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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

Også denne gang presenteres et temamessig åpent nummer. Innledningsartikkelen har eskjatologi som fokuseringspunkt og gir et oversiktsbilde over premillennismens historie i Storbritannia og USA. Denne er delvis ment som oppfølging av redaktørens artikkel fra forrige nummer - "E.W. Kenyon og tidshusholdningslæren." Artikkelen etterfølges av to bidrag fra David Di Sabatino – den første en historisk gjennomgang av amerikansk Jesusbevegelse og den andre en redegjørelse for bevegelsens sang- og musikktradisjon. Dernest følger en presentasjon av norsk katolsk-karismatisk fornyelse formidlet gjennom intervju med søster Ingrid Marie Nilsson.

Paul L. King er tilbake med en ny oversiktsartikkel, denne gang om såkalt "Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare", en naturlig oppfølging av hans artikkel fra 2004 vedrørende eksorsisme av enkeltkristne. Deretter følger Roscoe Barnes biografiske portrettskildring av F.F. Bosworth, kjent avdød amerikansk helbredelsespredikant.

Redaktørens siste artikkel presenterer den britiske forkynneren Lance Lambert og etterfølges av Walter J. Hollenwegers gjennomgang av sitt liv som pioner innen global pinseforskning. Siste artikkel, forfattet av Joel Halldorf, setter søkelyset på Algot Niklasson og den svenske 'sønderknuselsesvekkelsen' innen svensk pinsebevegelse tidlig på 1950-tallet.

God lesning!

Gress hie

Gi et gaveabonnement til jul?

Tidsskriftet *REFLEKS* går ut til ca 180 betalende abonnenter. Det burde være marked for minst dobbelt så mange. Har du venner eller bekjente du tror ville ha utbytte av å lese? Hva med å gi et gaveabonnement til din pastor, medlemmer av eldsterådet, bibelskolelærere eller reflekterte ungdommer i din menighet?

En oversikt over premillennismens historie i Storbritannia og USA

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



Premillennistisk eskjatologi var opprinnelig en viktig hjørnestein innen pinsebevegelsens samlede 'teologi'. Førstnevnte har, naturlig nok, ikke oppstått i noe ideologisk vakuum, og jeg vil i denne artikkelen søke både en historisk og læremessig kontekstplassering av 'pentekostal premillennisme'. Her vil arven via både John Nelson Darby (plymouthbrødrene) og John Fletcher (metodismen) trekkes vekslende på. Impulsene fra Storbritannia og USA gjør for øvrig at kontekstplasseringen i stor grad blir en oversikt over premillennismens *generelle* historie i de to respektive land.¹

Britisk millennisme

Apokalyptiske forventninger – og spekulasjoner – har fulgt den kristne menighet gjennom dens 2000-årige historie, og kanskje i særdeleshet i krisetider. En kata-

¹ Premillennismen innen Catholic Apostolic Church i Storbritannia, f.eks., vil ikke berøres i denne artikkelen da jeg ikke kan se at den har bidratt til pinsebevegelsens eskjatologi-forståelse.

lysator for *britisk* millennisme² var den franske revolusjon – innledet i 1789. Den amerikanske historikeren Ernest R. Sandeen skriver: “To live through the decade of the 1790s in itself constituted an experience in apocalypticism for many of the

² Timothy P. Weber skriver i *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming. American Premillennialism 1875-1982* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1983) s. 9-10: “Since the intricacies of biblical prophecies are still mysterious to most people, it is necessary to say a brief word about Christian millennial thought in general. Broadly speaking, Christian millennialism is the belief that there will be a long period of unprecedented peace and righteousness, closely associated with the second coming of Christ. Christians can be divided into three groups, depending on whether they take the millennial reign of Christ literally and where they place Christ’s return in relation to it. Amillennialists (literally, “no-millennialists”) interpret biblical references to the millennium figuratively and contend that the millennial reign of Christ occurs in the hearts of his followers. Postmillennialists, on the other hand, believe that Christ will return after the church has established the millennium through its faithful and Spirit-empowered preaching of the gospel; while premillennialists expect Christ to return before the millennium in order to establish it by his might. Premillennialists are further divided into two subgroups on the basis of their fundamental approach to prophetic texts. Historicist premillennialists believe that the prophetic Scriptures, especially those in Daniel and Revelation, give the entire history of the church in symbolic form. Thus they look into the church’s past and present to find prophetic fulfillments and to see where they are in God’s prophetic timetable. Futurist premillennialists argue that none of the prophecies of the “last days” have been fulfilled in the history of the church, and they expect them all to come to pass within a short period just before the return of Christ. For them, all the great events prophesied in the Bible still await fulfillment.”

British. The violent uprooting of European political and social institutions forced many to the conclusion that the end of the world was near.”³

En rekke eskjatalogiske tidsskrift så snart dagens lys, som *Morning Watch*,⁴ *Christian Herald*,⁵ *Investigator*,⁶ *Quarterly Journal of Prophecy*,⁷ *Prophetic Herald and Churchman’s Witness for Christ*⁸ og *Rainbow*.⁹ Det eldste av disse, *Mor-*

³ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism. British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (Chicago og London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970) s. 5. Weber (s. 14-15) skriver: “For anyone to gain a respectful hearing for his millennial views, he had to demonstrate their correspondence with current events. This was especially true of historicist premillennialists, who believed that biblical prophecies of the “last days” provided an overview of the entire church age. Accordingly, those premillennialists were eager to show that the Pope’s exile from Rome in 1798 at the hands of French troops was an exact fulfillment of the prophecies in Daniel 7 and Revelation 13. Those passages predicted that after 1260 “days” the reign of the Beast or Antichrist would end and they would be followed shortly by the coming of the Son of Man. In typical Protestant fashion, the Beast was identified as the Roman papacy, and in typical historicist fashion, the “days” of the prophecy was converted into years. By dating the rise of the papacy at A.D. 538, premillennialists could claim by simple arithmetic that the events in 1798 were dramatic fulfillments of the prophecy. Encouraged by such success, premillennialists turned their attention to the next major event on God’s prophetic calendar – the second coming of Christ. The exile of the Pope proved its imminence, and the prophecy in Daniel 8:14 provided the year. Daniel had predicted that 2300 “days” after the “desolation of the sanctuary,” Messiah would come. Using Bishop Ussher’s chronology to date the profanation of the Jerusalem temple by Nebuchadnezzar (457 B.C.), premillennialists converted days to years and calculated Christ’s coming in about 1843.

⁴ London, 1829-33.

⁵ Dublin, 1830-35.

⁶ London, 1831-36.

⁷ 1849-?.

⁸ 1845-47.

⁹ London, 1864-87. Tidsskriftet *Rainbow* er interessant i den forstand at budskapet reflekterer læremessig avhengighet av Darbys pretribulasjonale premillennisme, samtidig som de anglikanske skribentene bevisst syntes å skjule denne avhengighet. Sannsynligvis var årsaken at de ikke bifalt Darbys ekklesiologi, som igjen gav logiske føringer til den eskjatalogi både han og de selv innestod for.

ning Watch, oppstod i forlengelse av en uke lang 'profetisk konferanse' lokalisert til landstedet Albury Park. Den første konferansen ble avholdt i 1826 og fortsatte i flere år framover. Like forut for den første av disse ble the Society for the Investigation of Prophecy stiftet i London. En tilsvarende forening, the Prophecy Investigation Society, ble til i 1842 og samlet interesserte til et par årlige samlinger hvor man nettopp fokuserte på eskjatologi.

Nevnes bør også de såkalte Powerscourt-konferansene (etter Lady Theodosia Powerscourt) i Irland fra 1831 av. Sannsynligvis hadde de fleste deltakerne der en *historisk* tilnærming til Johannes Åpenbaring (preterisme) – det vil si at de tolket de fleste profetordene som allerede (historisk) oppfylte. Plymouthbrødrene, med John Nelson Darby i spissen, forfektet imidlertid en *futurisk* tilnærming, det vil si at profetiene fremdeles var å betrakte som uoppfylte (jfr. note 1).

