues, Parham now had a specific, visible, and Biblical *evidence* to evaluate both the authenticity of individual Spirit Baptisms and whether a revival is truly dispensational in significance (i.e. whether it is part of the end-time revival -- the second Pentecost).

> them utterance; while several in the room saw above their heads, cloven tongues of fire, as in the days of old.[92]

In this meeting, Parham himself received the blessing for the first time. As he describes it, "there came a slight twist in my throat, a glory fell over me and I began to worship God in the Sweedish [sic] tongue, which later changed to other languages and continued so until morning".[93] Despite this dramatic and promising start, the expected worldwide Pentecostal revival did not follow. Parham's school was attacked by the press and suffered several defections from skeptical students. In mid-March, Parham's son Charles Fox Jr. died suddenly, throwing Parham into a long battle with depression and pessimism. Attempts to initiate a Kansas revival failed, and Parham lost most of his following over the next few months. The Bible school closed in the fall of 1901.

When Parham finally achieved some measure of success, over a year later, it was due to his healing ministry rather than his controversial doctrine of Spirit Baptism. After healing the wife of a prominent citizen of Galena, Kansas, Parham and his family were invited to live and preach in the area. With wealthy sponsors and followers numbering into the thousands, Parham established several 'Apostolic Faith assemblies' in Galena, and then expanded his ministry to Houston, Texas. A few hundred reportedly received Spirit Baptism with the evidence of speaking in tongues. With his success in Houston, Parham decided to run a temporary Bible school to train evangelists to propagate his message abroad. It was as a student in this Bible school that William J. Seymour, the second patriarch of Pentecostalism, first heard about Parham's understanding of Spirit Baptism and speaking in tongues in December of 1905.

As Parham's Apostolic Faith movement grew to an unwieldy size, he went against his original opposition to organised Christianity and began to structure the movement into local assemblies.[94] Elders were ordained in each of the major towns where the Apostolic Faith had taken root, and state directors were appointed for Kansas (Rilda Cole), Texas (W.F. Carothers), and Missouri (Henry G. Tuthill). Parham took the title of 'Projector of the Apostolic Faith

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92 Parham, "Voice", 34.

93 Parham in Goff, *Fields*, 68.

94 Adherents numbered about 8 to 10 thousand by the summer of 1906. The Los Angeles *Apostolic Faith* reports about 13 000 adherents by September of 1906 (although this number is probably an exaggeration).

Movement' and was the ultimate head of the organisation. After May 1906, all evangelists and full-time workers received official credentials, signed by Parham and the appropriate state director.[95]

The uncontrollable growth and spread of his movement worked against Parham's position of authority. The individualism of the Pentecostal message, and the decentralised and segmentary nature of its spread discouraged converts from looking towards a single individual for leadership. To make matters worse for Parham, he was arrested in July of 1907, on the charge of sodomy (then a felony under Texas law). The case was dismissed for lack of evidence, but the rumours, which continued to multiply within the popular religious press, destroyed Parham's reputation and splintered his Apostolic Faith movement. The Texas division was taken over by W.F. Carothers and Howard Goss. Although he retained many followers, and although he campaigned vigorously to reclaim his position as founder and projector of the early Pentecostal movement, Parham increasingly found himself rejected (and eventually forgotten) by the majority of Pentecostals.[96]

Parham's Pentecostal Social Witness

Patriotism, Capitalism, and War

Parham's growing interest in preaching his Pentecostal message coincided with his decreasing interest in running rescue missions and other organised humanitarian efforts. This reordering of priorities was motivated partially by the Pentecostal message itself, which predicts an imminent end to the world, and partially by Parham's own conviction that his role as 'projector of the faith' bound him to spend all his energies in verbal evangelism. Despite the pessimism on human reform efforts and social progress which it engendered, Parham's premillennialism gave him a counter-cultural stance or critical distance from which to attack American patriotism, imperialism, capitalism, war,

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95 Goff, *Fields*, 115-118; Faupel, *Everlasting*, 179.

96 Goff, *Fields*, 136-46. Goff writes, "in the final analysis the Parham scandal remains a mystery. There is neither enough hard evidence to condemn him nor enough doubt to sufficiently explain the preponderance of rumour which circulated during his lifetime" (141).

and blind faith in 'progress'.[97] Thus, while his overt social and political activism declined to nothing, Parham's social views were often prophetic and sometimes progressive.

The agrarian revolt of the Populist movement swept Kansas during Parham's youth, and in his mature years the nation was in the throws of rapid industrialisation. In tune with the discontent of the working class, Parham interweaved his prophetic writings with a kind of socialist critique of American capitalism. He writes,

> The past order of civilisation was upheld by the power of nationalism, which in turn was upheld by the spirit of patriotism, which divided the peoples of the world by geographical boundaries, over which each fought the other until they turned the world into a shamble. The ruling power of this old order has always been the rich, who exploited the masses for profit or drove them en masse to war, to perpetuate their misrule. The principle [sic] teachers of patriotism maintaining nationalism were the churches, who have lost their spiritual power and been forsaken of God. Thus, on the side of the old order in the coming struggle, will be arrayed the governments, the rich, and the churches, and whatever forces they can drive or patriotically inspire to fight for them. On the other hand the new order that rises out of the sea of humanity knows no national boundaries, believing in the universal brotherhood of mankind and the establishment of the teachings of Jesus Christ as a foundation for all laws, whether political or social.[98]

Parham does not *call* the 'workers of the world' to unite and launch a revolution, nor does he interpret this inevitable revolution as progress towards a human-made utopia. Indeed, he predicts the rise of a new socialist order in the United States and Europe as a movement towards the rise of the Anti-Christ and the final Battle of Armageddon. Nevertheless, Parham clearly believes that the revolution of the proletariat will be God's judgment upon an unjust and oppressive nation -- as Parham puts it, "a nation which has mingled the blood of thousands of human sacrifices upon the altar of commercial and imperialistic expansion".[99]

While he avoids inciting Christians to try to change the social order by violence or reform, Parham does counsel all believers not to value money or property or employment, and, instead, to sell all one has and give it to the poor.

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[97] For a clear statement of Parham's premillennialism, see Charles Parham, "The Everlasting Gospel", in *The Sermons of Charles F. Parham*, 48-9 -- Reprint of *The Everlasting Gospel* (Baxter Springs, Kansas: Apostolic Faith Bible College, 1911). For Parham's comparison of Postmillennial optimism with Premillennial 'realism', see 47-8.

[98] Parham, "Everlasting", 27-8.

[99] Parham, "Everlasting", 30.

Although he speaks ill of communes or monasteries, Parham's Bethel Bible School did in fact practice a form of community of goods -- "holding all things in common", as Parham explains.[100] According to Parham, when a believer dedicates his or her entire life, strength, and possessions to the cause of Christ, he or she can expect God to meet every financial, physical, and spiritual need through miraculous intervention.

Another consequence of Parham's premillennial worldview, with its anti-cultural stance, was a pacifist bent. While wars could not be prevented, since they are part of God's plan for the end of the world, true Christians, because they are separate from the world, should also be separate from these world conflicts. Parham writes,

> It is hard for those who sincerely believe that we are nearing the end of this age and the shedding of blood to be of no avail, to fight for the perpetuation of these nations, which we know will fall as the Gentile age will close and the millennium will come.[101]

Parham opposed the Spanish-American War and American involvement in the Philippines. He interpreted the outbreak of WWI to be of dispensational significance, and preached a sermon on August 27, 1914 in order to place it within the framework of Biblical prophecy. While Parham sounds almost jubilant that such a cataclysmic event has begun, he concludes the sermon with a condemnation of violence and a call for Christians to exert their energy in missionary work rather than murder.

> To murder a fellow-creature! To receive therefore even less than thirty pieces of silver, and perhaps live to receive the plaudits and honor of a more cowardly and imbecile nation; for that nation is imbecile which retains its existence through the struggling exploits of war. We hang our heads in shame to see Christian nations and individuals yield themselves to the embrace of the Moloch-God, Patriotism, whose principal doctrine was honor (?), there to have consumed in that death struggle the feeling of philanthropy and humanity; spending millions to build fires for the consummation of these virtues, while the cause of Christ languishes, heaven loses, hell opens her jaws, and so-called Christian nations feed (by war) to satisfy her [sic] gluttonous appetite.[102]

Parham later softened his stand against the war, when his close friend and colleague Rolland Romack was drafted and, in September of 1918, killed in

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[100] Parham, "Voice", 32, 56.

[101] Parham in Jay Beaman, *Pentecostal Pacifism* (Hillsboro, Kansas: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1989), 52.

[102] Parham, "Everlasting", 82-3. The question mark '(?)' in the quote is Parham's.

action. Parham actually considered enlisting to avenge Romack's death, but decided to purchase a liberty bond instead to show his support for 'the great cause' for which his friend had died.[103]

Parham and Race

In the early stages of his ministry, Parham had little contact with blacks, but he felt a paternalistic duty towards them akin to Rudyard Kipling's 'white man's burden'. According to Parham's distinctive view of creation, God created two types of human beings: one group was created on the sixth day of creation, and the other group -- the Adamic race -- was formed from the earth on an eighth day of creation. As a result of sin and disobedience, however, the two races intermarried, and this abomination prompted God to send the great flood as a judgment (as described in the book of Genesis). Parham writes, "thus began the woeful intermarriage of races... were time to last and inter-marriage continue between whites, the blacks, and the reds in America, consumption and other diseases would soon wipe the mixed bloods off the face of the earth".[104] Noah was of pure pedigree, in the line of Adam, as were all the descendants of Shem -- i.e. Abraham and the nation of Israel. Only the descendent's of Adam had 'souls', and only they could enter into God's covenant. According to the Anglo-Israel theory, which Parham probably adopted from Sandford, the Hindus, the Japanese, the high Germans, the Danes, the Scandinavians, the Anglo-Saxon race and their descendants around the world are descendants of the 10 lost tribes of Israel. Consequently, these races (and especially the Anglo-Saxon race) have a pure pedigree and have an important role to play in the events of the end-times. On the other hand "the heathen,-- the Black race, the Brown race, the Red race, the Yellow race, in spite of missionary zeal and effort are nearly all heathen still; but will in the dawning of the coming age be given to Jesus for an inheritance."[105]

Despite his racial ideology, Parham's early ministry was slightly more tolerant than the Jim Crow codes of the day. For years, many of Parham's revival meetings were inter-racial, although seating arrangements were

[103] Goff, *Fields*, 156-7

[104] Parham, "Voice", 83.

[105] Parham, "Voice", 106-7. See also Anderson, *Vision*, 82-3.

separate.[106] In Houston, where he first encountered a sizable black population, Parham not only evangelised among blacks but also included blacks as part of his ministry team. However, Parham quickly bowed to pressure from racists such as W.F. Carothers -- who ran the Texas Bible School with Parham and became the Texas state director of the AFM. William J. Seymour, whom Parham was training to minister to the blacks in Houston, was forced to sit outside the door of the all-white classroom. Furthermore, when Seymour later led a multi-racial Pentecostal revival at Azusa street, in Los Angeles, Parham harshly criticised the lack of racial distinction at the meetings:

> 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 tightly thus as she shivered and shook in freak imitation of Pentecost. Horrible, awful shame![107]

Parham's biting remarks may have been a jealous reaction to Seymour's prominence in the Los Angeles revival, as well as to Parham's own dwindling control over the movement which he had started. In any case, in his later ministry, Parham had more kind words for the Ku Klux Klan, at whose meetings he occasionally spoke, than for many of his fellow Pentecostals, whom he felt were guilty of fanaticism and emotionalism.[108]

Parham andWomen

Little is known about Parham's attitude towards women; however, we do know that women played a prominent role in his Apostolic Faith movement. As mentioned above, Agnes Ozman was the first to receive, at Parham's Bethel Bible College, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. Parham's wife (Sarah Parham) and sister-in-law (Lillian Thistlethwaite) wrote some of the best early descriptions of the Apostolic Faith movement. In several key locations, the way for Parham's message was prepared by a woman. Parham's success in Galena, Kansas, was predicated upon the support and testimony of Mrs. Mary A. Arthur -- a woman who was

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106 Howard N. Kenyon, "An Analysis of Ethical Issues in the History of the Assemblies of God" (PhD diss., Texas: Baylor University, 1988), 49-50.

107 Parham in Stuart Wayne Dawes, "Toward a Biblical and Pneumatic Theology of Social Concerns for the Pentecostal Movement" (Ph.D. Thesis, Laval University, Quebec, June 1994), 99.

108 Dawes, "Toward", 94-100.

healed under Parham's ministry in El Dorado Springs, Missouri. Parham's success in Zion City, winning a following of about 1000 after Dowie's downfall, was made possible by the earlier work of a Mrs. Waldron and a Mrs. Hall, who brought Parham's Pentecostal message to that city as early as 1904.[109] It was under Parham's Zion city ministry that Mary Burgess was converted to the Pentecostal movement. She went on to preach in Chicago, Toledo, and Detroit before settling in New York to open the Glad Tidings Hall -- a landmark church in Pentecostal History.[110] A Mrs. Calhoun, having heard the preaching of one of Parham's workers (Anna Hall), brought the Pentecostal message to Houston and to W.F. Carothers, a Holiness pastor, who would become Parham's right hand man in the Texas Apostolic Faith movement. In addition to the numerous women who adopted ministries of intercession and prayer, women such as Fannie Dobson and Ethel Wright became pastors in the southwestern Apostolic Faith movement.[111]

William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival

Another patriarch of Pentecostalism was a black man named William Joseph Seymour, who was born in Centerville, Louisiana on May 2, 1870, to former slaves Simon and Phillis Seymour. In a context of poverty and growing racism, Seymour worked on a sugar plantation for the first 25 years of his life. He received no formal schooling, but taught himself to read and write. In the plantation setting, Seymour inherited the slave Christianity of his parents, with its distinct African worship practices, and was exposed to the Louisiana Creole religion, which drew heavily from Haitian *vaudou* .[112] When he was 25 (in 1895), Seymour left his childhood home and moved to Indianapolis, Indiana, where he worked as a waiter in a downtown hotel restaurant. Although raised a Baptist, Seymour joined a black MEC congregation upon moving to Indianapolis (apparently attracted to the interracial character of the MEC). After

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109 R.M. Riss, "Role of Women", in *Dictionary of Pentecostal-Charismatic Movements*, Eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing, 1988), 893.

