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<p>MANUS: Redaktør vil bistå med ferdig dokumentmal i Word format. Manus leveres på diskett. Noter skrives som fotnoter.</p> <p>Signerte artikler gir ikke nødvendigvis uttrykk for redaksjonens syn.</p>	

Forord

Det har gått nærmere ett år siden forrige utgivelse av tidsskriftet *Refleks*, men mye har likevel skjedd i denne perioden. Blant annet er det blitt utgitt to *bøker*. Mer informasjon vil du finne på hjemmesiden www.refleks-publishing.com. Det jobbes for øvrig med enda en bok, en *bibliografi*, som planlegges ferdigstilt i løpet av inneværende år.

Siden tidsskriftets oppstart i 2002 har det vært foretatt layoutmessige forbedringer. Dette gjelder først og fremst for forsidens vedkommende. For at virksomheten skal bære seg økonomisk, må nå abonnementsprisen økes fra 100,- til 120,- pr. nummer. Dette skyldes ikke minst høyere portotakster, idet tidsskriftet nå veier over 350 gram.

Dette nummer av tidsskriftet *Refleks* er temamessig et åpent nummer. Innledningsartikkelen gir et historisk oversiktsbilde over amerikansk pinsebevegelse fram til om lag 1920 hvor de viktigste læreforskjellene innen bevegelsen var avklart. Artikkelen følges opp av Harold D. Hunters nærstudium av pinesamfunnet Church of God of Prophecy. Deretter følger to biografiske portrettskildringer av de to Keswick-innfluerte forkynnerne Andrew Murray og T. Austin-Sparks.

Paul L. King er tilbake med en ny artikkel og skriver i dette nummer om hvordan kristne i ulike tidsperioder har stilt seg til fenomenet åndsutfrielse. Mange av oss møtte problematikken i ulike norske karismatikermiljøer på 70- og 80-tallet. Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen gir innblikk i de økumeniske læresamtalene som har pågått siden 1972 mellom Den romersk katolske kirke og en rekke pinseteologer. Og Allan H. Anderson presenterer pinsebevegelsen og den karismatiske fornyelsen i Storbritannia. Artikkelen etterfølges av tre lesverdige bokanmeldelser.

God lesning!

Gæss hie

Pinsebevegelsen i USA fram til omlag 1920 - et historisk riss

Geir Lie er lektorutdannet med kristendomskunnskap hovedfag fra Det teologiske Menighetsfakultet i Oslo.



Både den klassiske pinsebevegelse og den neo-pentekostale (eller karismatiske) fornyelsesbevegelses eksplosive vekst i den såkalt tredje verden er kjent blant mange. Tilsvarende kjent er at begge bevegelser har sin opprinnelse i USA. Det er den første av disse som i denne artikkelen vil bli gjenstand for mine betraktninger. Bevegelsen følges fram til om lag 1920 da de viktigste læresørsmål synes å være avklart.

Pinsebevegelsens tidfestelse er lett å huske – 1. januar 1901. Agnes N. Ozman, elev ved Charles F. Parhams bibelskole i Topeka, Kansas ba sistnevnte om å be for henne med håndspåleggelse for at hun skulle motta Ånden og istandsettes til misjonsgjerningen: “A halo seemed to surround her head and face [,] and she began speaking in the Chinese language and was unable to speak English for three days.”¹

Senere pinseskribenter har i sin idyllisering av bevegelsens opprinnelse betont de mer oppsiktsvekkende sidene. G.E. Söderholm gjengir ukritisk fra flere av disse når han hevder at Ozman, “några minuter före midnatt” gjorde sin pinseerfaring,² en alludering til den romantiske forestillingen om at Ozmans glossolalierfaring inntrådte “precisely during the hour when the old century passed into history and the new one dawned.”³ Parhams biograf, J.R. Goff, mener dog at Ozmans opplevelse må tidfestes et døgn *senere*, altså like før 2. januar! Goff tar videre et berettiget oppgjør med forestillingen at pinsebevegelsen ikke hadde noen grunnlegger, men var et suverent verk av Guds Ånd. Parham selv må ta mye av skylden for denne seiglivede forestilling. Om mange av Parhams elever hevdet allerede å være blitt delaktiggjort i den erfaring som hellighetsbevegelsen kalte “dåp i Den

¹ James R. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest. Charles F. Parham and The Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988) s. 67.

² G.E. Söderholm, *Den svenska pingstväckelsens historia 1907-1927*. Del I (Stockholm: Förlaget Filadelfia, 2. uppl., 1929) s. 160.

³ Goff, *ibid.* s. 69.

Hellige Ånd”, skal Parham ha vært oberbevist om at så ikke var tilfelle. Han hevder å ha gitt dem i oppdrag å granske Det nye testamentes lære om “åndsdåpen”, hva som konstituerer denne erfaring og kriteriet for å vite at man selv hadde gjort den samme erfaring. Tre dager senere, idet Parham vendte tilbake etter en møtserie i Kansas City, skal han angivelig ha kalt elevene sammen for å få del i resultatet av deres nytestamentlige granskninger: “To my astonishment they all had the same story, that while there were different things occurred [sic] when the Pentecostal blessing fell, that the indisputable proof on each occasion was, that they spake with other tongues.”⁴

Sannheten er dog at Parham på forhånd hadde plantet den nye innsikten i sine elever. Som disse hadde også Parham sin læremessige forankring i hellighetsbevegelsen. Modellert etter Charles C. Cullis i Boston og John Alexander Dowie utenfor Chicago etablerte Parham Beth-el Healing Home i Topeka i 1898. Her kunne syke få bibelundervisning og motta forbønn.

I februar 1900 overvar han et møte med Edward Doughty og Victor Burton, som var utsendt av hellighetsforkynneren Frank Weston Sandford (1862-1948). Sandford selv dukket opp i Topeka få måneder senere, og Parham var så imponert over sistnevntes forkynnelse at han reiste videre med ham, fullt bestemt på å begynne ved dennes bibelskole i Maine. Parham tilbrakte 6 uker ved Sandfords hovedkvarter i Maine, men rakk også en tur innom Dowies menighet i Chicago og A.B. Simpsons bibelskole i Nyack, New York.

Idet Parham vendte tilbake til Topeka i september og fant seg selv utestengt fra Beth-el Healing Home og derfor startet en ny bibelskole, Bethel Gospel School, tok han med seg en rekke læremessige impulser fra Sandford. Ikke for det, allerede i 1899 hadde han i sitt nylig etablerte tidsskrift, *The Apostolic Faith*, referert til en av Sandfords tilhengere, frøken Jennie Glassie, som på overnaturlig vis angivelig hadde mottatt tungemåls-gaven og slik fått effektivisert misjonsgjeringer i Afrika: “Glassy [...] received the African dialect. [...] She received the gift while in the Spirit in 1895 but could read and write, translate and sing the language while out of the trance or in a normal condition, and can until now.”⁵

⁴ Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited. The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1992) s. 53.

⁵ David William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel. The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) s. 174.

Parham delte Sandfords overbevisning om at Jesu snarlige komme stod for døren, og at dette Jesu komme ville foranlediges av en verdensvid vekkelse båret fram av en endetidsmenighet som levde i fyllden av de velsignelser Kristus hadde tilveiebrakt for en. Forskjellen mellom Sandford og Parham var dog at Sandford anså tungetalen som kun en av flere mulige manifestasjonsytringer som fulgte endetidsmenigheten. Parham, derimot, var overbevist om at tungetalen var (1) selve nøkkelen til evangeliets verdensvide utbredelse, som i sin tur igjen ville resultere i Jesu gjenkomst – og (2) dessuten selve kriteriet for at den troende kunne vite at han/hun hadde mottatt “dåpen i Den Hellige Ånd”.

Sannsynligvis må dissensen mellom Parham og Sandford, iallfall delvis, forstås utfra førstnevntes knefall for en annen hellighetsforkynner, Benjamin Hardin Irwin. Irwin bifalt ikke bare “entire sanctification” læren – at den troende i etterkant av gjenfødselen kunne få del i en spesifikk hellighetserfaring, slik denne ble forkynt innen den metodistiske fløy av hellighetsbevegelsen. Gud hadde nemlig også en tredje erfaring (i etterkant av frelsen) i vente for den oppriktige troende – nemlig “dåpen med Den Hellige Ånd og ild”.

Jeg har i en tidligere artikkel redegjort for ulike oppfatninger innen amerikansk hellighetsbevegelse hva angår spørsmålet hva som konstituerte erfaringen “dåp i Den Hellige Ånd”. De fleste identifiserte erfaringen med en spesifikk hellighetserfaring. Andre igjen mente åndsdaåpen henspeilet på en spesifikk kraftutrustning til evangelisk virke. Irwins “third blessing heresy”, som den påståtte ånds erfaringen ble omtalt som av mange innenfor den bredere hellighetsbevegelsen, var dog mindre håndfast – om enn Irwin selv hevdet å ha mottatt “velsignelsen” tidlig på 1890-tallet. Det synes som om kriteriet for å vite at man hadde hatt tilsvarende erfaring var av forholdsvis skjønsmessig-emosjonell art. J.R. Goff skriver i den anledning: “Quite often, seekers receiving this third Christian experience exhibited an emotional release and, flooded with religious joy, they would shout, scream, or experience the ‘jerks.’”⁶

Som Goff også påpeker, forkynte også Parham – for en periode - denne tredje velsignelse. Selv om Parham i 1901 ikke lenger forkynte dette, var han gjennom Irwin like fullt blitt introdusert for en lære som skjelnet mellom hellighetserfaringen og “dåp i Den Hellige Ånd”. Sistnevnte og “dåpen i ild” var for Irwin beslektede fenomener, men dog ikke identiske, idet “åndsdaåpen” gikk forut for

⁶ Goff, *ibid.* s. 54.

“ilddåpen”. Parham anerkjente til sist – fremdeles som Irwin – en ytterligere ånderfaring i etterkant av hellighetserfaringen. Denne ble dog eksklusivt identifisert med uttrykket “dåp i Den Hellige Ånd” og bevirket en særskilt kraftutrustning til evangelisk virke. Kriteriet for å vite at man hadde hatt denne erfaringen var frigjøringen av tungetale.

Benjamin H. Irwin	frelse	(1) hellighetserfaring	(2) dåp i Den Hellige Ånd	(3) dåp i ild
Charles F. Parham	frelse	(1) hellighetserfaring	(2) dåp i Den Hellige Ånd	

Under Parhams rundreise sammen med Sandford hadde han oppsøkt flere av de mest toneangivende lederskikkelsene i hellighetsbevegelsen. Han kom imidlertid til at alle disse, til tross for eget vitnesbyrd om det motsatte, ikke hadde hatt en genuin opplevelse av “dåp i Den Hellige Ånd”. Noen av dem tok feil fordi de angivelig ikke skjelnet mellom hellighetserfaringen (som fjernet syndenaturen) og åndsdaopen, mens andre trodde de hadde del i sistnevnte mens de, ifølge Parham, kun hadde fått del i “the full anointing that abideth” (Joh 20,22).⁷

Pinseopplevelsene i Topeka, Kansas

Til tross for hyppig, om ikke nødvendigvis *positiv*, presseomtale i lokalavisene fordi bibelskoleelevene hevdet å kunne uttrykke seg, muntlig som skriftlig, på fremmede språk, lot den verdensvide vekkelsen vente på seg. I optimistiske vendinger fortalte dog Parham nyhetshungrige journalister at en rekke forkynnere med misjonskall hadde søkt om opptak ved bibelskolen i Topeka for på overnaturlig vis å få del i det eller de språk som var nødvendig(e) for å gjøre seg forstått på misjonsmarken!

Parhams optimisme skulle vise seg å være ubegrunnet. Bibelskolen ble avvirket, og Parham tok nå opp omreisende evangelistvirksomhet. I El Dorado Springs, Missouri bad han til helbredelse for Mary A. Arthur fra Galena, Kansas. Parham

⁷ Faupel, *ibid.* s. 168.

fikk kort tid deretter forkynnerinvitasjon til hennes hjemby og ankom på høsten 1903. Galena-besøket skulle vise seg å bli et vendepunkt hvor om lag 800 personer tilkjennegav en kristen omvendelse, over tusen troende hevdet å ha mottatt helbredelse ved bønn og flere hundre mottok tungemålgaven. Også pressen ble fra nå av, iallfall til tider, mer vennligsinnet overfor Parham.

I juli 1905 ble det første evangelistiske fremstøt foretatt i Houston, Texas. Som i Galena, ble fremstøtet i Houston for Parham en suksess med bemerkelsesverdige helbredelser og utbrudd av tungetale, angivelig på forståelige språk. I desember samme året startet Parham opp en ti-ukers bibelskole i byen.

Lucy F. Farrow, pastor for en afro-amerikansk hellighetsmenighet i Houston, hadde innsatt William Joseph Seymour som hennes stedfortreder mens hun i løpet av en 2-måneders periode reiste sammen med Parham og samtidig fungerte som familiens guvernante. Hun hadde i denne perioden mottatt åndsåpen og talte i tunger. Seymours nysgjerrighet overfor Parhams pinsebudskap ble vakt gjennom Farrow, og han fikk Parhams tillatelse til å ta del i bibelskolens forkynnelse; det vil si at Parhams sensitivitet i forhold til “local Jim Crow statutes and yet sympathetic to the spread of Pentecostal doctrine among blacks”,⁸ som Goff korrekt påpeker, bevirket at Seymour fikk lov til å sitte i et tilstøtende rom – med døren åpen slik at han kunne fange opp hva som ble formidlet i naborommet!

Seymour lot seg umiddelbart begeistre, men hadde selv ikke mottatt åndsåpen da han i slutten av januar 1906 mottok invitasjon fra Los Angeles om å bli pastor for en liten hellighetsmenighet der med tilknytning til the Southern California

⁸ Goff, *ibid.* s. 107. Uttrykket “Jim Crow” synes å ha oppstått rundt 1830 i forbindelse med sangen “Jump Jim Crow” – hvis hovedbudskap var å karikere den afrikanske rase. “Jim Crow” ble etter hvert forstått som en rasistisk slengbemerking, og på slutten av 1900-tallet ble rasistisk-motivert diskriminering av afro-amerikanere identifisert med “Jim Crow laws and practices”.

Holiness Association.⁹ Etter kun 5 ukers opplæring brøt han opp fra Houston tidlig i februar måned.

Om menigheten hilste sin nye pastor varmt velkommen, skulle han like fullt snart falle i unåde på grunn av forkynnelsen av tungetale som normativ erfaring for enhver troende. Etter kun fem dager fant han menighetsdøren låst, men fikk, om enn noe motvillig, husvære hos Edward S. og Mattie Lee på South Union Avenue. Etter kort tid ble Seymour dessuten innbudt til å holde regelmessige bønnemøter hjemme hos Richard og Ruth Asbery i 214 North Bonnie Brae Street.¹⁰

Ettersom stadig flere oppsøkte bønnemøtene, meldte behovet for forsterkninger seg og Seymour sendte bud på Lucy Farrow og J.A. Warren fra Houston. Det første utbruddet av glossolaligaven skjedde 9. april (ca kl. 18), idet Seymour bad for Edward S. Lee i dennes hjem. Sammen gikk de den korte veien til 214 North Bonnie Brae Street for å delta på kveldsbønnemøtet. Lees vitnesbyrd fungerte som katalysator for “a torrent of glossolalic utterance; the entire company [was] swept to its knees amid an outpouring of glossolalia and sudden joy,”¹¹ som Nelson uttrykker det. Det heter videre at Jennie Evans Moore, som i 1908 skulle bli gift med Seymour, til tross for at hun i det naturlige ikke kunne spille piano,

⁹ Menigheten synes å ha hatt sin opprinnelse i en gruppe på åtte afro-amerikanske familier, ledet av Julia W. Hutchins, som ble ekskludert fra sin lokale baptistmenighet fordi de var positivt innstilte til hellighetsbevegelsen. Etter en noe omflakkende tilværelse fikk man leid et lite menighetslokale på hjørnet av 9th Street og Santa Fe. Menigheten ble kjent med Seymour gjennom en kvinne ved navn Neely Terry som oppsøkte menigheten han betjente (som Lucy Farrow's stedfortreder) i Houston, Texas kort tid i forveien. (Douglas J. Nelson, “For Such A Time As This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival. A Search for Pentecostal/Charismatic Roots.” Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 1981 s. 55, 186.) Den norske historiker Nils Bloch-Hoell hevder feilaktig, dog med støtte i den upålitelige Frank Bartleman som kilde, at menigheten tilhørte hellighets-samfunnet Church of the Nazarene (Nils Egede Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen. En undersøkelse av pinsebevegelsens tilblivelse, utvikling og særpreg med særlig henblikk på bevegelsens utforming i Norge* [Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1956] s. 53.).

¹⁰ I 1910 ble gatenummeret endret fra 214 til 216. Huset er restaurert og står den dag i dag.

¹¹ Nelson, *ibid.*, s. 57. Seymour selv mottok glossolaligaven 12. april. (Nelson, *ibid.* s. 191.)

like fullt “under inspiration”, ikke bare trakterte instrumentet, men dessuten sang på både fransk, spansk, latin, gresk, hebraisk og “Hindustani”.

Det var nå åpenbart at man trengte større lokale, og det første møtet i 312 Azusa Street ble avholdt lørdag 14. april med om lag 100 tilstedeværende. Huset hadde, som Nils Bloch-Hoell skrev i 1956, “engang gjort tjeneste som metodistkirke,¹² [...] [og] ble [nå] dels brukt som leiekaserne, men det så ut som et lagerhus, og [pinsevennes] første møtelokale der hadde også vært brukt som opplagsrom for kalk, planker o.s.v.”¹³ Ikke for det, fram til 20. april fortsatte man med møter også i Bonnie Brae Street.

Det ble snart knyttet kontakt med kretsen rundt pastor Joseph Smales First New Testament Church i Burbank Hall (542 South Main Street), Los Angeles,¹⁴ idet Jennie Moore, som tilhørte Smales menighet, under søndagsmøtet 15. april bekjentgjorde for forsamlingen at hun hadde opplevd tungemålgaven, “climaxing her remarks with a startling burst of ‘other tongues’ interpreted by Ruth Asbery, and followed by several others,” som Nelson skriver. De fleste fra Smales forsamling skulle etter hvert velge Azusa Street framfor hjemmemenigheten.

¹² Lokalet var fremdeles eid av Los Angeles første afro-amerikanske menighet, First African Methodist Episcopal Church, som i 1903 flyttet møtevirksomheten til hjørnet av 8th Street og Towne Street. Lokalet ble for øvrig bygget i 1888. Kretsen rundt Seymour fikk leie 312 Azusa Street fordi noen av dem var medlemmer av First African Methodist Episcopal Church.

¹³ Bloch-Hoell, *ibid.*, s. 59.

¹⁴ Britiske Joseph Smale (1867-1926) flyttet i 1895 til Los Angeles og tok pastoransvar (i First Baptist Church, 725 South Flower). I forbindelse med vekkelsen i Wales i 1904, vendte han tilbake til hjemlandet for å observere vekkelsen på nært hold. Da han så vendte tilbake til Los Angeles og startet opp bønnemøter i private hjem hvor man bad spesifikt om en tilsvarende åndsutgydelse, fikk han motstand fra menighetens øvrige lederskap. Tidlig på nyåret 1906 grunnla han derfor den frittstående menigheten.

Ytterligere publisitet rundt den lille gruppen i Azusa Street kom gjennom en liten notis i *Los Angeles Daily Times* 18. april,¹⁵ og i august måned kunne man på det meste telle rundt 1200 møtebesøkende. Etter hvert trakk man også til seg ledere innen hellighetsbevegelsen fra hele USA, som ikke bare gjorde sin personlige pinseerfaring, men dessuten ble katalysator for bevegelsens videre profilering idet de vendte tilbake til sin lokale hellighetsforsamling (som ofte ble delt i to).

Til tross for Seymours “suksess” i Los Angeles, skulle det gå nærmere et halvt års tid før Parham ankom for å teste fruktene – kanskje fordi tilhengerskaren i Los Angeles ikke synes å ha utgjort mer enn om lag en tiendedel av bevegelsen totalt sett. Parhams forventning om hva han ville møte i Azusa Street var åpenbart farget av negativ forhåndsomtale, og fra plattformen sjokkerte han Los Angeles nyåndsdopte med at “God is sick at his stomach”.¹⁶ Parhams misnøye var primært relatert til de afro-amerikanske troendes status som likestilte med de hvite. Som tilhenger av den såkalte British-Israelism læren,¹⁷ var han overbevist om at angelsakserne innehadde en særskilt plass i Guds endetidsprogram. Parham fryktet blant annet at likestilling mellom rasene skulle resultere i ekteskap på tvers av disse. Tross alt hadde “the ‘sin’ of intermarriage in the days of Noah [...]”

¹⁵ Artikkelen, med den lite flatterende tittelen “Weird Babel of Tongues”, avsluttet med å referere til en profeti fra kvelden i forveien om “awful destruction to this city [Los Angeles] unless its citizens are brought to a belief in the tenets of the new [Pentecostal] faith.” Skjebnens ironi ville at dette i tid skulle falle sammen med San Fransiscos hittil verste jordskjelv hvor om lag 10.000 personer mistet livet og 300.000 av byens 400.000 innbyggere ble gjort hjemløse. Frank Bartlemans reaksjon var utvilsomt representativ, idet han utbasunerte jordskjelvet som Guds direkte domshandling, samt implisitt antydte en guddommelig legitimering av den gryende bevegelsen i Los Angeles. Samme dag skal 10.000 eksemplarer av hans egenproduserte “The Last Call”-traktat ha blitt delt ut. (Nelson, *ibid.*, s. 195.)

¹⁶ Goff, *ibid.* s. 131.

¹⁷ For en overfladisk introduksjon av denne læreoppfatningen, se Geir Lie, “Norske dommedagsprofeter – en presentasjon av tre hovedaktører.” *Humanist* 2-3/1999 s. 66-67. Parham synes å ha blitt instruert i denne læren av Frank Sandford, som igjen hadde fått sin opplæring av Christian & Missionary Alliance-forkynner George P. Peck.

been the chief cause of the Flood and the root of all inherited disease and abnormalities up to the present time”!¹⁸

I tillegg til avskrivning av bevegelsen på grunn av rasistiske fordommer, var Parham dessuten sjokkert over de emosjonelle ytringene som kom til uttrykk i møtene:

I sat on the platform in Azusa Street Mission, and saw the manifestations of the flesh, spiritualistic controls, saw people practicing hypnotism at the altar over the candidates seeking the baptism; though many were receiving the real baptism of the Holy Ghost. After preaching two or three times, I was informed by two of the elders, one who was a hypnotist ... that I was not wanted in that place.¹⁹

Flere av de hvite hadde allerede i august brutt med Azusa Street og fulgt med enten Frank Bartleman til møter på hjørnet av Eight Street og Maple Street eller Elmer Fisher på 327 1/2 South Spring Street. Parham etablerte nå etter sin egen

¹⁸ Goff, *ibid.* s. 131. Få år senere skrev Parham karikerende om sitt første møte med Azusa Street: “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!” (Goff, *ibid.* s. 132.)

¹⁹ Goff, *ibid.* s. 130.

utestengning fra Azusa Street en konkurrerende virksomhet på hjørnet av Broadway Street og Temple Street.²⁰

Til tross for Parhams stadige polemikk mot Seymours virksomhet i Azusa Street, valgte Seymour ikke å respondere på denne. I desember skrev han imidlertid i menighetens tidsskrift *The Apostolic Faith* (som ikke må forveksles med Parhams tidsskrift med samme tittel):

Some are asking if Dr. Chas. F. Parham is the leader of this movement. We can answer, no he is not the leader of this movement of Azusa Mission. We thought of having him to be our leader and so stated in our paper, before waiting on the Lord. We can be rather hasty, especially when we are very young in the power of the Holy Spirit. We are just like a baby – full of love – and were willing to accept anyone that had the baptism with the Holy Spirit as our leader. But the Lord commenced settling us down, and we saw that the Lord should be our leader. So we honor Jesus as the great Shepherd of the sheep. He is our model.²¹

Seymour hadde startet det lille tidsskriftet i september 1906. I mai 1908 ble det trykket i 50.000 eksemplarer og sirkulerte i om lag 50 land. Det er riktig, som

²⁰ Parham lyktes i å trekke ut 2-300 troende fra Azusa Street og forkynte for disse fram til desember. I forkant av oktober hadde han imidlertid gjort et forsøk på å innnta John Alexander Dowies utopiske bysamfunn med sitt pinsebudskap. (Se Geir Lie, "Helbredelse ved tro: Fra Möttlingen til Tulsa – et historisk overblikk." *Refleks* 1-2 2002 s. 14-15.) Før han kom til Los Angeles, hadde han innsatt medarbeideren Warren Fay Carothers som sin representant i Zion City. De to mennene ble nå enige om å bytte plass, Carothers kom til Los Angeles mens Parham vendte tilbake til Zion City. Parham opplevde umiddelbar framgang for sin forkynnelse der, men denne stagnerte idet han i slutten av januar 1907 gav seg ut på en 3 måneders evangelistturné. Rykter om umoral fulgte ham fra begynnelsen av, og 19. juli ble han arrestert i San Antonio, Texas på grunn av påstått homoseksuell praksis. Parhams bevegelse ble i 1951 splittet: Både Full Gospel Evangelistic Association og den opprinnelige Apostolic Faith Movement har om lag 4000 medlemmer hver. Sistnevnte gruppering har vært trofast mot grunnlegger Parhams læreoppfatning at de ikke-troende ikke har evigvarende eksistens, men tvert imot "[are] punished in a literal burning hell which ultimately [consume] them and [end] their existence." (Goff, *ibid.* s. 153.)

²¹ *Apostolic Faith*, des. 1906 s. 1. Sitat fra Nelson, *ibid.*, s. 212.