Tilnærmingen var ikke unik for plymouthbrødrene, men hadde sin opprinnelige bakgrunn blant katolske teologer som på den måten avviste protestantiske troendes identifikasjon av pavedømmet med Antikrist ved å hevde at Antikrist ennå ikke hadde trådt fram på arenaen. Blant plymouthbrødrene var det imidlertid en splittelse på gang, idet Benjamin Newton (leder for vennegruppen i Plymouth) ikke kunne følge verken Darbys futuriske tilnærming til Åpenbaringsbokens forutsigelser eller hans oppsplitting av Jesu annet komme i to separate faser: en midlertidig bortrykkelse av de troende til himmelen og Jesu komme til jorden for å etablere tusenårsriket.¹⁰ Ifølge Darby kunne bortrykkelsen skje når som helst, all den stund den var relatert til *menighetens tidsperiode* – som etter sigende kun var som parentes i Guds historiske program å betrakte – og verken var forhåndsomtalt i Det gamle testamente eller referert til i Johannes Åpenbaring.

Endelig bør også nevnes tre 'Second Advent' konferanser som ble avholdt i Mildmay Park utenfor London i 1878, 1879 og 1886. Initiativtaker var William Pennefather, anglikansk prest i St. Jude's Church. Konferansen samlet deltakere fra ulike læremessige posisjoner: George Hawkins Pember argumenterte for 'par-

¹⁰ Weber skriver (s. 21) : "Up to the early 1830s, it seems that all futurist premillennialists had seen the rapture in conjunction with the second coming of Christ at the end of the tribulation. But dispensationalists, taking their cues from the creative teaching of John Darby, separated them. At the rapture, they said, Christ will come *for* his saints, and at the second coming, he will come *with* his saints. Between these two events will occur the tribulation, which dispensationalists equated with [...] the reign of Antichrist. In this way the church will be removed from the scene so that God can resume his prophetic count-down and his dealings with Israel."

tial rapture' læren, H. Grattan Guinness for preteristisk premillennisme mens Frank H. White "had become an annihilationist."¹¹ Mildmay konferansene synes å ha lagt føringer for tilsvarende konferanser i USA.

Amerikansk millennisme

I USA var de 'vekkelseskristne' stort sett postmillennister – det vil si at de så for seg Jesu gjenkomst i etterkant av en 1000-årig fredsperiode. William Miller, bonde fra Low Hampton, New York, var en av flere som opponerte mot denne forståelsen. Tilsynelatende uten interaksjon med andre kom han fram til en læremessig forståelse som i forbløffende grad sammenfalt med historiske premillennister i Storbritannia. I motsetning til disse tidfestet han imidlertid Jesu gjenkomst til 22. oktober 1844.

Også i USA dukket det opp eskjatologiske tidsskrift: *Literalist*,¹² *American Millenarian and Prophetic Review*,¹³ *Theological Literary Journal*,¹⁴ *Prophetic Times*¹⁵ og *Waymarks in the Wilderness*¹⁶ var noen av disse.

I 1868 møtte en håndfull ledere, identifisert med kretsen rundt *Waymarks in the Wilderness*, til en konferanse i New York City. Tilsvarende konferanser ble avholdt i flere storbyer de neste par årene. Etter hvert startet man opp en årlig konferanse som strakte seg over 1-2 uker på sommeren. I perioden 1883-97 ble konferansen avholdt ved Niagara-on-the-Lake i Ontario, Canada, derfor navnet the Niagara Bible Conference. Viktige premissleverandører under de årlige samlingene ved Niagara var James Hall Brookes, George C. Needham og William J. Erdman.

De fleste deltakerne bifalt Darbys futuriske tilnærming til Johannes Åpenbaring og argumenterte for at Jesu gjenkomst ville inntre i forkant av tusenårsriket

¹¹ Sandeen, *ibid.* s. 147.

¹² Philadelphia, 1840.

¹³ New York City, 1842-44.

¹⁴ 1848-?.

¹⁵ 1863-81.

¹⁶ 1854-57, 64-72.

(premillennisme).¹⁷ Mange hadde imidlertid ikke noe forhold til tidshusholdningslæren som sådan, Darbys ekklesiologiske læreposisjon som gav føringer for den eskjatologi de hadde hentet fra ham.

Konferansene appellerte først og fremst til presbyterianere og baptister.¹⁸ Velkjent blant disse var blant annet Arthur Tappan Pierson (1837-1911), opprinnelig presbyterianerprest, men etter hvert “in fact, if not in name, a Baptist.”¹⁹ Tilsvarende kjent, A.J. Gordon (1836-95), pastor i Clarendon Street Baptist Church i Boston fra 1869 fram til sin død, fungerte som bindeledd mellom profetkonferansene og hellighetsbevegelsen. I sitt tidsskrift *Watchword*²⁰ sørget han for at begge bevegelsers anliggende ble behørig profilert. Bemerkesverdige er det kanskje at

¹⁷ “The key to understanding the whole dispensational system is a very ingenious and complex interpretation of a prophecy in Daniel 9 concerning “seventy weeks”. The seventy weeks (or seventy “sevens”) is interpreted as meaning four hundred ninety years. Four hundred eighty-three of these years (seven weeks and sixty-two weeks) are thought to refer precisely to the period from the rebuilding of Jerusalem recorded in Ezra and Nehemiah to the time of Christ. The startling and ingenious aspect of the interpretation is that it posits that these first sixty-nine weeks were not immediately followed by the seventieth. Rather, it suggests that the entire church age (not clearly indicated in the Old Testament prophecies) intervenes between the sixty-ninth and seventieth week. This leaves a host of prophecies to be fulfilled in this last brief seven-year time, which is the final period before Christ sets up the millennial kingdom. These events, as elaborated in Daniel and Revelation, will include the appearance of the “anti-Christ” or “false prophet,” who will likely be an ecclesiastical tyrant backed by the united apostate churches, the corresponding emergence of a political leader, known in Revelation as “the Beast,” who will reunite ten nations that have grown out of the Roman Empire (the ten toes in the vision of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 2) forming a new Roman Empire (“Babylon” in Revelation); the return of the Jews in unbelief to Palestine; the conversion of some of the Jews; their intense persecution, especially by the great world leaders, during the final three and one half years of “great tribulation;” the personal return of Christ with all the saints forming an army that will engage and defeat the combined forces of the Gentile world powers, the Beast, and the false prophet, at a place in the Near East known as Armageddon.” George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture. The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982) s. 52.

¹⁸ Marsden, *ibid.* s. 46.

¹⁹ Sandeen, *ibid.* s. 144.

²⁰ Boston, 1878-97.

Gordon, i motsetning til de fleste premillennistene, etter hvert gikk fra futurisk til historisk premillennisme – selv om han, ironisk nok, fastholdt den første posisjons bifall av læren om de troendes midlertidige bortrykkelse.²¹

Niagara-konferansene fungerte etter hvert som katalysator for tilsvarende profetkonferanser rundt omkring. I tillegg ble millennismen profilert gjennom D.L. Moodys sommerkonferanser i Northfield, Massachussetts. Ikke slik å forstå at disse konferansene *eksklusivt* var forbeholdt millennistene. Sandeen skriver:

From 1880 until his death Moody brought speakers to Northfield, Massachussetts, for summer conference sessions that attracted men of all persuasions and changed the character of American Protestantism. As a result of Moody's efforts a new kind of pietistic holiness was brought from England [i.e., Keswick teachings] to this continent, the Bible institute movement began to gather momentum, and the missionary program of the evangelicals reached its crest in the Student Volunteer Movement. With Moody as ally and convert, and with the Northfield conference as a sounding board for their views, the millenarians had an unparalleled opportunity to impress their own view of this world and the next upon evangelical Christianity.²²