110 Riss, "Role of Women", 895.

111 Riss, "Role of Women", 893-4.

112 Cheryl Sanders, *Saints in Exile: The Holiness-Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 27.

moving to Cincinnati, Ohio in 1900, Seymour came under the influence of the Holiness movement, and eventually joined a group called the 'Evening Light Saints'. The 'Evening Light' was an interracial camp meeting association of Daniel S. Warner's independent Holiness denomination, the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana). Participants believed that the 'Church of God' was the one, true, restored (i.e. apostolic), and sanctified Church, destined to be the heart of God's imminent millennial Kingdom. Consequently, the 'Church of God' concept was racially inclusive. The racial integration of the 'Evening Light Saints' demonstrates their belief that holiness, the restoration of the Apostolic Church, and the revealed power of God condemn or stand against social injustice and oppression as well as personal sin. Seymour was ordained by the 'Saints' sometime before 1903.[113]

In early 1903, Seymour went to Houston, Texas, to evangelise and to search for lost relatives. In the summer of 1905, a black Holiness minister named Mrs. Lucy Farrow asked Seymour to pastor her church temporarily while she travelled to Kansas as the governess to the family of one Charles F. Parham. In the fall of that same year, Farrow returned with glowing reports about a new message and experience -- the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues -- which she had learned of in the Parham home. Parham himself was in Houston, conducting his Bible School, and Seymour enrolled to learn more. Despite being forced to sit in a separate room, in deference to Jim Crow laws, Seymour was favourably impressed by Parham's teaching and quickly adopted the idea that Baptism in the Holy Spirit was a post-sanctification experience (or 'a gift of power upon the sanctified life') evidenced by speaking in tongues.[114]

After only about six weeks in Parham's Bible School, Seymour accepted an invitation to help pastor a new black Holiness church on Santa Fe Avenue in Los Angeles. Without waiting to receive the Baptism of the Holy Spirit himself,

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113 On 'Evening Light Saints' see Sanders, *Saints*, 21-8; Iain MacRobert, *The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the U.S.A.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 49-50; and Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995), 49. For a concise account of Seymour's life, see H. Vinson Synan, "William Joseph Seymour" *DPCM*, 778-781.

114 Faupel, *Everlasting*,196-7; and MacRobert, *Black*, 50-1.

Seymour preached on speaking in tongues at the Santa Fe church. In reaction to this radical teaching, the church's founder Julia W. Hutchins, locked Seymour out of the church building. Thus rejected, Seymour resorted to holding prayer meetings in private homes: first in the home of Edward S. Lee, with whom he was staying, and secondly in the home of the Asberry's at 214 North Bonnie Brae Avenue. In these meetings, blacks and whites mingled freely, and expectations were high that God was about to move in their midst. Then, on Monday, April 9, 1906, Edward Lee, while praying with Seymour in his home, received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. Seymour and Lee then carried the news to the meeting on Bonnie Brae Avenue, where Jennie Evans Moore (who would later marry Seymour) and at least six others began to speak in tongues. A few days later, on April 12, Seymour finally received his own 'personal Pentecost', and spoke in tongues. With these astounding developments, people flocked to the Bonnie Brae meetings, either out of curiosity or spiritual hunger, and the group was forced to rent an abandoned A.M.E. church building (which was currently being used as a storage shed for construction materials) to accommodate the growing crowd. The new address was 312 Azusa Street, and for the next three years it would host Pentecostal revival meetings every day and night.[115]

Those who joined the Pentecostal revival in Los Angeles had been hoping and expecting its arrival. After the turn of the century, Los Angeles was one of America's fastest growing cities, with 2 789 new people arriving each month.[116] Many of these new arrivals were non-white and non-Protestant, who numbered 22 percent of the city's population by 1910.[117] The frustration, disillusionment, poverty, and *anomie* faced by many citizens may have led to a search for new meaning, new hope, and supernatural intervention from above.

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115 Cecil M. Robeck, "Azusa Street Revival" in *DPCM*, 32; and MacRobert, *Black*, 51-53. Whereas Robeck implies that the Bonnie Brae meetings were interracial from the start, MacRobert states that the earliest meetings were composed entirely of black people. Only after the crowds began to arrive, explains MacRobert, did some whites attend. Whereas Robeck's conclusions are based upon the reports of Frank Bartleman, MacRobert's view is supported by a short article in the first issue of the Los Angeles *Apostolic Faith* periodical, which states that "the work began among the colored people" (p.3).

116 Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal*, 96.

117 Cox, *Fire*, 55.

Without a strong, well-rooted traditional church, Los Angeles was fertile ground for religious innovators and 'frontier-style' revivalists. The Holiness movement achieved a measure of popularity, and Phineas Bresee founded the 'Church of the Nazarene' there in 1895. Holiness teachings on the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, the latter-day restoration of the church, and the end-time revival became popular, and local Holiness churches and missions prayed ceaselessly for revival (e.g. Free Methodist colony at Herman, California; Holiness Church of Southern California, the Peniel Mission, and the Burning Bush Holiness group).[118]

News of the 1904 revival in Wales, led by Evan Roberts, intensified the anticipation of an imminent outpouring of the Holy Spirit in America.[119] Joseph Smale, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Los Angeles, visited the Welch revival and returned with a burden to spark a similar event in his city. When his church board charged him with being too fanatical, Smale left to form the First New Testament Church, bringing a loyal following with him. Jennie Evans Moore and other participants in the Bonnie Brae and Azusa revival meetings were members of Smale's new congregation.[120] An even more significant figure affected by news of the Welch revival was travelling Holiness evangelist and author Frank Bartleman. Although he did not visit Wales, he was in correspondence with Evan Roberts, and he read and distributed S.B. Shaws' popular account of the Welch revival. Bartleman helped Smale pastor the New Testament Church for a time, but his quest for fresh manifestations of the Holy Spirit quickly led him to the Bonnie Brae and Azusa meetings. In August of 1906, in reaction to an apparent move towards organisation and 'apostasy' at Azusa, Bartleman opened his own Pentecostal mission at the corner of Eighth

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[118] Robeck, "Azusa", 31

[119] According to Edith Blumhofer, "probably no single event quickened the expectations for revival worldwide more than did events in Wales during 1904 and 1905" (see Blumhofer, "Transatlantic Currents in North Atlantic Pentecostalism" in *Evangelicalism*, Eds. Mark Noll *et al.* [N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1994], 354).

[120] Jennie Moore apparently began to speak in tongues at the Sunday morning service of the New Testament Church on April 15, 1906. This provoked a mixed reaction. Smale began by tolerating 'Pentecostal' outpourings in his church, but ended up by condemning them.

and Maple streets.[121] In addition to countless tracts and articles, Bartleman provides us with the best eye-witness account of the Azusa revival in his book *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles* .

The Azusa mission was not elegant: a forty-by-sixty-foot white-washed, wood-frame structure outside, with planks of wood and empty nail kegs serving as pews inside. The mission did not begin with a large congregation. Bartleman reports that only about a dozen 'saints', both black and white, were in attendance at the first few meetings.[122] The work grew daily, however, as "all classes began to flock to the meetings."[123] A month later, Bartleman could report that preachers and missionaries had started arriving from across the world to visit Azusa and receive the Pentecostal blessing. By September, one visitor reported 25 blacks and 300 whites in attendance.[124] Meetings were long, spontaneous, and unorganised -- led by the promptings of the Holy Spirit alone. The mission's periodical, *The Apostolic Faith*, reports that "meetings begin about ten o'clock in the morning and can hardly stop before ten or twelve at night, and sometimes two or three in the morning".[125] Seymour was the nominal leader, but visiting evangelists and participants of all types, races, ages, and gender were granted tremendous liberty to sing, pray, testify, prophecy, speak or sing in tongues, and even preach.[126] At times the congregation was caught up in an ecstasy of worship, with some falling 'slain in the spirit', jumping, dancing, shouting praises, rushing spontaneously to the altar, or speaking in tongues. At other times, a silence gripped the crowd, and, as Bartleman explains, "we got our head under some bench in the corner in

[121] Specifically, Bartleman reacted against the raising of a sign naming the Azusa Mission, which he felt was an indication that the work had succumbed to the 'party spirit' and sectarianism. He wanted the revival to remain non-denominational and completely informal. See Frank Bartleman, "How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles: As it Was in the Beginning" in *Witness to Pentecost: The Life of Frank Bartleman*, Ed. Cecil M. Robeck (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985) 68 -- A reprint of *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles: As it Was in the Beginning* (Los Angeles: privately published, 1925).

[122] Bartleman, "Pentecost", 48.

[123] Bartleman, "Pentecost", 49.

[124] Robeck, "Azusa", 33.

[125] *The Apostolic Faith* , 1:1 (Sept. 1906), 1.

[126] Seymour was clearly in charge, but his humility and self-effacing character is attested to by Bartleman: "Brother Seymour generally sat behind two empty shoe boxes, one on top of the other. He usually kept his head inside the top one during the meeting, in prayer. There was no pride there" (Bartleman, "Pentecost", 58).

prayer".[127] According to a statement of beliefs in its own periodical, the Azusa mission stood for "the old time religion" of camp meetings, revivals and Christian unity. It preached the 'full Gospel', which included two works of grace -- justification and sanctification -- the doctrine of divine healing, and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with the Bible evidence of speaking in tongues (technically, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit was not considered a third work of grace but rather a "gift of power upon the sanctified life").[128] The driving force of the mission was a strong desire to experience God directly, immediately, simply, and miraculously. Bartleman simply explains, "we wanted God."[129]

The Azusa Street Revival lasted from 1906 to 1913, although from 1909-1911 attendance fell to only about 12 blacks and no whites. Locally, the events at Azusa directly contributed to the establishment of about a dozen Pentecostal missions in the Los Angeles area. Nationally, Azusa influenced many Holiness churches and independent missions through the numerous evangelists and ministers who visited the mission, in their search for a mighty Baptism of the Holy Spirit, and then returned to their respective congregations or travelled abroad with the Pentecostal message and experience. Internationally, Azusa inspired many of its participants to go to the mission field in foreign countries. Within a few years, there were Pentecostal missionaries in Liberia, Egypt, the Middle East, Angola, Scandinavia, the Philippines, Japan, China, Brazil, India, and South Africa.[130] With no church structure or funds to support them, many of these missionaries endured great duress to fulfil their calling.

The Prophetic Witness of Azusa Street: Social Equality.

For many, the revival at Azusa Street Mission was the long-awaited arrival of the second Pentecost. The first issue of the Los Angeles *Apostolic Faith* , published from Azusa, reports that "many churches have been praying for Pentecost, and Pentecost has come."[131] Here was the beginning of the

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127 Bartleman, "Pentecost", 59.

128 *The Apostolic Faith* , 1:1 (Sept 1906), 2.

129 Bartleman, "Pentecost", 59.

130 Robeck, "Azusa", 34-5; and Robeck, "Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective" in *All Together in One Place*, Eds. Harold D. Hunter and Peter D. Hocken (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993),175-7.

131 *The Apostolic Faith*, 1:1 (Sept. 1906), 1.

end-time revival which would 1) restore the true Church to its original purity and power, 2) make possible the evangelisation of the entire world, and 3) usher in the second coming of Christ. The restoration of the Church of the Kingdom had social and ethical implications for those at Azusa, as it did for the Evening Light Saints. In the coming Kingdom, there would be no pope or ecclesiastical hierarchy, nor would there be any economic classes, racial or gender barriers, or any earthly means of distinguishing between the 'saints'. Consequently, the Azusa revival, as part of God's millennial Church, was marked by egalitarianism, both in the congregation and the leadership. Writing in 1925, Frank Bartleman recalled,

> We had no pope or hierarchy. We were 'brethren'... We had no priest class, nor priest craft. These things have come later, with the apostatizing of the movement. We did not even have a platform or pulpit in the beginning. All were on a level... We did not honor men for their advantage, in means or education, but rather for their God-given 'gifts'.... We had no 'respect of persons'. The rich and educated were the same as the poor and ignorant, and found a much harder death to die. We only recognised God. All were equal.[132]

Joe Creech, historian of Pentecostalism, summarises the prophetic social witness of Azusa Street: "Azusa's leaders were ethical restorationists; they abandoned the conventional means by which society ordered reality (education, social status, race and gender categories); in so doing, they assaulted the status quo."[133] A message given in tongues by a 'Brother Post', the interpretation of which was recorded in the fifth issue of *The Apostolic Faith* , reads "our Lord says... 'There must be no glorying in names or orders or systems, only in Myself alone'.... We must keep very humble at His feet. He recognises no flesh, no color, no names".[134] When a board of twelve elders was created sometime in 1906, three were black and seven were white, of which five were men and seven were women.[135] Not only blacks and whites, but also Mexicans and Asians worshipped together at Azusa.[136] Bartleman reported

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[132] Bartleman, "Pentecost", 58-9.

[133] Joe Creech, "Visions of Glory: The Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History." *Church History* 65:3 (Sept. 1996), 412.

[134] *The Apostolic Faith* , 1:5 (Jan. 1907), 1.

[135] MacRobert, *Black*, 56.