Nelson påpeker, at “leading personalities arrived at Azusa to depart convinced missionaries, carrying the message far and wide.”²²

Seymours neste krise skulle imidlertid ikke la vente på seg. 13. mai 1908 ble han gift med Jennie Evans Moore, noe som avstedkom skarp kritikk fra menighetens sekretær, Clara Lum. Hun flyttet nå til Portland, Oregon og knyttet seg opp til tidligere Azusa Street-kollega Florence Crawford og *hennes* Apostolic Faith bevegelse. Lum lot Azusa Street-menigheten beholde de 20 abonnementslistene for tidsskriftet med adresser i Los Angeles og omegn. De to øvrige listene, den nasjonale og internasjonale listen, tok hun imidlertid med seg til Portland. Seymour prøvde uten hell å få listene tilbake, og Lum startet sammen med Crawford opp et konkurrerende tidsskrift med samme navn fra og med mai 1908. Det vil si, de gav inntrykk av at det var samme tidsskrift som hadde endret postadresse fra Los Angeles til Portland.²³

Uten den nasjonale og internasjonale “mailinglisten” var det umulig for Seymour å holde kontakten med de tusener av tidligere kontakter som hadde mottatt skjellsettende inntrykk fra Azusa Street. I et enkeltstående nummer av *Apostolic Faith*, etter at de to viktige listene var frarøvet ham, følte han like fullt behov for å si:

²² Nelson, *ibid.*, s. 213. Nelson fremhever spesielt Gaston Barnabas Cashwell ([1862-1916] som var årsak til at hellighetsdenominasjonene The Pentecostal Holiness Church, The Fire-Baptized Holiness Church og The Pentecostal Free-Will Baptist Church åpnet seg for pinsebudskapet og identifiserte seg med den nye bevegelsen), Charles Harrison Mason ([1866-1916] som grunnla det afro-amerikanske hellighetsamfunnet Church of God in Christ i 1897. Deler av dette samfunnet fulgte grunnleggeren etter dennes pinseoplevelse), William H. Durham (som vil bli nærmere omtalt senere i denne artikkelen) og Robert Edward McAlister ([1880-1953] som hadde en innflytelsesrik posisjon i The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada).

²³ Crawfords Apostolic Faith bevegelse er representert i Norge som Apostolisk Tro og har sitt hovedkvarter i Stavanger. Dette er det eneste pinsesamfunn i Norge som har vært tro mot den opprinnelige pinsebevegelses hellighetslære, slik blant annet Parham og Seymour forkynte denne. For ytterligere informasjon om dette pinsesamfunnet, se Geir Lie, “Apostolisk Tro: et utforsket amerikansk pinsesamfunn.” *Teologisk Forum* årg. XII nr. 1 (1998) s. 17-34. I denne artikkelen skrev jeg – feilaktig – at det var Crawford (og ikke Lum) som allerede i 1906 tok med seg mailinglistene (s. 23).

I must for the salvation of souls let it be known that the editor is still in Los Angeles,...and will not remove 'The Apostolic Faith' from Los Angeles without letting subscribers and field workers know. This was a sad thing to our hearts for a worker to attempt to take the paper which is the property of the Azusa Street Mission to another city without consent, after being warned by the elders not to do so.²⁴

Enda en krise skulle ramme både Seymour og Azusa Street, idet allerede omtalte William H. Durham (1873-1912) flyttet til byen i februar 1911. Sannsynligvis talte Durham på vegne av mange som hadde gjort sin pinseerfaring forut for ham selv, ikke minst de som hadde tidligere bakgrunn i Keswick-innfluerte sammenhenger, som A.B. Simpsons Christian and Missionary Alliance eller John Alexander Dowies Christian Catholic Apostolic Church.

Durham var pastor i Gospel Mission Church, en hellighetsmenighet i Chicago (943 North Avenue) da flere av medlemmene opplevde åndsåd og tungetale i 1906. Durham gjorde tilsvarende erfaring under et kortvarig besøk ved Azusa Street, Los Angeles i februar 1907. Vel tilbake i Chicago ble Durham nå hovedeksponent for pinsebudskapet i Midtvesten. Blant de flere hundre som i løpet av de neste 2-3 år anerkjente Durhams nye forkynnelse, navngir historiker D.W. Faupel flere som skulle sette et definitivt preg på den stadig voksende pinsebevegelsen.²⁵ Allerede i 1910 var Durham anerkjent som "the informal leader of the Pentecostal movement by those groups coming into the movement via Parham in the Southwest, Dowie in the Midwest, the ethnic communities in the upper Midwest and the Pentecostal contingency within the Christian Missionary Alliance."²⁶

Durhams oppbrudd fra Chicago til fordel for Los Angeles i februar 1911 er allerede nevnt. Kanskje var han først og fremst inspirert av sin samtidige E.W. Ke-

²⁴ Sitert etter Nelson, *ibid.*, s. 175.

²⁵ Blant de mest kjente nevnes senere Foursquare-grunnlegger Aimee Semple McPherson, samt Daniel Berg og Gunnar Vingren (som året etter skulle ta pinsebudskapet med seg til Brasil). [Faupel, *ibid.*, s. 235.]

²⁶ Faupel, *ibid.*, s. 237.

nyon, slik sistnevnte hevdet,²⁷ i sin proklamasjon av “The Finished Work”, hvor man bestred berettigelsen av en spesifikk hellighetserfaring i etterkant av gjenfødelsen som fjernet syndenaturen i den troende. Kenyon selv hevdet at syndenaturen ble fjernet i og gjennom gjenfødelsen, mens Durhams forståelse synes uklar. Nelson skriver i den anledning:

Durham’s teaching promised complete sanctification at conversion. Some took it to mean gradual growth in sanctification over a lifetime. Everyone agreed that whatever else it might mean, sanctification was not a second definite experience following conversion, in Durham’s view.²⁸

I 1911 hadde de fleste hvite forlatt Azusa Street (hvor om lag 60 troende nå kom sammen), og Durham fikk avslag fra pastor Elmer Kirk Fisher da han bad om å få preke i dennes Upper Room Mission, Los Angeles for tiden største pinseforsamling. I stedet fikk han, sammen med fem medarbeidere, tillatelse til å avholde møter i Azusa Street. Møtekampanjen varte om lag 10 uker og splittet de pinsetroende i byen. Seymour, som hadde oppholdt seg utenbys hele denne perioden, ble kalt hjem fra New York City og oppdaget at hvite trossøsken hadde invadert Azusa Street med sin nye hellighetsforkynnelse. 2. mai ble Durhams prekontillatelse trukket tilbake. Sammen med Frank Bartleman leide nå Durham et lokale på hjørnet av Seventh Street og Los Angeles Street og samlet snart en tilhengerskare på om lag 600 troende, og blant disse de fleste av Seymours medarbeidere. Durham prøvde siden å innfiltrere Florence Crawfords Apostolic Faith bevegelse, men uten hell. 39 år gammel døde han av tuberkulose.

Durhams innflytelse skulle dog vedvare også etter hans død. Pinesamfunnet Assemblies of God, grunnlagt i 1914, stilte seg bak Durhams avvising av berettigelsen av en spesifikk og punktuell hellighetserfaring i etterkant av gjenfødelsen. Det samme gjaldt for International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, grunnlagt av Aimee Semple McPherson i 1927.

²⁷ Essek William Kenyon, “Triumph for Truth.” *Reality*, april 1912 s. 127. Se også Dale Hawthorne Simmons, “‘I Love You but I Can’t Marry You’: E.W. Kenyon and the Pentecostal movement.” Paper presentert ved Society for Pentecostal Studies 25. årsmøte i Toronto, 9. mars 1996.

²⁸ Nelson, *ibid.*, s. 247.

Ikke-trinitarisk pinsekristendom

Neste splittelse blant amerikanske pinsevenner skulle så å si eksklusivt ramme Durhams tilhengere, det vil si dem som bestred berettigelsen av en spesifikk helighetserfaring mellom frelsesopplevelsen og åndsdaåpen. Foranledningen var et campmeeting-arrangement med den kvinnelige forkynneren Maria Woodworth Etter utenfor Los Angeles i april 1913. En preken med utgangspunkt i Jer 31:32 skapte forventninger om at Gud var iferd med å gjore “noe nytt” blant de pinsetroende. Det angivelig nye (“the New Issue”) fikk en tilsynelatende begynnelse gjennom den kanadiske forkynneren Robert Edward McAlister, som under et dåpsmøte henledet oppmerksomheten mot det påståtte faktum at urmenigheten alltid døypte “i Jesu navn”, ikke i det trinitariske formularet “i Faderens, Sønnens og Den Hellige Ånds navn”. En av de tilstedeværende, John G. Sheppe, ble så revet med at han tilbrakte hele natten i bønn og bibelstudium før han tidlig neste morgen vekket opp de øvrige ved å løpe rundt i leiren mens han ropte at Gud hadde åpenbart for ham sannheten om dåp i Jesu navn alene.

En av Durhams medarbeidere i Los Angeles, australieren Frank J. Ewart møtte med McAlister etter campmeeting-arrangementets avslutning for om mulig å komme til rette med den tilsynelatende motsetning mellom det trinitariske dåpsformularet i Matt 28:19 og den apostolske praksis med dåp i Jesu navn alene slik denne praksis ble beskrevet i Apgj 2:38.

Fortsatte studier på privat basis ledet ham snart til den nyervervede “innsikt” at det gamle testamentes Jahve-skikkelse var identisk med det nye testamentes Jesus, hvilket igjen ble sett i sammenheng med nødvendigheten av dåp i Jesu navn alene. Gjennom Ewart og likesinnes profilering av “the new issue” blant Durhams tilhengere, vant man i 1915 hver eneste Assemblies of God forkynner i staten Louisiana over til den nye bevegelsen. Med utgangspunkt i apostelen Peters gjensvar til jødene i Jerusalem (på spørsmålet om hva de måtte gjore for å “bli frelst” – hvorpå han svarte: “Vend om og la dere døype i Jesu Kristi navn, hver og en av dere, så dere får tilgivelse for syndene, og dere skal få Den Hellige Ånds gave.” [Apgj 2,38]), hvor “døpt i Jesu Kristi navn” ble forstått synonymt med “født av vann”, uttalt av Jesus selv i Joh 3,5 – ble befalingen om vanddåp (“født av vann” i Joh 3,5) forbundet med det å døype i Jesu navn alene i Apgj 2,38. Tilsvarende ble åndsdaåp (“Den Hellige Ånds gave” i Apgj 2,38) identifisert med uttrykket “født av Ånd” i Joh 3,5, hvorigjennom pinseerfaringen (åndsdaåp med tungetale) nå ble *identifisert med frelseserfaringen*. Historiker J.H. Howell oppsummerer treffende:

This intricate reinterpretation of passages produced a well-defined “plan of salvation” based on Acts 2:38: repentance, water baptism administered in “Jesus name,” and Spirit baptism evidenced by glossolalia. In the New Issue mentality, these three steps were essential to Christian salvation and those not participating in them were held as deficient and not truly saved.²⁹

Jeg har i en tidligere artikkel argumentert utfra den forståelse at “den opprinnelige pinsebevegelsen og dens primæranliggende kun kan forstås rett om man anerkjenner den som først og fremst en eskjatologisk, ja, en millenaristisk bevegelse.”³⁰ Den ikke-trinitariske fløy innen amerikansk pinsebevegelse profilerte seg også som gjenreisningsbevegelse. Som Howell skriver, “Advancing the rhetoric of the Azusa revival which proclaimed the restoration of the original apostolic church in the practice of glossolalia, New Issue [i.e., non-trinitarian] proponents argued that ‘latter day’ Christianity was ‘fully’ restored with the revelation of the divine name [Jesus] and the uncovering of the ‘mystery’ of the Godhead.”³¹ Sannheten om Guds sanne natur var en av de siste sannheter som ville gjenoppdages av “Kristi legeme” forut for bortrykkelsen. Ewart hevdet endog at treenighetens læren var den siste av de “katolske” lærepunkt som protestantismen måtte ta et nødvendig oppgjør med: “In 1914 God made his final move to raise up a people to restore the One Body or Church to the Apostolic Age [referring to the “revelation” of the Jesus name baptismal formula].”³²

Ikke-trinitariske pinsevenner, især afro-amerikanske, omtales gjerne som “Apostolic Pentecostals”, en alludering til deres angivelig apostolske praksis vedrørende vanddåp i Jesu navn alene. Uttrykket “Oneness Pentecostals” favner imidlertid både hvite og afro-amerikanere og henspeiler på “the innovative application of Old Testament monotheism to the person of Jesus and the resultant denial of the traditional notion of the Trinity,”³³ som Howell påpeker.³⁴ Man kan her tale

²⁹ Joseph H. Howell, “The People of the Name: Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States.” Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1985 s. 36.

³⁰ Geir Lie, “Apostler og aposteltjeneste i internasjonal pinsekristendom.” *Refleks* 1-1 2002 s. 5.

³¹ Howell, *ibid.* s. 48-49.

³² Sitat fra Howell, *ibid.* s. 49.

³³ Howell, *ibid.* s. 6.

om en såkalt *modalistisk* treenighetslære hvor den ene Gud (Jesus) gjennom historien hevdes å ha åpenbart seg på ulike måter: som “Fader”, “Sønn” og “Hellig Ånd”. Både “Faderen” og “Ånden” ble til tider forstått som åpenbaringer av guddomsnaturen i den inkarnerte Kristus. “Faderen” var videre et uttrykk for den “evige” Gud, mens Jesu “sønnekår” startet ved unnfangelsen som menneske. I så måte reduseres Kristi pre-eksistens til noe som befant seg i den evige Guds forutviten. Eller som Howell uttrykker det: “Christ eternally existed in the mind or plan of God as ‘the lamb slain from the foundations of the world.’”³⁵

Man har i USA en rekke små pinsedenominaasjoner som identifiseres med “Oneness Pentecostalism”. Læremessig er det dog lite som skiller.³⁶

³⁴ Benevnelsen “Jesus only” (på norsk “Jesus alene”) er et økenavn som trinitariske pinsevenner har lansert om dem.

³⁵ Howell, *ibid.* s. 61.

³⁶ Mens enkelte hevder at en må døpes i Jesu navn alene og motta tungemålgaven for å bli “frelst”, finnes det også dem som mener at en blir “frelst” ved tro og omvendelse, hvilket i sin tur bør bevirke dåp i Jesu navn, samt mottakelse av åndsåp, tungetale inklusivt.

Det største samfunnet, United Pentecostal Church, er for øvrig representert med lokalmenigheter også i Norge.³⁷



³⁷ For ytterligere opplysninger, se Geir Lie, "Ikke-trinitariske pinseretninger i Norge. En historisk og teologisk kontrastering." *Baptist* Årg. 5 Nr. 1/1998 s. 19-30.

A Journey Toward Racial Reconciliation: Race Mixing in the CGP

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The faith community that came to be known (in 1952) as the Church of God of Prophecy (CGP) has been captive to the spiritual journey of founder A.J. Tomlinson, an Indiana Quaker. No where is this more evident than the distinction that CGP defied the axiom that most North American pentecostal groups failed at interracialism within a decade of the fabled 1906 Azusa St. Revival.

David Harrell judged CGP to be the “largest racially mixed church in the South from 1945 until the mid-1960s. Unlike the larger pentecostal sects, the CGP never separated its black members into a satellite organization. While local churches have generally been either black or white, the state assemblies, international assemblies, and church institutions have been integrated throughout the history of the sect.”¹ The account here will view the pre-history of this body in the narrative of its founder. Some attention will be given to the fusion of an ecclesiology linked to June 13, 1903 with a resolve to work toward racial reconciliation.

The Westfield Years

Ambrose Jessup Tomlinson was born on September 22, 1865, near Westfield, Indiana, to Milton and Delilah Tomlinson. Grandparents Robert and Lydia Tomlinson joined the Antislavery Friends and participated in the underground railroad. Having studied at the prestigious Westfield Academy and reared in a moderately well-to-do entrepreneurial family in Westfield, Indiana provided the young A.J. Tomlinson with forays into the business and political arenas.

¹ David E. Harrell, Jr., *White Sects and Black Men in the Recent South* (Kingsport, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), 95.

The gospel call came to overshadow the serene life one would envision in this large, rural Quaker community. A.J. would alter course as a result of encounters with Holiness Friends. This group was epitomized in the person of A.J.'s boyhood neighbor Seth Rees, the "Indiana Earthquaker," who scorned mediocrity by proclaiming "Win or die!" Holiness evangelists owed much to 19th Century Quakers when they dismissed creeds and rituals, spurned ecclesiastical hierarchy, or acknowledged Holy Spirit inspiration from both male and female, clergy and laity. Meanwhile the significant African-American community in Westfield meant that among the closest neighbors of the Tomlinsons were two black families. Freed blacks and slaves who escaped through the Underground Railroad participated in "colored" camp meetings held each summer in Westfield which attracted whites.² J.B. Mitchell, a graduate of Oberlin, introduced A.J. to the famous revivalist Charles G. Finney. Founded in 1833, Oberlin College was the first institute of higher education in the U.S.A. to conduct the "joint education of the sexes." By 1835 race was no longer a barrier to Oberlin admission, either. In 1894, Mitchell and Tomlinson founded the Book and Tract Company. During this time, Tomlinson corresponded with Martin Wells Knapp and did colporteur work on short-term trips to Appalachia.

Tomlinson was also exposed to D.S. Warner who wrote a hymn titled "The Evening Light" and his followers were often known as the "Evening Light Saints." Warner centered his work in and around Indianapolis, eventually ending up in Anderson, Indiana. When Tomlinson started a paper for Church of God (Cleveland) in 1910, the first name was The Evening Light and Church of God Evangel.

When Martin Wells Knapp's God's Bible School opened in 1900, the student body included Evening Light Saints. Some of the students at God's Bible School became colporteurs and sold Knapp's periodical known as *God's Revivalist*.³

² For a full treatment of the early life of A.J. Tomlinson, see Roger G. Robins, "Plainfolk Modernist: The Radical Holiness World of A.J. Tomlinson," Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1999. cf. Roger Robins, "A.J. Tomlinson: Plainfolk Modernist," *Portraits of a Generation*, edited by James R. Goff Jr., and Grant Wacker (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2002), 347-368. There are gaps in this earliest period inasmuch as the first set of Tomlinson's diaries have been lost. Voy Bullen, Homer Tomlinson's successor, showed them to me in 1980 but refused to allow them to be photocopied.

³ This according to a study of Azusa St. by Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., p. 32ff, that I saw September, 2003. Robeck is chronicling the journey of W.J. Seymour.

Since Tomlinson was doing this kind of work at the time and copies of *God's Revivalist* were left in his personal collection, it heightens the possibility that he could have stayed for a 12-week course in Cincinnati, perhaps in 1903. That this school and Warner's group were integrated is highlighted by the fact that W.J. Seymour became part of the Evening Light Saints after moving to Indianapolis in 1895 then a student at God's Bible School in Cincinnati in 1900.⁴

This colporteur work led to short-term trips to Appalachia but also exposure to more radical holiness figures like Frank Sandford who published the *Tongues of Fire* (1894). Stays at Sandford's "Holy Ghost and Us Bible School" in Shiloh, Maine account for two water baptisms there, one at the hands of Sandford himself when A.J. wrote in his diary on October 1, 1901: "I was baptized by Mr. Sandford in the Androscoggin River into the 'church of the living God,' for the evangelization of the world, gathering of Israel, new order of things at the close of the Gentile age."⁵

Appalachia Beckons

The exposure to the Acts 2 commune as practiced by Shiloh, and some awareness of John Alexander Dowie's Zion City in Illinois, would provide models that A.J.'s family sought to imitate in Culberson, North Carolina. The family move was complete in 1899 and ultimately accounts for the unexpected interaction with B.H. Irwin's Fire-Baptized Holiness Association (FBHA). Some of Irwin's staunch supporters planted what amounted to an emerging national headquarters in a Bradley County, Tennessee hamlet named Beniah.⁶ Tomlinson launched an eight-page serial, *Samson's Foxes*, while simultaneously publishing reports of living on the faith lines like George Müller in the *Pentecostal Herald*, *God's Re-*

⁴ Robins, "Plainfolk Modernist," 263 n 154, speculates that Tomlinson may have met Seymour around this time in either Indianapolis or Cincinnati.

⁵ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 1, October 1, 1901. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. See: Frank S. Murray, *The Sublimity of Faith* (Amherst: The Kingdom Press, n.d.) p. 288f, 166 et al; Shirley Nelson, *Fair, Clear, And Terrible: The Story of Shiloh* (Latham: British American Publishing, 1989), 162.

⁶ See Harold D. Hunter, "Beniah At the Apostolic Crossroads: Parham, Tomlinson, Sandford, Irwin," *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research* 1 (4/24/03) at www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyber1.html.

vivalist and the *Evangelical Visitor*. Tomlinson projected his Mount Zion Mission Home that opened with an industrial school and orphanage to be a virtual “garden of Eaden.”⁷

Shades of the FBHA were seen in Tomlinson’s rejection of “tobacco, opium, pork, tea and coffee.”⁸ Yet another like source would be a group of evangelists—Milton McNabb, Joe Tipton, William Hamby, and William Martin—who preached the noteworthy 1896 Shearer Schoolhouse Revival in Cherokee County, North Carolina.⁹ Some of these evangelists and others either living in or associated with Beniah eventually carried the FBHA message to W.F. Bryant’s home at Camp Creek, North Carolina.¹⁰ Various issues of the FBHA’s *Live Coals of Fire* (1899-1900) reported on common efforts of William M. Martin, R. Frank Porter and Stewart T. Irwin, the son of B.H. Irwin. This same magazine showcased the interracial character of the group mostly in the person of Ruling Elder W.E. Fuller, an African-American pioneer who planted 50 churches in 10 years. Fuller would rise to the level of Assistant General Overseer of the FBHA when the group was led by J.H. King, an imposing figure in IPHC history.

⁷ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 1, April 14, 1902. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁸ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 1, January 30, 1906. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; *Samson’s Foxes* 1:1 (January 1901) 4. B.H. Irwin had himself coroneted as General Overseer “for life” in the 1898 national organization of the FBHA. Homer Tomlinson captured this period of A.J.’s life in an article titled “The Fanatic,” in *The Faithful Standard* 2:2 (October 1923), 20-23, where commandments on a tree read: (1) no hog meat; (2) no violin playing; (3) no neckties; (4) plain dress for women; (5) no chewing tobacco; (6) no smoking or drinking; (7) no work on Sunday; (8) pay tithes; (9) no chewing gum; (10) no riding on Sunday.

⁹ A.J. Tomlinson, *The Last Great Conflict* (Cleveland: Walter E. Rogers, 1913), 189. After the initial revival, it was reported that approximately 100 persons spoke in tongues during later meetings. See Harold D. Hunter, “Spirit-Baptism and the 1896 Revival in Cherokee County, North Carolina,” *Pneuma* 5:2 (Fall 1983), 1-17.

¹⁰ See: Daniel Woods, “Daniel Awrey, the Fire-Baptized Movement, and the Origins of the Church: Toward a Chronology of Confluence and Influence,” paper presented to 2nd annual meeting of the Church of God Movements Historical Society, Cleveland, Tennessee, May 24, 2003.

Bryant's small group witnessed crosscurrents of various spiritualities like fellowship with R.G. Spurling. Spurling's roots lay in Landmark Baptists, but his identity was captured in the independent Christian Unions he started. Spurling's first such effort was the short-lived Christian Union at Barney Creek, Monroe County, North Carolina in 1886.¹¹ The ideals that defined Spurling were compiled in his *The Lost Link* published in 1920 but drafted years earlier.

Another player in the ferment was R. Frank Porter, recently Ruling Elder for the FBHA in Tennessee. The seminal organization of the Holiness Church at Camp Creek on May 15, 1902 was carried out by both Spurling and Porter. Spurling was chosen pastor while Porter soon thereafter married Alice Cooke of Cleveland, Tennessee and entered the University of Chattanooga at Athens (1905). Although May 15, 1902 is integral to the identity of the Church of God (Cleveland, TN),¹² only one of the first group of leaders, including M.S. Lemons, would remain with the Church of God (Cleveland, TN). This is William F. Bryant whose service as a state overseer ended in 1918.

June 13, 1903

The circle of those associated on various levels with the Holiness Church at Camp Creek included A.J. Tomlinson who was destined to transform this group. A diary entry dated June 13, 1903 said simply, "I was ordained as minister of the gospel of the Holiness church at Camp Creek, N.C."¹³ Tomlinson had arrived at

¹¹ During a 1949 interview by H.L. Chesser, W.F. Bryant said that Spurling's 1886 church "went dead." See: Deborah Vansau McCauley, *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), 280, 283, 292, 295. McCauley cites Joe Abbott, *The Forgotten Church* (n.p., 1962), 38, to say a glut of holiness churches look back to Spurling's 1886 declaration as their origin. Abbott's work is often based on third generation oral tradition from independent Holiness Pentecostals.

¹² M.S. Lemons, "History of the Church of God" (c. 1937), 4, 5, 10. See also Chesser interview of Lemons, 17f, and Bryant, 18. In a 1924 deposition with the Murray and McCalla law firm in Chattanooga, Tomlinson was asked who organized the Holiness Church of Camp Creek and he replied: "R.G. Spurling and Frank Porter, Ministers." This draws attention to the absence of Porter in Tomlinson's *The Last Great Conflict*.

¹³ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 1, June 13, 1903. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Bryant's house the previous evening and prayed on the mountain the next morning before continuing their discussions.

An expanded version of this event can be found in a significant book published by A.J. Tomlinson in 1913 while General Overseer of the Church of God (Cleveland, TN). Titled *The Last Great Conflict*, we are told a "more careful study of the New Testament order" resulted in the work being "revived and taking on a new impetus."¹⁴ Although the Church of God (Cleveland, TN) later revoked Spurling's license, at this point he cast a long shadow over the group. Tomlinson had sometimes been received as something of a foreigner, so acknowledging Spurling's 1886 contribution in *The Last Great Conflict* would help keep the coalition together. That 1903 was the decisive turning point for A.J. Tomlinson manifests itself in a diary now consumed with merciless details of organization in motion. Tomlinson was immediately chosen pastor of the Camp Creek congregation, and within a year he was pastor of three of the four related local groups. He edited, with M.S. Lemons, a periodical titled *The Way* which ran an article by R. Frank Porter.

Tomlinson's rescue and expansion of this loose association helps explain, in part, his 1904 move from Appalachia to Cleveland, Tennessee and its well-connected train station. Without this intervention, the original cluster, which lasted no more than 10 years, would have surely followed the fate of the independent non-denominational churches that populate the Appalachia's mountain regions some of which count Spurling as their founder.¹⁵ Writing in 1939, Homer A. Tomlinson mentioned: "they called themselves an Association, [they] had not yet called themselves the Church of God."¹⁶ A.J. Tomlinson's first account of the January 26-27 conference—which is counted as the first general assembly of the Church of God (Cleveland, TN)—may be found in a diary entry dated January 30, 1906: "I arrived home about midnight last night from Camp Creek, N.C. We held a

¹⁴ A.J. Tomlinson, *The Last Great Conflict*, 192.