Millennismens innflytelse over Northfield-konferansene var imidlertid ikke en enveis innflytelse. Da den britiske Keswick-forkynneren F.B. Meyer ble invitert i 1891, protesterte 'millennistene' høylydt før han kom. De fleste av dem stod i en kalvinsk kristendomstradisjon og forvekslet Keswickforkynnelsen med det hellighetsbudskap som ble forkynt innen den metodistiske fløy av amerikansk hellighetsbevegelse.²³ Da de oppdaget at Keswickforkynnerne ikke innestod for den såkalte 'entire sanctification-læren' (at Gud fjerner den troendes iboende synde-

²¹ "Pre-millenarians again, are divided into two schools, the Futurist and the Historical: the former of whom hold that Antichrist is yet to appear, and that the larger part of the Apocalypse remains to be fulfilled; while the latter maintains, with the reformers and the expositors of the early post-Reformation era, that Antichrist has already come in the bloody and blasphemous system of the papacy, and that the Apocalypse has been continually fulfilling from our Lord's ascension to the present time. If we turn away from the Futurist interpretation – in which we were 'nourished and brought up' so far as our prophetic studies are concerned – and express our firm adherence to the Historical, it is because we believe that the latter is more scriptural." (Adoniram Judson Gordon, *Ecce Venit. Behold He Cometh*. [New York, Chicago og Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1889] s. vi.)

²² Sandeen, *ibid.* s. 172-173.

²³ For en sammenligning av de to fraksjonene innen hellighetsbevegelsen, se Geir Lie, "Hellighetsbevegelsen i USA og Storbritannia – et historisk riss." *Refleks* 2-1 (2003) s. 3-20.

natur gjennom en spesifikk hellighetserfaring), og at de endog bifalt deres egen premillennisme, ble heller ikke Keswickforkynnernes hellighetslære (at den troende kunne holde sin iboende syndenatur i sjakk) aldeles uspiselig.

Delvis influert av Moody ble premillennistene grepet av ideen om bibelskoler for å utdanne gudfryktige menighetsledere. Disse ville ikke besmitte menigheten med 'liberal' teologi tilsvarende universitetene hadde gjort, ble det hevdet. A.B. Simpson etablerte Nyack Missionary College i 1882 mens Moody Bible Institute ble offisielt åpnet i 1889. A.J. Gordon åpnet samme året Boston Missionary Training School.²⁴ Og på Vestkysten etablerte Thomas C. Horton The Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA) i 1907.

Fundamentalister og evangelikale

Rundt 1920 ble motstanden mot de 'liberale' i enkelte kretser utpreget militant. Delvis skyldtes dette en skarpere tone fra teologisk sett 'liberalt' hold, og delvis trusselen fra naturvitenskapen. Ikke minst fungerte 1. verdenskrig som katalysator for en skarpere brodd mellom i bibelsyn 'liberale' troende og 'konservative' premillennister, idet flere teologer ved University of Chicago anklaget premillennistene for manglende nasjonalpatriotisme ved å unnlate å støtte USAs krigsinnsett fra og med april 1917. Shirley Jackson Case, professor i kirkehistorie ved University of Chicago, hevdet endog at premillennistenes numeriske fremgang skyldtes finansiell støtte fra nazi-Tyskland:

“Two-thousand dollars a week is being spent to spread the doctrine,” he told reporters. “Where the money comes from is unknown, but there is a strong suspicion that it emanates from German sources. In my belief the fund would be a profitable field for governmental investigation.”²⁵

Det 'konservative' tidsskriftet *The King's Business* hadde følgende gjensvar: “While the charge that the money for premillennial propaganda ‘emanates from German sources’ is ridiculous, the charge that the destructive criticism that rules in Chicago University ‘emanates from German sources’ is undeniable.”²⁶ På samme måte som de 'liberale' anklaget premillennistene for, iallfall indirekte sett, å utgjøre en trussel for demokrati og nasjonal sikkerhet, hevdet premillen-

²⁴ Ved Gordons død endret skolen navn til Gordon Divinity School. Skolen ble siden splittet i henholdsvis Gordon College og Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary.

²⁵ Marsden, *ibid.* s. 147.

²⁶ Marsden, *ibid.* s. 148.

nistene, på den annen side, at de 'liberale' var iferd med å rasere det kristne fundamentet som det amerikanske samfunnet var tuftet på:

“Loud are the cries against German Kultur [...] Let this now be identified with Evolution, and the truth begins to be told.” The truth, [premillennialist Howard W. Kellogg stressed in an address given at the Bible Institute of Los Angeles,] was that this philosophy was responsible for “a monster plotting world domination, the wreck of civilization and the destruction of Christianity itself.”²⁷

Med William B. Riley i spissen tok ideen om en World's Christian Fundamentals Association form. Den nyetablerte sammenslutningen inviterte til sin første konferanse i mai 1919 og samlet om lag 6000 deltakere. Fram til om lag 1925 opplevde man en bred oppslutning blant 'konservative' troende mot læremessig forfall innen først og fremst Northern Baptist Convention og (Northern) Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Det er denne form for militant 'konservatisme', iallfall siden 1950-årene, som er blitt identifisert som 'fundamentalisme'. Marsden skriver:

Fundamentalism was a loose interdenominational coalition of “aggressive conservatives – conservatives who feel that it is their duty to contend for the faith.” This definition embraced the main concerns of the [dispensationalist] premillennialists, conservative Baptists, Presbyterian traditionalists, and the scattered militants in other denominations, who were beginning to develop a sense of common identity.²⁸

En periode syntes de 'konservative' å ha overtaket. Endog den profane presse hevdet at 'fundamentalistene' hadde logikken på sin side når de oppfordret de 'liberale' om å tre ut av sine respektive trossamfunn. Marsden oppsummerer på vegne av pressen: “The fundamentalists [...] were not denying the rights of the modernists to think as they pleased. They were only claiming that if the modernists wanted to think thoughts which contradicted the creeds that denominations had always affirmed, then it would be only gentlemanly to withdraw and found denominations on some other basis.”²⁹

At det likevel skulle bli de 'liberale' som presset de mest militante 'fundamentalistene' ut, skyldes mer enn én årsaksfaktor. Blant annet lyktes de 'liberale' i sin fremstilling av konflikten som i mindre grad en teologisk uenighet enn et resultat av sosio-kulturelle forskjeller. 'Fundamentalistene' var etter sigende enkle men-

²⁷ Marsden, *ibid.* s. 148-149.

²⁸ Marsden, *ibid.* s. 169.

²⁹ Marsden, *ibid.* s. 175.

nesker som motsatte seg nødvendige kulturelle samfunnsendringer. En tilsynelatende bekreftelse på fremstillingens berettigelse fikk man gjennom rettsaken mot biologilærer John Scopes i Dayton, Tennessee i 1925. Scopes hadde nemlig undervist elevene i utviklingslæren – stikk i strid med Tennessees nylig lovfestede forbud mot å presentere Darwins evolusjonslære i den offentlige skolen. Selv om dommen gikk i Scopes disfavør, fikk han *opinionens* støtte mens ‘fundamentalistisk’ kristendom ble identifisert med “rural backwardness”.³⁰

‘Fundamentalismens’ mest aggressive støttespillere dannet etter 1925 små separatistgrupper og/eller –samfunn. De profilerte seg gjennom radiosendinger, skriftlige publikasjoner, bibelskoler, ja, endog ved å starte universitet (f.eks. Dallas Theological Seminary, Wheaton College og Bob Jones University).

Mindre militante tilhengere forble (delvis) trofaste innenfor sine respektive trossamfunn, idet de “saw themselves as standing in the tradition of Dwight L. Moody, Charles Finney, Jonathan Edwards, and George Whitefield, representing the long-standing transdenominational center of the American evangelical tradition.”³¹ I 1942 ble National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) etablert som et løselig forbund av konservative trossamfunn og enkeltpersoner som ivret for evangelisering.