[136] The first issue of the Los Angeles *Apostolic Faith* reports "The work began among the colored people... Since then multitudes have come. God makes no difference in nationality, Ethiopians, Chinese, Indians, Mexicans, and other nationalities worship together" (3).

that, at Azusa, "the 'color line' was washed away in the blood [of Christ]".[137]

Women were not just participants, but assumed positions of influence and leadership. Lucy Farrow was sent by Parham to help Seymour establish the work in Los Angeles. Not only did she build up the Azusa mission, but, upon returning to Houston, she was invited to speak at the August 1906 camp meeting of the Texas Pentecostals -- a rare occurrence in the deep South.[138] The women on the board at Azusa included Jennie Evans Moore, Sister Prince, Clara Lum (a stenographer and co-editor of the Apostolic Faith magazine), and Florence Crawford. Crawford left Azusa to become a travelling evangelist. After holding meetings in various California cities, she took over a holiness mission in Portland Oregon, in the beginning of 1907, and quickly became the leader of the northwestern Apostolic Faith movement. Other emissaries from Azusa included Miss Mabel Smith (to Chicago), Miss Ivey Campbell (to East Liverpool, Ohio), and Rachel Sizelove, who was ordained at Azusa and took the Pentecostal message to Springfield, Missouri in May of 1907.[139] An article in the twelfth issue of the Los Angeles *Apostolic Faith* , entitled "Who may prophesy?", draws a clear connection between the Pentecostal Baptism and the empowerment of women:

> Before Pentecost, the woman could only go into the 'court of women' and not into the inner court. The anointing oil was never poured on a womans [sic] head but only on the heads of kings, prophets and priests. But when our Lord poured out Pentecost, He brought all those faithful women with the other disciples into the upper room, and God baptized them all in the same room and made no difference. All the women received the anointing oil of the Holy Ghost and were able to preach the same as men.... It is the same Holy Spirit in the woman as in the man.[140]

Predictably, the creative chaos, i.e. the breaking down of conventional social mores, resulting from Azusa's ethical restorationism was criticised and ridiculed by the press. On April 18, 1906, the *Los Angeles Daily Times* published a story entitled "Weird Babel of Tongues; New Sect of Fanatics Is

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137 Bartleman, "Pentecost", 54.

138 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 51-2.

139 Riss, "Role of Women", 894-5; and Desmond W. Cartwright, "'Your Daughters Shall Prophecy:' The Contribution of Women in Early Pentecostalism" (SPS conference papers, 1985), 8.

140 "Who May Prophesy?" *The Apostolic Faith* 1:12 (Jan 1908), 2.

Breaking Loose; Wild Scene Last Night on Azusa Street".[141] The article went on to mock the glossolalic utterances of "an old colored 'mammy'", and report how "women gave themselves over to a riot of religious fervor".[142] More importantly, Charles F. Parham, who initially considered the Azusa Mission to be under his headship, harshly condemned both the breakdown in racial distinction and the zeal of Azusa worship. Years later, he would recall that he had seen people "crowded together around the altar like hogs, blacks and whites mingling; this should be enough to bring a blush of shame to devils, let alone angels, and yet this was all charged to the Holy Spirit."[143] This "darky camp meeting" in Los Angeles went against Parham's growing concern that his movement be socially respectable, and that all worship, including speaking in tongues, be done decently and in order.

Parham's rebuke prompted the leaders of Azusa to bar him from the mission, reject his headship, and reorganise their work as an independent Pentecostal mission named the Pacific Apostolic Faith Movement.[144] While the first two issues of the Los Angeles *Apostolic Faith* clearly indicated Charles Parham as the leader of the Pentecostal movement, the fourth issue (December, 1906) begins with an attempt to distance the Pacific movement from Parham.[145] "The Lord was the founder and He is the Projector of this movement", it reads. Theologically, Seymour began to drift away from Parham's emphasis on the doctrine of tongues as the initial evidence of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, choosing instead to emphasise what he considered the more essential results of the Baptism: Christian love and charity, unity and equality within the Church, power for Christian service, and the growth of the 'fruits of the Spirit' (e.g. kindness, meekness, love, joy, peace, etc.).[146]

[141] Edith Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 57.

[142] Sanders, *Saints*, 29.

[143] Parham, *Everlasting*, 3.

[144] Faupel, *Everlasting*, 213. While the first two issues of the Los Angeles *Apostolic Faith* use the title *Apostolic Faith Movement*, the third and fourth issues use the title *Pacific Apostolic Faith Movement*.

[145] The first issue refers to Parham as "God's leader in the Apostolic Faith Movement". It reports that Parham planned to visit his "children" in Los Angeles. The second issue begins with a long article on Parham's life and ministry, implicitly comparing him to Luther as another great religious leader.

[146] *Apostolic Faith* 1:11 (Oct.-Jan 1908), 2. See also Robeck, "Azusa", 36.

The Azusa mission did not articulate a program of political reform or social revolution. It did not even develop social welfare programs comparable to Parham's Bethel Healing Home or A.B. Simpson's Christian and Missionary Alliance. Yet the Azusa mission operated upon a belief system which was prophetic, liberating, and revolutionary. Believing itself to be part of the one, pure, powerful, and supernatural Church of the Kingdom, the group at Azusa was bound together by an egalitarian ethos which served as a moral witness to Jesus Christ and as a condemnation of the animosity, racism, and social injustice of a fallen world. While world peace and perfection would have to wait for the second coming of Christ, the Lord was, for these early Pentecostals, already establishing a society of perfect love and power on earth in the form of an eschatological community -- i.e. the Pentecostal church.

The counter-worldly and inter-racial character of Azusa did not last long, however, and its prophetic witness was not carried on by most of the early Pentecostal centres in America. After Parham was barred from Azusa Street, he started a rival work in the W.C.T.U. (Woman's Christian Temperance Union) building on the corner of Broadway and Temple Streets. He managed to attract as many as 300 adherents from the Azusa mission, leaving them under the leadership of W.F. Carothers -- the Texas state director of Parham's Apostolic Faith Movement (and a firm racist). Around the same time (i.e. Fall of 1906), Smale had finally rejected the Pentecostal message, and the Pentecostal faction in the New Testament Church (headed by a 'Brother Elmer Fisher') left to form their own mission, called the Upper Room Mission, located at 327.5 South Spring Street. According to Bartleman, most of the white members of Azusa left to join this new mission.[147] The inter-racial and egalitarian aspects of Azusa also faded. By 1914, it had become a local black church with only a handful of members, and a clause was added to the mission's constitution to proclaim itself at the service of the "colored people of the State of California".[148] By 1915, Seymour had appointed himself 'bishop' of the Pacific Apostolic Faith Movement, and declared that his successors must always be both black and

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147 Bartleman, "Pentecost", 83-4.

148 As found in MacRobert, *Black*, 68, the statement reads "The Apostolic Faith... should be carried on in the interest of and for the benefit of the colored people of the State of California, but the people of all countries, climes, and nations shall be welcome".

male.[149] Years after the revival, Bartleman wrote of the 'apostatizing' of Azusa:

> The kings came back once more, to their thrones, restored to sovereignty. We were no longer 'brethren'. Then the divisions multiplied, etc. While Brother Seymour kept his head inside the old empty box in 'Azusa' all was well. They later built for him a throne also. Now we have, not one hierarchy, but many.[150]

The Social Witness of Frank Bartleman: Patriotism, Capitalism, and War

The critical consciousness engendered by the radical counter-worldly elements of early Pentecostalism (and especially at Azusa Street) is exemplified in the work and writings of Frank Bartleman. Bartleman was born near Carversville, Pennsylvania, in 1871, to a Roman Catholic father from Germany and an American-born Quaker mother. He was converted in Grace Baptist Church, pastored by Russell H. Conwell, on October 15, 1893, and the following year received his call to the ministry. As a religious seeker, always looking for the latest work of God, Bartleman did not stay in one place or in one church for long. Before becoming involved in the Pentecostal revival in Los Angeles, he had ministered with the Salvation Army, the Wesleyan Methodists, (Alma White's) Pillar of Fire Holiness church, and the Peniel Missions. He preached as an itinerant evangelist for 43 years, travelling across America and around the world. A prolific writer and social commentator, Bartleman contributed more than 500 articles, 100 tracts, and 6 books to the popular religious literature of his day.[151]

Working with the Holiness missions in the slums, Bartleman demonstrated his solidarity with the poor and the downtrodden. "I made my choice," he explains, "between a popular, paying pulpit and a humble walk of poverty and suffering... I chose the streets and the slums for my pulpit."[152] In his writings, Bartleman condemned social stratification, the increasing polarisation of the rich and poor in Western capitalism, the greed of wealthy individuals, and the role of speculators and federal policies in creating artificially high prices (often maintained by the wilful destruction of produce).[153] "We are robbed of

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149 Synan, "Seymour", 781.

150 Bartleman "Pentecost", 88.

151 Robeck, "Bartleman", 50-1.

152 Bartleman in Dawes, "Toward", 108-109.

153 Robeck, *Witness*, xii-xiii.

the food God has given us," Bartleman writes. "Foreign interests in Wall Street are selling us out to the highest bidder. And capital is enforcing militarism, against labor."[154]

Bartleman does not advocate a violent revolution, a socialist government (which he opposes as "Antichrist"), or any involvement of the Church in politics. Politics, he explains, is "all corruption and hypocrisy, hopelessly fallen."[155] Indeed, the entire world is fallen, and a Christian does not belong to it but to the Kingdom of God, which is 'wholly other'. As witnesses to the coming Kingdom, living 'in the world but not of the world', the Christian community ought to be a counter-cultural one. Accordingly, Christians should not conform to the material dreams which society peddles, and they should not adhere to any human-made ideology (whether socialism, capitalism, or nationalism). Their every word and deed should be governed by the laws of the Bible and the Spirit of Christ. Furthermore, according to Bartleman Christians should engage in civil disobedience whenever the government requires them to go against the Christian mandate. As with Seymour and the Azusa Street revival, Bartleman's 'other-worldly' Christian faith translates into a 'this-worldly' prophetic stance against an oppressive *status quo* . A good example of this prophetic stance, besides his views on racial integration, is Bartleman's pacifism and his open condemnation of the 'war spirit'.

While his Quaker mother probably influenced Bartleman's stand on war, he based his pacifism on fundamental Holiness and Pentecostal beliefs: premillennialism, Biblicism, strict Holiness ethics, an identification with the poor, and an internationalism fuelled by a passion for missions.[156] Premillennialism separated the Church and the Kingdom from the world and its societies; therefore, patriotism has no place in Christianity. Bartleman writes, "the Christian is a man without a country... He renounces his earthly citizenship." A War Church is a "Harlot Church" because it renounces its identification with the united and transcendent Kingdom of God and, instead, makes alliances with the many competing forces of this fallen world.

> One of the greatest crimes of the late war was that of robbing the church of her

[154] Bartleman in Robeck, *Witness*, xiii

[155] Bartleman in Robeck, *Witness*, xiii

[156] Beaman, *Pentecostal Pacifism.*, 58-9.

> sacred calling and 'pilgrim' role, turning her aside from the saving of souls, to plunge her into the vortex of world politics and patriotism, with all its fallen prejudices and preferences, avarices, cruelties, hates and murder... The church has no place to flaunt flags of national preference. God's grace and gospel are international. Christ died for all men.[157]

Bartleman's pacifism was based on more than the commandment "thou shalt not kill". He understood that war threatened the world-wide unity of the Church, seriously compromised the Church's moral witness, and diverted attention away from the primary tasks of evangelism and missions. Furthermore, Bartleman firmly believed that war is never virtuous or just, but always the result of sin -- e.g. capitalist greed, political rivalry, jealousy or hatred. War is both God's judgment on an evil world, and a ploy by political leaders and businessmen to make money at the cost of the lives of the common people. "This war [i.e. W.W.I] is not a holy war," Bartleman writes,

> it is the result of pride, greed, jealousy, hatred, hypocrisy, etc... The whole thing is a game of chess... Rulers for their private purse, bankers and financiers of the world for gain, munition manufacturers and provision merchants, all work together in this game.[158]

Ultimately, the war issue demands that the church take sides, either with an anti-worldly Gospel or an anti-Christian world. For Bartleman the answer is clear, "obey God rather than men."[159]

While the anti-worldly or counter-cultural Pentecostalism of Frank Bartleman led him to a prophetic and positive stand against war and racism, it also prompted him to condemn the growing feminist movement. His premillennial suspicion of modern cultural trends, combined with his literal Biblicism led Bartleman to declare growing gender equality a sign of the end-time degeneration of society. Bartleman similarly decried the growth of 'Flapper Evangelism':

> God is not changing His order, raising woman to equality with man in the ministry. The Apostles were men. The early church is our example. God made Adam first. Then the woman for his helper -- 1 Cor. 11:9....God has made man the 'head.' We seek to change His order at our peril.[160]

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157 Bartleman in Beaman, *Pentecostal Pacifism.*, 55.

158 Bartleman in Beaman, *Pentecostal Pacifism*, 57.

159 Frank Bartleman, "Two Years Mission Work in Europe" in *Witness to Pentecost*, 37 -- A reprint of *Two Years Mission Work in Europe Just Before the War: 1912-1914* (Los Angeles: privately published, 1924). For Bartleman's account of his preaching against the 'war spirit' in Europe, see his "Two Years Mission Work in Europe", 36-7, 54-5.

160 Frank Bartleman, "Flapper Evangelism: Fashion's Fools Headed for Hell", (privately published tract, ca. 1920), 2-3.

Bartleman's position stemmed more from his identification with middle-class, conservative American values than from any specifically Pentecostal ethos. However, Bartleman's attack on changing gender roles demonstrates that the counter-cultural ethos of early Pentecostalism could be used in the service of the *status quo* as much as in the service of prophetic and radical change.

The Social Witness of Finis E. Yoakum

Born in Limestone County, Texas, on July 14, 1851, Finis Yoakum became a highly successful and well-paid neurosurgeon. He held the Chair of Mental Diseases at Gross Medical College in Denver. After being miraculously healed of a mortal injury through the prayers of a Holiness pastor, Yoakum began to serve the poor and the sick through the practice of divine healing and through a series of 'Pisgah' ministries which he managed. Sometime after his healing, Yoakum appears to have had a "Pentecostal experience".[161] According to Bartleman's own account, Yoakum assisted pastor Pendleton in holding meetings at the Eighth and Maple mission after Bartleman stepped down as pastor.[162] Yoakum never joined one of the developing Pentecostal denominations, but he was closely associated with Stanley Frodsham (who became an early leader in the Assemblies of God denomination), and Yoakum's ministry was widely advertised in periodicals such as *The Latter Rain Evangel* and *Word and Work* (both of which were forerunners of *The Pentecostal Evangel* -- the official organ of the AoG).[163]

In September of 1906, Yoakum established the 'Pisgah Gardens' -- an area for poor consumptives to live and farm a garden, and in July of 1908 he founded the 'Pisgah Ark' -- a haven for young prostitutes in need. Two years later, Yoakum began building the 'Pisgah Free Store', which accumulated and gave away basic necessities as well as various 'harmless gifts'. Since his mission to the poor began, Yoakum had been using his house as a refuge for the homeless. In 1913, he expanded his house to accommodate and feed approximately 9 000 guests per month. Yoakum's most ambitious project,

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161 Cecil M. Robeck, "Pentecostals and Social Ethics", 105.