¹⁵ See McCauley, *Appalachian Mountain Religion*, 276-290. See also A.J. Tomlinson court testimony in December, 1924, 8:1717f.

¹⁶ Homer A. Tomlinson, *The Great Vision of The Church of God* (Queens Village, NY: published by the author, 1939), 6. In court testimony given in December, 1924, A.J. Tomlinson (8:1714) stressed that the early assembly had no authority over the local churches.

Church assembly there, I acted as the ruling Elder and made the minutes of the proceedings.”¹⁷

It was not until January 11, 1907, the second such conference, that the group took on the name Church of God. Depicting this action as dropping the name Holiness Church, Tomlinson claimed he and others referred to Camp Creek as “The New Testament Church, or The Church of God.”¹⁸ Despite his restorationist impulse, Tomlinson would have known that the name Church of God was first used by John Winebrenner’s Church of God, having done so as far back as 1830. D.S. Warner had also identified with this “Bible name” in Indiana by 1880 and Frank Sandford by 1897. Writing in *Last Great Conflict*, Tomlinson continues:

This, however, was not meant to debar the use of the other Scriptural names, such as: ‘The Church,’ ‘Churches in Christ,’ ‘Church **** in God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ,’ etc.¹⁹

In 1914, this same group would make final their selection of A.J. Tomlinson as general overseer or as he put it in his diary dated November, 15, 1914 “until Jesus comes or calls.”²⁰ Amid a charismatic outbreak during this business session, M.S. Lemons took Tomlinson by the arm and led him to the front. Some said the position was for life and when M.S. Lemons said “I think you can all see that God’s approval is on this selection, and I don’t see any use of ever saying any-

¹⁷ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 1, January 30, 1906. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

¹⁸ A.J. Tomlinson court testimony in December, 1924, 8:1749. Tomlinson says the other churches consistently used the name Church of God before it was accomplished with Camp Creek.

¹⁹ A.J. Tomlinson, *The Last Great Conflict*, 193. McCauley, *Appalachian Mountain Religion*, p. 290, suggests the name Church of God was used in the mountains by the mid-1880s. However, for the propriety of Tomlinson in this sequence, see Robins, “Plainfolk Modernist,” 460.

²⁰ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 3, November 15, 1914. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

thing more about a change,” then the minutes added “This remark met a unanimous approval.”²¹

Pentecost Linked To Reconciliation

Looking back, Tomlinson would say he became “more fully awakened” in January, 1907 about the fledgling Pentecostal Movement. *The Last Great Conflict* praised “Dr. Seamore”—actually W.J. Seymour, pastor of the legendary 1906 Azusa St. Revival in Los Angeles—whose message of Pentecost that washed away the “color line” spread around the world.²² The priority of Azusa St. was obvious when A.J. Tomlinson started *The Evening Light and Church of God Evangel* and later ran a series on Pentecostal history in *The Faithful Standard*.²³ Tomlinson preached on “The baptism with the Holy Ghost and Fire” at the 1907 assembly, but his own personal Pentecost did not come for one full year.

Tomlinson invited G.B. Cashwell to preach in Cleveland at the conclusion of the third assembly in 1908. A minister with the [Pentecostal] Holiness Church of North Carolina, Cashwell traveled to Los Angeles to experience the Pentecostal outpouring firsthand. Cashwell’s latent racism²⁴ resisted the message of racial

²¹ *Echoes from the Tenth Annual Assembly of the Churches of God held at Cleveland, Tennessee, November 2-8, 1914*, 24; A.J. Tomlinson court testimony in December, 1924, 8:1759f.

²² A.J. Tomlinson, *The Last Great Conflict*, 137. Homer Tomlinson conceded the priority of Azusa St. in his 1939 *Great Vision of the Church of God*, 3,5. This was certainly the case in his uncluttered *Amazing Fulfillments of Prophecy* (Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House, 1934), 125f. The same can be said of an important document entitled *The Book of Doctrines* (Cleveland: Church of God Publishing House, 1922), 46ff, which gave clear evidence of Homer’s fingerprints. cf. Homer A. Tomlinson, *Mountain of the Lord’s House* (New York: Churches of God of Greater New York, Inc., 1941), 10.

²³ See: *The Evening Light and Church of God Evangel* (March 1 and March; 15, 1910); “History of Pentecost,” *The Faithful Standard* 1:5 (Aug 1922). *Historical Annual Addresses: A.J. Tomlinson*, compiled by Perry Gillum (Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House & Press, 1970) 1:109.

²⁴ Outsiders criticized the interracial character of some of A.B. Crumpler’s revivals in North Carolina, and in 1903 Cashwell reported preaching at “the colored” church near Goldsboro in a meeting also attended by whites.

reconciliation that was part and parcel of Seymour's Azusa St. Mission. However, after five days of praying for deliverance, Cashwell consented to have blacks lay hands on him whereupon he received a fiery baptism in the Holy Spirit with the sign of speaking in tongues. When Cashwell preached in Cleveland on Sunday morning, January 12, 1908, Tomlinson would pen one of the most celebrated accounts of transportation in the Spirit that carried him into countries with ten different languages.²⁵ Here finally the flame was lit for Tomlinson himself that would forever change the destiny of many related in one way or another to the pentecostal branch of the Church of God movements.

Illustrating the power of Seymour's message, Tomlinson arrived in Memphis, Tennessee on November 12, 1908 in order to participate in a "Pentecostal convention" led by Charles H. Mason, head of the Church of God in Christ.²⁶ Tomlinson personally carried the flame to many locations, but none more important than the Pleasant Grove camp meeting in Florida. His diary dated May 22, 1909 announces the first of several visits by Tomlinson to this venue. Among those who received the Pentecostal message here were Edmond and Rebecca Barr. On May 31, 1909, Tomlinson would grant Evangelist licenses to both of them. By November of that year, the Barrs took the same message to their native Bahamas. It was February, 1911 when Tomlinson held his first international campaign in Nassau. Writing in his diary about the campaign in the Bahamas, he noted "Blacks and whites all come to meeting together."²⁷

Later in 1911, New Mexico added to its numbers a congregation of Mexican Americans in Raton. In his diary dated February 27, 1912, Tomlinson reports on a convention he attended in Raton that required the use of a Spanish-speaking interpreter. Minutes of the 1913 assembly counted three Spanish-speaking con-

²⁵ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 2, January 13, 1908. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

²⁶ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 2, November 26, 1908. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Homer Tomlinson reproduced this part of A.J.'s diary in *Diary of A.J. Tomlinson: 1901 to 1923* (Queens Village, NY: Church of God, World Headquarters, 1949) 1:75ff. Homer relates that in 1948, he was invited by the Church of God in Christ to celebrate this event on behalf of his deceased father.

²⁷ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 2, February 15-16, 1911. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

gregations in New Mexico. Juan B. Padilla, who first assisted T.F. Chávez while pastor of the original congregation in Raton, was ordained a Bishop in 1913 and became pastor of Corruppa, New Mexico.²⁸ Padilla, who did not speak English, served a term (1921-1922) on the Council of Seventy. On July 3, 1936, A.J. Tomlinson would grant Church of God of Prophecy ministerial licenses to this same Juan Padilla.²⁹ J.O. Sandoval, an evangelist in Colorado, wrote A.J. Tomlinson late in 1923 pledging his support. Sandoval's printed stationary read: "Iglesia de Dios, Oficina Principal en Cleveland, Tenn. A.J. Tomlinson, Sobrevendedor." On August 13, 1923, Tomlinson wrote to Sandoval saying he would like for him to come to Cleveland to "help me circulate Spanish literature."

When giving an account of the ordination of "the colored brother" Edmond Barr, Tomlinson wrote in his diary on June 4, 1912: "Held a conference meeting yesterday to consider the question or ordaining Edmond Barr (colored) and setting the colored people off to work among themselves on account of the race prejudice in the South."³⁰

At the 1915 assembly, Edmond Barr began a two-year term as overseer of the "colored" work in Florida.³¹ Then Tomlinson appointed C.F. Bright overseer of

²⁸ H.C. Ball published a report in *The Pentecostal Evangel* #312 & 313 (1 Nov 1919), 22 and 23 under the title "Report on the Pentecostal Mexican Work in Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and Old Mexico." Ball casts Padilla as pastor for the Assemblies of God in Corruppa. Ball says of Padilla that he "lives twenty miles from a railroad, has 14 children, works during the week and preaching on Sundays and in the week as much as he can." Gastón Espinosa, "Borderland Religion: Los Angeles and the Origins of the Latino Pentecostal Movement in the U.S., Mexico, and Puerto Rico, 1900-1945," Ph.D. dissertation at the University of California, Santa Barbara (1999), 162f, seems unaware of The Church of God presence in New Mexico at this time.

²⁹ Juan B. Padilla, Ministers' Records, Church of God of Prophecy Archives. Padilla was originally from Trinidad.

³⁰ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 2, June 4, 1912. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. This entry is missing from the diaries as edited by Homer Tomlinson.

³¹ Ministerial records at the Church of God (Cleveland, TN) headquarters dispel the notion that racial prejudice removed Barr from office. Barr, who was ordained in 1914, reported on his work to the general assembly in 1915. See *Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Assembly of the Churches of God held at Cleveland, Tennessee, November 1-7, 1915*, 18.

Pennsylvania in 1919 followed by New Jersey in 1920.³² There was one white church in Pennsylvania at this time, but Bright, perhaps an African American³³, would likely have had jurisdiction over only “colored” churches. Bright preached at the 1919 assembly and W.R. Franks and T.J. Richardson preached at the 1920 assembly. Tomlinson seemed agitated that prior to 1919, blacks were only called on extemporaneously during the assemblies. Tomlinson propelled this cause forward in his annual address by applying the Apostle Paul’s “one blood” to affirm a universal humanity. Tomlinson added, (Our dark skinned brothers and sisters have received the Holy Ghost as well as we, and we have long ago learned that God is no respecter of persons.³⁴

At the 1917 assembly an unnamed person suggested that the *Church of God Evangel* should also be published in Spanish for “Mexicans and other Spanish speaking people.” A Native American from Oklahoma addressed the same assembly.³⁵ When Ree, North Dakota was organized in 1920, it may have been the first Native American Pentecostal congregation in North Dakota.³⁶ In a section of

³² *Church of God Evangel* 11:35 (8/28/20), p. 4, gives names and addresses of the current state overseers including “16 Pennsylvania, Col. C.F. Bright.” When black ministers were first listed in the January 7-12, 1913 minutes, there was no indication of race. This changed the next assembly later that year but then was repeated in 1921. No satisfactory explanation exists of these changes. Bright left his position in 1920 to join The Church of God in Christ. He returned to The Church of God in 1924 and became a prominent leader. Perhaps one dynamic for African Caribbeans who initially left Church of God (Cleveland, TN) was that the The Church of God in Christ is predominantly African American.

³³ Trudy D. Pratt says [email dated 10/8/03] that her grandfather, C.F. Bright, was “of (western) African descent” and he had “some Indian blood.” It is unknown if the latter reference in any way connects Bright to Trinidad.

³⁴ *Historical Annual Addresses: A.J. Tomlinson*, 1:109.

³⁵ *Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Assembly of the Churches of God: Held at Harriman, Tenn. November, 1-6 1917*, 26, 30.

³⁶ Darrin J. Rodgers, *Northern Harvest: Pentecostalism in North Dakota* (Bismarck, NC: North Dakota District Council of the Assemblies of God, 2003),. 38f, 241f. Although the majority of Church of God congregations in North Dakota cast their lot with Tomlinson in 1923, but through the intervention of Paul H. Walker, Ree remained with Church of God (Cleveland, TN).

his 1920 annual address titled “The Spanish-Speaking People,” Tomlinson advocated translating the *Church of God Evangel*, books, and tracts into Spanish.³⁷

African American T. J. Richardson, two or more African Caribbeans and one Hispanic were part of the Council of Seventy and various assembly committees starting in 1921. The number of blacks present during these assemblies is unknown, but it is known that they were relegated to segregated seating.³⁸ However, perhaps blacks on the Council of Seventy were not segregated during the 1922 assembly business sessions when the Council of Elders sat on the platform and the Council of Seventy sat in front of the platform.³⁹ In this same general assembly, A.J. Tomlinson pointed out that “on account of conditions that seem unalterable a number of them are going away from us each year.” This appears to be a suggestive statement about limitations on blacks not only in American society, but also inside the church.⁴⁰ A loss of 1,744 members was reported in 1921, with perhaps most of the blacks going to The Church of God in Christ. Tomlinson lamented that “South of the Mason and Dixon line it is difficult to show them all the courtesy that we would like to”, and exclaimed, “I do not like any separa-

³⁷ *Historical Annual Addresses: A.J. Tomlinson*, compiled by Perry Gillum (Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House & Press, 1970), 1:144-146.

³⁸ *Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Assembly of the Church of God held at Cleveland, Tenn., Nov. 3-9, 1920*, 54: “Bishop Tomlinson gave an invitation for the people to seek the Lord. The colored people were given space in their part of the building for an altar service.”

³⁹ In A.J. Tomlinson’s 1924 deposition with the Murray and McCalla law firm in Chattanooga, Tomlinson says that J.B. Ellis made this proposal and the ushers immediately re-configured the seating arrangements. See also Tomlinson’s testimony in December, 1924, 8:1931f, 1940. Not only was this the first time business was handled by the “official assembly,” but some controversial items, like an amendment by J.S. Llewellyn were approved only by this group prompting Tomlinson to say (8:1949) that he was not sure there was a “general assembly” in 1922. Compounding the misery (8:1937f), Llewellyn changed some of the wording before printing the minutes without—for the first time—a review by Tomlinson.

⁴⁰ See Paul Thompson, “On Account of Conditions That Seem Unalterable: Race Relations in the Church of God (Cleveland, TN): 1909-1929,” forthcoming in *Pneuma*.

tions between nationalities and races.”⁴¹ However, at the 1922 assembly, Tomlinson appointed T.J. Richardson as overseer of the Church of God “Colored Work” [in Florida and other states].

The Church of Destiny

A.J. Tomlinson’s diary is silent from September 2, 1921 until February 28, 1924 when he writes: “Much has happened since my last writing, and my time has been so taken that I have not had time.”⁴² This is a considerable understatement with details of the tumultuous era chronicled in the *Church of God Evangel*, *White Wing Messenger*, newspapers, and assorted court documents. Tomlinson was now general overseer of an alternative faith community that, in 1952, courts would mandate it be known as The Church of God of Prophecy. Both A.J. Tomlinson and W.F. Bryant gave court testimony in 1924 that relegated 1886 to the margins.⁴³ In Tomlinson’s 1929 general assembly annual address, he served notice of a fresh look at Church of God origins. Looking back to June 13, 1903, he said only “later on it became clear” what this event would mean to CGP.

One can witness some of the ferment by looking at the minutes of the 1923 CGP general assembly. We are immediately told black musicians with “faces aglow” joined in with zest. Those who preached included J.R. Smith, T.J. Richardson, and Mrs. Mamie E. Richardson. Stanley Ferguson was active in the business sessions and the worship services. In his annual address, Tomlinson defended himself against the notion that he was a thief and condemned the constitution as fatal to theocracy. Chiding those who sought class warfare based on formal education, Tomlinson also declared that he sided with the “common people.” When the sub-

⁴¹ *Historical Annual Addresses: A.J. Tomlinson*, 1:197.

⁴² A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 4, September 2, 1921. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁴³ AJT gave testimony (8:1707) that there were a few others on the “same line” as the 1902 Holiness Church at Camp Creek, but they were called “The Christian Union.” “This church was organized by a minister of the Christian Union Church, and thus in that way, it might have been connected, but not especially; and yet afterwards they were associated together.” See W.F. Bryant 5:1327.

ject of divorce and remarriage was tackled, Ferguson was among those who uttered a message in tongues in this business session.⁴⁴

The 1923 impeachment by Church of God (Cleveland, TN) supreme judges was to Tomlinson a battlefield over whether general assemblies were to be judicial rather than legislative or executive. Tomlinson drafted this language that was affirmed by many of the early assemblies and repeated in his annual addresses. The earliest practice, that is continued even today by the CGP, is that votes were not taken, but all male⁴⁵ members in attendance discussed given subjects until consensus was achieved. Considerable emphasis was placed on praying about each business item and being open to charismatic outbreaks during these sessions. Tomlinson argued that a representative government is like a republic whereas a theocracy is judicial only.⁴⁶

T.J. Richardson, the most prominent African American at the time, cast his lot with Tomlinson although the majority of black constituents in the U.S.A.—especially outside North Carolina—did not follow his lead. Working out of his home and not having access to the *Church of God Evangel*, helps explain that

⁴⁴ *Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Assembly of the Church of God held at Cleveland, Tennessee, November 22-27, 1923*, 1, 6, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20, 29. A resolution was also passed authorizing the need of “making and preserving” a history of the group.

⁴⁵ Since the 1906 assembly called for annual meeting for “elders, and chosen men and the women from each church” to come as members and not as representatives, it raises the question of whether women originally participated in the business meetings. See Tomlinson’s testimony given December, 1924, 8:1709f. Notice the 1908 assembly affirmed female deacons, but this was reversed the next year and the 1910 assembly decided that women could not be ordained. In the 1912 assembly, M.S. Lemons spoke against women participating in business sessions. Yet when Tomlinson introduced the idea of cell groups to the 1915 assembly, he depicted the group as a “vast body of thoughtful men and women.” *Historical Annual Addresses: A.J. Tomlinson*, 1:71.

⁴⁶ A.J. Tomlinson described in detail this process in his testimony given in December, 1924, 8:1740-1742, 1789. Tomlinson noted that on occasion non-members talked during the business sessions. His intention was to distinguish the 1922 “official assembly” from the general assemblies. In this regard, he asked (8:1949) if in fact there was a general assembly in 1922. He further argued (8:1790) that the Council of Elders was not originally designed as a representative body. The CGP continues the original practice of having local churches ratify (see 8:1862) the business acts of the general assemblies.

neither did the majority of whites identify with Tomlinson, but the Bahamas was a different story. Richardson, W.V. Eneas (Bahamas), William R. Franks (Bahamas) were on the Council of Seventy, but perhaps only Richardson was present during the June 12-21, 1923 council meeting.⁴⁷ However, the following names were given on a petition submitted by C.T. Anderson against J.S. Llewellyn, J.B. Ellis, and M.S. Lemons at this elders' council: T.J. Richardson, J.H. Curry, J.D. Williams, David LaFleur, J.R. Smith, R. Williams, Fred Beneby, and C.C. Sapp.

The Anderson petition has this typed note from Richardson at the end of the list of names: "As overseer of the Colored Churches in the State of Florida and other States I am free to say that all of the men are one voice with this petition. Amen." Did those named on this list actually sign a petition? Yes, according to various letters from C.T. Anderson to A.J. Tomlinson.⁴⁸ When Anderson was confronted by Florida state overseer John L. Stephens in July 1923, Stephen charged Anderson had "only had a few names on the paper as signatures and most of them were negroes."⁴⁹ Anderson's letter of July 29, 1923 clearly marks blacks who signed the petition as well as overseers and those on council of seventy. Anderson's resolute stand with Tomlinson accounts for his having been arrested in July and

⁴⁷ A.J. Tomlinson, *The Church of God Marches On: History of the Battles and Victories of the Church of God from 1903 to 1939* (n.p., n.d.), 10 says "eighty or more ministers were called together." It is known that not all of the 70 came to Cleveland and the other persons were on hand in addition to the 12 elders.

⁴⁸ It is also true, however, that although Anderson put himself in position for this kind of project by his own initiative after the 1922 general assembly, A.J. Tomlinson wrote early drafts of part of the petition and gave names to Anderson for him to get their signatures. Tomlinson would consider this a just response to the "deceitful" tactics of Llewellyn and Lemons who, he says on May 12, 1923, even got to "our dear Brother Lee." The primary person in view is J.S. Llewellyn who was dismissed by Church of God (Cleveland, TN) four years later.

⁴⁹ Anderson to Tomlinson from Williston, Florida on July 9, 1923.

put in prison. However, he was exonerated in a jury trial. This would have had an unsettling affect on other ministers in Florida.⁵⁰

When newly selected Church of God (Cleveland) General Overseer F.J. Lee revoked Richardson's license and appointed LaFleur⁵¹ in his place, blacks on the "west coast" of Florida went with CGP while those on the "east coast" of Florida stayed with the Church of God (Cleveland). This may witness to varying reactions to events as reported in *The Church of God Evangel*, where editor J.S. Llewellyn exercised much editorial freedom as he had also done with the minutes of the 1922 general assembly and like projects. Possible differences over church government may have become pronounced and perhaps tension between African Americans and African Caribbeans. African Americans and African Caribbeans in both Church of God (Cleveland) and CGP at times found themselves at odds in the 1920s. A solution to this tension remains elusive in CGP to this day.

On September 27, 1923, nine black ministers from southern Florida wrote general overseer Lee declaring their intent to "take a stand for the Church of God proper" and saying that their congregations were also "perfectly settled with our decision."⁵² In his report on the "Colored Work" at the November assembly that year, Bishop J.H. Curry announced that "We have had our conflicts along with the other brethren, but we have come out more than conquerors and are sticking to the church."⁵³

⁵⁰ C.T. Anderson to Tomlinson dated July 19, 1923: "No doubt but you have noticed that certain ones have tried to silence me from the ministry. I have never had the semblance of a trail neither is there any foundation for their charges. Not satisfied with this our State Overseer had me arrested and thrown in jail 3 days and then tried in the common courts and I was freed without ever putting a witness on the stand or having any one to plead for me. They hired a lawyer. Luke 21:15. It is only a (game?) with them to wreck the Church of God."

⁵¹ Tomlinson told Richardson about a letter he received from LaFleur, but I have not been able to locate this letter. Such a letter might clarify the deciding issue for those in Florida.

⁵² "The Colored Work - Church of God Proper," *Church of God Evangel*, (13 October 13, 1923), 2.

⁵³ *Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Assembly of the Church of God (1923)*, 7.

A.J. Tomlinson cast the ordeal as “twenty years of labor” being “swept away” with only a few ministers remaining loyal.⁵⁴ Tomlinson reported that it took 10 years to restore the number of adherents recorded in 1922. Homer Tomlinson wrote in 1939 that perhaps 20 ministers out of 800 “stood with” his father. Then he emphasized the role played by the Bahamas:

From November 1922 until February 1923, he endeavored⁵⁵ to bear up. Then the path for him to walk was opened before him. It was in the Bahamas, the land of his first foreign missionary effort, that the way was opened. The late beloved Stanley Ferguson, Overseer of that work, stood with him, encouraging him to start again. When the way was opened in this manner he was recreated in a day.

The ministerial file of T.J. Richardson illuminates various aspects of the debate. Richardson writes Tomlinson, July 9, 1923, expressing a desire to hold a campaign in Cleveland. In his reply, dated July 20, 1923, Tomlinson speculates on whether “some white people”—meaning the ‘Lee/Llewellyn’ faction—would “ruin the meeting.” Tomlinson goes on to note that a “number of colored here are standing with me.” Until the Church of God of Christ opened a small work in Cleveland around the year 2000, CGP had the only black, pentecostal congregation in town.

Richardson participated in the August 8-10, 1923 ‘Call Council’ where Tomlinson responded to the charge of impeachment. An early printed report failed to name Richardson as a participant. Tomlinson wrote on September 20, 1923 that this was an “oversight.” Tomlinson said he was embarrassed because Richardson’s name would have given “it more prestige.” Richardson wondered if he had been deliberately left off the list to which Tomlinson responded that he wanted him on the list “because you are (colored).” During this Call Council, T.J. Richardson was chosen for the CGP Council of Elders.⁵⁶ Following the earlier formula of the general overseer selecting two elders and these three selecting the remaining ten, Richardson was chosen by Tomlinson, and the two original elders Geo. T. Brouayer and S.O. Gillaspie who joined CGP. This evokes the question

⁵⁴ Tomlinson, *The Church of God Marches On*, 11.

⁵⁵ Homer Tomlinson, *The Great Vision of the Church of God* (Queens: published by the author, 1939), 15.

⁵⁶ Amid exuberant charismatic manifestations and at the recommendation of Tomlinson, CGP did away with the twelve elders and council of 70 during the 1923 assembly.

of whether these three would have earlier supported integrating the all-white Church of God (Cleveland, TN) council of twelve elders.

The 1923 CGP records reveal a black constituency in at least Florida, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, New York and Tennessee.⁵⁷ There was a Hispanic presence in Colorado and maybe New Mexico and likely Native Americans in South Dakota or North Dakota, but I have not been able to search all the pertinent records.

From this point on, blacks were present on all general assembly programs, not only as singers, but preachers, leaders, and members of important committees. T.J. Richardson, who served on the Bible Government committee, led a delegation during the state marches at the 1924 assembly counted 21 compared to, for example, 115 for Tennessee, 3 for Alabama, 4 for South Carolina, 23 for Georgia, 23 for North Carolina and 75 for Virginia. A photograph of the assembly in

⁵⁷ T.J. Richardson, "Stick to The Church of God," *White Wing Messenger* 1:9 (January 12, 1924) pp. 1, 4; A.J. Tomlinson letter to T.J. Richardson, September 24, 1923. Tomlinson's letter notes Florida, North Carolina, Alabama and Kentucky and suggests other locations not yet clearly identified in the transition. Possible locations would include Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. Richardson relates Ferguson's visit to Richardson's church in Miami after the assembly and also names Liberty, Pastor J.R Smith, Cocoon Grove & Homestead, Pastor Randolf Williams, Hallandale, Pastor Fred Beneby, Dania, "some holding on," and West Palm Beach with Sister Mamie E. Richardson. Richardson also mentions a district conference in Littletown, NC.

session seems to show that not all blacks sat in a reserved section. This same assembly passed a resolution against the Ku Klux Klan.⁵⁸

Many CGP overseers outside the U.S.A. were national leaders like Stanley Ferguson who when he died in 1934, A.J. Tomlinson ordered flags lowered to half-mast and the church observed three days of mourning. These overseers had authority like state overseers and had their own budgets. Even if there were white missionaries present—very rare in the Caribbean—these whites did not have control over any of the money.

In a diary entry dated April 14, 1926, Tomlinson noted that during an Alabama convention, “I was told I gave a short message in the Choctaw language.”⁵⁹ Tomlinson claimed 10 languages with his initial xenolalic Spirit baptism, and on occasion made references to various xenolalic outbursts. This particular case might in some way relate to his commitment to Native Americans.