NAE favnet til å begynne med både militante og mindre-militante ‘fundamentalister’. En tilsvarende sammenslutning, men eksklusivt åpen for de militante, ble initiert av Carl McIntire i 1941, American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC). Ulike forsøk på å forene de to sammenslutningene førte ikke fram. Dette skyldtes ikke minst ulik strategi i forhold til de historiske trossamfunn – mange av de moderate ‘fundamentalistene’ hadde nemlig oppgitt forrige generasjons dispensasjonalisme med dertil tilhørende negative innstilling til de historiske trossamfunn selv om de fortsatt kunne være futuriske premillennister. Også ulikt syn på forholdet til de amerikanske pinesamfunn var utslagsgivende. I april 1944 publiserte McIntire en rekke kritiske artikler i sitt eget tidsskrift *Christian Beacon*. C.M. Robeck skriver:

³⁰ Marsden, *ibid.* s. 187. Dette til tross for at fundamentalismen i reell forstand hadde hatt sin styrke i byene i nord og på Østkysten.

³¹ George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991) s. 64.

“Tongues,” his paper claimed, “is one of the great signs of the apostasy.” The real gift of tongues had long since ceased to exist. McIntire announced his willingness to merge the ACCC into the NAE *if* the NAE would, among other things, “get rid of the ... tongues groups.”³²

De moderate ‘fundamentalistene’ etablerte Fuller Theological Seminary i 1947. I 1950-årene ble ‘fundamentalisme’ så å si eksklusivt anvendt om tilhengere av separatistgrupper, mens de moderate (som søkte dialog utenfor egen krets) ble identifisert som ‘evangelikale’ troende. Et viktig talerør for de sistnevnte ble tidskriftet *Christianity Today*, opprinnelig redigert av Dr. Carl F.H. Henry. Både ‘fundamentalistene’ og de ‘evangelikale’ har i overveiende grad videreført den premillennistiske arven. Det samme gjelder for pinsebevegelsen og dens forløper, 1800-tallets hellighetsbevegelse.

Amerikanske pinsevenners premillennisme

Det kan være nærliggende, som mange historikere har gjort, ensidig å forankre den opprinnelige pinsebevegelses premillennisme i Darbys eskjatologi. Den

³² Cecil M. Robeck, “National Association of Evangelicals.” *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*; editor Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Maas, associate editor (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 2002) s. 923. Pinsevenner har ofte identifisert tidshusholdningslæren (dispensjonalismen; som forøvrig mange fundamentalister, ikke minst de militante, bifalt) som sådan som på kollisjonskurs med pinsebevegelsens gjenopprettelseslære (av nådegavene jfr. 1 Kor 12 og Ef 4,11). Den amerikanske pinsehistorikeren Vinson Synan skriver feilaktig: “The fundamentalists had also been swayed by a relatively new biblical hermeneutic known as “Scofieldian dispensationalism,” which viewed the Pentecostalist practices of glossolalia and divine healing as signs heralding the “dispensation of Grace,” destined to cease with the apostles of the New Testament. This “cessationist” theology was most fully developed by Benjamin Warfield. In his 1918 volume, *Counterfeit Miracles*, Warfield asserted that not a single miracle had occurred since the death of the last apostle. The Pentecostals were therefore in grave error and beyond the pale of orthodox fundamentalism.” (Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition. Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* [Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1997] s. 209.) Synan tar feil både i sin presentasjon av Scofield og fundamentalismens læreposisjon. Scofields tidshusholdningslære berører ikke “the Pentecostalist practices of glossolalia and divine healing.” Og fundamentalistene avskrev ikke berettigelsen av tungetale og troshelebredelse p.g.a. tidshusholdningslæren som sådan (som de fleste av dem innestod for), men fordi de stod i en kalvinistisk “cessationist” tradisjon. Det samme gjorde Warfield, som forøvrig *ikke* var dispensjonalist.

amerikanske forskeren Donald W. Dayton hevder imidlertid at “the emergence of Pentecostal eschatology [was] a parallel development (or occasionally an antecedent) to the rise of dispensationalism, though, of course, we shall see common dynamics and a great deal of intermingling.”³³ Ett læremessig tilknytningspunkt til pinsebevegelsens eskjatalogi var puritanismens triumforienterte framtidsvyer for ‘endetidsmenigheten’ (puritanerne var like fullt postmillennister). Et annet tilknytningspunkt var John Wesleys samtidige metodistkollega John Fletchers inndeling av frelseshistorien i Faderens, Sønnens og Åndens tidshusholdning og hvor vi siden pinsedag befinner oss i Åndens tidshusholdning. Pinsebevegelsens umiddelbare forløper i USA, 1800-tallets hellighetsbevegelse (hvor de fleste av tilhengerne var metodister), innestod i utgangspunktet for en postmillennistisk eskjatalogi. Den *ikke*-metodistiske fløy av hellighetsbevegelsen tok imidlertid tidlig et oppgjør med postmillennismen. Dette skjedde blant annet gjennom kontakt og interaksjon med Darby-inspireerte premillennister med forankring i de ulike profetkonferansene som allerede er omtalt. Den metodistiske fløy av hellighetsbevegelsen stilte seg derfor en tid polemiserende til den ikke-metodistiske fløy. Når de endelig lot seg overbevise, var det gjerne i forlengelse av studiet av Fletcher. Selv hadde han, i motsetning til Wesley, vektlagt muligheten for en umiddelbar hellighetserfaring (‘dåp i Den Hellige Ånd’) som ideelt sett burde skje så raskt som overhodet mulig etter at man var blitt en troende. Hellighetserfaringen var ifølge Fletcher et suverent verk av Den Hellige Ånd. Wesley, derimot, anså i større grad enn Fletcher helliggjørelse som en gradvis prosess hvor menneskets delaktighet var avgjørende. Muligens var det slik at de *første* metodistene i USA var mer preget av Wesley enn av Fletcher.³⁴ I så måte er det kanskje riktig, som Dayton hevder, at man opplevde postmillennistisk eskjatalogi som en logisk forlengelse av Wesleys hellighetslære. Dayton skriver:

³³ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991) s. 147.

³⁴ På et *senere* tidspunkt var det utvilsomt riktig, som Tore Meistad har hevdet, at “while in the USA Wesley was read in [the] light of Fletcher, in Great Britain Fletcher was read in [the] light of Wesley.” (Tore Meistad, *Methodism as a carrier of the holiness tradition in Norway* [Alta: ALH-forskning, 1994:2] s. 28.)

Just as postmillennialism may be seen as the social correlate of the doctrine of entire sanctification [according to Wesley's understanding] – both emphasizing the role of human agency and the process of gradual transformation culminating in a level of the vanquishment of sin and evil within history – so may premillennialism be seen as the social correlate of the doctrine of the baptism in the Holy Spirit [according to Fletcher's understanding] – both emphasizing an instantaneous event of transformation, the divine agency, and a human response of “tarry and wait” for the “blessing” or the “blessed hope.”³⁵

Nå hadde Fletchers hellighetslære større innflytelse enn Wesleys innen den metodistiske fløy av amerikansk hellighetsbevegelse (selv om de færreste var seg bevisst noen spenning mellom de to). Når overgangen fra postmillennisme til premillennisme likevel tok en viss tid, skyldes dette sannsynligvis at eskjatologien til å begynne med ble lite fremhevet og de logiske tilknytningspunktene mellom denne og hellighetslæren knapt ble reflektert over. Egen refleksjon ble først og fremst aktualisert gjennom interaksjon med den ikke-metodistiske fløy innen hellighetsbevegelsen. Men når refleksjonen rundt eskjatologi først *var* aktualisert, ble fokuset på de ‘siste tider’ særdeles viktig blant mange.

Den opprinnelige *pinsebevegelse*, med utgangspunkt i den metodistiske fløy av hellighetsbevegelsen, var derfor opprinnelig en eskjatologisk, ja, millennialistisk bevegelse hvor Jesu snarlige gjenkomst var det som opptok tilhengerne. Man mente at Jesu gjenkomst ville skje umiddelbart etter at evangeliet var forkynt for alle folkeslag på jorden. Om evangelisasjon- og misjonstrangen utvilsomt delvis var motivert av nød for ‘sjelene’, synes den viktigste beveggrunnen å ha vært selve fremskyndelsen av Jesu gjenkomst for sin egen del.