162 Bartleman, *Pentecost*, 92. Bartleman seems to have suffered from a kind of nervous breakdown, and needed to rest at home and recuperate.

163 Robeck, "Pentecostals and Social Ethics", 105.

however, was his 'Pisgah Grande' ranch, which he established in the spring of 1914. This 3 225 acre ranch was designed to be a town of refuge, a 20th century utopian community, for the poor, oppressed, and the fallen from all walks of life. After a brief period of success, the ranch fell into disuse and disrepair.[164]

The Social Witness of Carrie Judd Montgomery

Carrie Judd's teenage years were plagued with illness, culminating in a long bout with 'blood consumption' and a serious attack of spinal fever, which left her nerves and joints inflamed. With death imminent, Carrie Judd was suddenly and miraculously healed through the prayers of a black faith healer named Mrs. Edward Mix.[165] Subsequently, Judd launched upon a life-long mission to the poor and the sick. In addition to her popular publishing ministries (including the monthly periodical entitled *The Triumphs of Faith*), Judd established the *Faith Rest Cottage* in 1882 -- one of the first and most well known faith healing homes in the country. In 1887, Judd became one of the founding members and early leaders of A.B. Simpson's Christian and Missionary Alliance. At Simpson's prompting, Judd expanded her preaching ministry, speaking at conventions and churches throughout the northeastern U.S.A..[166] In May of 1890, Judd married a wealthy investment broker from San Francisco, named George Montgomery, and the couple settled in California. On the west coast, Judd made use of Montgomery's wealth and generosity to fund her healing and humanitarian ministries. In cooperation with the Salvation Army, Judd and Montgomery established a girl's rescue home in Oakland and the People's Mission of San Francisco. In 1893, they opened the first healing home on the west coast -- the *Home of Peace* . Not long after, Judd and Montgomery donated a large portion of land outside Oakland for the development of *Beulah Heights* -- a small town which housed orphans, the needy, and visiting missionaries.[167]

[164] Jennifer Stock, "Finis E. Yoakum, M.D.: Servant to the Disinherited of Los Angeles: 1895-1920" (SPS conference papers, 1990), 12-24.

[165] Daniel E. Albrecht, "Carrie Judd Montgomery: Pioneering Contributor to Three Religious Movements", *Pneuma* 8:2 (Fall, 1986), 103-4.

[166] Albrecht, "Carrie Judd Montgomery", 104-7.

[167] Albrecht, "Carrie Judd Montgomery", 107-9.

In 1907, after a trip to the Azusa Street Mission, George Montgomery accepted the Pentecostal message. Judd remained cautious until June of 1908, when she experienced the Spirit Baptism with the sign of speaking in tongues. In 1917, Judd joined the Assemblies of God, bringing with her a strong burden for the poor and the sick.[168] Carrie Judd Montgomery's life and work reveal an early Pentecostal with a passion for helping others. Furthermore, the extent of her ministry demonstrates the openness of the Holiness movement and the early Pentecostal movement to the participation of women.

Historiography and the Question of an early Pentecostal Social Witness

Throughout this chapter, we have examined snapshots of early Pentecostal leaders and centres, and have discussed the different social witnesses of Charles F. Parham, William Seymour, Frank Bartleman, Finis E. Yoakum, and Carrie Judd Montgomery. Can these different snapshots be synthesised to provide a more general picture of the origins of Pentecostalism, a picture which would enable some general conclusions about the social witness of early Pentecostalism as a whole? Within Pentecostal research and scholarship, there are at least four different approaches to Pentecostal origins, with each one drawing different conclusions about the movement's early social witness. These four approaches, as put forward by Augustus Cerillo in a recent survey of Pentecostal historiography, are 1) the 'providential' approach, 2) the 'historical-roots' approach, 3) the 'multi-cultural' approach, and 4) the 'functional' approach.[169] While scholars usually subscribe more to one approach than another, they may combine or modify any or all of these four 'ideal types' either simultaneously or at different points in their research. Because the first approach (claiming as it does that modern Pentecostalism was simply the miraculous fulfilment of God's promise of a 'second Pentecost') falls outside of the historical-critical framework of the social sciences, we will

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168 Albrecht, "Carrie Judd Montgomery", 109-110.

169 Augustus Cerillo, Jr., "Interpretive Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins" *Pneuma* 19:1 (Spring, 1997), 29-52.

direct our attention only to the final three approaches.[170]

I. The 'historical-roots' approach (adopted in one form or another by such notable historians of Pentecostalism as Donald Dayton, James Goff, Grant Wacker, Edith Blumhofer, and Vinson Synan) examines early Pentecostal history with an eye for doctrinal and ecclesiastical developments. In particular, it is concerned with uncovering the continuity between Pentecostal doctrine and *ecclesia* and the doctrine and *ecclesia* of the 19th century Holiness movement (both its Wesleyan and Reformed branches). Accordingly, the proto-Pentecostal belief system outlined in the previous chapter constituted the core of early Pentecostalism, while the Pentecostal distinctives were the doctrine of speaking in tongues and an intense millennarian-restorationist orientation.

If early Pentecostalism was 'Holiness plus tongues', then the social witness of early Pentecostalism was similar to that of the late 19th century Holiness movement. Both considered political involvement and social activism to be futile, at best, and a dangerous distraction from the Gospel, at worst. Both movements displayed Christian compassion to the lost, the broken, and the poor through healing homes and front-line social work or humanitarian work. Finis E. Yoakum and Carrie Judd Montgomery were clearly following the Holiness tradition of social work; however, the lack of interest Seymour and Parham (after his 'conversion' to Pentecostalism) showed in social work indicates that the increased millennarianism and sectarianism may have weakened this Holiness tradition among some Pentecostals. In sum, the Pentecostal movement continued the slide of the late Holiness movement away from the vision of social perfection which it had entertained in its youth.

The historical-roots approach generally highlights Charles Parham as the founder of Pentecostalism, which has ambiguous implications for an assessment of the movement's early social witness. Parham was the first to articulate a doctrine of tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit Baptism, and he was the first to synthesise this doctrine with the proto-Pentecostal belief system of the late 19th century Holiness movement (thus creating the Pentecostal 'full

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[170] Social Scientists can, and often do, acknowledge the 'finger of God' in history and society; however, as social scientists, they cannot adopt the 'providential approach' as their primary framework. Historians of Pentecostalism may believe that the movement is of God, but are still bound, by the rules of scholarship, to research, analyse, interpret, evaluate, and critique the early movement.

Gospel' with its millennarian-restorationist core). Furthermore, Parham wrote the first Pentecostal apologies, established its first Bible schools, published its first periodical, created its first organisational structure, and signed the credentials of its first licensed ministers.[171] While Parham preached against capitalist injustice and against Christians going to war, he was comfortable with the racist and discriminatory ideologies of his time. Furthermore, Parham grew increasingly racist as he grew older, and it is difficult to label early Pentecostalism 'prophetic' or 'progressive' so long as Charles Parham is considered to be the movement's founder and early leader.

II. The 'multi-cultural approach', adopted in one form or another by such scholars of Pentecostalism as Leonard Lovett, Walter Hollenweger, Douglas J. Nelson, Iain MacRobert, Ithiel Clemmons, Cheryl Sanders, Harvey Cox, and Cecil M. Robeck, takes a more phenomenological and ethical path than the 'historical-roots' approach.[172] Here, the essence of Pentecostalism is not doctrinal or institutional, but rather experiential and ethical. Early Pentecostalism is identified as a religious experience or transformation leading the believer to overcome the racist and discriminatory ideologies of the *status quo* . Accordingly, Parham cannot, by definition, be considered the founder of Pentecostalism; instead, that distinction belongs to William Seymour and the Azusa leaders.[173] Rather than tracing the Holiness roots of the Pentecostal movement, scholars such as MacRobert and Sanders describe the movement as heir to West African spirituality and the distinctive beliefs and practices of slave Christianity in America (both being mediated by Seymour and Charles Mason, black leader of the Church of God in Christ). Just as slave Christianity contained a vision of radical social transformation and a message of hope and empowerment, so also did early Pentecostalism contain a prophetic social

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171 James Goff, "Charles Parham and the Problem of History in the Pentecostal Movement" In *All Together in One Place*, Eds. Harold D. Hunter and Peter D. Hocken (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 189-190.

172 Leonard Lovett, "Black Origins of the Pentecostal Movement"; Walter Hollenweger, *Pentecost Between Black and White* (Belfast: Christian Journals Ltd., 1974); and "After Twenty Years' Research on Pentecostalism" *International Review of Mission* 75 (1986), 3-13.

173 Hollenweger defines Pentecost as "that event which broke down the walls of the nations, colour, language, sex and social class" (*Pentecost*, 10). Similarily, according to Lovett, "authentic Pentecostal encounter does not occur without liberation. No man can genuinely experience the fullness of the Spirit and remain a bona fide racist" ("Black Origins", 140).

dimension. MacRobert writes, "the baptism of the Holy Spirit was much more than a glossolalic experience, it was the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy that once again the barriers between the races would be broken down by the coming of the Spirit as on Pentecost".[174]

III. The 'functional approach' contains two different approaches within it: one delivers a negative evaluation of Pentecostalism, and the other a positive evaluation. Both approaches begin with the question of Pentecostalism's relationship to the structures of society; i.e. its function in the social system. Neither approach is much concerned with naming the 'father' of Pentecostalism, since their sociological framework focusses them upon social forces rather than historical personalities. Both approaches claim that early Pentecostal adherents were socially or psychologically 'deprived' or oppressed, due largely to the rise of modernity and 20th century capitalism in America. Both approaches agree that converts turned to Pentecostalism, at least in part, because of their deprivation or oppression. However, the negative functional view, articulated by Robert Anderson, portrays Pentecostalism as a kind of 'opiate of the people'. According to Anderson, "by deploring all political and economic activism, Pentecostalism deflected social protest from effective expression, and channelled it into the backwaters of religious ideology". By diagnosing the alienation and oppression of the working poor as a spiritual problem, rather than a social and political one, early Pentecostalism led its adherents into a world of escapism and false hope which, however unintentionally, served as a "bulwark of the *status quo* ".[175]

The positive functional approach, on the other hand, describes Pentecostalism as a revolutionary movement oriented towards personal empowerment and radical social change. Anthropologists Gerlach and Hine, in their study of the contemporary Pentecostal movement and Black Power movement, rejected the traditional 'social deprivation' models in favour of a multi-dimensional framework which highlights the revolutionary or subversive characteristics of social movements; e.g. their polycephalous and egalitarian organisation, their potential to 'conscientise' participants by converting them to a utopian vision or belief system which reveals the oppressive nature of the

[174] MacRobert, *Black*, 55.

[175] Anderson, *Vision*, 239.

status quo , conversion entails a radical rejection of the regnant ideologies and social mores; conversion imbues participants with self-confidence, courage, discipline, utopian goals, and hope.[176] Gerlach thus concludes,

> Pentecostalism can be described as as a movement of personal transformation and revolutionary change; that is as a group of people who are organised for and ideologically motivated and committed to the task of generating fundamental change and transforming persons, who are actively recruiting others to this group and whose influence is growing in opposition to the established order within which it develops.[177]

Scholars such as Cheryl Bridges Johns, Cecil Robeck, and Harvey Cox wish to apply the insights of Gerlach and Hine to the earliest years of Pentecostalism, thus claiming that the counter-worldly and sectarian character of the movement was pervasive, radical, and fundamentally revolutionary (rather than escapist and ideological) from the beginning. The multi-cultural approach, discussed above, highlighted one prophetic and positive result of early Pentecostalism's counter-worldly belief system: racial egalitarianism. The positive functional approach, however, considers the *entire* early Pentecostal belief system to be counter-worldly, sectarian, and therefore prophetic in essence, if not in all its particular attributes. According to this approach, overt political involvement or social activism is not necessarily the best indication that a movement is revolutionary (especially since such public involvement always involves some measure of cooperation and accommodation to the status quo). Instead, one ought to consider a movement's symbols, rituals, beliefs, and internal organisation -- e.g. the anti-capitalist and anti-war writings of Parham and Bartleman, the egalitarian structure of the Azusa revival, and the charismatic worship practices of early Pentecostals. Such indicators highlight the prophetic character of the millennarian-restorationist belief system of early Pentecostalism.

The millennarian-restorationist core of the Pentecostal belief system divided reality into two opposing Kingdoms: the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of 'this world' (ruled by Satan). Pentecostals not only pledged to fight for the Kingdom of God in the upcoming battle of Armageddon, but they also

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[176] Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970).

[177] Gerlach in Johns, *Pentecostal Formation*, 107-8.

believed that, with the Pentecostal revival, the Kingdom of God had begun really to enter into human reality for the first time since the Apostasy. The Pentecostal outpouring had brought heaven down to earth to fill believers and the sanctified church. Pentecostals were not only waiting for a heavenly inheritance; they laid claim to the bulk of it already. They were already citizens of heaven, and therefore regarded themselves as strangers or exiles in the world, as Blumhofer puts it, " resident aliens who had no intention of being integrated into the culture around them".[178] Pentecostal churches were sub-cultures or counter-cultures in which believers learned to live out more of heaven on earth. Bridges-Johns sums it up by saying,

> Pentecostalism stood as a contrast to the dominant order of its day. It was a subversive and revolutionary movement... Thus, Pentecostalism had a dual prophetic role: denouncing the dominant patterns of the status quo and announcing the patterns of God's Kingdom.[179]

Sectarian separation and solidarity, according to the positive functional approach, had positive spiritual, psychological, and material results for Pentecostal individuals, even as the sect or movement as a whole (guided by equality and fraternity) constituted a prophetic moral and social witness to the world.