During the 1926 general assembly, A.J. Tomlinson took up the question of blacks having their own sub-organization within the larger organization. Tomlinson said that this approach had been imposed by the 1921 constitution and it resulted in keeping the races apart. Since this constitution had been dismissed by CGP in 1923 with support from Ferguson and Richardson, the segregated structure would be discontinued. It is unknown to what degree this change reflected tension be-

⁵⁸ *Minutes of our Nineteenth Annual Assembly of the Church over which A.J. Tomlinson is General Overseer held at The Central Avenue Tabernacle, Cleveland, Tennessee, September 10-16, 1924*, 42. It is possible that CGP numbered no more than 3,000 persons at this time. Grady R. Kent, *Flogged by the Ku Klux Klan* (Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House, 1942) p. 5 “On November 25, 1941, I was called before the Governor of Georgia, Eugene Talmadge, by the Assistant Attorney for the purpose of opposing the Order of the Ku Klux Klan, because of the cruelty and injustice that were shown by them to the citizens of America, and religious freedom of which I stand this day as one of their victims. I suffered cruel persecutions and bore many stripes from this secret organization because they did not agree with my way of worship and praising and glorying God as in the days of old. ... That day I stood with Bishop A.J. Tomlinson, General Overseer of the Church of God, and a great number of other ministers, Methodists, Baptists, Holiness, and other denominations to uphold the law and religious rights.”

⁵⁹ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 4, April 14, 1926. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

tween African American Richardson over against the African-Caribbean majority in Florida.

The exchange of letters between Richardson and Tomlinson in the wake of these events leave some questions unanswered. Richardson, who had worked with authority like a state overseer, writes on October 21, 1926 that he should be reinstated. Richardson explains what happened to Wilkerson, the state overseer of FL: “The Dear Brother Wilkerson was arrested four days after he reached here in the city and is not allowed to preach among the colored people and that will happen with every other white man in the Southern States.” Writing on October 26, 1926, Tomlinson said that he lacked the authority to recreate a position removed by the general assembly but offered to appoint Richardson over Barbados. Dissatisfaction with this decision drove the Richardsons away from CGP for 12 years.

What role did race riots of 1919 and Jim Crow laws play as over against prejudice among white members? What about the 1896 ruling known as *Plessy v. Ferguson* that demanded “separate but equal” rights in the South which defined segregation? If CGP in 1926 is an example of integration, it came at the expense of African-American power in the U.S.A. Clearly A.J. Tomlinson was paternalistic and even advocated separate schools and churches for the races.

Writing to the state overseers in advance of the 1932 general assembly, Tomlinson said of the state marches that no one other than the overseer speak “except in states where there are colored representatives or Indians or other races.”⁶⁰ During this assembly, Tomlinson would affirm that “The middle wall of partition is broken down between the races ... when they get into the Church of God”⁶¹ He appropriated Jeremiah’s ‘Speckled Bird’ to exhort the union of “the whites, the colored, the browns, the Indians, called the red men, the yellow race—and all under one government, one rule, one faith or doctrine—all one.” This language may sound offensive to 21st century ears, but it was a vehicle used to espouse a ministry of reconciliation.

⁶⁰ Lillie Duggar, *A.J. Tomlinson* (Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House, 1964), 793.

⁶¹ *Historical Annual Addresses: A.J. Tomlinson* (Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House & Press, 1971), 2:170.

That same assembly featured sermons by Stanley Ferguson, J.R. Smith, and Olive B. Smith while Francisco Olazábal and Pattie K. Scotton led the annual healing service. Olazábal has been compared favorably to Oral Roberts and Benny Hinn.⁶² Dubbed El Azteca, Olazábal joined the CGP on September 10, 1936 before a spell-bound general assembly thus adding to the rolls a reported body of 50,000 Spanish-speaking adherents.⁶³ This union was never realized though because Olazábal died tragically in a 1937 automobile accident. This despite the courting of Frank Olazábal in New York by Homer Tomlinson and A.J. Tomlinson's appearances before the Council of Latin American Churches which was unable to hold Olazábal's coalition together. In 1938, A.J. Tomlinson was joined by his son Homer who spoke to this convention in Spanish. L.A. Moxley, a European-American leader, preached on all races being joined in one body.⁶⁴

In the final years before his death in 1935, R.G. Spurling was credentialed by A.J. Tomlinson. Spurling was present for the 1933 general assembly during the general overseer's annual address. During that same year, Tomlinson reflected on the 30th anniversary of June 13, 1903. Having said in *The Last Great Conflict*

⁶² See "Hundreds Pray All Night At Unique Healing Service," *Cleveland Daily Banner* (Sept. 12, 1936) p. 1. The report claimed healings of "cripples, blind, deaf and sick."

⁶³ See Gastón Espinosa, "Borderland Religion: Los Angeles and the Origins of the Latino Pentecostal Movement in the U.S., Mexico and Puerto Rico, 1900-1945," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, September, 1999. Also see his article that first appeared in *JAAR*, "Francisco Olazábal: Charisma, Power, and Faith Healing in the Borderlands," *Portraits of a Generation*, edited by James R. Goff Jr., and Grant Wacker (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2002), 177-198. Espinosa gets it wrong both when he says that Olazábal was caught off guard about joining CGP and that the CGP generally assemblies and Homer's church in New York were strictly "Anglo." Homer attracted a wide range of nationalities and had a black group by 1925. He was CGP Foreign Language Secretary and claimed to handle several (about 14?) languages. Homer could speak publicly in Spanish and translate letters written in Spanish. The 1936 assembly ceremony was so well known that it was run on the cover of the *White Wing Messenger* (8/29/36) in advance of the event.

⁶⁴ A.J. Tomlinson, diary, vol. 5, October 31, 1938. Manuscripts Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

that church “government” was not adopted until May 15, 1902,⁶⁵ Tomlinson now writes that this was when the group had been “definitely organized.” He continues:

Then I ventured to ask if they would be willing to receive me into the Church with the understanding that it is the Church of God of the Bible. They were willing, and soon proceeded in regular order. I took the obligation with deep sincerity and extreme sacredness never to be forgotten. (Jer. 50:5).⁶⁶

In 1934, the White Wing Publishing House published a manuscript by Homer A. Tomlinson under the title *Amazing Fulfillments of Prophecy*. Here one finds the pregnant observation that the first successful flight in 1903 by the Wright brothers was in North Carolina. The text goes on to point out that at the same time in the same state there was a group “searching the Scriptures for the Mysteries of the Bible Church.” Looking back at Jesus’ prayer in John 17, Homer announces: “The great vision that was born there was that God’s People will be one.”⁶⁷

Middle Wall of Partition

At the general assembly in 1935, A.J. Tomlinson spoke of the middle wall of partition that had been “broken down by the cross” and spoke of the tragedy of the limited increase of black membership. Mississippi, an example he cited, had 1,022,009 blacks and yet CGP had only one small black church.⁶⁸ The general assembly in 1936 said that an orphanage must be opened for children of color because the church is “for all races.” At the next general assembly, W.M. Lowman and L.A. Moxley, European-American leaders, preached sermons on reaching all races. Others who spoke that year were Dorothy Deadrick, J.R. Smith, and R.C. Smith. In 1938, C.H. Holley preached an assembly sermon on bringing in all races including Cubans. A.J. Tomlinson established churches in Puerto Rico in 1926 that were lost, but a successful campaign was completed there by 1940.

⁶⁵ A.J. Tomlinson, *The Last Great Conflict*, 193.

⁶⁶ A.J. Tomlinson, “I Took the Obligation Thirty Years Ago the Thirteenth Day of This June 1933,” *White Wing Messenger* 10:12 (June 17, 1933), 1.

⁶⁷ Homer A. Tomlinson, *Amazing Fulfillments of Prophecy* (Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House, 1934), 125, 126.

⁶⁸ *Historical Annual Addresses: A.J. Tomlinson* (Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House & Press, 1971), 2:250.

Tomlinson suffered a stroke in 1937 and soon thereafter turned his diaries over to elder son Homer to write a history. In 1939 A.J. Tomlinson began to purchase land that evolved into a 216-acre biblical theme park located in Cherokee County, North Carolina. The erection of makeshift markers was recorded in Tomlinson's diary on November 15, 1940. One marker at the newly named Fields of the Wood was "Prayed and Prevailed" and another proclaimed "Arise shine, for thy light is come, June 13, 1903." Like efforts culminated in a grand celebration held September 7, 1941, when Tomlinson recounted in detail the proceedings on June 13, 1903. When the group reached the steepest part of the mountain, they were greeted by a dramatic demonstration of the "Great Speckled Bird" which emphasized the inclusion of all races. The group then sang the old country anthem by the same name as it had been revised by Homer A. Tomlinson and Sarah Dillon.

After Richardson, Tomlinson never appointed an African-American state overseer. John W. Wood carried a letter from Tomlinson saying he would be appointed over the work if he could get something going in Washington D.C. Wood organized a church, but was listed by 1941 as "representative" rather than state overseer.⁶⁹ However, when overseers were called together in 1943 to select a successor to A.J. Tomlinson, Wood was part of that historic meeting.

Tomlinson's annual address during the 1941 general assembly returned to the theme of breaking down the "middle wall of partition."⁷⁰ That same assembly reported on a work among Native Americans in South Dakota and featured a sermon by Ralph C. Scotton on "All Races in One Mighty Church with Christ the Head for All." Scotton, who attended the inaugural session of Bible Training Camp two months earlier, was appointed Field Secretary No. 2 at this assembly. The 1942 general assembly heard sermons from Dorothy Deadrick, Pattie K.

⁶⁹ *Minutes of the World-Wide 36th Annual Assembly of the Church of God Over Which A.J. Tomlinson is General Overseer, October 15-21, 1941*, 13, records that Wood led a group during the annual "call of states and provinces." The same is reported in *Minutes of the 39th World-Wide Annual Assembly of the Church of God Over Which M.A. Tomlinson is General Overseer. Held at the World-Wide Annual Assembly Tabernacle, Cleveland, Tenn., U.S.A., September 13-19, 1944*, 14. The same minutes, 151, list Wood as a Male Evangelist not a Bishop.

⁷⁰ *Historical Annual Addresses: A.J. Tomlinson* (Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House & Press, 1971), 3:209.

Scotton and Ralph Scotton on “Work Done by Colored People.” The 1943 general assembly heard again from Dorothy Deadrick, Alvin Moss and another Ralph Scotton sermon about black progress. A.J. Tomlinson passed away less than one month after this general assembly just as many Hispanics joined CGP in California.⁷¹

Epilogue

In some states, the CGP may have been the first church to defy Jim Crow laws in their worship services. African Caribbeans, African Americans, and Latin Americans have been charged with the leadership of states, some of which include European Americans as the majority. This unprecedented approach distinguishes the CGP not only among Classical Pentecostals but many denominations in the U.S.A. Yet the egalitarian vision espoused by CGP has never been fully put in practice and is always at risk.



⁷¹ Davidson, *Upon This Rock* 3:186

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Andrew Murray: sørafrikansk “Keswickforkynner” med vidt nedslagsfelt

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Andrew Murray (1828-1917) har gjennom sine mange bøker øvd stor innflytelse på både sine samtidskolleger og tilhengere innen hellighetsbevegelsen. Fremdeles leses bøkene i mange kristne sammenhenger.

Murray hadde skotsk avstamning, men faren (som *også* het Andrew til fornavn) hadde immigrert til Sør Afrika i 1822 for å være prest i den hollandsk reformerte kirke. 10 år gammel ble sønnen Andrew (sammen med sin 2 år eldre bror John) sendt tilbake til Aberdeen, Skottland for å gå på skole og vokste derfor opp hos en onkel. Etter 7 år i Skottland hadde guttene så å si glemt det hollandske språk, og i juni 1845 gikk ferden videre til Utrecht – bl.a. for å få en viss teologisk skolerung før de begge vendte tilbake til Sør Afrika som prester. Murrays biograf, W.M. Douglas, inkluderer utdrag fra flere av guttenes brev til foreldrene i Sør Afrika som tegner et lite flatterende bilde av medstudentenes åndsliv – iallfall sett med guttenes øyne. I ett av brevene skriver John: “I solemnly assure you, the name of God is profaned in the theological classrooms, even by orthodox and respectable students; nor do they lose character by being intoxicated now and then on some festive occasion, provided only it does not take place immediate before the candidates’ examination.”¹

Det er vanskelig å ta stilling til hvorvidt Murray fikk varige inntrykk fra perioden i Holland som skulle prege hans fremtidige forkynnervirksomhet. Douglas refererer kortfattet til et tilfeldig møte med den tyske helbredelsespredikanten Johann Blumhardt,² men vi har ingen dokumentasjon på at Murray opplevde dette møtet som skjellsettende.

¹ W.M. Douglas, *Andrew Murray and His Message*. One of God’s Choice Saints. Compiled from materials supplied by Miss Murray from various letters and recollections and by Miss Mary Murray from her large manuscript by his friend (London/Edinburgh: Oliphants Ltd., [1926]) s. 41.

² Douglas, *ibid.* s. 43.

Etter 3 års studier ble Murray på sin 20-årige fødselsdag ordinert til tjeneste i Haag. Til tross for flere reiser til Europa og USA – bl.a. et ett-årig opphold (primært i Storbritannia) i perioden 1854-55 og et 10 måneders opphold i Storbritannia i 1866, viet Murray seg til prestegjeringen i Sør Afrika, hvor han betjente hollandsk-reformerte menigheter i Bloemfontein (1848-60), Worcester (1860-64), Cape Town (1864-71) og Wellington (1871-1917). I Wellington skulle han for øvrig bli boende resten av sitt liv.

Murrays diverse besøk i Storbritannia og USA introduserte ham for flere av de mest fremtredende lederskikkelsene innen hellighetsbevegelsen (og Faith-Cure bevegelsen [en definitiv understrømning innenfor sistnevnte]), som William E. Boardman, Robert Pearsall Smith (og kona Hannah) og Phoebe Palmer.³ Lenge før de årlige Keswickmøtene startet opp i Storbritannia (i 1875), iallfall så tidlig som 1864, forfektet Murray tanker om en mulig overvinnelse av “the inner, or heart sin of a child of God.”⁴ Samme året skal den skotske Indiamisjonæren Alexander Duff ha begeistret herr og fru Murray, idet han i sin fremferd var “the exemplification of the doctrines of quietism in action,” da “All those expressions of being ‘dead to self’ and ‘lost in God’ which one finds in Madame Guyon seem to be exemplified in [his] experience and life.”⁵ Gjennom sine britiske kontakter var Murray vel informert om vekkellespredikanten D.L. Moodys vellykkede kampanjer i 1873, og som abonnent på de to evangeliske tidsskriftene *The Revival* (som senere endret navn til *The Christian*) og *Life of Faith* fikk han også god innsikt i Robert Pearsall Smiths konferansevirksomhet forutfor initieringen av det første Keswickstevnet i 1875. “Then came, about 1870, the great Holiness Movement,” uttalte Murray ved en senere anledning og fortsatte: “The letters that appeared in *The Revival* (now *The Christian*) touched my heart; and I was in clo-

³ Douglas, *ibid.* s. 176.

⁴ Douglas, *ibid.* s. 154. Se også J. DuPlessis, *The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa* (London, Edinburgh og New York: Marshall Brothers, Ltd., 1919) s. 338 ff.

⁵ Douglas, *ibid.* s. 157. Murrays interesse for kristen mystikk hadde på et tidligere tidspunkt blitt vakt gjennom lesning av den tyske teolog Johann Tobias Beck. (DuPlessis, *ibid.*, s. 480.) For ytterligere opplysninger om Beck, satt inn i en kontekstuell ramme som burde interessere dette tidsskrifts lesere, se Gunnar Normann Larsen, “Spirit, soul and body. An investigation into the historical roots of Faith teachers’ anthropology.” Hovedfagsavhandling i kristendomskunnskap ved Det teologiske Menighetsfakultet i Oslo, 1999 s. 59-62.

se fellowship with what took place at Oxford and Brighton and it all helped me.”⁶ Under et besøk i USA i 1877 fikk han dessuten personlig høre både Moody og Charles C. Cullis.

I 1899 ble Murray initiativtaker til en nasjonal “Keswickbevegelse” i Sør Afrika med årlige sommerstevner i Wellington. Murray hadde hovedansvaret for møtene 28 år framover, til sin død i 1917. Her deltok britiske og sørafrikanske “Keswick-forkynnere” side om side. I tillegg til stevnet i Wellington ble det på grunn av de store avstandene avholdt tilsvarende samlinger i flere av de største byene – som Johannesburg, Cape Town og Durham.

Murray utgav en mengde oppbyggelsesbøker med fokus bl.a. på praktisk hellighet. Han var også fortrolig med Faith-Cure bevegelsen, samt med flere av dennes inspirasjonskilder (som Dorothea Trudel i Männedorf). Flere av Murrays bøker beskjeftiger seg med helbredelse ved bønn og ble verdsatt både i Europa og USA.⁷ Murray hadde selv fått en strupelidelse i 1879 og hadde prøvd både klimaforandring og nedprioritering av forkynnervirksomheten uten at dette hjalp nevneverdig. Under et besøk i Storbritannia i 1882, hvor Murray deltok på en konferanse i Mildmay Conference Hall i London, traff han Otto Stockmayer – som han for øvrig hadde lært å kjenne i Sveits fem år tidligere. Murray hadde allerede lest William E. Boardmans bok *The Lord that Healeth Thee* (1881) og sannsynligvis også *Dorothea Trudel; or, the Prayer of Faith. An Account of the Institution for Faith Cure at Mannedorf, Switzerland, and a Life of its Founder*, sistnevnte utgitt på Charles Cullis forlag Willard Tract Repository i Boston i 1874: “What I had read concerning the work of Dorothea Trudel and Dr. Cullis had removed from my mind all doubts but that the Lord, even yet, bestows healing *in answer* to the prayer of faith.”⁸ Murray besluttet nå – i samråd med den sveitsiske helbredelsespredikanten – å legge seg inn 3 uker ved Boardmans Betshan-helbredelseshjem i London (som hadde åpnet noen få måneder tidligere) og hevder i ettertid, etter å

⁶ Douglas, *ibid.* s. 168.

⁷ Douglas hevder at Murray skrev og utgav om lag 250 bøker – (noen av disse var dog knapt mer enn pamfletter – noen på hollandsk, andre på engelsk) [s. 267], mens en annen forfatter refererer til “240 books and tracts which were published in fifteen languages.” (Leona Choy, *Andrew Murray: Apostle of abiding love* [Fort Washington, Pennsylvania: Christian Literature Crusade, 1978] s. 15.

⁸ Douglas, *ibid.* s. 184.

ha blitt nærmere undervist om “hvad Bibelen lærer om Sygdom og Helbredelse som Svar paa Troens Bøn,” som en dansk Murray-biografi uttrykker det, aldri mer å ha vært “besværet af nogen Svaghed i Struben eller i Stemmen.”⁹



⁹ *Andrew Murray* (København: Kirkeklokkens Forlag, [u.å.]) s. 49.

T. Austin-Sparks - a brief introduction

Geir Lie holds a Master of Christian Religion from the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology in Oslo.



In spite of quite extensive research on both the Holiness Movement and on “Plymouth Brethrenism”, little attention has been dedicated to a study of the possible interrelatedness of the two respective movements. This neglect is significant, considering the fact that J.N. Darby’s pretribulational premillennialism has permeated most segments within the Holiness movement. Darby’s legacy in this regard also applies to his indirect influence on Pentecostal-charismatic eschatology. It is no wonder that several influential devotional writers have been considerably influenced by both confessional traditions. The most well known writer alluded to among these is probably the late Watchman Nee of China, who more or less attempted a synthesis of British Keswick teachings and Plymouth Brethren ecclesiology. While Nee has been the object of a certain academic interest, the same can hardly be said of his friend and (partly) mentor Theodore Austin-Sparks (1888-1971) from the UK.¹ In fact, it was Nee’s spontaneous attendance and participation in the celebration of the Lord’s Supper in Austin-Sparks’ Honor Oak church fellowship in 1933 which a few years later resulted in a formal schism between Nee and the Raven-Taylor fraction of the Exclusive Brethren. Nee had originally been made aware of Austin-Sparks’ literature via China missionary Margaret E. Barber.

Austin-Sparks has been surrounded by a certain mystery within the circles that have valued his teachings. Jim Baxter, until 1996 in charge of Testimony Book Ministry within the US and at the time the one and only distributor of Austin-Sparks’ books, claims that the latter explicitly asked that “there be no biographies

¹ The only critical appraisals I have come across, are A.J. Pollock’s *The Teaching of Mr. Austin Spark’s Book “The Centrality and Universality of the Cross” Examined in the Light of Scripture and An Examination of the teaching of the Honor Oak Fellowship in the Light of Scriptures*, as well as E.J. Poole-Connor’s *The Teaching and Influence of ‘Honor Oak’. A Resumé of Notes originally prepared for presentation in the Fellowship of Independent Evangelical Churches*, 1956.

written about him.² Neither his many books nor his newsletter *A Witness and A Testimony* convey much autobiographical materials worth mentioning.

Austin-Sparks was born and grew up in the city of London, but took a definite decision for Christ during a visit with relatives in Scotland.³ “His discipleship began when, at seventeen years of age, he walked down a Glasgow street on a Sunday afternoon and stopped to listen to some young people witnessing in the open air,” it was said. That same evening he made the decision that he wanted to be a Christian, and the very next Sunday he found himself “standing with the same eager young Christians in their open-air meeting.”⁴ According to daughter Jean Kinnear, he seems to have been introduced to the later-to-become-famous minister Oswald Chambers as a result of the evangelistic activities in Glasgow into which he immediately immersed himself.⁵ Kinnear characterizes her father as theologically autodidact – he had “no formal theological training or academic qualifications.”⁶

Despite Austin-Sparks’ young age, in 1907 he was listed as a Baptist pastor in Ruabon in northern Wales,⁷ and in Lewisham (London), respectively.⁸ His pastoral career in Wales, however, must have been quite brief, as other documentation demonstrates that Austin-Sparks served the Lewisham Baptist church from

² Jim Baxter, letter to the author, September 14, 1994.

³ Jean Kinnear, letter to the author, February 15, 1995.

⁴ F(oster), H(arry): “T.A-S. An Appreciation.” *A Witness and A Testimony* (July-August 1971), 69.

⁵ T. Austin-Sparks, “Scotland.” *New Testament Christianity* 16, 3 (July 1906), 58; *ibid.*, “Scotland.” *New Testament Christianity* 16, 7 (Nov. 1906), 138; O. Berry, “Wales.” *New Testament Christianity* 17, 4 (Aug. 1907), 78.

⁶ Jean Kinnear, letter to the author, November 22, 1994.

⁷ “Foreign Missions & Representatives.” *New Testament Christianity* 17, 7 (Nov. 1907), 140.

⁸ T. Austin-Sparks and J.C. Clifford, “Lewisham.” *New Testament Christianity* 17, 7 (Nov. 1907), 137-138.

1907 until 1912.⁹ He then received a call from the Raleigh Memorial Congregational Church in Stoke Newington, London. The “historians” of this latter church have this to say: “He was not a Congregational Minister, but the Church was keen on securing him, and he commenced his Ministry in February, 1912.”¹⁰ According to these same “historians”, Austin-Sparks had initiated yearly conferences “for the deepening of Spiritual life,” obviously inspired by the Keswick conferences and those of Keswick adherent Jessie Penn-Lewis. After his pastorate in Raleigh Memorial was completed in 1921, he took over the Honor Oak Baptist Church (still within the city of London) until 1926 when the church severed its connection to the Baptist denomination.¹¹ Austin-Sparks had previously heard Keswick teacher George Campbell Morgan in Westminster Congregational Chapel in London.¹² Now he was also further introduced to the Baptist minister (and Keswickian) Frederick Brotherton Meyer.¹³

Nonetheless, Austin-Sparks’ greatest theological indebtedness was owed to Penn-Lewis.¹⁴ As her co-worker, it was his responsibility to coordinate her conferences from approximately 1923 until 1926,¹⁵ and with failing success he allegedly attempted to convince the elderly lady to open up for interconfessional celebration of the Lord’s Supper as a visible expression of “believers’ oneness in Christ.” According to Jean Kinneer, it was her late father’s ecumenical attitude which was responsible for his and several of his fellow members’ decision to “vacate the

⁹ W.T. Whitley, *The Baptists of London 1612-1928. Their fellowship, their expansion, with notes on their 850 churches* (London: The Kingsgate Press, [n.d.]), 237.

¹⁰ *Raleigh Memorial Congregational Church. History of Our First Hundred Years 1860-1960*, 8.

¹¹ Whitley, *ibid.*, 239.

¹² For further information on Campbell Morgan, see Harold Murray, *G. Campbell Morgan, Bible Teacher. A Sketch of the Great Expositor and Evangelist* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, [n.d.]).

¹³ T. Austin-Sparks, “Dr. F.B. Meyer and the fuller message of the Cross.” *A Witness and A Testimony*, (Nov. 1932), 157.

¹⁴ T. Austin-Sparks, “A further word.” *A Witness and A Testimony* (Aug. 1927), n.p.

¹⁵ Brynmor Pierce Jones, *An Instrument of Revival. The Complete Life of Evan Roberts 1878-1951* (South Plainfield, NJ: Bridge Publishing Inc., 1995), 204.

Baptist Church and establish the Honor Oak Christian Fellowship and Conference Center in a rented school building” in 1926.¹⁶ Penn-Lewis herself, however, seems to have had slightly less noble thoughts about the Austin-Sparks kind-of-ecumenics. After withdrawing from her organization,¹⁷ he initiated his own competing ministry, arranging similar conferences within the same geographical area that Penn-Lewis had ministered (London and the Midlands), and many of the latter’s followers flocked to the new competitor. “It has affected us tremendously in attendance, - and in finance!” Penn-Lewis admitted, while nonetheless claiming not to be flabbergasted the least regarding Austin-Sparks’ new course of direction: “The Honor Oak matter I can understand, because I have seen Mr. Sparks’ character in many ways, and am not surprised.” More specifically:

The dear brethren there [at the Honor Oak fellowship] are duplicating everything they found in the “Overcomer”. Free paper, motto card, booklets, Conferences, and even the titles for the Conferences! This week it is to be “The Cruciality of the Cross”!¹⁸

It is not difficult to identify with Penn-Lewis’ ironical comments concerning Austin-Sparks’ “duplicating” her own ministry activities. Her main message had always been Christ’s crucifixion and this truth’s application to the believer’s Christian walk. This emphasis was also illustrated through several of her book titles, such as *Message of the Cross* (1898) and *The Cross of Calvary and its Message* (1903). During her first Swanwick conference in 1920, she again preached on the various aspects of Christ’s substitutionary work and on the dogma of justification, on the distinction between “soul and spirit”, and on the believer’s combat with demonic forces. These messages were published in book-form, first entitled *The Logos of the Cross*, and revised under the title *The Centrality of the Cross*. Both the revised title and other catchwords coined by Penn-Lewis, such as *The Proclamation of the Cross* or similar slogans,¹⁹ contributed to Austin-Sparks’ motto regarding *The Cruciality of the Cross*. This hardly could be

¹⁶ Jean Kinnear, letter to the author, November 22, 1994.