Evangelisasjon- og misjonstrang til tross, man var først og fremst kalt til å vekke kristenfolket, Guds sovende menighet. Alliert med bryllupsmotiver fra både Johannes Åpenbaring og Matteusevangeliet forkynte man at pinsebevegelsen (‘Bruden’) holdt på å gjøre seg istand til Jesu bryllupsfest i himmelen og at den sovende menighet måtte våkne opp av likegyldighetssøvnen. Kristu ‘brud’ bestod nemlig ene og alene av tungetalende pinsevenner. Ved Jesu komme ville disse midlertidig borttrykkes til himmelen. Tungetalen ble til å begynne med forstått som et reelt jordisk språk som skulle erstatte nitidige språkstudier. Herigjennom ville misjonsoppdraget effektiviseres, idet Gud angivelig stadfestet budskapet om

³⁵ Dayton, *ibid.*, s. 165.

Jesu snarlige gjenkomst på deres eget språk. Når alle hadde hørt budskapet, uavhengig av hvorvidt de tok imot eller ei, ville Jesus komme for å hente 'Bruden'.³⁶

Både pinsevennenes og såkalt 'ikke-pentekostal' premillennisme var i utgangspunktet læremessige minoritetsposisjoner. Timothy Weber har dog påvist solid fremgang fra og med 1920 årene av:

By 1920 premillennialist revivalists could afford to press their doctrine, while before then they had been careful to remember premillennialism's distinct minority status within the evangelical mainstream.³⁷

Om pinsevennene var premillennister, var det likevel ikke før etter 1. verdenskrig var omme at de tilkjennegav en *pretribulasjonal* versjon av denne. Gerald T. Sheppard skriver:

Certainly, Pentecostals, who look to Azusa Street as their galvanizing moment in history, do not find that all of the leading figures taught pre-tribulation rapture. For Pentecostals the emphasis on eschatology belonged more naturally to the sense of a final glorious revelation and outpouring of the Spirit in the last days, than, as with fundamentalists, to the dark prospect of impending destruction for those not suddenly taken out of this world.³⁸

Først i 1920-årene, og videre utover, hevder Sheppard, ble pinsevennenes pretribulasjonale premillennisme befestet. Sheppard hevder videre, med rette, at pinsevennenes pretribulasjonalisme i store trekk ble adoptert fra 'fundamentalismens' premillennisme og hvor man ikke anerkjente lærens logiske forankring i en fortgående dispensasjonalistisk ekklesiologi.

Thomas D. Ice skriver:

Early Pentecostalism was born out of a motivation and vision for restoring to the church apostolic power lost over the years. Now she was to experience her latter-day glory and victory by going out in a blaze of glory and success. On the other hand, dispensationalism was born in England in the early 1800s bemoaning the latter-day apostasy and ruin of the church. Nevertheless, within Pentecostalism, these two divergent views were merged.³⁹

³⁶ Geir Lie, "Apostler og aposteltjeneste i internasjonal pinsekristendom." *Refleks* 1-1 (2002) s. 5.

³⁷ Weber, *ibid.* s. 52.

³⁸ Gerald T. Sheppard, "Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship." *Pneuma* (Fall 1984) s. 9.

³⁹ Thomas D. Ice, "The Calvinistic Heritage of Dispensationalism," www.pre-trib.org/article-view.php?id=22.

Pinsevennene var dog neppe klar over at gjenopprettelsesmotivet (Latter Rain perspektivet) ikke var forenlig med tidshusholdningslærens pessimistiske ekklesiologi. Ice hevder videre:

Many baby-boomers within Pentecostal and Charismatic churches grew up with dispensationalism and the pre-trib rapture as part of their doctrinal framework. Thus, it would not occur to them that dispensationalism was not organic to their particular brands of restoration theology.

I tillegg til at jeg bestrider berettigelsen av å kalle pinsevennenes eskjatalogi for 'dispensationalism' bare fordi de inndeler frelseshistorien i ulike tidsepoker, må jeg delvis reservere meg i forhold til Ice, som fortsetter: "Either the church age is going to end with perfection and revival or it will decline into apostasy, preparing the way for the church to become the harlot of Revelation during the tribulation." Som jeg har forsøkt å påvise, var pinsebevegelsens *opprinnelige* premillennisme (som helt og holdent ble overtatt fra hellighetsbevegelsen) ikke ensidig inspirert av Darby (indirekte selvfølgelig), men i stor grad utledet gjennom lesning av Fletcher. Jeg kan ikke se at arven fra Fletcher (i motsetning til arven fra Darby) forårsaker noen logisk konflikt med pinsebevegelsens øvrige læreanliggende. Pinsebevegelsens *videreutvikling* av premillennismen (pretribulasjonalisme) har imidlertid tatt farge fra 'fundamentalismen', og jeg kan derfor slutte meg til Ice sitt avslutningsresonnement:

It is not surprising to see within the broader Pentecostal/Charismatic movement, since the mid 1980s, a clear trend toward reviving Latter Rain theology and a growing realization that it is in logical conflict with their core doctrine. Many, who grew up on Dispensational ideas and the pre-trib rapture, are dumping these views as the leaven of Latter Rain theology returns to prominence within Pentecostal/Charismatic circles.

Det faller utenfor min interesse å spekulere i hvorvidt trenden fra 1980-årene med fascinasjon for postmillennistisk eskjatalogi vil fortsette, eller om majoriteten av USAs pinsevenner og karismatikere fortsatt vil hegne om sin pretribulasjonale premillennisme uten å ta hensyn til at læren synes problematisk å fastholde sammen med idylliseringen av 'endetidsmenigheten'. Trenden er uansett ikke eksklusivt rasjonelt begrunnet all den stund *ikke*-pretribulasjonalistisk premillennisme er mindre problematisk å fastholde sammen med idylliseringen av den samme 'endetidsmenigheten'.



The Spiritual Sixties and the Jesus People Movement

David DiSabatino is a documentary filmmaker working on his first release entitled *Frisbee: The Life and Death of a Hippie Preacher*.

Regardless of what one thinks, or believes about the 1960s there is rarely any middle ground when opinions are formed concerning the decade's legacy. The polarized views are evident in histories presently emerging. As those who never trusted anyone over thirty now enter their fifties and sixties, controversy has never lagged far behind. While some offer sympathetic remembrances of dissent against tyrannical 'systemites' (the minions of Moloch), others condemn the permissive generation as having fathered (or mothered) the 'sins' of single parenthood, soaring divorce rates, AIDS, anti-authoritarianism, and other sundry immoralities. Those who view the Sixties as an attack against traditional values identify the election of Ronald Reagan as that generation's death knell. Their celebration was curtailed, however, by the Clinton administration who entered the White House as the apotheosis of Sixties ideology.¹ Whether one sees the decade as commencing a 'slouching towards Gomorrah' or re-establishing a continental conscience, the Sixties remain stubbornly defiant against simple definition.

The Spiritual Sixties

Although in a literal sense the Sixties should be designated as the ten year period from 1960 to 1970, most historians choose the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963 and the resignation of President Nixon in 1974 for their decadal parameters. Both these events bring to mind powerful visual images; Abraham Zapruder's shocking footage of Kennedy's assassination juxtaposed with a resolute Nixon turning to wave before boarding the awaiting presidential helicopter.

* This article has previously been published in David Di Sabatino, *The Jesus People Movement. An Annotated Bibliography and General Resource* (Lake Forest, California: Jester Media, 2nd. ed., 2004), 3-18. Used with permission.

¹ Robert H. Bork, *Slouching Towards Gomorrah: Modern Liberalism and Moral Decline* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996), 2.