Criticisms and Conclusions

The above historiographical discussion is not exhaustive, but it outlines how 1) the multi-cultural and positive functional approaches portray early Pentecostalism as having a positive and prophetic social witness; 2) the historical-roots approach portrays Pentecostalism as relatively similar to the late 19th century Holiness movement (with a soft social witness, constituted mainly by front-line social work); and 3) the negative functional approach condemns Pentecostalism as a bulwark of an oppressive status quo. This last position has some truth in it: early Pentecostals, due to their apolitical and reactionary social views, did not benefit society at large as much and as directly as had they been a body of radical reformers. However, the negative functional approach, based as it is upon a Marxist framework, is unable to to view religion as anything but a distraction from true liberation, i.e. political revolution. There is no room in this

[178] Blumhofer, *Restoring*, 88.

[179] Johns, *Pentecostal Formation*, 69.

approach for understanding religion as healer of the human spirit and empowerer of the downtrodden. Furthermore, this functional approach passes judgment upon Pentecostalism from a vantage point of modern social and political theory, knowledge unavailable to the average Pentecostal in the early 20th century.

The tension between Marxist analysis and the Christian religion aside, the main battle line in early Pentecostal historiography is drawn between, on the one side, the historical-roots approach to early Pentecostal social witness, and, on the other side, both the multi-cultural and positive functional approaches. From a multi-cultural/positive functional perspective, the historical-roots approach is at best a dry institution-centred and doctrine-centred reading of early Pentecostal history. At worst, it is a racist version of the Pentecostal story, recounting the early life of the movement in order to stress the 'whiteness' of Pentecostalism and downplay its black roots and character. By assuming that the doctrine of tongues is the essence of Pentecostalism, the historical roots approach takes sides with such white Pentecostal groups as the Assemblies of God -- which has always understood the 'tongues doctrine' to be the heart of their religion -- but ignores the black Pentecostal majority (particularly Mason's Church of God in Christ) which has tended to understand Pentecostalism as a social, spiritual as well as doctrinal innovation. Examining Pentecostal history through the lens of white Pentecostalism, Parham, the originator of the 'tongues doctrine', stands out as the movement's founder, and the Azusa revival can be downplayed because it neither contributed any new doctrine nor directly founded any lasting institution. Exposing the weakness of the historical-roots claim to be 'objective', the multi-cultural approach reads Pentecostal history through the eyes of the black Pentecostal tradition stemming from Seymour and Mason. The legacy of these men, including a vision of black empowerment and racial equality, is at least as significant in the development of Pentecostalism as that of Parham, although the legacy of the former two has been largely confined to black Pentecostal denominations.

The positive functional approach takes social deprivation as its interpretive key rather than race, but both the positive functional and the multi-cultural approaches assume that Pentecostalism is, in essence, a counter-

cultural community providing empowerment and liberation. From a historical-roots perspective, however, this assumption is wishful thinking, or at least a gross overstatement. The multi-cultural/positive functional approaches defy the rules of objective scholarship; i.e. they attempt to retell the Pentecostal story in a way that supports their respective social or ethical visions. Granted, these social and ethical visions may be commendable; e.g. promoting racial equality or a more positive social witness among contemporary Pentecostals, but the goal of history writing, according to the historical-roots approach, is accuracy and (as much as possible) objectivity. The historical-roots approach points out that early Pentecostalism, in many ways, *was moulded by the larger culture*, and the Azusa revival -- with its counter-cultural ethos -- played only a small part in the Pentecostal story.

Historian Joe Creech has exposed the prevalence of the 'Azusa myth' among Pentecostal believers and scholars. In the early movement, as in the present, Azusa seemed to embody all that was expected of the end-time revival: spontaneity, ecstatic worship, large crowds, and the breakdown of social barriers. Frank Bartleman, whose writings have had the most profound influence upon both historians and believers, persuasively presented Azusa as the answer to or fulfilment of decades of Holiness piety, eschatological longing, and higher life pneumatology. As a result of the writings of Bartleman and other Azusa 'boosters', and as a result of the way Azusa itself symbolised so well the early Pentecostal belief system, the 'myth of Azusa' has been perpetuated to the detriment of historical accuracy.[180] In fact, historical analysis reveals that "Azusa played only a limited substantive role in the institutional, theological, and social development of early Pentecostalism".[181]

While more historical data will feed this debate between the historical-roots approach and the multi-cultural/positive functional approach, at the heart of the conflict lies a different understanding of both the essence of Pentecostalism and the very meaning of writing history. Much of this debate could be avoided if historians limited their study to one Pentecostal denomination, thus preventing the imposition of white Pentecostal identity upon black Pentecostal identity (or vice versa). Furthermore, it may not be necessary

[180] Joe Creech, "Visions of Glory", 421-424.

[181] Creech, "Visions", 407.

to decide, once and for all, who the founder of Pentecostalism is. Instead, perhaps it is enough to say that the movement developed as a social and religious phenomenon with a millennarian-restorationist core, and men like Parham, Seymour, and Bartleman made specific contributions to its development. In many Pentecostal innovations, such as the doctrine of speaking in tongues or the first Apostolic Faith periodical, Parham was first; however, Seymour was the first to translate Pentecostal restorationism into the social and racial sphere. While 'white-washing' Pentecostal history is never justified, self-proclaimed 'objective' historians should realise that there is always a subjective element to history telling; i.e. every version of Pentecostal history has to start with an assumption or a working description of the essence of Pentecostalism.

If we avoid choosing between Parham and Seymour, and between Topeka and Azusa, then our general conclusions about Pentecostalism's early social witness will be based upon our understanding of the millennarian-restorationist core of the movement. Pentecostalism, understanding itself as a heaven-filled community witnessing to a decadent and decaying world, was geared towards radical personal and social change. It was highly critical of 'the things of this world', and had the potential to articulate a critique of or at least protest against the injustices of the status quo. Unfortunately, this raw potential was never developed in any systematic, coherent, or self-conscious way. Perhaps due to their aversion for and suspicion of formal theological reflection, Pentecostalism's prophetic and progressive potential grew and developed unattended. The Pentecostal critique of make-up and movie theatres achieved a more permanent and systematic place in Pentecostal belief system than did any critique of poverty or social injustice (despite the fact that early leaders like Parham deplored capitalist greed and others like Seymour condemned racial discrimination). Consequently, the only practical outgrowth or positive manifestation of Pentecostal social conscience was the same individualistic, and privatised charity work which Pentecostals had learned from the late Holiness movement. As we shall see, lack of self-conscious reflection upon social issues caused even the internal or symbolic signs of a prophetic social witness, e.g. social egalitarianism, pacifism, and denunciation of capitalism, to

whither and die among most Pentecostals (especially white Pentecostals) within a decade or two.

Chapter 3
The History and Social Witness of the Early Assemblies of God (*ca.* 1914-1942)

According to the sociological writings of Max Weber, H. Richard Niebuhr, Liston Pope, Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, the radical, counter-cultural, or 'charismatic' ethos of sectarian movements tends to fade as each sect moves out of its social, economic, and religious isolation.[182] Various terms have been coined to express this process: 'accommodation', 'routinisation of charisma', and 'institutionalisation'. In the following chapter, we will examine how this process of accommodation and routinisation has affected the belief system and social witness of one group of early American Pentecostals: the Assemblies of God (AoG). The AoG has become, in recent years, the largest white Pentecostal group in America, and has emerged as a denomination with a full-fledged organisational structure and an evangelical theology. After sketching the formation and early history of the AoG, we will analyse and discuss the group's stance on 1) race, 2) gender, and 3) war during the first two decades or so of its existence.

Some Early Pentecostal Centres and the Formation of the Assemblies of God

Parham, Seymour, Bartleman and other early Pentecostal innovators adopted the Pentecostal message and experience as the fulfilment of the spiritual hunger generated by their Holiness belief system. A similar spiritual hunger was shared by all Holiness groups and individuals, and many of them, fervently anticipating a second Pentecost, received the Pentecostal message as the answer to their prayers (often whole congregations at a time).

The growth of Pentecostalism in the American Southeast was largely the result of the revival activities of G.B. Cashwell. Cashwell was a young minister of the Pentecostal Holiness Church of North Carolina who travelled to Azusa to

[182] Max Weber developed the concept of 'charisma' to express the creative, dynamic, anti-structural, radical, and prophetic dimension of religion which periodically breaks through as a revival movement or religious innovation (Gregory Baum, *Religion and Alienation: A Theological Reading of Sociology* [New York: Paulist Press, 1975], 166-70). For Niebuhr on accomodation, see his *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), 19-21. Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 122-4. Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization and Cult Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 157-8.

receive the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues.[183] On December 31, 1906, Cashwell began revival meetings in an old tobacco warehouse in Dunn, North Carolina, which became the 'Azusa' of the Southeast. As a result of Cashwell's revival meetings and itinerant preaching, four entire denominations converted to the Pentecostal message: the Pentecostal Holiness Church of North Carolina, the Free-Will Baptist Church of North Carolina, the Fire-Baptised Holiness Church of North Carolina, and the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee).[184] In addition, several independent congregations developed, such as those led by Henry G. Rodgers and Mack M. Pinson.

The Church of God in Christ (COGIC), a predominantly black (but interracial) Holiness denomination based in Memphis, Tennessee, received the Pentecostal message from Charles Mason -- one of the its own directors who had visited and accepted the Azusa revival. After suffering a schism over the issue, Mason led his church to become what is today the largest Pentecostal denomination in North America.[185]

In Illinois, three early Pentecostal centres developed, one in Zion city, as Charles Parham won many followers from among Dowie's disillusioned flock, and two in Chicago: William Piper's Stone Church and the North Avenue Mission of William H. Durham. Piper's church accepted the Pentecostal message from evangelists visiting from Zion city, while the North Avenue Mission became Pentecostal after Durham visited and accepted the Azusa revival.[186]

The churches of the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) also proved to be relatively open to the Pentecostal revival. In the summer of 1907, the CMA witnessed Pentecostal outpourings in 1) its annual leadership

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[183] As with many other Holiness churches, Cashwell's group used the word 'Pentecostal' in its name even though it was not, at that time, 'Pentecostal' in the modern sense of the term -- i.e. it had not yet adopted the doctrine of speaking in tongues.

[184] In 1911, the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church agreed to merge with the larger Pentecostal Holiness Church and assume its name. See Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 117-121; and Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal*, 122-139. Cashwell later repudiated the Pentecostal message and returned to the Methodist Church of his youth.

[185] Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 116-117.

[186] On Pentecostalism in Chicago see Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 126-130. On Pentecostals in Zion see 113-116.

convention at Nyack, 2) camp meetings in Cleveland, Ohio, 3) camp meetings in Rocky Springs Park, Pennsylvania, and 4) the Indianapolis branch of the CMA.[187]

Also in the summer of 1907, after Charles Parham was arrested for sodomy, W.F. Carothers, the Texas State director of Parham's Apostolic Faith Movement, repudiated Parham's leadership and began reorganising the Texas group. This group soon associated with other small and independent Pentecostal groups in Arkansas and Tennessee, changing its name in 1911 from 'Apostolic Faith' to 'The Church of God in Christ'. Led by Eudorus N. Bell and Howard A. Goss, the Texas-Arkansas Pentecostals became a white branch of Mason's Church of God in Christ, looking to Mason (whose church had been legally incorporated) for ministerial licenses.[188] Over the next two years, the Texas-Arkansas Pentecostals increasingly cooperated with the Southeastern Pentecostals led by Rodgers and Pinson, with both groups operating as a white branch of Mason's church. This branch grew, in 1913, to contain 361 ministers, representing 20 states and 5 foreign countries.[189] From this group of Pentecostals, the Assemblies of God was soon to emerge.

As fellowship and cooperation among the white Churches of God in Christ increased, and as the white leaders sought to establish their own organisation apart from Mason's authority and his primarily black congregations, a call for a "General Convention" was issued in the December 20, 1913 issue of the *Word and Witness* (the official periodical of the white Churches of God in Christ).[190] Amid much debate about the pros and cons of organisation, the convention began on April 2, 1914 in Hot Springs, Arkansas. Over three hundred people attended the meetings, which lasted for ten days. E.N. Bell, editor of the *Word and Witness* , was appointed chairman, and J.R.

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[187] Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 121-123. Unlike other Holiness churches, the CMA did not overtly condemn or accept the Pentecostal revival.

[188] Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 130-132. Formal ministerial licenses were required to perform marriages and funerals, as well as to qualify for reduced rail rates. Only a legally incorporated denomination could grant such licenses.

[189] Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 134.

[190] E.N. Bell *et al.*, "General Convention of Pentecostal Saints and Churches of God in Christ", *Word and Witness* 9:12 (Dec. 20, 1913), 1. See also Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 134; William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 91.

Flower was made secretary. Some form of cooperative fellowship was deemed necessary in order to 1) guard against doctrinal error, 2) conserve the movement, 3) handle funds (especially missionary funds) with greater efficiency, 4) legally incorporate the movement, and 5) build a Bible school for training its ministers.[191] As a result, the conference committee, composed of one delegate from each state represented, unanimously passed a "Preamble and Resolution of Constitution". This "Preamble" accomplished three tasks: 1) the establishment of a united fellowship under the designation "Assemblies of God"; 2) the organisation of a "General Council of the Assemblies of God" as an annual meeting; and 3) the creation of an executive, called the "Missionary Presbytery" or the "Executive Presbytery", to advise and assist local congregations. The Preamble adamantly proclaimed that the Assemblies of God was not forming as a sect or a denomination, and that its General Council was not imposing itself as a central authority over and above the local congregations. Rather, the Preamble meant to be an expression of the unity and fellowship of local Pentecostal congregations, and the General Council was intended to be a servant of these local congregations through promoting Bible order and handling missionary funds.[192]

The first General Council did not adopt a formal constitution, nor did it formulate any creeds or doctrinal statements. Affirming the Bible as the "all-sufficient rule for faith and practice", AoG Pentecostals were serious about right belief and conduct.[193] However, no clear consensus had emerged as to what exactly the Bible dictated on specific issues; and, furthermore, the first General Council was neither willing nor able to impose a consensus upon its constituents. Such imposition might 'quench the Spirit' -- i.e. shut out a new revelation from the Holy Spirit. The Council did pass resolutions opposing the ordination of women (as senior pastors) and candidates who had remarried, but all remaining resolutions were concerned with secondary matters (such as

[191] Bell, "General Convention", 1; and Menzies, *Anointed*, 93-4.