¹⁷ Brynmor Pierce Jones, *The Trials and Triumphs of Jessie Penn-Lewis* (North Brunswick, NJ: Bridge-Logos Publishers, 1997), 241, 298-299.

¹⁸ Jessie Penn-Lewis, letter to J.C. Williams, June 26, 1927.

¹⁹ Mary N. Garrard, *Jessie Penn-Lewis: a memoir* (London: The Overcomer Book Room, 1930), 275-276.

treated otherwise than as a pitiful and inferior imitation of the message by which Penn-Lewis believed herself entrusted from God to deliver.

Austin-Sparks visited the US for the first time in 1925, and received his first groups of followers in New York City. These groups, however, have always been numerically insignificant. During the 60s, his many books and pamphlets were distributed by M.O.R.E. (Mail Ordering Religious Education) in Indianapolis, Convocation Literature Sales in Norfolk (Virginia) [which later changed its name to Testimony Book Ministry] and the small church Westmoreland Chapel in Los Angeles. Closely related to M.O.R.E. was Sure Foundation, the publisher of DeVern Fromke's devotional materials, the latter also positively influenced by the teachings of Austin-Sparks.²⁰ Finally John Myers of Northridge (California) has promoted the teachings of Austin-Sparks through his tiny magazine by the title of *Voice in the Wilderness* [later renamed *Recovery*].²¹

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²⁰ One of Fromke's books, *The Ultimate Intention*, was translated into Norwegian, entitled *Guds evige hensikt* and published by Logos in Sarons Dal in 1975.

²¹ J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*. 3rd. ed. (Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research Inc., 1989), 509-510.

A Historical Survey of Belief and Practice regarding Deliverance of Demonized Christians

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A controversial debate has ensued during the past century regarding whether or not Christians can be demon-possessed. Most of the literature today distinguishes between demonization (demonic infestation or control) and demon possession (signifying ownership), usually asserting that Christians can be demonized, but not possessed. Thus, for the purposes of this paper, the author will use the term “demonization” rather than “possession,” except where used specifically in literature cited. This paper briefly investigates the history of belief and practice of spiritual warfare and deliverance (or exorcism), especially as it relates to demonized Christians.

Demonization of Believers in Early Church History

The early church fathers believed that Christians could be demonized. The late second and early third century theologian Tertullian wrote about A.D. 200 in *De Spectaculis* (Chapter 26) of a believer who was possessed after attending a theatre. Tertullian recounts the deliverance of the woman, saying, “In the outcasting, accordingly, when the unclean creature was upbraided with having dared to attack a believer, he [the demon] firmly replied, ‘And in truth I did it most righteously, for I found her in my domain.’”¹ Early on in church history, the Fathers felt a need to standardize exorcism for every new catechumen being baptized, and thus exorcistic phrases became a regular part of the baptismal rite. Eventually, the rite was stated in a formula known as the “Exorcism of Saint Ambrosius,” probably because of his extensive ministry of exorcism, although he did not formulate it.² By the ninth century, “baptism was regarded as an expulsion of the evil spirit. The convert had, according to Dionysius, to exhale three times, and according to the Greek euchologion, also to spit at him upon the floor. The

¹ Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, chapter 26, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978), Vol. 3, 90.

² Adolph Rodewyk, *Possessed by Satan* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), 48.

Synod of Leptinae in the year 743 added to the confession of faith an ‘abrenunciation’ of the Devil.”³ A Low-German baptismal abjuration formula renounces the three chief German deities and their hosts, works, and words.⁴ Other exorcistic rituals were formulated over time.⁵

It was presumed that the baptized person was then freed from any demonic bondage, but it was also recognized that it was possible for evil spirits to return.

Debates ensued over whether the “possessed” could attend religious services or be allowed to partake of the Eucharist. The early Council of Elvira (A.D. c. 330) allowed the “possessed” to partake of Holy Communion only when death was imminent, yet the first Council of Orange (A.D. 441) permitted them to partake for their own spiritual welfare: “Possessed who have been baptized and are under clerical care should be admitted to Communion, so that they might be strengthened in their resistance to wicked enemies or cleansed after such attacks.”⁶ Rodewyk cites incidents from the lives of St. Benedict and St. Norbert in which the Host of Communion played a part in deliverance of demonized individuals.⁷

According to St. Benedict of Nursia, an ordained person who becomes possessed is suspended from his duties until he is delivered and it is assured that he will not relapse into possession once again.⁸ Rodewyk notes here that the Church recognized that any Christian could have the possibility of becoming “possessed,” even clerics and priests.⁹ Some believed, especially during the Medieval Ages, that even the innocent and godly could become “possessed” as a test or purifica-

³ Paul Carus, *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil* (La Salle, IL: Open Court Publishing Co., 1974), 280.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 280-281.

⁵ For examples of various rituals of exorcism of believers, see Michael Harper, *Spiritual Warfare* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1970), 125-127.

⁶ Rodewyk, 46-47. Rodewyk notes that John Cassian and Thomas Aquinas also held this view.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 171-172.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁹ *Ibid.*

tion.¹⁰ Oesterreich, in his monumental work *Possession: Demoniactal and Other*, cites numerous instances of obsession and rare instances of possession among even the holiest of saints and mystics.¹¹

Originally, the church fathers believed that any and all Christians could cast out demons. “According to Cyprian, the Christian receives this power during baptism.”¹² Eventually, however, both because of misuse of exorcistic authority and movement toward formal hierarchy, the Church came to view the power to exorcise demons as the work and authority of clergymen or “saintly individuals.”¹³

Views on Demonization of Christians following the Reformation

At the time of the Reformation, Luther, though he believed in the reality of the demonic, eschewed some of the Catholic teaching on exorcism and did not believe Christians could directly command demons to depart, but rather only pray for Christ to rebuke them.¹⁴ As the writer notes elsewhere, “John Calvin forbade the ancient practice of exorcism at baptism, emphasizing instead the powers by prayer, faith, and putting on the armor of God.”¹⁵ Menno Simons also opposed

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 113-114, 117-118.

¹¹ T.K. Oesterreich, *Possession: Demoniactal and Other* (New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1966), 80-90.

¹² Rodewyk, 40-41.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 41-46.

¹⁴ Luther says, “We cannot expel demons with certain ceremonies and words, as Jesus Christ, the prophets, and the apostles did. All we can do is in the name of Jesus Christ pray the Lord God, of His infinite mercy, to deliver the possessed persons. And if our prayer is offered up in full faith, we are assured by Christ Himself (John 16:23), that it will be efficacious, and overcome all the Devil’s resistance. I might mention many instances of this. But we cannot of ourselves expel the evil spirits, nor must we even attempt it.” Frederick S. Leahy, *Satan Cast Out* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1975), 113.

¹⁵ Paul L. King, “The Restoration of the Doctrine of Binding and Loosing,” *Alliance Academic Review* (Camp Hill, PA: Christian Publications, 1997), 62. See Leahy, 114.

exorcism with baptism.¹⁶ Luther initially omitted the rite of exorcism in his handbook on baptism (1523), but included it in his second edition (1526).¹⁷ Later Lutheran churches varied, some eliminating the rite from baptism, others retaining it, or, like Spener, making it optional.¹⁸ German theologian and counselor Kurt Koch observes, “Rationalism then did away with exorcism. From this time it disappeared from the liturgy.”¹⁹ Likewise, Timothy Warner notes, “The elimination of the renunciation of the devil by baptismal candidates is another reflection of the Western worldview with its lack of a functional view of demons.”²⁰ Anglican minister Michael Harper writes, “In the Church of England rite of baptism, exorcism appeared in the first of Cranmer’s Prayer Books (1549), but disappeared afterwards in the wave of reactionary feeling which wanted to see the Prayer Book stripped of all so-called superstitious connotations.”²¹

In the Catholic Church popular exorcism ceased with the 17th century Counter-Reformation introduction of formal exorcistic rites and procedures, such as *Rituale Romanum* and the *Manuale Exorcismorum*.²² In Catholic circles “possession” and obsession began to be used separately during the eighteenth century.²³

¹⁶ Menno Simons, *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons: c. 1496-1561* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, [1978, c. 1956]), 252.

¹⁷ Kurt Koch, *Christian Counseling and Occultism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1965), 277.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Timothy M. Warner, *Spiritual Warfare: Victory Over the Powers of This Dark World* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1991), 120-121.

²¹ Harper, 38.

²² Oesterreich, 101-102.

²³ Rodewyk, 179.

19th Century Renewed Awareness of Demonization of Christians

In Protestant circles, awareness of demonization of Christians came through the dramatic encounter in 1841 of German Lutheran pastor Johann Christoph Blumhardt with severe demonization of one of his parishioners who had some involvement with spiritualism.²⁴ She had many unusual and painful manifestations of demonic presence. Since Blumhardt had never dealt with anything like this before, it took him nearly two years of trial and error to completely exorcise the demons and set her free. As a result, it stirred a revival and healing ministry. His ministry of healing and deliverance awakened interest and raised awareness of the battle of good and evil, especially in the lives of Christians. His ministry and teachings impacted evangelical leaders like the Dutch Reformed missionary to South Africa Andrew Murray, American Methodist prayer leader E.M. Bounds, and A.B. Simpson, the Canadian Presbyterian founder of The Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA).

On the American front, Ethan O. Allen, from Methodist and Adventist background and a descendent of the famed colonial leader, began an extensive healing and deliverance ministry in the 1840s. Before he would pray for someone (including believers) for healing he would “first bind the strong man” by rebuking evil spirits, what he called giving “words of castin’ out.”²⁵

Early C&MA leaders recognized the problem of demonic attack at various levels upon believers, recognizing the exorcism of believers by Blumhardt and Ethan Allen. The July/August 1885 issue of *The Word, the Work and the World* featured an article by Pastor Schrenck article warning about “transmission of carnal spirits” through laying on of hands.²⁶ Significantly, a major Alliance leader found himself attacked by demons in which he said he had become possessed. Dr. George Peck, one of the Vice Presidents of the Alliance, and his friend and

²⁴ See Friedrich Zuendel, *The Awakening: One Man’s Battle with Darkness* (Farmington, PA: Plough Publishing House, 1999).

²⁵ William T. MacArthur, *Ethan O. Allen* (Philadelphia, PA: The Parlor Evangelist, [c. 1925], 4-12, 16-18.

²⁶ Pastor Schrenk, “Dangers and Warnings,” *The Word, Work, and World*, July-Aug. 1885, 211-212.

colleague, C.W. Morehouse, also a C&MA leader, both had earlier been praying for greater power to heal and cast out demons. Being relatively new in the art of spiritual warfare and not realizing the scope of what they were taking on, Peck himself was attacked by demonic forces. In January 1890, he became severely ill with pneumonia, accompanied by insanity and demonic manifestations. Morehouse prayed for his healing and cast out the demons.²⁷ As a result, Peck launched into a greater ministry, devoting most of his time to healing and deliverance. From that point on, the problem of demonized Christians was recognized and dealt with in the C&MA.²⁸

Awakened Awareness in Turn of the Century Missions

Presbyterian missionary to China John Nevius wrote an influential book in 1895 entitled *Demon Possession and Allied Themes*.²⁹ Though his book does not directly address the issue of demonization of Christians, it raised awareness of the reality of demonic powers. Further, Pastor Hsi of China exercised a major ministry of exorcism after deliverance of his wife.³⁰ By the beginning of the 20th century, missionaries became aware of the demonization of Christians, especially of those who had been involved in occult activities. The China Inland Mission,

²⁷ "Substance of Dr. Peck's Account of His Healing of Acute Mania," *Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*, March 21-28, 1890, 192ff. In August 1895 he spoke at Old Orchard convention on casting out demons. George B. Peck, "In His Name," *Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*, Aug. 14, 1895, 102.

²⁸ In July 1903, for example, at the C&MA's Nyack (New York) Convention, toward the end of the altar ministry of Minnie Draper, "suddenly the working of demons appeared in a dear and devoted sister." She had had a partial deliverance earlier, but this took about four hours for total deliverance and full victory. "Nyack Convention," *Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*, July 25, 1903, 109.

²⁹ John L. Nevius, *Demon Possession and Allied Themes* (Chicago, IL: Fleming H. Revell, n.d.).

³⁰ Mrs. Howard Taylor, *Pastor Hsi (of North China): One of China's Christians* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1907).

founded by Hudson Taylor, and The Christian and Missionary Alliance both wrote of the demonization of Christians on the mission field.³¹

English writers Penn-Lewis and Evan Roberts, in their classic work *War on the Saints*, use the term “possession” broadly and indiscriminately of varying degrees of demonic influence and harassment.³² Roberts wanted to have the book revised, but Penn-Lewis refused.³³ Later, an abridged edition appeared, excising from the book the language of possession.³⁴ Chinese spiritual leader Watchman Nee, though influenced by Penn-Lewis, nonetheless, was more moderate, distinguishing oppression from possession.³⁵ C&MA missionary and spiritual warfare leader John MacMillan, also influenced by Penn-Lewis, makes a further distinction, noting three degrees of demonic activity.³⁶

Teaching on the Authority of the Believer

In the Keswick, Higher Life, and Wesleyan holiness movements of the late 1800s and early 1900s, recovery of the concept of the authority of the believer emerged out of the Reformation concepts of the priesthood of the believer and Covenant theology. Leaders in the Reformed tradition (like Horatius Bonar, Andrew Murray, A.B. Simpson; A.T. Pierson), Lutheran Pietism (Blumhardt, Dorothea Trudel), and Wesleyan holiness movement (George Watson) emphasized that

³¹ “Deliverance from Demons,” “Demon Possession,” *China’s Millions*, September 1908, 102-103.

³² Jessie Penn-Lewis with Evan Roberts, *War on the Saints: The Full Text*, unabridged ninth edition (New York, NY: Thomas E. Lowe, Ltd., 1973).

³³ Brynmor Pierce Jones, *The Trials and Triumphs of Mrs. Jessie Penn-Lewis* (North Brunswick, NJ: Bridge-Logos Publishers, 1997), 206, 229.

³⁴ Jessie Penn-Lewis with Evan Roberts, *War on the Saints*, abridged edition (Parkstone, Poole, Dorset, England: Overcomer Literature Trust, 1977; Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, 1977).

³⁵ Watchman Nee, *The Latent Power of the Soul* (New York, NY: Christian Fellowship Publishers, Inc., 1972).

³⁶ John A. MacMillan, *Encounter with Darkness* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, 1980).

believers have authority over demonic powers, based on such Scriptures as John 1:12; Luke 10:19; Eph. 1:20-23; 2:6; Matt. 16:19.³⁷ Some of them called it “throne power” or “throne rights.”³⁸ The seminal and most comprehensive early writer on the theme was C&MA missionary John MacMillan, who penned a series of articles in 1932 that became the ground-breaking book entitled *The Authority of the Believer*.³⁹ As a missionary, pastor, evangelist and professor he had an extensive deliverance ministry for more than 30 years, primarily of Christians who had been infested by demons.⁴⁰ Pentecostal Word of Faith leader Kenneth Hagin adapted and expanded upon MacMillan’s concepts in the 1960s, and became the source of most teaching on the authority of the believer in charismatic circles.⁴¹ The more recent book *Binding and Loosing: Exercising Authority over the Dark Powers*, co-authored by K. Neill Foster and myself, provides a comprehensive scholarly study of the authority of the believer.⁴²

³⁷ See Andrew Murray, *With Christ in the School of Prayer* (Springdale, PA: Whitaker House, 1981), 116-117, 136, 178; A.T. Pierson, *The Acts of the Holy Spirit* (Camp Hill, PA: Christian Publications, 1980), 92; A.T. Pierson, *Lessons in the School of Prayer* (Dixon, MO: Rare Christian Books, n.d.), 59; A.B. Simpson, “The Authority of Faith,” *The Alliance Weekly*, April 23, 1938, 263; George D. Watson, *White Robes and Spiritual Feasts* (Cincinnati, OH: God’s Revivalist, n.d.), preface, n.p.; George D. Watson, *Bridehood Saints* (Cincinnati, OH: God’s Revivalist, n.d.), 120-122. George D. Watson, *Steps to the Throne* (Cincinnati, OH: Bible School Book Room, n.d.).

³⁸ Watson, *Steps to the Throne*; Watson, *White Robes and Spiritual Feasts*, preface; George B. Peck, *Throne-Life, or the Highest Christian Life* (Boston, MA: Watchword Publishing, 1888), 171, 174-175, 177.

³⁹ John A. MacMillan, *The Authority of the Believer* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, 1980).

⁴⁰ See Paul L. King, *A Believer with Authority: The Life and Message of John A. MacMillan* (Camp Hill, PA: Christian Publications, 2001).

⁴¹ See Kenneth E. Hagin, *The Believer’s Authority* (Tulsa, OK: Rhema Bible Church, 1984), where Hagin acknowledges his indebtedness to MacMillan in the Foreword and pp. 38, 53-54.

⁴² K. Neill Foster with Paul L. King, *Binding and Loosing: Exercising Authority over the Dark Powers* (Camp Hill, PA: Christian Publications, 1998).

Demonization of Christians in Pentecostal Circles

With the advent of the Pentecostal movement in 1906, there became a greater awareness of demonic manifestations among believers. One of the fathers of the Pentecostal movement, Charles Parham, gave illustrations of believers becoming demonized through false supernatural manifestations.⁴³ Woodworth-Etter warned about evil spirits being contracted through laying on of hands.⁴⁴ William Joseph Seymour, catalyst of the 1906 Azusa Street Pentecostal revival, cautioned about spiritualistic phenomena occurring to the undiscerning.⁴⁵

Anti-Pentecostal leaders seized on these instances of demonic manifestations among Pentecostals, claiming that most, if not all, supernatural manifestations were really satanic counterfeits. Others, like the C&MA, expressed caution over the possibility of spurious supernatural phenomena, but did not rule out the possibility of the genuine.

Perhaps in reaction to anti-Pentecostal claims, some Pentecostal groups and leaders like T.L. Osborn,⁴⁶ the Assemblies of God,⁴⁷ and renowned charismatic/Pentecostal leader David DuPlessis (known as “Mr. Pentecost”) have denied that a Christian can be demonized, arguing if a person is filled with the Holy Spirit, he cannot have an evil spirit.⁴⁸

⁴³ Charles Parham, *The Everlasting Gospel* (Baxter Springs, KS: n.p., 1911), 71, 72.

⁴⁴ Maria Woodworth-Etter, *Marvels and Miracles* (Indianapolis, IN: M.B.W. Etter, 1922), 503, 505-508.

⁴⁵ William Seymour, *The Doctrines and Disciplines of the Azusa St. Apostolic Faith Mission* (Los Angeles, CA: Apostolic Faith Mission, 1915), 3.

⁴⁶ T.L. Osborn, *The Message That Works* (Tulsa, OK: OSFO Books, 1997), 366-368.

⁴⁷ *Can Born Again Believers Be Demon Possessed?* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1972).

⁴⁸ Francis MacNutt, *Deliverance from Evil Spirits* (Grand Rapids: Chosen Books, 1995), 72.

20th Century Evangelical Belief regarding Demonization of Christians

Merrill F. Unger is an example of an American evangelical scholar who originally believed that Christians could not be demonized, but was eventually convinced by the evidence that he was wrong.⁴⁹ Other American leaders followed in his footsteps, such as C. Fred Dickason, chair of the Theology Department at Moody Bible Institute, in his book *Demon Possession and the Christian* and pastor/counselor Mark Bubeck in his book *The Adversary*.⁵⁰ Kurt Koch is a German evangelical who has written extensively about demonic manifestations, including those among Christians.⁵¹ V. Raymond Edman, a colleague of John MacMillan at Nyack College, who served as a missionary in South America and more than a quarter of a century as president of Wheaton College, Chicago, Illinois, also believed on the basis of evidence from both academic study of Scripture and ministerial experience that Christians could be demonized.⁵²

In evangelical circles several more recent scholarly treatments of the issue of demonization of Christians have emerged. Clinton Arnold, professor of New Testament at Talbot Theological Seminary authored the book *3 Crucial Questions about Spiritual Warfare*.⁵³ Perhaps the most comprehensive is the 600+ page *The Handbook for Spiritual Warfare* by seasoned missionary Ed Murphy.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Contrast Merrill F. Unger, *Biblical Demonology* (Wheaton, IL: Scripture Press, 1952), 100, and Merrill F. Unger, *What Demons Can Do to Saints* (Chicago, IL: Moody, 1977), 227-228.

⁵⁰ C. Fred Dickason, *Demon Possession and the Christian* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1987); Mark I. Bubeck, *The Adversary* (Chicago, IL: Moody, 1975).

⁵¹ Kurt Koch, *Occult Bondage and Deliverance* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1970), 67-71.

⁵² V. Raymond Edman, "Questions Answered by the Editor," *The Alliance Witness*, April 26, 1967, 22; see also Dickason, 173-174, Unger, *What Demons Can Do to Saints*, 61; Koch, *Occult Bondage and Deliverance*, 67-68.

⁵³ Clinton E. Arnold, *3 Crucial Questions about Spiritual Warfare* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1997).

⁵⁴ Ed Murphy, *The Handbook for Spiritual Warfare* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1992, 1996).

The most significant and different approach is a series of books by Neil Anderson, a former professor at Biola University, teaching what he calls “truth encounter” as opposed to “power encounter,” based on John 8:32, “You shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free.” Although he would not want to call his procedure exorcism, his approach has strong similarities to the early exorcistic baptismal rites. He advocates renouncing all evil influences and practices of one’s past and announcing the truths of the gospel and who we are in Christ.⁵⁵ Many deliverance practitioners are now using his principles and procedures as pre-exorcism or as a prophylactic, preventing the need for a power encounter in some instances.

Demonization of Christians and the Charismatic Movement

In the charismatic movement, Anglican Michael Harper wrote in *Spiritual Warfare* in 1970 that Christians can be demonized, but not possessed in the sense of a complete takeover, and preferring (with Unger) not to use the term exorcism for deliverance from demonization.⁵⁶ American Don Basham and British scholar Derek Prince promulgated the belief that Christians can be infested with demons, sometimes performing mass public exorcisms. Don Basham wrote a book in 1971 entitled *Can a Christian Have a Demon?*⁵⁷ In 1974 H.A. Maxwell Whyte, who had begun deliverance ministry in 1948, published *A Manual on Exorcism*.⁵⁸ In 1977 Lester Sumrall, who had also launched a deliverance ministry in the

⁵⁵ Neil T. Anderson, *The Bondage Breaker* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House, 1990, 1993); Neil T. Anderson, *Victory Over the Darkness* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1990); Neil T. Anderson, *Helping Others Find Freedom in Christ* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1995). For his “Steps to Freedom in Christ” see Neil T. Anderson, Terry E. Zuehlke, Julianne S. Zuehlke, *Christ-Centered Therapy* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000), 384-411.

⁵⁶ Michael Harper, *Spiritual Warfare* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1970), 108-122.

⁵⁷ Don Basham, *Can a Christian Have a Demon?* (Monroeville, PA: Whitaker Books, 1971).

⁵⁸ H.A. Maxwell Whyte, *A Manual on Exorcism* (Monroeville, PA: Whitaker Books, 1974).

1940s, published *Demons: The Answer Book*.⁵⁹ In contrast to Basham and Prince, however, Sumrall would not encourage or even permit raucous public manifestations of demonic exit phenomena.

Since that time books on spiritual warfare and exorcism relating to believers have proliferated throughout both evangelical and charismatic circles. In charismatic circles, some of the most significant have been *Deliverance from Evil Spirits* by former Roman Catholic priest and scholar Francis MacNutt and *They Shall Expel Demons* by Derek Prince.⁶⁰ More radical books, such as Frank and Ida Mae Hammond's *Pigs in the Parlor*, attribute many more circumstances and conditions to demonization than most writers and practitioners in the deliverance movement.⁶¹ Charismatic/Pentecostal leaders like Oral Roberts do not actively teach demonization of believers, but similar to Ethan Allen rebuke diseases of believers like they are demons. In Third Wave circles (evangelicals who believe in the gifts of the Spirit but do not want to be identified with Pentecostals and charismatics) more literature has emerged, such as Charles Kraft's *Defeating the Dark Angels*, John Wimber's *Power Healing*, and C. Peter Wagner's *Wrestling with Dark Angels*.⁶² Anderson's principles and procedures are also being used more frequently in the charismatic and Third Wave movements.

Conclusion

While there are some Pentecostals, evangelicals and charismatics who do not believe that Christians can be demonized, the preponderance of documentation

⁵⁹ Lester Sumrall, *Demons: The Answer Book* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1977). See also Lester Sumrall, *Seven Ways to Recognize Demon Power Today* (South Bend, IN: Lester Sumrall Evangelistic Association, n.d.).

⁶⁰ Francis MacNutt, *Deliverance from Evil Spirits* (Grand Rapids, MI: Chosen Books, 1995); Derek Prince, *They Shall Expel Demons* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1998).

⁶¹ Frank and Ida Mae Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlor* (Kirkwood, MO: Impact Books, 1973).

⁶² Charles H. Kraft, *Defeating Dark Angels* (Ann Arbor, MI: Servant Publications, 1992), 61-78; John Wimber and Kevin Springer, *Power Healing* (San Francisco, CA: Harper-SanFrancisco, 1987), C. Peter Wagner and F. Douglas Pennoyer, eds., *Wrestling with Dark Angels* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1990).

throughout church history, both theologically and experientially appears to lean toward the belief that Christians can in some way be afflicted in varying degrees by demonic forces. Most today would not use the language of “possession” to describe those afflictions, but rather a more generic, transliterated term of “demonization.” If one means by “possessed” that a Christian is owned by a demon, then the general consensus seems to be that a Christian cannot be possessed. However, if by that term one means control in varying degrees, but not ownership, then the term possession might be considered appropriate by some writers.⁶³ However, because of the controversy surrounding the term, the term is not generally used today of believers.