The decade also left behind an indelible collection of news clips, sound bites, and visual memories that have undergone a renaissance of sorts, finding new life in the endless barrage of pulsating images of the present media saturated culture. Mention of ‘the Sixties’ is likely to bring to mind flashbacks of Kent State, the televised Tet offensive in Vietnam, civil rights marchers, Haight-Ashbury hippies, Woodstock and Altamont, and the four assassinations (two Kennedy brothers, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X). The Sixties was a made for television era. All of these events while no doubt important, distort the era as much as they offer explanation.

In talking with hundreds of those who ‘came of age’ during the Sixties, I found as many who remained untouched by these incidents (save what they read, viewed, or heard) as those who were transformed. My intent is not to relegate the aforementioned events as unimportant, but rather to question how important they were. For instance, how many hippies populated Wyoming or Nebraska or Nova Scotia? Was the New Left of concern to students at the University of Louisville? Was Woodstock really about love and togetherness, or was the announcement that the event was now a ‘free concert’ simply to save face in lieu of financial naiveté? This preoccupation on certain aspects of Sixties culture has left other important movements obscured if not altogether hidden. This resource is an attempt to counter this imbalance and to resurrect interest in a social movement that merits mention alongside advances made by student radicals, feminists, and civil rights workers.

While most intellectuals still tend to view the Sixties through the lens of political, economic, and certain social analyses, a separate framework has emerged. The decade is now being regarded as a watershed mark in the religious history of North America. Religious academics are fond of casting the era as initiating a spiritual transition from modernism to postmodernism, the turning away from Judeo-Christian dominance to pluralistic tolerance embracing a vast array of new religious movements (NRMs).

In his book *The Sixties Spiritual Awakening*, Robert Ellwood, Jr. suggests that the era was “the emergence of a wholly new culture, based on a new spirituality” and that the great event of the decade was not political, but was “the coming of the Love Generation, the Aquarian Age, or secular Christianity.”² By studying

² Robert S. Elwood, Jr., *The Sixties Spiritual Awakening: American Religion Moving from Modern to Postmodern* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 7-8.

~~(footnote continued)~~

the 1960s as an age of recurring moments of epiphany, certain intellectuals have suggested a helpful framework of investigation. For these, the decade is best viewed as the Spiritual Sixties.³ However, where their views are misleading is the exaggeration of the new religious movements (NRMs) while minimizing the obvious currents of traditional Christian spirituality. While spiritual innovation captured public attention, either through discussion of bizarre rituals, anxieties concerning brainwashing, or mass suicides, it remains unclear that the NRMs made any lasting cultural impact.⁴ Statistics regularly confirm that religious allegiance continues to support traditional choices. Harvey Cox, whose book *The Secular City* in 1966 heralded the coming of the metropolis and technology as the new locus of religious devotion, has openly recanted his contributions to the death of God hubris due to his realization that conservative Christianity (especially Pentecostalism) has been a powerful cultural force throughout the twentieth century.⁵ Much evidence exists in both Canada and the United States that traditional Judeo-Christian spirituality never really waned, although it has undergone sig-

³ See Robert S. Ellwood, Jr., *The Sixties Spiritual Awakening: American Religion Moving from Modern to Postmodern* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992); Peter Clecak, *America's Quest for the Ideal Self: Dissent and Fulfillment in the 60s and 70s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Charles Y. Glock and Robert N. Bellah, eds. *The New Religious Consciousness* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976); William McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Wade Roof Clark, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1993); Steven M. Tipton, *Getting Saved from the Sixties: Moral Meaning in Conversion and Cultural Change* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982).

⁴ "The more successful groups have less than 10,000 members, whereas most number less than a thousand. . . . The image of the alternative religions growing by leaps and bounds and heading toward a dominant position in the religious landscape of the future is plainly false." See J. Gordon Melton and Robert L. Moore, *The Cult Experience: Responding to the New Religious Pluralism* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1982), 8-9.

⁵ See Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1995).

nificant alteration and relocation.⁶ Regardless of these imbalances, the Spiritual Sixties is a useful category with which to trace out the complex streams of alternative and traditional religion that battled throughout the decade.

The Spiritual Sixties were comprised of many religious impulses. In January 1959 Pope John XXIII announced plans for a Second Vatican Council hoping to initiate spiritual renewal. After four years of preparation, the council began in October 1962 where until 1965 participants struggled to define the nature and mission of the Catholic church in the modern world. Vatican II sought to ground renewal of the Christian life in *aggiornamento*, an ‘updating’ of all aspects of church life. Council documents encouraged Catholics to draw greater daily sustenance from authentic sources of Christian spirituality. Before his death in June 1963, Pope John prayed that the council would initiate ‘a new Pentecost’. In response to this spiritual openness, in 1967 Catholic clergy and lay persons gathered at Notre Dame and Duquesne Universities to pray for spiritual renewal. In less than ten years these initial charismatic impulses would spawn fifteen hundred prayer groups attended by over two hundred thousand Catholic believers.⁷

Mainline Protestant denominations were also affected. In 1960 at St. Mark’s Episcopal Church in Van Nuys, California, rector Dennis Bennett announced to his congregation that he had undergone a ‘baptism of the Holy Spirit’ which had included the accompanying experience of speaking in tongues. The event is cited by historians as the beginning of a charismatic renewal that spread throughout Episcopalian, Lutheran, Mennonite, Anglican, and other mainline assemblies. Elsewhere, liberal theologians questioned the relevance of God in light of the post-WWII Holocaust revelations. Angered by divine passivity in the face of human suffering, they maintained that the denial of God was the only act of faith left open to a rational person. Their pronouncement of the ‘death of God’ sparked *Time* to query “Is God Dead?” on a front cover issue in 1966. Although explanations for the divine obituary sounded like muddled academic doublespeak, the resultant media exposure triggered heated discussion.

⁶ See Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988).

⁷ Heribert Muhlen, “The Charismatic Renewal as Experience,” *In The Holy Spirit and Power: The Catholic Charismatic Renewal*, ed. Kilian McDonnell, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1975), 108.

By the midway point of the decade, a number of alternative (or secularized) religions appeared. Fueled by massive contempt and rejection of material culture, hippies and campus radicals grasped for and created their own amorphous spiritual realities. Although emerging near the end of the decade, Theodore Roszak's term *counter culture* provided an elastic category of definition encompassing most (if not all) of the quasi-spiritual expressions of youthful dissent. The sociologist defined the teenage-led generation as a "cultural constellation" of rising dissent protesting increased mechanization, cultural deprivation, and the "cold-blooded rape of . . . human sensibilities."⁸ Their disdain for *technocracy* was led by a motley collection of New Left activists, Kennedy liberals, militant blacks, and bohemian hippies⁹ while the questioning of received truth was motivated by a new ethos "born of the precepts of intuition and direct experience."¹⁰ Where reason had led their parents into an uncritical acceptance of the twin evils of mammon and militarism, this new generation would seek knowledge by randomly testing all spirits with an unrestrained self-empiricism. Intellectual Alan Watts egged seekers to embrace the "delight of exploration more than mere duration of an uneventful life."¹¹ The introduction of LSD to eager street consumers intensified an already spiritually hungry situation. Hallucinogens ignited a passionate yearn after truth birthing an insatiable appetite for religious experience in hippie sacramentalists. Eastern spirituality also offered counterculturalists a weapon with which to combat classical rationalism upon which the mores of western culture were founded.

⁸ Roszak, *The Making of a Counter-Culture*, 47.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67. Roszak explains that the two largest and most seemingly contradictory protagonists, the radical social protesters of the New Left and the passive 'drop-outist' hippies, were unified in their "clamor at the gates of technocracy." This early (albeit tenuous) union between hippies and radicals is seen by Roszak in that "when the New Left calls for peace and gives us heavy analysis of what's what in Vietnam the hippy quickly translates the word into shantih, the peace that passes all understanding, and fills in the psychic dimensions of the ideal."

¹⁰ Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 4.

¹¹ Alan Watts, "Psychedelics and Religious Experience," in *Psychedelics: The Uses and Implications of Hallucinogenic Drugs*, eds., Bernard Aaronson and Humphry Osmond (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1970), 143.