[192] The Preamble and Resolution was published as "General Council Special" *Word and Witness* 10:5 (May 20, 1914), 1. A list of nine of the twelve appointed members of the Missionary Presbytery includes D.W. Kerr, D.C.O. Opperman, M.M. Pinson, J.R. Flower, H.A. Goss, J.W. Welch, John C. Sinclair, A.P. Collins, C.B. Fockler, T.K. Leonard, and E.N. Bell. At this point, the duties of a presbyter were fulfilled during his spare time, since each of these men continued to function as a full-time minister (Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 204).

[193] "General Council Special",1.

issues of clean and unclean foods) which could be left up to individual assemblies and personal conscience.[194]

Theological Controversies during the Formative Years of the Assemblies of God

Three theological controversies led the General Council of the AoG to articulate a more formal statement of faith, one which could be used to delineate the boundaries of Pentecostal orthodoxy. The first such controversy was rooted in the teachings of William Durham, an early Chicago Pentecostal leader, who declared that promoting sanctification as a second distinct work of grace cheapened the justification which Christ won on Calvary. Perhaps due to the large number of early AoG members with a Reformed background, the founding session of the General Council clearly endorsed Durham's view. Sanctification was considered by the AoG to be a process begun at conversion. However, criticism that the AoG neglected holiness forced the General Council and its executive to repeatedly reflect upon and clarify its position.

The second theological controversy, called the 'New Issue' or the 'Oneness Issue', was the most significant. At the 1915 World-Wide Apostolic Faith Camp Meeting in Arroyo Seco, California, John Schaeppe and Frank Ewart claimed to receive divine revelations that led them to some unorthodox views on the Trinity, Baptism, and justification. In short, the 'New Issue' proclaimed a form of Modalism in which 'Jesus' is believed to be the true and perfect name of the one God, and the names 'Father', 'Son', and 'Holy Ghost' refer to different manifestations of Jesus. Among those won over to the Oneness side were E.N. Bell, Howard Goss, and H.G. Rodgers. However, J.R. Flower, secretary of the General Council, was among those who recognised the threat that such new and subjective 'revelations' posed to the unity of the movement and to the authority of the objective Word of God. When attempts at compromise failed, the Trinitarian faction (led by Flower) introduced a Statement of Fundamental and Essential Truths to the 1916 General Council meeting. Because of its strongly Trinitarian theology, the Council's acceptance of this document prompted the resignation of all Oneness Pentecostal leaders -- over 25 percent of all AoG ministers. After the 1916 Council meeting, ordination

[194] "General Council Special",1. See also Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 204-8.

as an AoG minister was conditioned upon adherence to the Statement of Fundamental and Essential truths. Furthermore, this document delineated the limits of acceptable theological deviance for all AoG members, and implied that subjective experiences of revelation now had to conform to certain objective criteria.[195]

The third theological controversy surfaced in 1917-18, when Fred Francis Bosworth, a leading figure in the AoG, came to reject the idea that speaking in tongues was a necessary consequence of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Bosworth explained that "I am absolutely certain that many who receive the most powerful baptism for service do not receive the manifestation of speaking in tongues. And I am just as certain... that many who SEEMINGLY speak in tongues are not, nor ever have been, baptized in the Spirit."[196] In response, the 1918 General Council reaffirmed the 'tongues doctrine' as a "distinctive testimony" of the AoG, and declared any attack on this doctrine to be an attack on the Statement of Fundamental and Essential Truths. Ordination into the AoG ministry was made dependent upon acceptance of the 'tongues doctrine'.[197]

The Assemblies of God in Transition

Although early Pentecostals were suspicious of both modern, secular society and organized religion, they also believed they were called to inaugurate a world-wide revival which would prepare the way for the return of Jesus Christ. While the former conviction encouraged an attitude of 'separate and wait', the latter conviction encouraged missionary activism and evangelism. With the delay of Christ's return, the AoG increasingly identified itself with the cause of missions and evangelism. While the General Council was meant to be only a temporary instrument for the preservation of Pentecostal congregations, the longer Christ delayed the more influence and responsibilities accrued to the Council. To establish unity and harmony, the Council not only passed a Statement of Fundamental and Essential Truths but, in 1927, it drafted a formal

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195 Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 221-239; Blumhofer, *Restoring*, 127-135; and Faupel, *Everlasting*, 279-299.

196 Bosworth in Blumhofer, *Restoring*, 136.

197 *General Council Minutes* (Sept. 7, 1918), 7-8; and Menzies, *Anointed*, 128-130. Bosworth had already resigned his credentials prior to the Council meeting. The resolution of the Council was accepted unanimously.

Constitution to systematise the various resolutions which had accumulated over the years.[198] To execute the call to evangelise, the Council established, in 1925, the "Missionary Department" as the first of many separate departments which would evolve over the decades to orchestrate special ministries. To ensure the proper training of ministers, the General Council operated its own Bible School -- Central Bible Institute -- and, in 1923, took on the responsibility of supervising all affiliated Bible Schools and standardising their curriculum.[199] When education of the second generation became a primary issue in the 1930s and 40s, the Council responded by creating a Sunday School department and producing, through its Gospel Publishing House, a plethora of Sunday school materials and supplies.[200]

With its emphasis on evangelism and missions, the AoG grew at a phenomenal rate after the New Issue had been resolved in 1916. By 1925, there were 1,155 credentialed ministers and 235 missionaries. By 1941, there were 3,765 ministers and 394 missionaries. Between 1927 and 1941, the number of churches increased by 321 percent, and membership grew 290 percent.[201] Such rapid growth in numbers and in structure was greeted with mixed reactions. Some thanked God that the quest to evangelise the world was proceeding apace, while others worried that the AoG had drifted away from its millennarian-restorationist core.

Early Assemblies of God and Race

In the previous chapter, we concluded that early American Pentecostalism had an ambiguous and varied stand on the issue of race and racism. Pentecostal leaders such as W.F. Carothers and (at least in his later years) Charles Parham supported the racist norms of the day and even wove racist ideology into their Christian belief system. On the other hand, the Azusa Street revival understood racial equality to be an essential part of the Pentecostal outpouring of the latter days. Although some AoG leaders (such as

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198 Menzies, *Anointed*, 142-3. Prior to 1927, the AoG operated without a Constitution, basing its organisation solely on the Preamble formulated at the first General Council.

199 Menzies, *Anointed*, 142.

200 Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 266.

201 Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 256, 268.

E.S. Williams) had visited Azusa, the AoG had few structural or institutional ties with the Los Angeles mission. Instead, its member churches were drawn primarily from Carothers' Texas Apostolic Faith movement, from Chicago Pentecostal churches, from the Southeastern churches of Pinson and Rodgers (products of the Cashwell revivals), and from converts from the Christian and Missionary Alliance.[202] Therefore, the AoG did not inherit Azusa's prophetic and counter-cultural social witness. The AoG began with a concern for maintaining social stability and middle class evangelical values, and this concern only grew larger as the fellowship struggled to be accepted among middle-class fundamentalists and evangelicals. The black roots of the Pentecostal movement became an embarrassment to those seeking respectability. Consequently, the AoG's stand on race and racism drew more from the Pentecostal wells of Parham and Carothers than from Azusa Street.

By segregating itself into a white branch, the white Churches of God in Christ demonstrated racist attitudes from the very beginning. While the AoG was called into being for a number of practical reasons, the desire of the white branch to end, officially and permanently, an uncomfortable relationship with its black denomination was an important factor.[203] With few exceptions, only white members of the COGIC were invited to the Hot Springs meeting in 1914. Furthermore, the establishment of the AoG on Durham's 'Finished Work' theology further alienated the organisation from its fellow black Pentecostals, among whom the Wesleyan-Holiness doctrine and experience of sanctification was especially valued. Only two black ministers were mentioned as affiliated with the AoG before 1916: G.T. Haywood (pastor of a racially mixed Indianapolis church), and Ellsworth S. Thomas (who ministered in the AoG until his death in 1936).[204] Whatever the number of black ministers and members of the AoG around the time of its inception, the number plummeted after the resolution of the New Issue in 1916. A disproportionate amount of black Pentecostals had adopted the Oneness Pentecostal view, and, therefore, the adoption of a Trinitarian Statement of Fundamental and Essential Truths by the

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202 Creech, *Visions*, 415-16.

203 Anthea Butler, "Walls of Division: Racism's Role in Pentecostal History" (paper presented at the SPS, Nov., 1994, Wheaton College, IL.), 10; and Menzies, *Anointed*, 91.

204 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 70-2.

AoG effectively purged the fellowship of any significant black membership (including G.T. Haywood).[205] According to Anderson, "following the Oneness schism, the Assemblies became an all but 'lily white' denomination."[206]

The attitudes expressed in the periodicals and Council meetings of the AoG indicate 1) that race was not considered an important issue, and was rarely discussed between 1914 and 1939; and 2) that the AoG followed American society at large in its attitude of racial segregation and paternalism. Far from the counter-cultural and inter-racial ethos of Azusa Street, the AoG published an article, written by W.F. Carothers, in a 1915 issue of its *Weekly Evangel* in which the author (then an AoG executive Presbyter) defends racial segregation as "ordained of God".[207] Similarly, in a 1929 column in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, E.S. Williams (then chairman of the General Council) responded to a question on the propriety of inter-racial worship: "I feel it would be much better in the South for the two races to meet each other in their own separate place of worship."[208] This desire to uphold the norms of society was coupled with a pervasive ethnocentrism, as exemplified in occasional fictional stories printed in the *Pentecostal Evangel* which portrayed blacks as exotic, simple, and silly stereotypes.[209] In a more serious article on prophecy, an author for the *Pentecostal Evangel* expressed his fear that, as the end of the world grows imminent, the coloured races will rise up to demand, and even take by force, all the progress and prestige the white man has enjoyed. With the rapid population growth of the coloured races, the white race has little hope of retaining its "hitherto sunny world-supremacy."[210]

Early Assemblies of God and Gender Issues

The involvement of women in the Pentecostal ministry was more readily acceptable to early AoG members than was the involvement of blacks. Several

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[205] MacRobert, *Black*, 71.

[206] Anderson, *Vision*, 319-20. There were a few rare blacks in the AoG ministry, especially in the Northeast. See Kenyon, *Analysis*, 73-7.

[207] Carothers in Frank D. Macchia, "From Azusa to Memphis: Evaluating the Racial Reconciliation Dialogue Among Pentecostals", *Pneuma* 17:2 (Fall,1995), 207.

[208] E.S. Williams, "Questions and Answers", *The Pentecostal Evangel* (July 20, 1929), 9.

[209] Kenyon, *Analysis*, 81-2.

[210] "War Clouds", *The Pentecostal Evangel* (July 31, 1926), 6-9. Quote is from p.7.

factors contributed to this acceptance: 1) the movement's anti-denominational and anti-structural thrust, 2) the experience of a call from God (rather than credentials) was the only criterion for engaging in a ministry, 3) the belief that, in these last days, God was fulfilling the prophecy of Joel to 'pour out his Spirit upon *all* flesh', and 4) the urgent need for evangelising the world before the rapture required even women to preach and work for the Gospel.[211] The March 18, 1916 edition of the *Weekly Evangel* praised the apostolate of women as "a marked feature of this 'latter day' outpouring [of the Holy Spirit]."[212] The December 1921 edition of the *Pentecostal Evangel* contained an account of one Baptist minister's defence of women ministers. The author, Pastor W.M. McArt, discusses both the historical precedents (in the New Testament church) and the scriptural warrant for full gender equality in the ministry (both the spiritual aspects of ministry and the business or administrative aspects). With the fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel, and in accordance with Paul's proclamation that, in Christ, "there is neither male nor female" (Galatians 3:38), McArt concludes that "whosoever, whether men or women, receive the Holy Ghost are to be witnesses... to prophesy and to preach the Gospel to every creature."[213]

In June 1913 , among the 352 ministers listed in the white branch of the Churches of God in Christ were 87 women.[214] In the first year of the AoG, 150 of 531 ministers were women.[215] Early AoG members supported the ministry of such famous female evangelists as Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, Carrie Judd Montgomery, and Aimee Semple McPherson (the latter two having been licensed officially as ministers in the AoG).[216] Other, less well-known, female evangelists affiliated with the early AoG included Edith Mae Pennington, a former beauty queen turned preacher who became assistant pastor of an AoG

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211 Barfoot and Sheppard, "Prophetic vs. Priestly Religion", 4-10; Kenyon, *Analysis*, 280; and Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 355-8.

212 A.G. Jeffries, "The Limit of Divine Revelation", *Weekly Evangel* (March 18, 1916), 6.

213 W.M. McArt, "Woman's Place and Work in the Church", *The Pentecostal Evangel* (December 10, 1921), 14.

214 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 194.

215 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 198.

216 For more on Maria B. Woodworth-Etter, see Wayne E. Warner, *The Woman Evangelist: The Life and Times of Charismatic Evangelist Maria B. Woodworth-Etter* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1986).

church in 1928, and Elizabeth Sisson, an associate of Maria B. Woodworth-Etter who delivered the keynote address at the 1916 General Council meeting (at that time a rare privilege for a woman).[217] However, most women ministers in the early AoG either assisted in the preaching or pastoring ministries of their husbands, or left for the mission field.

With the organisation of the fellowship, there arose various 'priestly' and professional positions and responsibilities which were monopolised, from the very beginning, by men. The same Pentecostals who could accept itinerant women preachers based on their call and charisma had difficulty accepting the ordination of women as permanent senior pastors, council members, or executive presbyters. Around 1920, Frank Bartleman circulated a tract in which he decries the development of an "effeminate Christianity". Bartleman rejected female leadership in the church as a modern and worldly trend of 'Flapperism'. "A female ministry is naturally a weak ministry," Bartleman writes, "it needs a man to hold the gospel plough."[218] Most of the leaders of the AoG came from a religious and cultural background which defined a woman's 'rightful place' as being subordinate to men. Not convinced that gender equality in the ministry was an integral part of the Pentecostal revival, these leaders (most notably E.N. Bell and W.F. Carothers) emphasised the Pauline restrictions on women in the church. While they accepted that, with the fulfilment of Joel 2:28-9, women were potential recipients of a prophetic word from the Holy Spirit, leaders of the AoG made an important distinction between a *prophet*, who is simply a mouthpiece for God to speak through, and an *elder*, who is invested with authority to lead and govern a congregation.[219] God may use anyone, whether a man, woman, or child, as his prophetic mouthpiece, but according to Carothers and Bell women have neither the scriptural warrant nor the natural

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217 On Pennington, see Blumhofer, *Restoring*, 168-9. On Sisson, see Kenyon, *Analysis*, 204-6.