Such demonization of Christians, according to these writers (though not all would agree with each other), may be due to a number of factors: prior demonization before conversion that has not been dealt with decisively through renunciation of demonic influences, by conscious or unconscious invitation, through occult practices, by giving the devil a foothold (Eph. 4:23), by transference of unclean spirits, through inheritance of generational bondage, or through curses, trauma or abuse (such as child abuse), unresolved emotional issues such as bitterness, rejection, or rebellion, or through sexual sin.⁶⁴ Deliverance from such bondages may range from simple renunciations and rebukes to truth encounters to exorcistic practices of actually casting out demons.



⁶³ Keith Bailey argues that the terminology of possession has historically been used to distinguish severe demonization, so it should not be abandoned, but defined as control, not ownership. See Keith M. Bailey, *Strange Gods* (Camp Hill, PA: Christian Publications, 2001), 221-228.

⁶⁴ See Kraft, 68-77; Murphy, 429-448.

En överraskande dialog i utkanten av ekumeniken.

Dialogen mellan den romersk-katolska kyrkan och pingströrelsen som har redan pågått i över 25 år.

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*Inledning: Pingströrelsens utmaning*

Dr. Walter J. Hollenweger, den internationellt mest kände utforskaren av pingströrelsen och professor emeritus vid Birmingham universitet, kritiserade i sin avskedsföreläsning den akademiska teologin därför att den ser ut att i stor omfattning vara omedveten om den alltjämt växande pingströrelsen. Hollenweger påstod att aldrig tidigare i kyrkans historia har någon rörelse vuxit från noll till 300 miljoner medlemmar på 80 år. Han beklagade att den ekumeniska verksamheten och den akademiska forskningen har blundat för denna överraskande företeelse:

Att det i dag finns institutioner och specialister på alla möjliga och omöjliga teologiska områden men inte ett enda bibliotek, inte ett enda institut eller specialicerad doktorsstudiehandledare för Europas hundra och hela världens kanske tusentals unga pingstforskare som knackar på det akademiska samfundets dörr, är en teologisk skandal utan like.¹

Statistiken över de olika kristna grupperna talar ett omutlig språk för den akademiska väckning som dr. Hollenweger har utövat redan under många år. Även de allra konservativaste beräkningarna antyder att den pingst-karismatiska rörelsen på kort tid har blivit det näst största samfundet inom kristendomen. Pingstvännerna och karismatikerna är i detta nu den snabbaste växande religiösa gruppen. Enligt David B. Barretts statistik² fanns det nästan en halv miljard pingstvännar eller karismatiker år 1997. Det finns emellertid en knapp miljard romersk-katoliker.

¹ "Pentecostalism and Academic Theology: from Confrontation to Cooperation"; *EPTA Journal* XI (1992) 1& 2: 42-49.

² De nyaste årliga statistiken över de olika kristna grupperna finns i tidskriftens *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* januarinumner. De har sammanställts av D. Barrett.

De här siffrorna visar naturligtvis inte allting, de beviser t.ex. inte att pingstvännerna har mera "rätt" än andra kristna, men ingen som följer med i den ekumeniska verksamheten kan blunda för så dramatiska tillväxtsiffror.

Hollenweger beviser att en orsak till det att den akademiska teologin inte tycks vara det minsta intresserad av vad Anden gör i dag i olika delar av världen är det att största delen av den pingst-karismatiska spiritualiteten förekommer i muntliga former i stället för skriftliga dokument. Det stämmer i synnerhet i de två tredjedelar av världen, där rörelsens tillväxt är starkast.

Enligt Hollenweger är det en intellektuell lapsus att t. ex. Bultmann, som med sina lärjungar utvecklade formkritiska metoder för att analysera Bibelns ursprungligen muntliga traditioner, förbisåg att kommunikationsprocessen av sin egen tids snabbast växande missionsrörelse borde utforskas med samma metoder!

I detta avseende orsakar pingströrelsen, liksom alla andra icke-skriftligt orienterade religiösa former, en pinsam utmaning för den traditionella teologiska forskningen. T.ex. lämpar sig inte den systematiska teologins metodkanon på bästa möjliga sätt för undersökningar av pingströrelsen.

Rötter och nuläge i den pingst-karismatiska rörelsen

Pingströrelse är ett relativt nytt fenomen, mycket yngre än de flesta kristna samfundet. Rörelsen bildades i början av detta sekel i Förenta Staterna till följd av den Helige Andens utgjutelse den första januari 1901 vid en liten bibelskola i Topeka i Kansas. Väckelsen utbreddes snabbt till Los Angeles huvudsakligen genom William J. Seymour, en svart helgelsepredikant, och spred sig som en löpeld till olika delar av världen.³

Nuförtiden kan det pingst-karismatiska fenomenet delas in i åtminstone fyra huvudkategorier. För det första kan man tala om "den klassiska pingströrelsen" d.v.s. de pingstvännerna som bildade självständiga församlingar och samfund snart

³ Det behändigaste inledningsverket till pingströrelsen och dess bakgrunder är *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Ett annat internationellt representabelt verk är Walter J. Hollenweger: *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998), som är fortsättningen på hans klassiker *The Pentecostals* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1978, originalet 1972).

efter händelserna i början av seklet. Den finska pingströrelsen är ett exempel av denna kategori.

Den andra stora gruppen består av "karismatiska" rörelser som började bildas på 1960-talet. Många kristna upplevde ett karismatiskt fenomen som kallas dopet i den Helige Ande, men de lämnade inte sina kyrkor. Det finns en stor karismatiska rörelse inom den romersk-katolska kyrkan. Sådana kristna finns också i den ortodoxa kyrkan och i nästan alla protestantiska kyrkor.

"Den tredje vågen" kallas de karismatiska grupper som bildades på 1980-talet och som betonar synliga nådegåvor, t.ex. botande av sjuka och utdrivning av onda andar.

Den allra nyaste "vågen" uppkom under de senaste åren. Den s.k. Toronto-välsignelsen började i en dåvarande Vineyardförsamling år 1994 och blev bl. a. känd som skrattväckelsen. Den allra nyaste rörelse som fått internationell publicitet, är Pensacola-väckelsen i Florida. Man betonar en kraftigt bättringspredikan i denna väckelse.

När pingströrelsen föddes i början av detta sekel, ansågs det inte vara ett nytt kyrkosamfund utan en förnyelserörelse inom befintliga kyrkor. Snart märkte pingströrelsen att de flesta kyrkorna inte hörde dess budskap och att andra kristna började motsätta sig den. Pingstvännerna började därför bilda egna kyrkor och åstadkomma egna strukturer. Den ursprungliga Andes förnyelse, som syftade på kyrkornas förnyelse och kristen enhet, kanaliserades snart till ett nytt självständigt kyrkosamfund.

Vad tror pingstvännerna på? De håller fast vid de klassiska kristna trosbekännelserna, även om de – särskilt i de två tredjedelar av världen, där deras tillväxt är starkast – ofta saknar skriftliga doktriner. Förutom de klassiska trosartiklarna betonar de den Heliga Andens betydelse i vardagslivet, framför allt betydelsen av karismor eller nådegåvor. Den mest kända och kontroversiella har varit tungotalets gåva.

Ett ekumeniskt under: katoliker och pingstvännar börjar en gemensam dialog

Under den korta existensen av den s.k. ekumeniska rörelsen har det kanske mest betydelsefulla utvecklingsdraget varit det att den största kyrkan, den Romersk-katolska kyrkan, har öppnat sig för ekumeniken efter Andra Vatikankonciliet, även om katolikerna inte är medlemmar av Kyrkornas Världsråd (KV).

Ett dramatiskt bevis för denna ekumeniska öppenhet är den år 1972 inledda officiella dialogen mellan katoliker och pingstvännar som jag undersökte i min

doktorsavhandling. Fastän den ekumeniska forskningen har fullständigt åsidosatt denna dialog, är det inte möjligt att överbetona dess betydelse. Vi bör komma ihåg att i dessa diskussioner är det fråga om inte mindre än en dialog mellan de två överlägset största kristna samfundet: gemensamt är deras medlemantal cirka två tredjedelar av alla kristna, och därför har deras relation betydelse för hela den kristna världen.

Denna dialog är den enda som den katolska kyrkan har inlett med en annan religiös rörelse: vanligtvis förhandlar den katolska kyrkan enbart med andra kyrkor.

Det kunde vara lätt att hitta många tunga skäl för att de två största kristliga familjerna aldrig skulle börjat en inbördes dialog. Ett hinder kunde ha varit det uppenbara faktumet att de två kyrkosamfundet är så olika. I själva verket, såsom dialogens katolska ordförande fader Kilian McDonnell, OSB, konstaterade nyligen, när han bedömde dialogen:⁴

Katholicism och pingströrelsen är på de två motsatta ändarna av det ecklesiologiska kontinuum. Katolikerna identifierar sig som den äldsta kyrkan, och de har en långt utvecklad ecklesiologi, en tydligt definierad sakramental lära, en strukturerad liturgisk gudstjänst, en internationell centraladministration och ett självmedvetet läroämbete (magisterium). Samfundet är en central kategori. Pingstvännerna är bland de nyaste grupperna, och de har en tämligen utvecklad ecklesiologi, en osakramental lära, och de betonar spontanitet i gudstjänsten. Pingströrelsen saknar centralledning och ett internationellt organ som har auktoritet att representera den. En personlig och personell upplevelse är utgångspunkten för det kristna livet.

Ett annat hinder kunde ha varit den långvariga til fiendlighet gränsande misstron. I det förflutna, tills tämligen nyligen, präglades relationerna mellan den katolska kyrkan och pingstvännerna av stark konfrontation, ömsesidiga beskyllningar och antagonism. Den katolska kyrkan har även förföljt pingstvännerna i några delar av världen. Den katolska ordföranden Kilian McDonnell har nyligen hävdad att hans egen kyrka borde framföra en ursäkt för att pingstvännerna intill de senaste decennierna blivit förföljda i flera katolska länder. I detta nu är den största potentiella konfrontationen mellan den katolska kyrkan och pingstvännerna i

⁴ "Improbable Conversations: The International Classical Pentecostal/Roman Catholic Dialogue." *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 17:2 (1995): 163–174.

Latinamerika, där 8.000 medlemmar av den katolska kyrkan ansluter sig till pingstförsamlingarna eller närstående karismatiska samfund varje dag. Men vägen till intolerans och religiösa fientligheter är ofta dubbelriktad. Som en förföljd minoritetskyrka har pingstvännerna för sin del gett näring åt konfrontationen, underblåst fördomar och fördjupat den ömsesidiga konfrontationen.

Dialogens syfte och utgångspunkter

Dialogen började i personliga kontakter mellan några katolska ekumeniker och individuella pingstledare. Den viktigaste person som verkade på pingstvännernas sida var sydafrikanen David du Plessis, som sedermera bott i Amerika och gavs smeknamnet "Mr. Pentecost". Redan på 1950-talet byggde du Plessis flitigt kontakter mellan pingstvännerna och andra kristna, mellan ekumeniker och icke-ekumeniker. Ju mer uppskattning han fick utanför pingströrelsen, desto mer kontroversiell blev han i sina egna kretsar. Den amerikanska Assemblies of God, världens största pingstsamfund, avsatte du Plessis på 1960-talet men annullerade avsättningen före hans död i 1987.

Du Plessis mötte professor Kilian McDonnell, OSB, när Kyrkornas Världsråd höll sin fjärde generalförsamling i Uppsala år 1968, och deras vänskap ledde till initiativet till en gemensam dialog.

Den förberedande arbetsgruppen valde som väntat Kilian McDonnell till ordförande på den katolska sidan och David du Plessis på pingstvännernas sida. Under den första femårsperioden ingick representanter för andra karismatiska rörelser i pingstvännernas grupp. Sedan togs ett beslut att från den andra femårsperioden och framåt skulle pingströrelsens grupp enbart bestå av klassiska pingstvännerna. Detta var katolikernas önskan.

I motsats till de flesta bilaterala förhandlingarna syftar inte dialogen mellan den katolska kyrkan och pingströrelsen till synlig enhet utan en ökning av andligt utbyte och ömsesidig kännedom genom förhandlingar och bön. Även om det är fråga om teologiska överläggningar, har huvudmålet inte nödvändigtvis varit en konsensus i läran utan ett äkta sammanträffande mellan två olika traditioner.

Det är beaktansvärt att de här två traditionerna trots dessa olikheter har ett anseeligt samförstånd i den kristna lärans grundfrågor. Som Kilian McDonnell uttryckt det:⁵

Inledningsvis är de här två parterna av samma åsikt i den kristna lärans innehåll: treenighet, Kristi gudomlighet, jungfrufödsel, central ställning av Kristi död och uppståndelse, pingst som en grundläggande faktor i kyrkan, syndernas förlåtelse och löftet om evigt liv. Det är möjligt att vi ser de här sakerna på olika sätt men vi har en viss gemensam åskådning.

Kanske den huvudsakliga orsaken till att pingstvännerna och katolikerna har en så betydande överensstämmelse i läran, är det att de – som professor Hollenweger har påvisat i sin forskning – trots de stora yttre skillnaderna i många avseenden representerar sammanfallande spiritualistiska traditioner. Det här gäller framför allt den populära katolicismen och olika former av dess mystiska traditioner, men denna iakttagelse gäller också katolicismen i större utsträckning – även om de två traditionerna har mycket olika begrepp.

Enligt Hollenweger har pingströrelsen, som uppstod i början av detta sekel, utvecklats från ett möte mellan en viss slags katolsk spiritualitet och svart spiritualitet (särskilt bland USAs slavbefolkning), samt fått djupa intryck från helgelse rörelsen med 1700-talspredikanten John Wesley som förgrundsgestalt.⁶

Det är beaktansvärt, att pingströrelsens tillväxt särskilt i de katolska länderna blivit – och ännu är – betydligt snabbare än annorstädes i världen.

Förutom denna grundkonsensus framgick det emellertid, att det finns avsevärda olikheter i läran mellan dessa två traditioner. Jag kommer att granska dem noggrannare i nästa sektion, när jag behandlar de mest betydelsefulla resultaten av denna forskning.

⁵ “Five Defining Issues: The International Classical Pentecostal/Roman Catholic Dialogue.” *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 17:2 (1995): 175–188.

⁶ W. J. Hollenweger: “From Azusa Street to Toronto Phenomenon: Historical Roots of the Pentecostal Movement,” *Concilium* 3, (1996) redigerat av Jürgen Moltmann & Karl-Josef Kuschel 3–14.

Den Helige Ande i blickpunkten

År 1998 utkom min doktorsavhandling *Spiritus ubi vult spirat. Pneumatology in Roman Catholic-Pentecostal Dialogue (1972–1989)* [“Anden blåser vart den vill. Läran om den Helige Ande i dialogen mellan den Romersk-katolska kyrkan och pingströrelsen.”]⁷ Min mening var att belysa pneumatologin eller läran om den Helige Ande i dialogen mellan den katolska kyrkan och pingströrelsen. I början av min forskning läste jag källmaterialet noggrant – flera hundra sidor inklusive slutrapporten och föredraget – vilket visade, att det centrala temat under dialogens tid (1972–1989) var den Helige Ande. Jag valde tre huvudteman, som jag analyserade ur den pneumatologiska synvinkeln: Guds Ord och dess tolkning, frälsningsläran och sakramenten samt kyrkan och kyrkans ämbete och gudstjänsten. Andegåvorna eller karismorna, som fick ganska mycket spaltutrymme, inkluderade jag i det tredje huvudtemat.

Först, Anden och Ordet. Andra Vatikankonciliet innebar genombrottet i den katolska bibeluppfattningen. Den katolska teologin övergick från en propositionell till en mera personalistisk riktning i vilken uppenbarelsen ansågs vara ett möte mellan Gud och människa och inte bara en förmedlande av fakta. Denna dynamiska uppfattning lämpar sig bättre för ett möte med pingstvännen, som betonar att Ordet är den Helige Andes levande ord och att den samme Helige Ande som talade i Skriften talar ännu i dag men under kontrollen av Skriften. Katolikerna och pingstvännerna är eniga om, att den Helige Ande har inspirerat Guds Ord. Jesus Kristus anses vara den slutliga uppenbarelsen.

Man har samma uppfattning om Bibelns ofelbarhet, även om katolikerna betonar Ordets felfrihet från frälsningens perspektiv, medan pingstvännerna, som tagit intryck av fundamentalismen, också betonar den faktuelle ofelbarheten.

Båda parterna betonar den Helige Andes nödvändighet i tolkningen.

⁷ Skriften der Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Society, 1998). Min fortsatta undersökning handlar om dialogens sista perioden, som betonade missionen: *Ad ultimum terrae. Evangelization, Proselytism and Common Witness in the Roman Catholic-Pentecostal Dialogue 1990–1997*. [“Till jordens yttersta gränser. Evangelisering, proselytism och gemensamt vittnesbörd vid dialogen mellan den romersk-katolska kyrkan och pingströrelsen 1990–1997”] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999).

De största olikheterna anknyter dels till traditionens betydelse, samt även till frågan om vem som i sista hand har rätt att tolka trosfrågor. Pingstvännerna godkänner inte den uppenbarelse som har kommit efter kanonbildningen, men enligt katolikerna är traditionen som har utvecklats inom kyrkan en tillförlitlig tillväxt av traditionen ledd av den Helige Ande. Traditionen får dock inte strida mot Bibeln. Pingstvännerna betonar varje kristens rätt att tolka Ordet – enligt den protestantiska *sola Skriptura* principen. Katolikerna däremot ser Andens ledning huvudsakligen i verksamheten av kyrkans läroämbete (magisterium).

För det andra, Anden och frälsningen. Ur ekumenikens synvinkel är det märkvärdigt att katolikerna och pingstvännerna anser den Helige Ande vara en konstitutiv del av den kristna tron och det kristna livet. Det kristna livet är kristet i den mån det är ett liv i Anden.

Man har ansett att pingströrelsens kärna – eller åtminstone dess mest kända drag – har ansetts vara dopet i den Helige Ande. Detta tema var på föredragningslistan från de första kontakterna, och det stod gång på gång i blickpunkten. Under den ekumeniska dialogens tredje skede (1985–1989) gjorde den katolske ordföranden Kilian McDonnell enligt många uppfattning ett teologiskt och ekumeniskt genombrott genom att påstå att det som pingstvännernas lanserade som den Helige Andes dop syftade på det som under de första kristna århundradena kallats initiation (dopet, smörjelsen, nattvarden). Tillsammans med den kände katolske exegeten George Montague skrev McDonnell ett verk som har hunnit väcka mycket uppmärksamhet även utanför den katolska kyrkan: *Christian Initiation and Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Evidence from the First Eight Centuries*.⁸ Verket hävdar obestriddigt, att den kristna initiationen under de första århundradena utöver dopet och smörjelsen också innehöll mottagandet av nådegåvor (tungotalet, profetians gåva osv.).

Katolikerna och pingstvännerna har olika uppfattningar om andedopet: För pingstvännerna är det en "kraftupplevelse" som gör en kristen redo för tjänst, och det anknyter till någon tydlig andegåva, huvudsakligen till tungotalet. För katolikerna är den Helige Andes dop förknippad med sakramentsläran d.v.s. dopet och nattvarden. Den katolska kyrkan har många tolkningar av andedopet. Der bör i alla fall märkas, att själva begreppet är inte främmande för dem som det är för de flesta protestanterna.

⁸ Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991.

De allra största meningsskiljaktigheterna gällde vattendopet. Inte något ämne väckte så mycket heta känslor som samtalen om vattendopet. Katolikerna erkänner pingstvännernas dop i den treeniga Gudens namn. Enligt katolikerna har de här två kristna samfunden en viss om än ofullständig *koinonia*. Det är inte svårt för pingstvännerna att medge existensen av en ofullkomlig *koinonia* men det beror inte på dopet utan snarare på “medveten tro” och en gemensam upplevelse av tro. För de flesta pingstvännerna är dopet inte ett sakrament utan snarare en “helig ordination”. De flesta pingstvännerna accepterar inte barndopet, därför att de anser att barnen saknar medveden tro.

För det tredje, Anden och kyrkan. Pingströrelsen har från början varit snarare en förnyelserörelse snarare än en kyrka, och därför är det förståeligt att den saknar en utvecklad ecklesiologi. Pingströrelsen började inte som en ny kyrka utan snarare som en väckelse med syfte att åstadkomma förnyelse i de redan existerande kyrkorna.

Pingströrelsen ansåg sig vara en “apostolisk” restaurationsrörelse, vars uppgift var att återföra den förlorade nytestamentiska karismatiken till gamla kyrkor. Det var ingen tillfällighet att den allra första pingstkyrkan fick namnet Apostolic Faith Mission (Los Angeles, California).

Ecklesiologins roll förstärktes, när dialogen framskred. Den tredje fyraårsperioden (1985–1989) var betydelsefull därför att dess huvudtema var den nuvarande ekumeniska diskussionens nyckelbegrepp *koinonia*. Parterna granskade under hela femårsperioden relationen mellan *koinonia* och Anden och dess implikationer.

Katolikerna och pingstvännerna delar uppfattningen att *koinonia* grundar sig på den Helige Ande, och inte enbart på Anden utan djupast sett på hela treenigheten: Fadern, Sonen och den Helige Ande. *Koinonia* mellan treenighetens medlemmar är arketyper för *koinonia* mellan kristna.

De största meningsskiljaktigheterna i läran om kyrkan och uppfattningen om *koinonia* kan sammanfattas i tre punkter. Enligt katolikerna är sakramenten de grundläggande elementen av kyrkan. För pingstvännerna är Guds ord och en personlig omvändelse de grundläggande elementen. Dessutom är den lokala församlingen, som enligt t.ex. den ortodoxa traditionen är en fullkomlig kyrka i sig själv, ecklesiologins centrum för pingstvännerna. Katolikerna betonar betydelsen av den universella kyrkan även om Andra Vatikankonciliet fäster större vikt vid lokalförsamlingen än tidigare. Katolikerna definierar relationerna mellan lokalförsamlingarna ur den episkopala synvinkeln, med hjälp av biskopsämbetet.

Den tredje skillnaden anknäver till kyrkans karismatiska *versus* hierarkiska karaktär. Naturligtvis betonar pingstvännerna kyrkans karismatiska karaktär och katolikerna den hierarkiska karaktären, men diskussionerna har visat, att båda sidorna kan lära från varandra. På sistone har den katolska ecklesiologin närmät sig den karismatiska.

Pingstvännerna är organiserade enligt många olika ecklesiologiska traditioner. På den ena ytterkanten finns den skandinaviska modell som betonar lokalförsamlingar, och på den andra finns episkopaliska eller biskopliga församlingar, t.ex. inom forna Sovjetunionens gränser. I mellanterrängen finns presbyteriska pingstkyrkor.

Kyrkans enhet är en stor meningsskiljaktighet. Katolikerna strävar efter en stor synlig kyrka, medan pingstvännerna betonar betydelsen av en osynlig "Andens enhet". För pingstvännerna är existerande skiljaktigheter mellan kyrkorna inte nödvändigvis ett teologiskt problem.

Man framhöll att kyrkans tjänsteämbete är beroende av den Helige Ande. Pingstvännerna betonar rollen av alla troende i kyrkan, medan ordination för katolikerna är ett sakrament. Katolikerna medger emellertid med pingstvännerna att ordination är framför allt den Helige Andes utgjutelse.

Under årens lopp pågick en omfattande diskussion om nådegåvorna. Den katolska kyrkan har traditionellt varit mycket öppnare för Andens fenomen än de flesta protestanter. Tre andliga gåvor fick särskilt mycket uppmärksamhet: tungotalet (pingstvännernas mest kända karisma), helbrägdagörelsens gåva samt gåvan att skilja mellan andar. Den enda skiljaktigheten beträffande tungotalet är det, att många pingstkyrkor anser det vara det viktigaste tecknet på den Helige Andes dop; katolikerna hävdar att en sådan lära är inte biblisk och att tungotalet är bara en, visserligen viktig karisma. Båda parterna är i stor utsträckning ense om helbrägdagörelsen: Jesus Kristus är helbrägdagöraren, helbrägdagörelsen omfattar hela människan och den sker i den Helige Andes kraft. Den största skillnaden är i inställningen – och det här gäller karismorna i större utsträckning: pingstvännerna är i stort sett öppnare för Andens fenomen, och därför är gåvorna mera allmänna bland dem.

Det pågick också en omfattande diskussion om den Helige Andes roll i gudstjänsten. Detta är mycket relevant för den romersk-katolska kyrkan, som har i sistone strävat att förnya gudstjänsten.

Värdering av dialogen och antydning om ekumenikens framtid

Den internationella dialogen mellan den romersk-katolska kyrkan och pingströrelsen är ett betydelsefullt möte sett från det ekumeniska arbetets och metodologins horisont. Den ger utmaningar även i större utsträckning, när vi övergår till det tredje årtusendet.

För det första, att välja pneumatologin som brännpunkt för dialogen reflekterar i större omfattning det att den Helige Ande har stigit till centrum för den teologiska forskningen och debatten. Kyrkornas Världsrådets generalförsamling i Canberra år 1991 var tillägnad den Helige Ande: "Kom Helige Ande – förnya hela skapelsen." Året 1998 nämndes i den romersk-katolska kyrkan som den Helige Andes år; 1997 var tillägnat Fadern och 1999 Sonen. Böcker, vetenskapliga seminarier och religiösa möten om pneumatologi har ökat dramatiskt under sista åren. Dialogen mellan den katolska kyrkan och pingströrelsen, som började redan år 1972, har anteciperat – eller kanske rentav delvis styrt – denna renässans av pneumatologi.

För det andra, dialogen mellan den katolska kyrkan och pingströrelsen visar att de traditionella mönstren av ekumeniken är inte de bästa möjliga redskapen i den förändrande kristendomens strävan att nå enhet. Peter Hocken, en erfaren katolsk forskare som studerat pingströrelsen och den karismatiska rörelsen, uppskattade nyss denna dialog ur den allmänna ekumeniska metodologins och praktikens perspektiv. Han påminner att samtidigt som medlemsantalet och verkan på kyrkor som hör till den ekumeniska rörelsen blir mindre, växer en världsomfattande "icke-ekumenisk sektor" (pingstvännerna inräknade) kraftigt. Han påstår, att den institutionaliserade och formella ekumeniska rörelsen "har tappat greppet om den mest dynamiska av nytidens väckelserörelser och förnyelsevägar."⁹ Hocken kritiserar sin egen (katolska) kyrka också därför att dess dialogmönster baserar sig på tanken att det är fråga om ett möte mellan två kyrkor trots att också den katolska kyrkan i den nära framtiden även måste bedriva dialog med olika rörelser.