As these experientialists gathered together, their countercultural enclaves became meccas where chic mystical ideologies were routinely accepted, experimented with, and then denounced with equal vigor. As a direct result, new forms of communalism were arranged providing experience-oriented youth with a home for a night (or for six months) where they could gather with like-minded peers. Hippie houses and crash pads became a staple of many urban centers while other anti-establishment groups sought rural settings in a bid (as popular recording artists Crosby, Stills & Nash sang Joni Mitchell's song "Woodstock") to "get ourselves back to the garden." The most famous urban hippie enclave was located in San Francisco, at what became the infamous corner of Haight and Ashbury. Similar utopian gatherings across North America were initially compared to early Christians and followers of St. Francis of Assisi who also challenged the power brokers of their age.¹²

Experiential Christianity in the 1960s

As these complex spiritual eddies swirled together, an outbreak of conservative Christianity was the last thing anyone would have predicted. However, as sociologist Peter Berger once rightly quipped, "one of the elements that keeps history from being a complete bore is that it is full of surprises." The emergence of the Jesus People, the offspring born of the peculiar marriage of Christianity and hippiedom, was a most unexpected social development of the Spiritual Sixties.

The Jesus People Movement lasted approximately eight years, from the establishment of the first street Christian mission in 1967 to the dissipation of the counterculture in 1974. Though called a *movement* (by *Look* magazine in 1971) the phenomenon is probably best explained in terms of classic Christian revival, having its largest impact upon individuals rather than affecting larger culture. From independent centers of activity the movement recruited a diverse collection of converted speed freaks, 'turn or burn' evangelists, Pentecostal mystics, millennial extremists, and anti-charismatic Baptists under its auspice. By mirroring

¹² "In many respects modern hippies are comparable to the early Christians. Their dress and hair styles are apparently close to the early Christian mode of attire. The early Christians, like the hippies, had fantastic visions of a beautiful time in the future. Participants in both movements felt they were escaping from a decadent society into a new community based on religious and spiritual freedom. And the hippies, like the early Christians, feel and experience legal and social persecution from the larger society of which they are a dissonant part." Lewis Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip* (New York: Pegasus, 1968), 291-92.

the institutional developments of the counterculture, the movement also spawned several hundred Christian communes, hippie churches, Jesus rock bands, and underground newspapers. Membership estimates taken at the height of media coverage ranged from thirty thousand to three million having spread into over seventy countries.¹³

The Jesus People Movement was a volatile mixture of countercultural empiricism, Pentecostal praxis, and aggressive fundamentalist-style evangelism; the Jesus People, in a phrase, were Christian experientialists. Despite the doctrinal wrangling and there stood a common transcendent experience from which participants constructed their spiritual reality. Common to each one of their testimonies was a profound 'experience of God' which began with the hippie quest for truth and ended in Christian conversion. This experience defined the Jesus People. Where the counterculture sought to divorce their members from any allegiances with the past, the conversion of a Jesus freak provided an opportunity of reintegration back into the North American mainstream.

The movement found members in those who did not label themselves as Jesus freaks, nor identified with their anti-establishment outlook, but who became spiritual mentors, teachers, and examples in the faith for a host of young converts. The 'forever family' (the term coined by leaders of the Christian World Liberation Front to connote the invisible church or 'body of Christ') was drawn together by an evangelistic missionary impulse, to 'rescue the perishing' (akin to previous revivals) by proclaiming the 'good news of salvation' (or *godspel*) through Jesus Christ. The Jesus People, although divided on certain theological points, were all bound by the primary conviction that the answers to life's problems were to be found in spiritual submission to the second person of the Trinity.

Despite their tremendous exposure in 1971, the Jesus People have remained neglected from reflection upon the Spiritual Sixties. Since they do not fit the usual definition of counterculture their impact has been minimized with the charges of political and cultural escapism. In most histories the Jesus People are at least no more than an afterthought, while at best an uncomfortable challenge to the widely held view of the era as a watershed of religious pluralism. Alongside the Black Panthers, Peaceniks, hippies, Yuppies, Weathermen, women's liberationists, Dig-

¹³ Richardson, James T., Mary White Stewart, and Robert B. Simmonds, *Organized Miracles: A Study of a Contemporary, Youth, Communal, Fundamentalist Organization* (Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1979), xvi.

gers, New Leftists, and campus radicals, however, also stand the Jesus People, the forgotten children of the 1960s counterculture.

Beliefs of the Jesus People

It is important to outline the central tenets of the tightly constructed spiritual worldview of most Jesus People. Participants adhered to the 'fundamentals of the faith', a series of doctrines outlined and distributed during the early part of the twentieth century in opposition to biblical criticism and liberal Christianity. With rare exceptions, most Jesus People affirmed,

- a) Christ's virgin birth
- b) Christ's death being an atonement for the sins of humanity
- c) Christ's bodily resurrection
- d) Christ's physical return to earth to establish the kingdom of God
- e) the inerrancy of the Bible as the word of God.

Unlike their fundamentalist cousins, however, the movement was heavily influenced by the widespread acceptance of Pentecostal worship. Though openness to experientialism spawned doctrinal controversies - Was the Baptism in the Holy Spirit an event subsequent to salvation (a 'second blessing')? Can a Christian be demon-possessed? Did the operation of spiritual gifts cease in the first century? Should everyone speak in tongues? - these tensions were usually diffused in deference to the primacy of soul-winning. Unless a person was 'born again' they were not considered a true Jesus freak. With regard to the revival's spiritual themes, then, the Jesus People Movement was Christocentric, bibliocentric, apocalyptic, primitivistic, and pneumacentric.

First, and foremost, the movement was centered on salvation through an experience of faith in Jesus Christ. Jesus was the 'one way' through whom a repentant believer achieved reconciliation and established a 'personal relationship' with God. As with other North American revivals, 'soul-winning' was the primary motivation, especially in light of the prevalent belief that the world was soon to end. The message 'Jesus Saves' was repeated over and over throughout underground Jesus papers, testimony services, and in emotional choruses. In their cover story on the "Jesus Revolution" *Time* stated, "Jesus is alive and well and living in the radiant spiritual fervor of a growing number of young Americans. . . If any one mark clearly identifies them, it is their total belief in an awesome, su-

pernatural Jesus Christ, not just a marvelous man who lived 2,000 years ago, but a living God who is both savior and Judge, the Ruler of their destinies.”¹⁴

Second, the movement was bibliocentric with a penchant for interpreting the Bible literally. In the Bible the Jesus People found a blueprint for every action where daily decisions were made with the confirmation of single verses. Biblical characters were spiritual ancestors in whose lives participants found affinity. Positive actions gleaned from the lives of Abraham, King David, Queen Esther, and Mary, offered tried and true paths, while the sinful predilections of Samson, King Saul, and Jonah revealed helpful insights to avoid spiritual pitfalls. Jesus People were in full agreement that the Bible was the fully inspired and inerrant. The King James Version (KJV) was the preferred text although other versions (such as the Living Bible, the New International Version, and Good News for Modern Man) were also in wide use as were translations of the Bible into hippie jargon.

Third, the movement was eschatologically motivated. Most Jesus People fully expected the second coming of Christ to occur within their lifetime. Like past revivals a sense of apocalyptic urgency pervaded the movement with most individuals believing they were living in the last days as foretold by biblical prophets. Egged on by the sensationalized writings of end-times teachers, many agreed that theirs was the ‘terminal generation’. Ernst Käsemann’s statement that the ‘apocalyptic is the mother of all theology’ was supported by the actions of the excitable Jesus People who were compelled to concentrate most of their energies on ‘end-time’ evangelism. Touring evangelists and preachers also resuscitated interest in the premillennial doctrine of an impending ‘rapture’ of the saints whereby committed believers would be ‘caught up’ from the earth before the start of a tribulationary period perceived to be systematically outlined in the Book of Revelation. Jesus musician Larry Norman’s popular song “I Wish We’d All Been Ready” was a haunting reminder that many would be ‘left behind’ when this rapture occurred:

*Life was filled with guns and war
and everyone got trampled on the floor
I wish we’d all been ready*

¹⁴ “The New Rebel Cry-Jesus Is Coming,” *Time*, 21 June 1971, 36.