218 Frank Bartleman, "Flapper Evangelism: Fashion's Fools headed for Hell" (n.p., tract published independently, *ca* 1920), 2.

219 E.N. Bell, "Women Elders", *Christian Evangel* (Aug. 15, 1914), 2.

inheritance to rule and govern assemblies as men do.[220] AoG women as well as men increasingly accepted the notion that God had ordained separate spheres for men and women, and that, in the words of W.F. Carothers, "nothing [is] more of a monstrosity than modern efforts to obliterate and disregard the differences between the sexes".[221]

At the very first meeting of the General Council of the AoG, a resolution was passed to limit voting rights to male ministers and delegates.[222] Voting rights in the AoG were extended to women in 1920, but only after American society had approved female suffrage.[223] Furthermore, at the first General Council, voting members decided to reserve the position of elder (or senior pastor) for male ministers, and women were ordained only as evangelists.[224] Women ministers were only allowed to perform marriages, funerals, or communion in cases of emergency when no male minister was available. In a 1931 resolution of the General Council, even this restricted permission was taken away. Although a 1935 resolution officially accorded the technical right of full ordination (i.e. as elders or senior pastors) to women, the General Council had established, by that time, a clear consensus demarcating separate spheres for women and men ministers. The percentage of women in the ordained ministry did increase from 18.6, in 1925, to 20.0 in 1935, but the conservative views of the AoG leaders ensured that virtually all of these women were restricted from positions of authority in both local churches and (especially) in the developing denominational hierarchy.[225]

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220 David G. Roebuck, "'Go and Tell my Brothers'?: The Waning of Women's Voices in American Pentecostalism" (Paper presented to SPS 1991), 5-8. On the the position of W.F. Carothers, see Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 359-60. E.N. Bell, "Women Elders", 2. Bell claimed that he was not suggesting women were inferior or unwelcome in the AoG ministry, but only that men and women were meant to function in 'separate spheres' of ministry. See E.N. Bell, "Women Welcome", *Christian Evangel* (Feb. 13, 1915), 2.

221 Carothers in Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 360.

222 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 196.

223 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 199.

224 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 197-8. The early AoG recognised four different ministerial offices: elder, evangelist, exhorter, and deacon. Women, as evangelists, were not allowed to perform marriages, communion, or funerals except for cases of emergency when no male minister was present.

225 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 227-229. Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 368-370.

Aimee Semple McPherson

The story of Aimee Semple McPherson, one of American Pentecostalism's most famous evangelists, is important for two reasons: 1) McPherson possessed a prophetic and positive social witness, and 2) McPherson's brief association with the AoG highlights the increasing hostility of the latter towards women in positions of leadership and authority.

A native of Ontario, Canada, Aimee Semple McPherson was a missionary to China, a popular North American evangelist, editor of *Bridal Call* magazine, author of numerous books, and founder of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (and its headquarters, the famous Angelus Temple in Los Angeles).[226] From her mother, who was a member of the Salvation Army, McPherson learned a practical religiosity, i.e. a kind of Christianity which considered both spiritual and material ministry to the poor, the oppressed, and the sick to be essential. In the fall of 1910, McPherson worked with her mother in a Salvation Army Rescue Mission in New York.[227] In her travelling ministry, she made special efforts to visit the cotton and tobacco fields of the South, where she held integrated and multi-cultural camp meetings for the impoverished workers.[228] By January, 1923, McPherson had built her own 5,300-seat church, called Angelus Temple, in Los Angeles, and had settled down to assume pastoral duties. In August of 1927, the Temple opened its "Bureau of Faith, Hope, and Charity", which was a commissary aimed at assisting primarily those immigrants who did not yet qualify for state or county welfare. By the end of its first year, the commissary had given food to 17,148 people and clothing to 3463 families. The volunteers of the commissary, the 'City Sisters' as they were called, also visited needy families, evangelised, helped the unemployed to find work, produced and distributed quilts (an average of 200 per year), and mended worn clothing. The work of the commissary intensified during the Depression, with the development of a full-

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226 For a biographical sketch on McPherson, see Cecil M. Robeck, "Aimee Semple McPherson" in *DPCM*, 568-71.

227 Robeck, "McPherson", 569.

228 Gregg D. Townsend, "The Material Dream of Aimee Semple McPherson: A Lesson in Pentecostal Spirituality", *Pneuma* 14:2 (Fall, 1992), 174-5.

fledged Angelus employment office. During the 1930's, an average of 100 people each month found jobs through this office. In December of 1931, the 'Angelus Temple Free Dining Hall' began serving daily meals to the unemployed, with 80,000 meals served in its first two months of existence. Angelus members with automobiles were encouraged to join the "Foursquare Automobile Club", a volunteer driving service for medical emergencies and visitation ministries. A total of 24 separate departments developed within the commissary, with the 24 chairmen of all departments (all of which were women) reporting to McPherson on a monthly basis. By the end of the Depression, the Bureau of Faith, Hope, and Charity had fed and clothed about one and a half million people.[229] McPherson's social activism demonstrates how the early Pentecostal belief system could support and even intensify a burden for helping the oppressed, the poor, the sick, and the marginalised.

In 1919, McPherson was ordained as an 'evangelist' in the AoG. In 1920, she preached to the General Council meeting.[230] Like most of the women in the early AoG who had a strong ministry and a large following (e.g. Carrie Judd Montgomery), McPherson built up her work and reputation prior to affiliation with the AoG, and she carried on largely independent of the AoG even after her ordination. As evidenced by her work and writings, she saw herself as called, ordained, and anointed by God, and she compared her call to that of the Old Testament prophets.[231] Consequently, whatever denominational credentials she might receive were of relatively little importance to her and to most of her followers.[232] Many among the AoG executives had difficulty endorsing such a famous woman evangelist who did not subordinate herself or her ministry to recognised male authority. McPherson returned her AoG credentials in January of 1922, and while other issues were involved in her resignation, the AoG's increasing distaste for 'insubordinate' female ministers

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229 This account of the Angelus Temple Commissary was based on Townsend, "Material Dream", 176-183.

230 Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 250-1.

231 Aimee Semple McPherson, *This is That: Personal Experiences, Sermons, and Writings* (Los Angeles: Echo Park Evangelistic Association, Inc., 1923), 69-79; and Barfoot and Sheppard, "Prophetic", 5-7.

232 This is attested to by the fact that she held many credentials from different Holiness and Pentecostal groups simultaneously, including the Methodist Episcopal Church and the First Baptist Church in San Jose. See Robeck, "McPherson", 569.

was perhaps the most important factor.[233]

Early Assemblies of God and the Issue of War

In order to understand the attitudes of AoG leaders and members to war and patriotism, one must probe into the tension which early Pentecostals experienced between a Christian's 'heavenly citizenship' and his or her 'earthly citizenship'.[234] The millennarian-restorationist core of early Pentecostalism emphasised the priority of a Christian's heavenly citizenship for at least two reasons: 1) restorationism held up the pre-Constantinian Church as the ideal, and condemned the fourth century marriage between the church and the Roman state as an apostasy; and 2) expectation of an imminent rapture encouraged Pentecostals to identify themselves as virtual citizens of heaven. Pentecostals aimed to form an alternative community and culture which reflected heaven and rejected earthly entanglements. We have seen above how such an ethos led Charles Parham and Frank Bartleman to espouse pacifism and eschew patriotism or nationalism. The same ethos is reflected in some early articles published in AoG periodicals, as well as in the group's attempt, in the spring of 1917, to secure exemptions from military service for all AoG pacifists. However, the AoG was not uniformly pacifist, since many of its leaders and members also believed strongly in the need to fulfill the duties of one's earthly citizenship, i.e. to obey the divinely ordained leaders of one's country and to support any war effort they might launch.

When some pro-British and pro-war editorials from a British Pentecostal magazine found their way into the December 1914 issue of the *Christian Evangel*, pacifist Pentecostals such as Burt McCafferty and Frank Bartleman responded by publishing articles which stressed the need to place heavenly citizenship above earthly citizenship.[235] Bartleman wrote his famous article

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233 Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 252, 368.

234 The concept of 'citizenship' is used by Blumhofer in her discussion of Pentecostal views on war. See Blumhofer, *Restoring*, 144.

235 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 295-7. Although Frank Bartleman never affiliated with the AoG, he published many articles in its periodicals and was very influential. For excerpts from the British editorials see Roger Robins, "A Chronology of Peace: Attitudes Toward War and Peace in the Assemblies of God: 1914-1918", *Pneuma* 6:1 (Spring, 1984), 4-5. For exerpts from McCafferty's article, see Robins, "Chronology", 6-7.

"Present Day Conditions", in which he describes the sinking of the Lusitania as God's righteous judgment upon America for its sale of arms to the European Allies.[236] The same month, the *Weekly Evangel* published a cover story about the efforts of British Pentecostal leader Alexander Boddy (a supporter of the war) to minister to the British soldiers at war. Directly following this article, however, was an editorial disclaimer which declared that "the Pentecostal people, as a whole, are uncompromisingly opposed to war, having much the same spirit as the early Quakers". The editorial went on to recommend a strongly pacifist book by Arthur Sydney Booth-Clibborn (a member of the Salvation Army and son-in-law to William Booth), entitled *Blood Against Blood*.[237] In the Fall of 1915, Stanley Frodsham (future editor of the *Pentecostal Evangel*) published his article "Our Heavenly Citizenship", in which he condemns war and "national pride" from the point of view that "the cross of Jesus Christ is the place where the saint and the world separate forever".[238] Other pacifist articles followed, including two more by Bartleman and two by A.S. Booth-Clibborn.[239]

This pacifist sentiment culminated in the Spring of 1917, when the Executive Presbytery of the AoG decided to submit a pacifist resolution to the federal government in order to qualify its members for conscientious objection. The resolution, printed in the August 4, 1917 *Weekly Evangel*, based Pentecostal pacifism on the strict adherence to Biblical commands such as 'Thou shalt not kill' and 'Love your enemies'. The concluding paragraph reads,

> THEREFORE we, as a body of Christians, while purposing to fulfill all the obligations of loyal citizenship, are nevertheless constrained to declare we cannot conscientiously participate in war and armed resistance which involves the actual destruction of human life, since this is contrary to our view of the clear teachings of the inspired Word of God, which is the sole basis for our faith.[240]

Whether or not the 1917 pacifist resolution indeed was representative of the

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236 Frank Bartleman, "Present Day Conditions", *Weekly Evangel* (June 5, 1915), 3.

237 "A.A. Boddy Goes to the Front" *Weekly Evangel* (June 19, 1915), 1; and "Pentecostal Saints Opposed to War" *Weekly Evangel* (June 19, 1915), 1.

238 Stanley H. Frodsham, "Our Heavenly Citizenship", *Weekly Evangel* (Sept. 11, 1915), 3. Also printed in *Word and Witness* (Oct., 1915), 3.

239 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 298, 305.

240 "The Pentecostal Movement and the Conscription Law," *Weekly Evangel* (Aug. 4, 1917), 6.

AoG membership, as it purported to be, is a matter for further research.[241] However, the primary purpose of the document was not to declare pacifism an AoG 'fundamental', but rather to secure the privilege of a legal exemption for those AoG members who actually had adopted pacifism. In a letter to the president of the United States, Stanley Frodsham explained that the resolution was not intended to "discourage enlistment of any, even of our own people, whose conscientious principles are not involved".[242] Thus, the matter of participation in war was ultimately left up to the conscience of the individual AoG member.

Moderate and even pro-war sentiments had always co-existed with pacifism in the AoG. At least some early AoG members must have been swayed by the moral rhetoric and patriotic fervour of World War I.[243] Judging from the negative reaction of certain *Evangel* readers to some of Bartleman's writings, it is evident that radical pacifism was not the uniformly held position among AoG members.[244] Indeed, pacifism may have been a minority view, held only by a few prophetic Pentecostal leaders.[245] The two primary factors mitigating against pacifism in the early movement were 1) the AoG, with its focus on evangelisation, saw military chaplaincy or ministry to be a good opportunity to spread the Gospel; and 2) many members and leaders of the AoG were concerned with obeying the Biblical command (and the social pressure) to "be subject to the governing authorities".[246] Loyalty to the government became a central concern of the AoG after the passing of the Espionage Bill (June 15, 1917) and, a year later, the Sedition Act (both of which

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241 According to Robins, the resolution did represent the majority view (Robins, "Chronology", 20, 23-4). Murray Dempster, on the other hand, proposes that the resolution represents the view of a prophetic minority in the movement's leadership (Murray Dempster, Book Review, *Pneuma* 11:1 [Fall, 1989],62-3).

242 "The Pentecostal Movement and the Conscription Law", 6.

243 As Blumhofer notes, some Pentecostals identified themselves more as 'Christian soldiers' than as 'pilgrims' or 'citizens of heaven'. Pentecostal rhetoric and hymnody were replete with images of 'spiritual' warfare against the powers of darkness (Blumhofer, *Assemblies*, 344-7, 354-5). If one identified God's cause with the Allied cause (as some did), then 'spiritual' warfare could easily slide into military warfare. Such an identification, however, is significantly at odds with the counter-cultural Pentecostalism based on millennarian-restorationism.