Ekumenikens framtid – hur den än definieras – tillhör den starkt växande icke-ekumeniska sektorn, som huvudsakligen ligger utanför de traditionella kyrkorna

⁹ Peter Hocken: "Ecumenical Dialogue: The Importance of Dialogue with Evangelicals and Pentecostals". *One in Christ* 30 (1994). 101-123.

(med undantag av den romersk-katolska kyrkan) och som består av s.k. frikyrkor och kristna rörelser.

För det tredje, dialogen mellan den katolska kyrkan och pingströrelsen har visat att ekumenik inte nödvändigtvis betyder och huvudsakligen innebär en strävan till konsensus i läran och/eller att huvudmålet skulle vara en synlig enhet. Enligt Kilian McDonnell har den gemensamma tiden i diskussioner och bön framför allt betytt "mytologiernas död". Förvridningar som har baserat sig på missuppfattningar och brist på vetskap har lagts till rätta, och båda parterna har lärt mycket från varandra. Katolikerna har t. ex. lärt att uppskatta trons personliga dimension i större omfattning, medan pingstvännerna har fått möjligheter att tänka allvarigare på evangeliets sociala, kollektiva dimensioner.

För McDonnell betyder ekumeniken inte nödvändigtvis samförstånd utan t.o.m. möjligheten att skiljaktigheter förtydligas och kontraster tillspetsas, men den kan också betyda att man bevarar de existerande kontakterna och erkänner den andra partnern.



The Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements in Britain: An Historical Overview

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Formative Influences on British Pentecostalism

Many of the movements out of which Pentecostalism sprung have their origins in Britain, and there were several factors at work preparing the way for Pentecostalism to enter the country in 1907.¹ Britain, and particularly England, was no stranger to movements of 'religious enthusiasm'. This was where Quakerism and Methodism originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The early Quakers (Society of Friends) founded by George Fox (1624-90) emphasized 'Inner Light' through the Holy Spirit. All kinds of manifestations of the Spirit's work were evident: trembling (from which manifestation came their name), jerking spasms, weeping, visions, prophecy and faints, and speaking in tongues witnessed by at least one early Quaker writer. In the Scottish Presbyterian church in 1830-1, through the preaching of controversial minister Edward Irving (1792-1834), charismatic gifts including prophecy and speaking in tongues, broke out in Glasgow, in London in Irving's church and in several other places, and were practised and recorded in the subsequently formed Catholic Apostolic Church until about 1879. The New Apostolic Church, which seceded from this church in Germany in 1863, continued the charismatic tradition for longer; and the Irvingite movement is an important precedent for Pentecostalism.

British Pentecostalism's more immediate background, however, was in the nineteenth century Holiness and revival movements. The Holiness teaching was based on a particular interpretation of the teaching of John Wesley (1703-91) and especially that of Wesley's theologian, John Fletcher (1729-85). Fletcher differed subtly with Wesley on issues that were to be important in the shaping of Pentecostal theology, but the earlier German Pietist movement influenced both of them. Pietism stressed the importance of a personal experience of God or 'new

¹ This article is adapted from chapters 2, 5, and 8 of Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

birth' by the Holy Spirit, over and above what they saw as mere head-knowledge, gave emphasis to the importance of emotion in Christian experience and encouraged a personal relationship with God. It encouraged a restoration of the Reformation's doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, and the working of the Spirit to bring about a changed, morally ascetic Christian life separated from 'the world'. The Pietist movement in turn spawned the Moravian movement of Count Nicolaus von Zinzendorf (1700-60) and his community at Herrnhut, when in 1727 it was said that the Spirit had been outpoured, and a continuous round-the-clock prayer meeting lasted for a hundred years thereafter. The Moravian Church had a profound effect upon Wesley and the Methodist revival. Wesley's contact with Moravian missionaries in Georgia who challenged him about his personal experience of Christ during his return voyage to England, led him to his Aldersgate conversion experience in 1738 when, as he wrote, 'I felt my heart strangely warmed'. Wesley himself later visited the Herrnhut community, and in some early Methodist revivals there were unusual manifestations of the Spirit.

One of the early Methodist preachers, Thomas Walsh, recorded in his diary in 1750, 'the Lord gave me a language I knew not of, raising my soul to him in a wondrous manner'.² Wesley himself said that charismatic gifts were withdrawn when dry, formal, orthodox men had begun to ridicule them, and that these gifts had returned to some of his fellow Methodists. But a central emphasis of early Methodism was Wesley's doctrine of a 'second blessing', a crisis experience subsequent to conversion that he called sanctification, 'Christian perfection' or 'perfect love'. It was this 'second blessing' doctrine that had a significant influence on Pentecostalism, but only as this doctrine was transmitted and reinterpreted through the US American Holiness movement in the nineteenth century and to some extent, in the British version of this movement also. There was a polarization within Methodism between those who believed what they saw as Wesley's 'Christian perfection' teaching (who subsequently formed the Holiness movement) and those who did not, who remained in mainstream Methodism. Although this was especially true in the USA, in Britain movements like the Salvation Army emerged in 1878 from a Methodist background with a strong 'Holiness' message of a distinct experience of 'sanctification', and several early Salvationists, including William Booth's son-in-law Arthur Booth-Clibborn, became

² John V. Taylor, *The Go-Between God: The Holy Spirit and Christian Mission* (London: SCM), p. 219.

Pentecostals. There was some ambiguity as to what Wesley actually meant by his 'perfect love' doctrine, and this caused some confusion for his later interpreters. John Fletcher took the doctrine a step further when he spoke of the subsequent experience of sanctification as the 'baptism with the Holy Ghost', linking the 'second blessing' with an experience of receiving the Spirit.³

Even more importantly, Britain was also home of the Keswick Conventions, which had taught a distinct baptism in the Spirit as 'endowment with power'. The Conventions, which began annual gatherings in the English Lake District in 1875, recognized two distinct experiences of the 'new birth' and the 'fullness of the Spirit' and represented another major influence on Pentecostalism. Although the 'fullness of the Spirit' was seen in terms of 'holiness' or the 'higher Christian life', Keswick was more influenced by Reformed teachers like the South African Andrew Murray, Jr. (of Scottish parentage) who taught that sanctification was a possible, but progressive experience. Increasingly in the Holiness movement, the phrase 'baptism with the Spirit' came to be used to indicate the 'second blessing'. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Spirit baptism in Keswick and elsewhere was no longer understood in terms of holiness, but as empowering for service.⁴ This was the central idea in Pentecostalism.

The Welsh Revival (1904-5) followed this theme of baptism in the Spirit as endowment of power, and was centred mainly among the Welsh-speaking mining community, where there were at least 32,000 converts throughout Wales. During this revival, the Pentecostal presence and power of the Holy Spirit was emphasized, and meetings were hours long, spontaneous, seemingly chaotic and emotional, with 'singing in the Spirit' (using ancient Welsh chants), simultaneous and loud prayer, revelatory visions and prophecy, all emphasising the immediacy of God in the services and in personal experience. Revival leader Evan Roberts (1878-1951) taught a personal experience of Holy Spirit baptism to precede any revival. The revival was declared to be the end-time Pentecost of Acts 2, the 'lat-

³ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987), pp. 44-5, 49-50; Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (London: Cassell, 1996) p. 91.

⁴ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 84-7; Dayton, *Theological Roots*, pp. 95-100, 103.

ter rain' promised by biblical prophets that would result in a worldwide revival, all important themes in early Pentecostalism. Charismatic English Baptist pastor in Los Angeles Joseph Smale, who hailed from Spurgeon's College in London, visited the Welsh revival, and several early British Pentecostal leaders, including George Jeffreys, founder of the Elim Pentecostal Church and his brother Stephen, and Daniel Williams, founder of the Apostolic Church, were converted in this revival. The first leader of Pentecostalism in Britain, Anglican vicar Alexander Boddy, visited it, as did Cecil Polhill, another early Anglican Pentecostal leader; and Boddy too was a frequenter of Keswick Conventions. Although Evan Roberts, influenced by his mentor Jessie Penn-Lewis, later discouraged the use of tongues, and although Pentecostalism's emphases were found in the radical and less common manifestations of the Welsh revival, early Pentecostal leaders drew inspiration from the revival and saw their movement as the continuation of it.⁵ British Pentecostals today see their movement as originating in the Welsh revival rather than in the USA. Although a rift developed between Pentecostal groups and Holiness groups, especially through the opposition and writings of the influential Jessie Penn-Lewis, the influence of Keswick and the Welsh Revival on the emergence of British Pentecostalism was considerable, creating an expectation for revival throughout Britain and Europe. The first recorded instance of Pentecostal meetings in Britain with speaking in tongues was at the home of Catherine Price in London in January 1907, apparently unrelated to subsequent events.

The Anglican Pentecostal Revival

Alexander A. Boddy (1854-1930), Anglican vicar at All Saints in Monkwearmouth, Sunderland since 1886, visited Methodist pastor Thomas B. Barratt's church in Oslo, Norway in March 1907, where Pentecostalism in Europe originated. Boddy commented that he had 'never witnessed such scenes' in Wales, and invited Barratt to preach in his parish in September 1907. Barratt came and many of the people who had gathered received Spirit baptism at his meetings. Boddy's Anglican church became the most significant early Pentecostal centre in Britain, and Boddy provided leadership and direction that shaped its future. Annual Whitsun (Pentecost) conventions at Sunderland from 1908 to 1914 drew Pentecostal leaders from all over Britain and continental Europe, including Bar-

⁵ Eifon Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904* (Bridgend, UK: Evangelical Press of Wales, 1969), pp. 190-6; D.D. Bundy, 'Welsh Revival', *NIDPCM*, pp. 1187-8.

ratt, Jonathan Paul from Germany, and Gerrit and Wilhelmine Polman from the Netherlands, among others. Boddy edited the widely influential periodical *Confidence* (1908-26), which reported on Pentecostal revivals all over the world and expounded the doctrine of Spirit baptism and spiritual gifts. Although he was acknowledged leader of British Pentecostalism before World War I, Boddy remained an Anglican minister until his death. He appears to have shifted from an 'initial evidence' position to a more flexible view of Spirit baptism. His ecumenical stance was evident in the words he penned about the revival in *Confidence* in September 1908, 'Denominationalism has melted away and the barriers disappeared as the Holy Spirit came in full possession'.⁶ The Sunderland conventions became known as 'international' conventions and there were increasing contacts between the northern European Pentecostal leaders who met during the conventions at Sunderland and at Mülheim, beginning at the Hamburg conference in 1908. In 1912 Barratt proposed a 'Consultative International Pentecostal Council', which was formed to protect from 'false teachers' in the movement. This Council met four times (thrice at Sunderland and once at Amsterdam) before being aborted by the First World War. Leaders from Norway, Germany, Holland and Switzerland joined Boddy and Polhill in the Council, but only Polman and Paul attended all the meetings.

From Boddy's church the Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland (PMU) was formed in 1909, led by Cecil Polhill (1860-1938), a former missionary (since 1885) to south-western China and one of the 'Cambridge Seven' in the China Inland Mission. Through an inheritance, he was now a wealthy landowner and avid supporter of Pentecostal missions. Polhill was baptized in the Spirit during a visit to Los Angeles in early 1908 and bought a large house in London to hold Pentecostal services. He also organized annual conventions in London that lasted through the war years. The PMU was the first organized Pentecostal missionary society in the world, with its own separate training institutions for women and men. Missionaries were almost immediately sent by the PMU to south-western China and India. The PMU was amalgamated into the Assemblies of God in 1925, when Polhill and Boddy (who opposed Pentecostal denominations being formed) withdrew from its board, no longer to play any leading role in British Pentecostalism. There were several reasons for this break between the Anglican Charismatics and the other Pentecostals; besides the issues

⁶ *Confidence* 1:6 (September 1908), p. 5.

of denominationalism and pacifism (Boddy and Polhill had supported the war with Germany whereas most other British Pentecostals had opposed it and were pacifists), doctrinal differences like the role of tongues in Spirit baptism and water baptism had also become contentious issues. All classical Pentecostal churches in Britain today baptize adult believers by immersion only, another difference with Anglicanism.⁷

British Pentecostal Denominations

William Oliver Hutchinson, a Baptist preacher who had received Spirit baptism in Sunderland in 1908, opened the first purpose-built Pentecostal hall in Britain in the same year, the independent chapel Emmanuel Mission in Bournemouth. Hutchinson founded the first Pentecostal denomination in Britain, the Apostolic Faith Church (AFC) in 1911. It is likely that former Congregationalist preacher in the Welsh Revival, George Jeffreys (1889-1962) received Spirit baptism at Emmanuel Mission in 1910. The AFC became increasingly a personality cult around its leader and imbibed British Israelism and other teachings rejected by most early Pentecostals, who distanced themselves from it. Daniel P. Williams led the first secession of most of the Welsh congregations to form the Apostolic Church in 1916. James Brooke was to lead another secession from the AFC in 1926 to form the United Apostolic Faith Church. The AFC was to go into obscurity and the other two British Apostolic denominations were to remain relatively small in Britain, but with significant work overseas, especially in West and southern Africa. The healing evangelist Smith Wigglesworth (1860-1947) received Spirit baptism in Boddy's church and became an international preacher. George Jeffreys was founder of the Elim movement and his brother Steven Jeffreys became an evangelist in the Assemblies of God. George Jeffreys was trained at the PMU college in Preston in 1912-3 under Polhill's sponsorship and one of his fellow students was William F.P. Burton, founder of the Congo Evangelistic Mission. Successful evangelistic meetings held by George and Stephen Jeffreys in South Wales in 1913 put the Jeffreys brothers on the national stage. George Jeffreys has

⁷ Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM, 1972), pp. 184-5; Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), pp. 343-5; Cornelis van der Laan, 'The Proceedings of the Leaders' Meetings (1908-1911) and of the International Pentecostal Council (1912-1914)', *Pneuma* 10:1 (1988), 36-49.

been described as the greatest British Pentecostal evangelist ever, whose meetings attracted many thousands with remarkable healings and great numbers of conversions, especially in the 1930s. British Pentecostals experienced significant growth during their first forty years.

George Jeffreys founded the Elim Evangelistic Band in Belfast, Northern Ireland in 1915—to be renamed the Elim Pentecostal Alliance in 1918, after which a central council governed the organization. Jeffreys remained in Ireland until 1921, only making occasional visits to Britain, and by this time there were 22 churches in the region. Jeffreys did not intend to form a denomination and he discouraged proselytizing, but the nature of his movement led inevitably to denominationalism. After 1921 Jeffreys began planting churches in England and Wales, moved his headquarters to London, and a number of churches joined Elim. From 1926 until the 1990s, Elim held its annual Easter Convention in the Royal Albert Hall in London (then seating 10,000), and Aimee McPherson was the first invited guest speaker. In 1929 the Elim name was changed yet again to Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance, Jeffreys apparently being inspired by Aimee McPherson's movement. From 1934, Jeffreys began to lose his tight control over the Elim leadership and issues of local church government and the British Israel theory (both espoused by Jeffreys) led to his resignation from Elim in 1939 and a schism, when the Bible Pattern Church Fellowship was created. The majority of ministers and members remained in the Elim movement, but it took a long time to recover. In more recent years, the Elim Pentecostal Church (as it is now known) has had to adjust to the challenges posed by the Charismatic movement and to the question of the authority of the local church, but has emerged as the largest classical Pentecostal denomination in Britain today, with some 69,000 members in 2000. By far the largest and best-known congregation in Elim is the multi-ethnic Kensington Temple in London, which with its many branch churches accounts for a significant proportion of the national Elim membership—perhaps as much as a quarter of the total.⁸

The Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland (AGBI), unlike its namesake in the USA, emerged in 1924 as a congregational association of autonomous

⁸ Malcolm R. Hathaway, 'The Elim Pentecostal Church: Origins, Development and Distinctives', in Keith Warrington (ed.), *Pentecostal Perspectives* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 1998), pp. 1-39; Patrick Johnstone & Jason Mandryk, *Operation World* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2001), p. 650.

churches under the chairmanship of J. Nelson Parr (1886-1976). These assemblies were highly suspicious of the centralized control that was emerging in the Elim movement and George Jeffreys was not invited to be part of it. Nelson Parr, baptized in the Spirit in Boddy's church in 1910, issued the invitation to a meeting of fourteen leaders in Aston, Birmingham in 1924 when the AGBI was formed, with 74 assemblies joining the association guaranteeing autonomy to each local church. The AGBI specifically declared itself to be pacifist, another reason for the break with the patriotic aristocrats Boddy and Polhill, and it also declared the doctrine of the 'initial evidence' of tongues (unlike Elim). The following year the PMU joined to become the missionary arm of the AGBI. Donald Gee (1891-1966), a pastor in Leith, Edinburgh, was chairman of the AGBI from 1948 until his death in 1966. His overtures to non-Pentecostal churches and his support of David du Plessis's ecumenical efforts earned him the opposition of the Assemblies of God, USA. Gee travelled internationally and was the organizer of the European Pentecostal conference held in Stockholm in 1939 (the first such meeting since Amsterdam, 1921) and the first Pentecostal World Conference (PWC) in Zürich in 1947. A prolific author, he was also the first editor of the PWC's periodical *Pentecost* and one of the most influential Pentecostal leaders of his time. Like the Assemblies of God, USA and unlike the Elim movement and most other European Pentecostal churches, the AGBI had always held an officially unyielding position on 'initial evidence' and premillennialism, but as is the case with its US namesake, there are internal voices being raised questioning these positions. AGBI historian William Kay considers 'evidential tongues' to be the 'core distinctive' of this denomination, although his survey during 1996-7 reveals that only 42% of Elim ministers and 81% of AGBI ministers believed in 'initial' evidence, and 72% of Elim ministers believed that Spirit baptism could occur without tongues.⁹

After the mass immigration of people from the West Indies to Britain after 1951, African Caribbean Pentecostal churches were set up and grew remarkably during the sixties. The main churches had links with the Caribbean and the USA, but many new independent churches were also formed, resulting in a great variety of churches in the African Caribbean and later in the African community in Britain. Later migrations after 1960 resulted in a number of West African Pentecostal

⁹ William K. Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2000), p. 74; William Kay, 'Assemblies of God: Distinctive Continuity and Distinctive Change', in Warrington, *Pentecostal Perspectives*, pp. 40-63.

churches being established in Britain (especially Nigerian ones) and elsewhere in Europe. The largest 'Black-led' churches in Britain are the New Testament Church of God (part of the Church of God, Cleveland), and the Church of God of Prophecy, also the largest Pentecostal churches in the English-speaking Caribbean. Black Pentecostal immigrants were made to feel unwelcome in British churches, partly because of the cultural differences between the community-oriented African Caribbeans and the more reserved and individualistic English, but also due to the incipient racism present in British society. The formal Christianity encountered in England was so different from what people were used to in the Caribbean. The first New Testament Church of God was formed in Wolverhampton in 1953 by Oliver Lyseight, A.D. Brown and G.S. Peddie. By 1961 there were already eighty African Caribbean churches in Britain, mostly Pentecostal, and this was before the period of their greatest expansion. They have been extremely influential within the British church context. At present, a minister from the New Testament Church of God, Joel Edwards, is general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance.

The Charismatic Movement and the 'New Churches'

In Britain, the Pentecostal movement had begun in an Anglican church, and Anglicans were the first to welcome the Charismatic movement there too. The initial home for the movement was All Souls Church in London, where the well-known evangelical John Stott was rector—although he himself was clearly not Charismatic and was soon to distance himself from it and the activities of his curate, Michael Harper (1931-). American Episcopalian vicar Frank McGuire had been in touch with Stott and Harper and had shared with them his experience of Spirit baptism in California. Harper received Spirit baptism in 1962 and in 1965 wrote the influential book *As at the Beginning*. The first Anglican parish to become Charismatic was St Mark's, Gillingham, Kent in 1963 under John Collins, a former assistant at All Souls, where David Watson (1933-84) was curate until his appointment as vicar to St Cuthbert's, York, another centre of the renewal. Early British Charismatic leaders were Anglicans David Watson, John Perry (vicar at St Andrew's, Chorleywood) and Michael Harper; and Baptist pastors David Pawson (Gold Hill and later Guildford) and Barney Coombs (East Acton and Basingstoke). Various visitors from the USA helped establish the movement in Britain. Harper arranged a meeting of ministers for Larry Christenson's brief visit to London in 1963 and later that year for David du Plessis. American Charismatic leaders Jean Stone and Dennis Bennett visited the UK in 1964 and 1965 respectively, and in all these special meetings more and more people were brought into the renewal. In 1964 Harper organized the first Charismatic conference at an Anglican retreat centre at Stoke Poges where the main speaker was the Scottish for-

mer Brethren, Campbell McAlpine. From 1964 to 1975 Harper was founder and full-time director of the Fountain Trust, the leading organization in Britain promoting the Charismatic renewal, solidly ecumenical in vision and embracing all denominations. Harper also organized a major international and ecumenical conference in 1971 at Guildford, including over forty Lutheran and thirty Catholic delegates. Further national conferences were held in Nottingham (1973) and Westminster (1975) giving the movement in Britain a greater sense of identity and cohesion.

Tom Smail (1928-), a Presbyterian minister, became director of the Fountain Trust in 1975 and edited a theological journal, *Theological Renewal*—but the closure of the Trust and its journal in 1980 signalled the end of the Charismatic renewal for some participants. Smail became an Anglican priest and vice-principal of a theological college. Harper left the Anglican church over women's ordination and became an Antiochian Orthodox priest in 1995 (eventually becoming a bishop), thereby diverting his energies elsewhere. The focus of the Charismatic movement in Britain now shifted from an ecumenical movement to denominational groupings: the Anglican Renewal Ministries formed in 1981, the Dunamis Renewal Fellowship started in 1983 by Methodist Charismatics, who published the periodical *Dunamis*, and Mainstream, founded in 1978 among the Baptists, an attempt to hold together the Charismatic and evangelical strands of the Baptist Union after some prominent Charismatics had become independent.

The first Catholic Charismatics in Britain were those influenced by the Dominican Simon Tugwell in the late 1960s. But the Catholic Charismatic movement was only organized later, with a National Service Committee of Catholic Charismatic Renewal and a magazine *Goodnews*. Peter Hocken (1932-) has been an influential British Catholic Charismatic priest since his Pentecostal experience in 1971. He moved to the Mother of God Community in Gaithersburg, Maryland in 1976, authored several books and served as executive secretary of the Society for Pentecostal Studies from 1989 until 1996. Charles Whitehead, an influential Catholic businessman, has headed the National Service Committee since 1986, and since 1990 has also been president of the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services in Rome.¹⁰

¹⁰ Douglas McBain, *Fire over the Waters: Renewal among Baptists and others from the 1960s to the 1990s* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1997), pp. 31-9, 52, 72-4; Michael Harper, *As at the Beginning* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1965).

The fastest growing churches in Britain today are the 'new churches', mostly independent Charismatic churches, sometimes led by former Anglican ministers and forming loose associations. These have probably outstripped the classical Pentecostal churches in influence and extent. Some of the leading new churches, thirty associations that in 2000 had an estimated 406,000 affiliates, are Ichthus, Pioneers, New Frontiers and the Vineyard Association. Pentecostalism has also profoundly affected older churches in Britain, particularly Anglican and Baptist churches, which have a significant proportion of churches considered 'Charismatic'.¹¹

The British 'restoration' movement was a parallel movement to the 'shepherding movement' within the USA Charismatic movement but arose earlier in the late 1950s, with Arthur Wallis and David Lillie its first leaders. Many of the leaders were former Brethren who had been expelled because of their Pentecostal experience and taught a 'restoration' of the 'five-fold ministry' of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers. Known at first as the 'house church movement', the restoration movement was to become the fastest growing church group in the country, now vaguely called 'New Churches'. By 1982 there may have been 100,000 house groups in Britain. Major new church networks emerged like that of Terry Virgo, founder of New Frontiers, Bryn Jones of Covenant Ministries International, Barney Coombs of Salt and Light Ministries, Gerald Coates of Pioneer People, Tony Morton of Cornerstone Ministries and Roger Forster of Ichthus Christian Fellowship. New Frontiers is now the largest of these networks, nurtured during the 1990s by the annual Stoneleigh Bible Weeks near Coventry. Jones, one of the original group with Wallis, more closely identified with the shepherding movement in the USA than the other leaders did, and his anti-denominational stance somewhat isolated his movement from the others, who now cooperate with the Evangelical Alliance. Coates and Virgo have identified with the 'Toronto Blessing'. Together with the Vineyard Association, which started in Britain in 1987, these church networks are now taking the appearance of new denominations. By 2000 the 'new churches' were the largest of the Pentecostal and Charismatic groupings in Britain.

John Wimber from the Vineyard Association based in Anaheim, California, has had an enormous influence on the Charismatic renewal in Britain. His first visit

¹¹ Joel Edwards, 'Afro-Caribbean Pentecostalism in Britain', *JEPTA XVII* (1997), 37-48; Johnstone & Mandryk, *Operation World*, p. 650.

to Britain in 1982 and his laid-back ministry of ‘power evangelism’ and healing was widely accepted by older churches, especially evangelical Anglicans. The churches of Holy Trinity, Brompton (HTB, under Sandy Millar) and St Andrew’s, Chorleywood (Bishop David Pytches) became centres of the new renewal from the mid 1980s onwards. The rapidly expanding and interdenominational Alpha evangelism programme under Millar’s associate Nicky Gumble at HTB has opened up many non-Charismatic churches to the area of spiritual gifts. By 1998 five thousand British churches were using Alpha materials. After the revival in the Toronto Airport Vineyard Fellowship in January 1994, HTB in London and St Andrew’s, Chorleywood became leading Anglican centres of the ‘Toronto Blessing’ phenomenon in Britain, and Sunderland Christian Centre (AGBI) led by Ken and Lois Gott became the main Pentecostal centre. The New Frontiers and Pioneer churches were also practising the Toronto phenomena, among others. After the split between Vineyard and Toronto in December 1995, many of the British churches continued to support Toronto, with the exception of HTB and the British Vineyard churches, who each gave statements of support for Wimber’s position. The Alpha evangelism course of HTB became a more important feature of Charismatic churches in the UK after this.¹²

Britain has emerged as one of the significant countries in the world as far as Pentecostalism is concerned. Although the ‘classical’ Pentecostal movement is not as strong here as it is in the USA or parts of the continents of South America and Africa, its influence on global Pentecostalism, which academics acknowledge to be one of the most significant religious movements of all time, is enormous. It presents a very different picture to that of North America and has maintained its independence and developed its own roots. From the start it has been an essentially British phenomenon that has shown evidence of growth that belies the gen-

¹² M.M. Poloma, ‘Toronto Blessing’, *NIDPCM*, pp. 1149-52; W.H. Barnes, ‘Brownsville Revival’, *NIDPCM*, pp. 445-7; David Hilborn (ed.), *‘Toronto’ in Perspective: Papers on the New Charismatic Wave of the Mid 1990s* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster/Acute, 2001).

eral decline of European Christianity in the twentieth century. Whereas older churches are showing alarming signs of stagnation and decline, it may be that Pentecostal and Charismatic forms of Christianity in Britain (as elsewhere in Europe) will help rescue the church from pending oblivion.



Bokanmeldelser / Book Reviews

David William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel. The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

Anmelder: Joel Halldorf

De tidiga pingstvännerna såg den andeutgjutelse som de upplevde i det arla 1900-talet som en andra pingst, och tecknet på att tidsåldrarnas slut stod för dörren. Den teologiska upptäckten av tungotalet som tecknet på dopet i Anden betraktades som det slutgiltiga steget på den långa restaurationsprocess som efter över ett millennium av kyrkligt förfall inletts med Luther, fortsatt med Wesley och den amerikanska helgelse rörelsen och avslutats med pingstväckelsen. Genom denna andra pingst hade cirkeln slutits: evangeliet hade fullkomnats och återupprättats till sin apostoliska härlighet och renlärighet, och scenen stod därmed redo för Kristi återkomst. På Charles Fox Parhams bibelskola i Topeka, Texas, skedde föreningen av lära och erfarenhet. Parham hade sedan något år varit övertygad om att Bibeln pekade på att tungotalet var det avgörande tecknet på dopet i Anden, och när Agnes Ozman på nyårsafton år 1900 upplevde Andens dop, och som en följd ska ha börjat tala kinesiska, blev detta bekräftelsen av hans lära. Skeendet i Topeka kom att bli en av pingstväckelsens "skapelsemyter", och i beskrivningarna av händelserna lyftes parallellerna med Apostlagärningarnas andra kapitel fram: man hade varit 120 stycken, man hade samlats i ett rum på övervåningen, en vind hade svept genom rummet trots att fönstren var stängda, och tungor av eld hade fördelat sig på dem som mottog dopet i Anden. De nydöpta fick dessutom förmågan att kommunicera på språk man aldrig studerat. Själva formen för händelseförloppet fungerade i någon mening som en bekräftelse av innehållet. När nu jorden hemsöktes av denna andra pingst verkade det som att Gud använde samma mall som han haft vid den första - det kunde inte vara en slump!

Men om Kristus ändå dröjde, låg det då inte nära till hands att tänka sig att ytterligare något skulle till innan evangeliet helt fullkomnats? Så har man i åtskilliga väckelserörelser med rötter i pingstväckelsen resonerat under 1900-talet. Från det tidiga 1910-talets *Finished Work* anhängare, via *Jesus Only*-rörelsen senare samma decennium, till 1940-talets *Latter Rain*-väckelse. Och än idag lever idéen. När Pascal Andréasson i en debattartikel i februari 2004 lyfte fram behovet av en apostolisk nyordning sa han bland annat: "Med Luther kom en teologisk klarhet, med pingstväckelsen kom individens möjlighet att själv höra från Gud och det som den apostoliska reformationen idag vill lyfta fram är upprättandet av församlingens ordning."¹ Missionspastor Niklas Piensoho recenserade i sin tur

¹ *Svenska Dagbladet* 5/2-2004, "Stelnad kyrka kräver apostel."

denna undervisning i *Nya Dagen*: “En del förkunnare verkar mena att det kristna evangeliet är som en julkalender. Vi kan hela tiden öppna nya luckor och få ny kunskap som inte tidigare varit åtkomlig... Detta är en fullständig galenskap!... Evangeliet är öppet och offentligt så att alla människor kan se och höra.”²

I en rörelse där historiesynen har haft också en central teologisk betydelse borde en seriös historieskrivning ha prioritet som vaccination mot förenklingar och förfalskningar. Tyvärr har inte minst den svenska pingströrelsen brustit på denna punkt, vilket lett till en identitetslöshet som den senaste tiden blivit akut. I den anglosaxiska världen finns en starkare tradition av akademisk utforskning av pingströrelsen, och att ta del av dessa resultat skulle vara välgörande för den kämpande rörelsen.

En av dem som lagt möda och energi på att kartlägga pingströrelsens historiska rötter och tidiga teologiska formuleringar är D. William Faupel. I *The Everlasting Gospel* gör han en noggrann genomgång av de rörelser, väckelser och förkunnare som utgjort pingstväckelsens föregångare. Faupel beskriver pingstväckelsens tillkomst med bilden av en graviditet. Konceptionsögonblicket härför han till väckelsen 1857-58 i den amerikanska helgelseörelsen, inom vilken budskapet därefter långsamt tog form. I slutet av 1800-talet kom födslovärkarna i form av förkunnarna Dowie, Sandford och Parham, vilka tecknas med omfattande biografier, inklusive analyser av deras läror. Slutligen föddes pingstväckelsen år 1906 på 312 Azusa Street, Los Angeles.

Faupel redovisar samvetsgrant de forskarkollegor han står i skuld till, och det är tydligt att han när det gäller väckelsens teologiska rötter följt Donald Dayton (*Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*) tätt i spåren. Faupels framställning framstår kanske inte som briljant på samma sätt som Daytons, men har ändå i jämförelse med dennes flera förtjänster. Faupel kräver mindre förkunskaper av sina läsare, och har fullständigare beskrivningar samt mer uttalade analyser av olika företeelser och institutioner av betydelse för 1900-talets pingstväckelse, exempelvis Oberlin College och *American revivalism*. I detta avseende lämpar sig *The Everlasting Gospel* bättre som en introduktion för den som vill sätta sig in i pingstväckelsens uppkomst och förhistoria, trots att den är mer formaliserad och något tyngre än Daytons undersökning. Dessutom stannar inte Faupel på tröskeln, utan ser det också som sin uppgift att gå vidare med en analys av de teologiska formuleringarna, och kontroverserna, i den tidiga pingstväckelsen. Dock nämns i beskrivningen av den inflytelserike William H. Durham tyvärr inte med ett ord dennes starka fientlighet mot samfund och centralorganisationer, vilken kom att

² *Nya Dagen* 10/2-2004, “Med ‘Kristi brud’ som pastor kan ledningen inte kritiseras.”

påverka Lewi Pethrus och därmed den svenska pingströrelsen. Det har påståtts att Assemblies of God näppeligen kunnat formeras om Durham hade levat.³

Faupels undersökning innefattade till en början också en analys och beskrivning av 1940-talets *Latter Rain*-väckelse, vilken tyvärr till publiceringen skurits bort. Det kan bli en anledning till besvikelse för den som fått uppgiften att *The Everlasting Gospel* innehåller en av få existerande akademiska studier av denna väckelse - detta är sant, men det avser Faupels avhandling med samma namn som helhet, inte den reducerade version som gick till tryck. Jag kan inte se det på annat sätt än att förlaget gjort en grov felbedömning som utelämnat denna del av undersökningen, vilken kastar ljus över pingstväckelsens utveckling under andra hälften av 1900-talet, inte minst företeelser som den karismatiska förnyelsen, trosrörelsen, Torontoväckelsen och den nyapostoliska rörelsen. Förvirringen blir inte mindre av att förordet till den tryckta utgåvan tycks skrivet för avhandlingen i sin helhet, varför den utlovas visa: "why Pentecostalism failed to recognize itself in the message of the New Order of the Latter Rain in the 1940s" (s 9). Den som i boken söker svar på denna fråga letar förgäves - man önskar bara att Faupels resultat på detta område genom framtida publikationer kan komma intresserade läsare till del.



Kemp Pendleton Burpeau, *God's Showman. A Historical Study of John G. Lake and South African / American Pentecostalism* (Oslo: Refleks Publishing, 2004).

Reviewer: Walter J. Hollenweger, Ph.D.

God's Showman is a first-class analysis of one of the early Pentecostal missionaries to South Africa, the Canadian born John G. Lake. The author, Kemp Burpeau, is not a charismatic himself. In spite of this – perhaps because of a certain distance to his subject of research, Burpeau presents a balanced research on a highly controversial early Pentecostal.

Burpeau traces back the spiritual roots of Lake's Pentecostalism to his contact with W.J. Seymour (1870-1922), the black pioneer of American Pentecostalism. Lake therefore encouraged black Pentecostal leaders in South Africa at a time when these were considered by most white Pentecostals unfit for leadership. In particular he befriended Elias Letwaba (1870-1959), a highly educated and very able black leader. In contrast to Lake, one of the white leaders of the South African Apostolic Faith Mission, F.P. Möller, saw in these black Pentecostals nothing

³ Durham dog 1912, Assemblies of God bildades 1914.

but crude superstition, if not communism, especially since many of them sympathized with the African National Congress.

Because of its high intellectual qualities and the excellent backing-up with sources this book raises a number of important theological questions with which contemporary Pentecostalism has to wrestle. The first one relates to faith healing. The author says that faith healing is primarily a matter of conviction and belief. That, of course, is a well-known Pentecostal position but it is being questioned nowadays. Medical researchers and the World Health Organization (Geneva) begin to take seriously certain aspects of what the Pentecostals call "divine healing". It is obvious from Burpeau's book that some claims of divine healing are ill-founded and owe more to spontaneous enthusiasm than to proper investigation. However, the connection between spirituality and health is now well established. Furthermore, we realize that certain indigenous medical traditions are in given cases more efficient than the run-of-the-mill Western medical school. That is why knowledgeable people from the medical commission of the WCC, from the World Health Organization and from certain mission societies advocate cooperation between medical doctors and "faith healers", between traditional (also non-Christian) healers and other therapists. In England cooperation between these different schools of health-care is a matter of course in public hospitals. If that be the case a rational discourse must be established between the different camps. The claim that healing outside the European medical tradition is superstitious (as maintained by a number of medical researchers) or worse even that it is of the devil (as asserted by many evangelical polemics) can no longer be upheld; they lack scholarly and biblical evidence. With the financial and scholarly crisis of the pharmaceutical and medical industry a clarification of these issues is of uttermost importance.

Another question which Burpeau discusses at length is this: How is it that Lake, who was spiritually influenced by William Joseph Seymour, Elias Letwaba and other black Christians never could liberate himself from his Western superiority complex? This is an important question because it touches the centre of modern mission. Allan Anderson and David Barrett state that Third World Christianity is fast becoming the majority Christianity and that we European and American Christians are becoming a small minority. If that be true this has repercussions for our understanding of mission and theology, all the more since these Third World Christians are busy evangelizing the old continent of Europe. So far the European / American reaction to this development was the following: These Christians might be a majority but it is a crude syncretism between superstition and Christianity. This argument has been used all along within Pentecostal circles but not only there. On what other ground but on the ground of Western superiority complex can this kind of argument be upheld? Of course, Zionism, Kimbanguism, Indian Guru churches, Chinese and Korean independent churches are syncretistic. So are the New Testament churches as every informed New Testament scholar will confirm. The famous chapter 13 in First Corinthians consists to a great part of verbatim quotes from hellenistic religious sources. What's more, Paul writes a whole chapter on love without ever mentioning Christ! Early Christianity would never have

been understood if it had not used thought patterns and religious vocabulary of extra-Christian sources. The question is not “Syncretism yes or no” but rather “What kind of syncretism?”. Is it a syncretism which obscures the decisive quality of Jesus of Nazareth or not?

It is obvious that neither American nor European Christianity is “pure Christianity”. Christ for instance never conducted a funeral. The New Testament does not contain any funeral liturgy. Why should it? Early Christians expected the kingdom of God around the corner. Christ spoiled every funeral which he encountered by raising the corpse instead of conducting a funeral. That shows clearly that there is a difference between Christ and us, perhaps also that each time and each place has to live its own Christianity.

That does not mean that there are syncretisms which are not acceptable. But how do we know that our Western syncretism between capitalism and the Gospel, between Western showmanship and the Gospel is better than the syncretism of the Zionists in South Africa? At any rate the major breakthrough in the fight against apartheid came from a Dutch Reformed Prime Minister negotiating with the leader of the African National Congress and not from the Spirit-filled and Bible-believing Pentecostal leaders.

I am deeply thankful for this precise analysis of John G. Lake. However, it poses more questions than it provides answers. That has always been the mark of a good scholarly investigation.



French L. Arrington, *Encountering the Holy Spirit. Paths of Christian Growth and Service* (Cleveland, Tennessee: Pathway Press, 2003).

Reviewer: Paul Elbert, Ph.D.

Pastors, students in Bible colleges, and Christians who want a practical and reliable account of how the Holy Spirit is currently operating in fulfillment of New Testament prophecy might consider professor Arrington’s new guide a “must read.” Although the book is aimed for the educated layperson and the Bible college, scholars also will not at all find the work unprofitable, given that the domain of the Holy Spirit, especially the Lukan gift of the Holy Spirit to disciple-believer-witnesses who pray earnestly for this empowering gift, is in need of further clarification. Given the several centuries of confusion following the Lukan cessationism of the Reformers wherein an “apostolic age” was superimposed upon the narrative-rhetorical treatment of prophetic fulfillment in Luke-Acts, a suffocating imposition further embellished in the Evangelical traditions, fresh approaches are in order. Building on the past century of scholarship and experience in the Pentecostal tradition, together with that in the various Charismatic Renewal Movements among the Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and increasing blocks of Protestantism, Arrington sweeps away a good bit of the

ecclesiastical fog surrounding a vital and timely topic. Here we have a realistic guide for practicing Christians who want to use their Bible in an understandable and accurate manner, becoming cognizant of a budding scholarly tradition within the Pentecostal Reformation, now the fastest growing sector of world Christendom.

It is a pleasure to welcome this well written and persuasive presentation of what the Bible actually says about leading a Spirit-filled life. Arrington engages the biblical witness with respect and clarity. Aside from his lucid explanations of various passages and their connections, we find many helpful summaries of main points, along with lists of penetrating questions causing us to think afresh about ourselves. I must say that it is not often that we have the opportunity to consider and apply such needed lessons in concert with a work of obvious integrity. In today's book market we sometimes find authors who remodel texts in order to tell us about what they would like the biblical writers to have written about the Holy Spirit, instead of what they actually wrote. It is refreshing and pastorally instructive to read *Encountering* and readily appreciate an author's genuine faithfulness and humble submission to the ancient record.

Beginning with "The Witness of the Old Testament to the Holy Spirit" (pp. 27-52), Arrington reviews with thoughtful precision the activities of the Spirit, focusing especially upon the prophecy of Joel. We live in a time of prophetic fulfillment when God is fulfilling this prophecy in its entirety as cited at Acts 2:16-21. In addition we are offered a rich review of all the Old Testament references to the Holy Spirit along with a guide for discussion (these discussion-guides judiciously placed throughout *Encountering* make this book especially suitable for use by small groups of Spirit-filled believers on the mission field and in local churches.)

In "Encountering the Holy Spirit in Conversion" (pp. 55-80) we see how the Spirit helps convict us of sin, bringing repentance, faith, forgiveness, salvation and conversion, as in the soteriological nexus of Luke's portrayal, and incorporation into the body of Christ, as in Paul's description. One should also infer a personal relationship of repentant sinners to the Father, given the parable of the Prodigal Son. From the examples and precedents recorded in the Gospels, this particular ministry of the Spirit began during the ministry of the earthly Jesus (so too, William P. Atkinson, "The Prior Work of the Spirit in Luke's Portrayal," *Australasian Pentecostal Studies* 5-6 [2001], 107-14; and Youngmo Cho, "Spirit and Kingdom in Luke-Acts: Proclamation as the Primary Role of the Spirit in Relation to the Kingdom of God in Luke-Acts," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 6/2 [2003], 173-97) and it continues today. Arrington develops the early Christian concept of walking in the Spirit, a metaphor for experiential (including non-rational) personal fellowship with God, as leading to spiritual fruits and righteousness. All Pentecostals, Neo-Pentecostals or Charismatics, and Evangelicals will benefit from a deeper grasp of our relationship with the Spirit that this section provides.

A central section on Spirit Baptism (pp. 83-228) is divided into four useful parts: Understanding the Bible, Spiritual Empowerment after Conversion, Initial Physical Sign of Spirit Baptism, and Reception and Results of Spirit Baptism. Given the Pentecostal/Charismatic Reformation's phenomenal growth over the past century, it behooves global Pentecostalism to once again articulate the tenets of the Fourfold or Fivefold Gospel with substance and clarity. One of these prophecy-fulfilling tenets proclaimed over the past century as an integral part of the Gospel is the role of the heavenly Jesus as Baptizer in the Holy Spirit. Arrington offers here a substantial and stimulating pastoral grounding in this matter. Evangelicals who might be looking for a more accurate understanding of the Scriptures than they have traditionally been offered may find this presentation to be especially helpful. Recent interaction with Evangelical scholars indicates that at least some Evangelical clientele would like to discard both the hidden presuppositions of "apostolic age" and "word-only" hermeneutics and the accompanying paleoreformed paradigm that has been imposed upon the anonymous double-work at the heart of the New Testament (see my "Pentecostal/Charismatic Themes in Luke-Acts at the Evangelical Theological Society: The Battle of Interpretive Method," in *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 12/2 [2004], 181-215). Although stubborn resistance remains among many Evangelicals to the narrativized and reoralized concept from pre-Lukan Christian theology of being Spirit-filled in a non-rational way (language applied by Luke at Acts 2:4, for example), and to actually praying for the gift of the Holy Spirit with Lukan expectations according to the teaching of the earthly Jesus, it is evident that some younger Evangelical minds are beginning to open to serious consideration of the dubious narrative comprehensibility and veracity of venerated dogmatic paleoreformed presuppositions.

Rightly dismissing the old Protestant Reformation-based popularization that the gift of the Holy Spirit in Jesus' teaching on prayer (Luke 11:2-4 with the presumptuous presuppositional erasure of 11:5-13) was only intended for twelve male apostles and that its initial benefit then somehow theoretically trickles down to all future generations via some kind of spiritual osmosis, Arrington implies that such cessationistic theories only shape a rationally reconfigured Jesus, not the earthly and heavenly Jesus portrayed in Luke-Acts. Given that the heavenly Jesus remembers and supports the ministry of the earthly Jesus, the wedge between the heavenly Jesus and the sayings of the earthly Jesus that has been long imposed by rationalistic exuberance is long overdue for retirement. In particular, dispensational popularizations like the trickle-down osmosis theory, the "church begins at Pentecost," and the wholesale interpretation of Luke through Pauline glasses equipped with special vocabulary filters so as to disconnect Paul's Spirit-giving and Spirit-reception language from Luke-Acts, are so far removed from the intentions of the New Testament writers that perhaps their time of influence may be coming gradually to an end.

Instead of beginning with worn out theories, Arrington begins with what Paul and Luke actually write. He sketches out a set of instructive interpretive principles and

shows that 1 Cor 13:12 refers to “baptism by the Holy Spirit into Christ at conversion” (p. 103). This figurative description is not to be confused with Paul’s language of Spirit-reception (see Luke’s companion Paul at 1 Cor 2:12 and Luke at Acts 2:38c; 19:2). Then, the various delicate descriptions Luke employs for Christians being baptized in or with the Holy Spirit by the heavenly Jesus are helpfully tabulated (p. 109). These correlate nicely with Paul’s language. Arrington’s approach affords readers the opportunity to understandably perceive how the early Christians developed and commonly employed experientially descriptive language, language that allowed them to communicate effectively among themselves. Pentecostals might share more of this important message of New Testament connectedness. Another value of Arrington’s work may be to help Evangelicals come out from under the confusing camouflage of the ecclesiastically self-serving dictums of Enlightenment style interpretation and into the clarity of communication that the early Christian communities apparently enjoyed due to a commonly shared experientially based language.

The treatment of “Spiritual Empowerment After Conversion” (pp. 115-51) and “Initial Physical Sign of Spirit Baptism” (pp. 153-87) affords English reading people everywhere a thorough, accurate, and easily understandable account of what Luke pastorally intends his readers to realize and personally apply. Luke renders the belief that the prophetic fulfillment of John the Baptist’s prophecy (Luke 3:16), and Jesus’ own encouragement and rhetorically reasonable implementation toward its realization (Luke 11:5-13; 24:48; Acts 1:4, 5, 8), is now an ongoing promise beyond narrative time to all disciple-believer-witnesses, to those who hear the Gospel and repent (Acts 2:38c, 39). From the examples and precedents recorded in Acts, we see the heavenly Jesus fulfilling the prophecy of Joel as coupled with the teaching and narrative prediction of the earthly Jesus, and also coupled to the narrative prediction of John the Baptist. This ministry of the heavenly Jesus continues today according to prophetic prediction. Despite the dispensational callousness which the Pentecostal Reformation has been exposed to and often intimidated by, given the proper historical realization of God’s irrevocable intention to fulfill the prophecies which He has divinely inspired, it is arguably correct to make the point that the “Pentecostal experience is inseparable from Christian experience, since the Pentecostal life is Christian. In fact, Pentecostals believe that the Pentecostal experience is available and even intended for all believers” (Paul W. Lewis, “Towards a Pentecostal Epistemology: The Role of Experience in Pentecostal Hermeneutics,” *The Spirit & Church* 2/1 [2000], 95-125 [103]). Although scholarship may certainly anticipate more work along these lines, Arrington’s treatment reveals this exciting personal application of ongoing prophetic fulfillment. His narrative investigation quite appropriately encourages determined prayer.

Following on in a lovely train of thought is “The Reception and Results of Spirit Baptism” (pp. 189-228). Here we learn how our experience of Spirit-filling and inspired prophetic speech in unlearned languages is designed to provide more boldness to witness for Christ. This mysterious increase in our ability for personal

witness, and increased appreciation of the non-rational dimension of the Holy Spirit, would of course vary with each individual according to God's will. Each disciple-believer-witness today, as Luke describes Christians at the end of his Gospel, may be empowered today by a "personal Pentecost" so as to increase his or her personal witness, given due obedience to the earthly Jesus' teaching on prayer. This personal Pentecost is a prophetic heritage for all believers. Arrington's study may serve to lessen the possible fear of the supernatural and facilitate understanding as to why speaking non-rationally in unlearned languages (other tongues) is a good sign of Spirit-filling from the heavenly Jesus. This Spirit-filling as described by Luke leads to desirable experiential consequences in our spiritual life, to a deeper appreciation of His interior presence, thus helping us to work *with* the Lord to expand and make real His everlasting kingdom.

Going around or bypassing both Luke-Acts and Paul's Spirit-reception language (1 Cor 2:12) to claim interpersonal spiritual gifts may be a slight of hand. This detour is unwise and little more than a dispensationally wedded extraction of Scripture from its original context. Dr. Arrington's "Introduction to Gifts of the Spirit" (pp. 231-73) is an appreciated counterbalance to a current trend in some Evangelical quarters that "all the Pauline spiritual gifts are for today." Such an admission, after centuries of denial by some scholars in the Protestant Reformation tradition, is often theoretical, political, or diplomatic, but in any case not a coherent holistic New Testament understanding. Participants in the Pentecostal Reformation should not be swayed by such potentially misleading trends taken out of biblical context, trends which may come and which may also quite easily go along with renewed efforts to protect ecclesiastical positions, but instead they should adhere to the entire New Testament context as Arrington wisely does.

For Roman Catholic readers of *Encountering*, I would commend two pastorally useful volumes, which might be best considered in light of the more extensive treatment provided by Arrington. These are those by Lucy Rooney and Robert Faricy, *Lord, Teach us to Pray* (2nd ed.; Vatican City: International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services, 1998) and by Raniero Cantalamessa, *The Mystery of Pentecost* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2001). Noting these allows me to also call attention to Arrington's accompanying list of scholarly resources (pp. 491-517).

In a review of a five hundred page pastoral benchmark like *Encountering*, all its significant aspects cannot be adequately surveyed, but are nevertheless noteworthy and worthy of deployment, like Arrington's "Gifts of Leadership" and "Gifts of Service, Power, Revelation and Worship" (pp. 275-374). But I would like to close with what will continue to effectively serve the witness of global Pentecostalism, the credible personal testimony. In "Personal Stories of Encounters With the Holy Spirit" (pp. 423-66) we find a charming collection of personal testimonies that is both edifying and entertaining in the best Christian sense. Unlearned inspired prophetic speech is understood and applied. Spirit-filling and its mysterious empowerment have practical consequences in the Christian life of a housewife.

The Spirit guides missionary work in the inner city. Dreams, visions, and healings accompany missionary endeavor. This is the voice of the genuine prophetic tradition amidst suffering and struggle. This is why, for example, 90% of all Protestantism in Central/South America is Pentecostal. When the blinding constraints of rationalism and materialism are removed, and the heavenly Jesus is sought persistently in prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit according to the teaching of the earthly Jesus, then a host of personal stories inevitably burst forth among the bands of disciple-believer-witnesses around the world.

As we engage the task of evangelizing the world we need to encourage young people to consider the call to the mission field and not be ashamed of credible personal testimony related thereto, as, for example, in the account of Elize Scharten by Cornelis van der Laan, "Beyond the Clouds: Elize Scharten (1876-1965), Pentecostal Missionary to China," in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William W. Menzies* (Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies, eds.; JPTSup 11; Sheffield, 1997), 337-57. Similarly, reading Arrington's accounting of personal stories and his "Challenges for the Spirit-Filled Church Today" (pp. 377-420) could be a tonic to faith and a motivation to *get back to the basics*. Arrington effectively echoes, from a realistic New Testament perspective, the theological realization that while preserving a good part of the past, Christocentric and Pneumatological experience is taking place in the present so as to set the stage for a more vigorous understanding of God until Christ's return (see, too, Heribert Mühlen, "Die epochale Notwendigkeit eines pneumatologischen Ansatzes der Gotteslehre," *Wort und Wahrheit* 18 [1973], 275-87). *Encountering* offers many revitalizing and stimulating thoughts that can assist its readers to become better, more obedient Christians, combining accurate biblical guidance with much needed practical resolve.



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