244 Robins, "Chronology", 12-13.

245 Dempster, Book Review, 62-3.

246 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 310-312, 396. The Scripture quotation is from Romans 13:1.

made expressions of pacifism a punishable offence). E.N. Bell, then editor of the *Weekly Evangel*, became the champion of loyalty to the government.[247] In the June 1918 edition of his periodical, Bell wrote an article in which he not only averred the scriptural basis for fidelity to the powers that be, but also portrayed the war as "a war of godly indignation at the atrocities of unspeakable tyranny."[248] In August, Bell destroyed all copies of Frank Bartleman's tract 'Present Day Conditions', declaring it treasonable and radical.[249] Bell's editorials and articles led the General Council, in its September 1918 meeting, to issue an official resolution affirming loyalty to the government.[250] Such evidence suggests that the AoG was moving from an emphasis on heavenly citizenship to an emphasis on earthly citizenship and its concomitant duties and responsibilities. In contrast to Bartleman's admonition to 'obey God, rather than men', Bell declares that "'the powers that be are ordained of God,' and if we resist them we 'resist God.'"[251]

With the end of World War I, the debate over pacifism lost much of its significance. In Britain, Pentecostal pacifism was sustained by such leaders as Donald Gee, whose life and thought had a tremendous influence upon North American as well as European Pentecostals. Yet AoG leaders continued to move away from a Pentecostal counter-cultural ethos and a Pentecostal pacifism. E.N. Bell assumed the chair of the General Council from 1920 to his death in 1923. In 1927, with the codification of all AoG resolutions into a formal constitution, changes were made to the 1917 pacifist resolution in which the concluding paragraph became a proclamation of loyalty to the government rather than a pacifist declaration.[252] From 1929 to 1948, another conservative Pentecostal, E.S. Williams, became chairman (or 'General Superintendent', as the post came to be called) and led the AoG away from counter-culturalism and millennarian fervour towards a more 'respectable' and patriotic ethos. Due to the delay of the rapture, Williams did not emphasise heavenly citizenship as a

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247 Bell was not among the executive presbyters when the 1917 resolution was drafted and submitted.

248 E.N. Bell, "Loyalty Bonds", *Christian Evangel* (June 1, 1918), 8.

249 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 317.

250 *General Council Minutes* (Sept.4-11, 1918), 9.

251 Bell, "Loyalty", 8.

252 Kenyon, *Analysis*, 327-8.

present reality (as many earlier Pentecostals had done), but rather as a future hope.[253] Between the two World Wars, many Pentecostals moved from seeing themselves as living already in 'the New Age of the Spirit' to seeing themselves as living 'in between the ages'. As the millennarian-restorationist core of Pentecostalism weakened, members of the AoG began to rethink the problem of Christ's relation to culture. Many of them followed Williams' example by accommodating to the culture-Protestantism of the United States. Allegiance to one's heavenly citizenship was confined to the recognised religious sphere (e.g. Sunday worship service and prayer), whereas allegiance to one's earthly citizenship was demanded in the public sphere of daily life. Both Bell and Williams were moderates, not fervent patriots or pro-war activists, but their concern for fidelity to the government paved the way for the disappearance of pacific belief among AoG members -- a process virtually complete by World War II. In 1967, the 1917 pacifist resolution was erased from the AoG's constitution.[254]

The Assemblies of God and Evangelicals

From its birth in 1914 until its incorporation into the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in 1942, the AoG gradually moved away from its Holiness roots and its millennarian-restorationist core in order to identify more closely with fundamentalism.[255] Fundamentalists rejected the early Pentecostal movement because, according to Scofield Dispensationalism, they believed that the *charismata* (e.g. speaking in tongues and divine healing) had ceased with the end of the New Testament age. Pentecostals, on the other hand, had identified themselves early on as "fundamentalists *plus*", i.e. fundamentalists who believed in the continuation of the *charismata* .[256] Pentecostals shared with fundamentalists a belief in the divine inspiration and authority of Scripture, an antipathy towards modernity, a deep suspicion of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, and a fascination with the apocalyptic significance of

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[253] Kenyon, *Analysis*, 330-332; and Beaman, *Pentecostal Pacifism*, 77-81.

[254] Kenyon, *Analysis*, 396-7.

[255] Zachary M. Tackett, "More than Fundamentalists: Fundamentalist Influences within the Assemblies of God, 1914-1942" (paper presented at the SPS, March, 1997, Oakland, CA), 4.

[256] Tackett, "More", 5-6.

current events (based on a shared premillennialism). However, early Pentecostalism had arisen, in large part, as a reaction against the same formalism, creedalism, and rationalism found in fundamentalism. In spite of this, AoG leaders, in their attempt to move their church out of social and religious isolation, increasingly relied upon fundamentalist concepts and literature in the development of the AoG's statement of faith, in its Bible College curriculum, and in its theological writings.[257]

Fundamentalist themes had grown strong enough in the AoG by 1942 that when meetings were held in St. Louis to discuss a cooperative fellowship of moderate fundamentalists (often called 'Neo-evangelicals' or simply 'evangelicals'), the AoG was invited to participate. The National Association of Evangelicals was formed in April of 1942, and it was determined to downplay the radical separatism of early fundamentalism and promote 'united action' in such areas as the legal separation of church and state, religious radio broadcasting, public relations, evangelism, foreign missions, and Christian education.[258] The formation of the NAE was an attempt by moderate fundamentalists to enter the realm of mainline Protestantism, and the AoG's courtship of the NAE reveals the former's sympathy for middle-class values and its aspiration towards the mainstream.

Leaders of the NAE, such as Harold John Ockenga, viewed America as a divinely chosen and elite nation, but a nation whose preservation required the revival of evangelical religion and culture.[259] This vision coincided with that of the AoG, which had been increasingly setting aside its counter-culturalism and its millennarian-restorationism in order to focus upon its evangelistic and missionary projects. The AoG also began to move away, tentatively, from its apoliticism, but under the influence of the NAE the AoG tended to support right-wing policies and middle-class American values.[260] Thus, while association with the NAE has helped Pentecostal missions and evangelism, it also represents a further step away from important Pentecostal distinctives; both

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257 On fundamentalist influence on the AoG's statement of Fundamental and Essential Truths, see Tackett, "More", 10-14. On fundamentalist influence in AoG theological writings see 14-19.

258 Blumhofer, *Assemblies Vol.2*, 23-4.

259 Blumhofer, *Assemblies Vol.2*, 29-31.

260 C.M. Robeck, "National Association of Evangelicals", in *DPCM*, 635.

distinctives of belief (such as millennarian-restorationism) and distinctives of social witness (such as pacifism and social equality).[261]

Discussion and Conclusions

In its pre-organisational and formative years, the AoG was marked by the same ambiguous social witness as the early Pentecostal movement as a whole. As adherents of a millennarian-restorationist movement, early Pentecostals struggled to live every moment as if they were simultaneously 1) God's Heavenly Church, and 2) a revival of the New Testament Church. Consequently, early Pentecostals identified with a counter-cultural Gospel, or, as Niebuhr puts it, with a 'Christ against culture'.[262] From such a radical position, early Pentecostals in the AoG developed some prophetic views on pacifism and gender equality. One cannot escape the influence of culture entirely, however, as is demonstrated by the prevalence of racial segregationism in the AoG from the group's inception. Furthermore, normative views on 'separate spheres' for women, as well as nationalist and patriotic sentiments, co-existed with their prophetic counterparts from the very beginning of the AoG. As the AoG became increasingly structured, its leaders listened less to prophetic voices and relied more on socially acceptable standards of Christian ministry and orthodoxy. As the group sought out respectability and some measure of acceptance within mainstream Protestantism, those elements of its social witness which most separated the AoG from American culture Protestantism (including its inter-racial heritage, its gender equality, and its pacifism) were downplayed. 'Christ against culture' weakened as the 'Christ of culture' gained in strength.[263]

In the case of the AoG, the 'Christ of culture' was especially the Christ of the evangelical middle-class. In the process of accommodating to Neo-evangelicalism, the AoG closed the door on the millennarian-restorationist core

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261 D. William Faupel, "Whither Pentecostalism?", *Pneuma* 15:1 (Spring, 1995), 22-7.

262 H.Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), 40-1, 45-51.

263 'Christ of culture' is a type adhered to by culture-Protestantism. According to this type, Christ represents what is best in (especially Western) civilisation. Thus, the Gospel is seen to promote democratic government, law and order, and the American way of life. No substantial disagreement exists between the spirit and directives of the Gospel and the cultural *status quo*. See Niebuhr, *Christ*, 41, 83-8.

which had given it its early vitality and prophetic social witness. In losing its identity as a counter-cultural church, it may have gained numerical strength and social respectability, but the AoG lost its potential to bear a radical, corporate moral witness to the world on behalf of Jesus Christ.[264] While, as H.R. Niebuhr suggests, it may be neither possible nor desirable to maintain a *completely* counter-cultural church, we are left to wonder whether the 'mature' social witness of the AoG might have been more positive had it chosen to nurture and cultivate its early prophetic roots rather than to graft itself into the Neo-evangelical movement, with its overwhelmingly conservative values and right-wing political views.

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[264] Murray W. Dempster, "Reassessing the Moral Rhetoric of Early American Pentecostal Pacifism", *Crux* 26:1 (March 1990), 32-3.

Conclusion

Throughout the history of the Holiness and Pentecostal movements, the radical 'Christ against culture' and the conservative 'Christ of culture' views have remained in dynamic tension with each other. In the antebellum Holiness movement, the radical element manifested itself most notably in abolitionism; however, the 'Christ of culture' position was apparent in the movement's vision of a 'Christian America'. Holiness adherents of the antebellum period did not see themselves as members of a counter-culture or an alternative community, but rather as workers in the 'New Jerusalem'. They understood the technological, social, and political progress of America and the plan of God to be one and the same. Consequently, the social witness of the antebellum Holiness movement included much political reform and social activism, but little fundamental questioning of the basic structure and direction of American society (e.g. industrial capitalism and individualism). On the level of overt action, the early Holiness movement appears more socially responsible than any of its offspring. However, this interest in 'social responsibility' derived as much from the general idealism and reformism of middle-class America as from the Gospel, and more from an interest in maintaining progress than from a desire to fulfill the prophetic role of the church. It is unlikely that the early Holiness movement would have adopted any social cause that the majority of conservative, middle-class American evangelicals had not already embraced.

After the Civil War, the Holiness movement largely divorced itself from American culture. With the rise of premillennialism, American 'progress' was increasingly interpreted as moral, spiritual, and social degeneration. America would not build the Golden Age, but rather God would build His Kingdom after America and the entire world order had been destroyed in the end-time battle of Armageddon. This new distance between the Holiness movement and American culture gave the movement the potential to serve a prophetic role in condemning the injustices of modern society. However, rather than embrace its new-found marginality as a prophetic opportunity, the postbellum Holiness movement retained its attachment to the evangelical consensus of the early 19th century. Standing with the 'Christ against culture' view, the postbellum movement condemned the advance of modernity, but, standing with the 'Christ

of culture' approach, the movement held up the culture of early 19th century 'Christian America' as the standard to be protected. As a consequence, not only did the overt social and political activism of the Holiness movement decline, but its adherents continued to espouse the individualism and middle-class values of their antebellum predecessors. The transfer of this stunted social witness to the burgeoning fundamentalist movement accounts for the latter's aversion for, or even hostility towards, social concerns.

The Pentecostal movement inherited much from the postbellum Holiness movement, but, as a millennarian-restorationist revival, early Pentecostalism was more counter-cultural, prophetic, and radical than its Holiness parent. Identification with the New Testament Church encouraged early Pentecostalism to divorce itself completely from culture, past, present, and future, and become an alternative Christian community. Millennarian fervour and the belief that they were on the brink of heaven led many Pentecostals to reject the social norms and divisions of the day. These Pentecostals adopted a vision of social equality, peace, and justice which they believed characterised the Kingdom of Heaven (and which should guide those Christians who already considered themselves 'citizens of heaven'). Overt social work was still carried out by leaders such as Carrie Judd Montgomery and Finis E. Yoakum, but perhaps the most radical features of the Pentecostal social witness were its racial and gender egalitarianism, its pacifism, and its anti-capitalism. As a counter-cultural community, its very existence held revolutionary potential.

Despite the prophetic elements in the early social witness of Pentecostalism, the 'Christ of culture' approach had never been forsaken completely by Pentecostals. In deference to the Jim Crow codes of the day, Charles Parham never abandoned racial segregationism. In fact, after his visit to Azusa Street, Parham became a hardened racist and an advocate of 'proper decorum' and social order. In addition, Frank Bartleman, while embracing racial equality, declared *gender* equality to be a sign of the growing anarchy and sinfulness of the world in the last days. Furthermore, although men like Parham and Bartleman did condemn the evils of capitalism, early Pentecostalism never developed anything like a systematic critique of capitalism and individualism. Indeed, early Pentecostalism did not develop any

aspect of its social witness in a systematic or self-conscious way; consequently, the prophetic 'seedlings' of early Pentecostalism were not properly cultivated, and they did not grow into a full-fledged Pentecostal social ethic.

In its formative years, the Assemblies of God bore witness to the tension between the counter-cultural and the conservative dimensions of Pentecostalism. Although accommodating to the racial segregation found in American society at large, the early AoG did contain a few prophetic voices on such issues as war, patriotism, and women in the ministry. As the group organised, institutionalised, sought out the respect of the wider culture, and rose in the socio-economic ladder, however, the AoG ceased to listen to prophetic voices and began to conform its theology and social witness to the norms of fundamentalism and middle-class Neo-evangelicalism. In the process, the millennarian-restorationism at the core of early Pentecostalism was downplayed, while AoG members came to think of themselves as simply fundamentalists or evangelicals who believed an extra doctrine (i.e. the doctrine of speaking in tongues). This accommodation led the AoG to adopt a social witness similar to that of the postbellum Holiness movement; i.e. a social witness highly suspicious of social concerns and deeply concerned with defending the values and behavioural norms of 19th century 'Christian America'.

Since the 1970's, evangelicals in America have begun to address the Biblical mandate to serve the poor and seek out social justice, and Pentecostals, to some extent, have piggy-backed on this project. However, in order for Pentecostals to begin to develop a distinctly Pentecostal social witness (i.e. a social witness grounded in the millennarian-restorationist core of the movement), they must rediscover the prophetic roots of their movement through historical and theological inquiry. As Pentecostals struggle to develop a mature and authentic Pentecostal identity in the face of rapid accommodation and institutionalisation, they must include a concern and a burden for the poor and the oppressed within that Pentecostal identity.

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