*Two men walking up a hill
one disappears and one's left standing still
I wish we'd all been ready*

*A man and wife asleep in bed
she hears a noise and turns her head he's gone
I wish we'd all been ready
There's no time to change your mind
The Son has come and you've been left behind.¹⁵*

Fourth, the movement held widespread primitivistic beliefs where most esteemed the actions of the early church as the supreme ideal of all spiritual activity. Jesus People felt they were the re-establishment of New Testament Christianity, an affront to the established churches whose spirituality had waxed cold. The Jesus People felt they marked the re-establishment of spiritual gifts lost to the church for almost two millennia. Implicit in this denunciation was the common notion that the early church had gone off track (or lapsed into routinization) shortly after the second century when institutionalization had crept in and dogma superseded spontaneity. As Ronald Knox has traced in his study of *Enthusiasm* throughout the history of the Christian church, antiquity had once again become a mirror of Christian perfection.

Fifth, the Jesus People were spiritual experimentalists transferring their empirical techniques of countercultural observation to paradigms of Christian faith (such as Pentecostalism) they found receptive and accommodating. Risk taking and acting upon internal spiritual impulses were common facets of their emotive spirituality. Experientialism sought out moments of spiritual ecstasy, visions, speaking to God in unknown tongues (*glossolalia*), exercising spiritual gifts, and prayer. This did not mean, as many anti-charismatics would claim, that there was rampant disregard for orthodox doctrine. It simply meant that within the long standing battle between heart and mind (the charismatic and institutional, spontaneity and structure, etc.), the Jesus People placed primacy on experience over dogma. While this tendency often fostered the movement's detractors to dismiss the spiritually-charged adherents as over-emotional and anti-intellectual, the Jesus People should be viewed as a challenge to the theological strictures of classical western Christianity.

¹⁵ Larry Norman, "I Wish We'd All Been Ready," *Upon This Rock*, Capitol Records, 1969.

Origins of the Jesus People Movement (1967)

The revival is traced to 1967 when hippies, usually independent from each other, began converting to Christianity as the outcome of their quest for absolute truth. While some claimed their conversions came spontaneously, in isolation apart from outside influences, others were introduced to the Christian message by evangelists targeting the counterculture as a mission field. Though any movement beginning past the midway point of a decade seems conspicuously late to be considered an integral component, most of the developments of the 'turbulent sixties' occurred at the same time. Historians of the era cite 1967 as being the pivotal year, casting all previous years as the calm before the storm. Historian David Farber claims the years prior to 1967 as being "relatively peaceful" ones, while in a romanticized account of the decade Anne Gottlieb quotes a source as stating, "I would count 1960 to 1966 as mindless, and then '67, '68, '69, those three years, as an awakening. That's when everybody started to think."¹⁶

Although societal dissatisfaction had been mounting since the death of President John F. Kennedy in 1963, it was in 1967 that North America started to come apart at the seams. January began auspiciously with the Hell's Angels throwing a party in the Haight, followed by the First Human Be-In held at Polo Field attended by 20,000 psychedelic gatherers. The year also marked the introduction of LSD-25 to a mass street audience through the chemical entrepreneurialship of Augustus Owsley III. A study on drugs indicated that experimentation with marijuana and LSD had more than doubled in one year from 1966 to 1967.¹⁷ The Beatles, who announced they had all "dropped acid," became LSD's musical ambassadors with the June release of *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*. Anti-war sentiment continued to rise as 400,000 protesters in New York marched from Central Park to the United Nations. Draft card burnings and anti-draft demonstrations were also on the increase. Robert Ellwood, Jr., has called 1967 "the year of the avatars," where "the hippie counterculture with its drugs, mysticism, and New Left radicalism descended into full public view; the quasi-liturgical antiwar demonstrations became large-scale as the nation divided deeply on the issue."¹⁸ Despite being dubbed "the summer of love," the year marked the

¹⁶ See David Farber, *The Sixties: From Memory to History* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994). See also Annie Gottlieb, *Do You Believe in Magic?: Bringing the Sixties Back Home* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 43.

¹⁷ Gottlieb, *Do You Believe in Magic?*, 45.

¹⁸ Ellwood, *The Sixties Spiritual Awakening*, 35.

last ecstatic hurrah of hippiedom before harder drugs (like heroin) were introduced into the Haight-Ashbury turning a relatively peaceful community towards violence.

In Canada, 1967 marked the country's centennial celebrated with the welcoming of the World's Fair as the province of Quebec hosted Expo '67. The year's most poignant moment may have occurred on a Montreal balcony where French President Charles De Gaulle bellowed *Vive le Québec Libre!* His statements ignited a movement for the province's independence that Canadians have been fighting to assuage ever since. Canadian author and *raconteur* Pierre Berton has called 1967 Canada's "last good year" demarcating a watershed of national history dividing traditional monarchists from progressives.

In the estimate of the few historical accounts that documented its rise, the first locus of street Christianity began in 1967 with the opening of a small storefront 'missionary crash pad' called The Living Room. Though other evangelical groups had previously made attempts within the area, their efforts mark the first instance where indigenous hippies began evangelizing their like-minded peers. Located in the heart of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district it was the first indigenous outpost staffed solely by emerging movement of what Christian media labeled as street Christians. Though in 1971 the terms 'Jesus freak' and 'Jesus People' would come to dominate the literature, in these first few years the terms 'hippie Christians', 'psychedelic evangelists', and 'street Christians' were first utilized.

The Living Room was the vision of Ted and Liz Wise, perhaps the first converts to make the transition from the counterculture to Christianity. The couple began to aggressively evangelize their peers in the Haight, eventually recruiting three other couples to help them staff their "way station for wayward seekers." Subsequent to their own conversions, Jim and Judy Doop, Steven and Sandi Heefner, and Danny and Sandy Sands, joined the Wises in efforts to communicate their spiritual experiences. Daily witnessing treks through the Haight, talking with young hippies who wandered in to the mission, and providing them hot soup and a place to sleep were their main activities. The street Christians also gained support from a group of Baptist ministers whose attitudes toward the zealous converts was best described as cautious but open. During their period of ministerial experimentation members estimate that they made contact with several thousand of the Haight's transient inhabitants.

While studying the Bible one of the group's members noticed that the early Christians had sold their possessions and lived together in community. Taking the Bible as a literal guidebook and having a penchant for experimentation, the four couples sold their possessions and rented a house in nearby Novato, Califor-

nia. Within months of them moving in to the 'Big House' (what later would be called The House of Acts), the couples made contact with a confused but spiritually enthusiastic young man named Lonnie Frisbee. Along with his fiancée Connie, the Frisbees were accepted as the fifth couple of the group.

Both The Living Room and House of Acts community stayed in operation for approximately 18 months before a diaspora of the members ensued, most of them entering other areas of evangelistic ministry. Ted and Liz Wise went to Peninsula Bible Church in Palo Alto while the Doops and Heefners began separate chapters of The Way International. The Frisbees ventured south, recruited by a pastor of a small southern California church to begin a similar ministry. Although not in operation for very long, the group's activities became a model for other similar evangelistic communities.

Revivals are often the setting for unorthodox extremists whose antics usually attract an inordinate amount of attention. During the movement's informal stage most street Christian groups considered each other part of a similar groundswell of spiritual activity. In 1967 an evangelist named David Berg and his family took over responsibility of a coffeehouse ministry at Huntington Beach, formerly run by Pentecostal evangelist's David Wilkerson's Teen Challenge organization. Berg's mother had introduced her son to his future hippie ministry having fed and evangelized beach hippies for years. After she died David Berg parlayed his family's musical talents and radical commitment into a tightly organized communal outreach program. His recruitment campaign was fueled by his beliefs that his Teens for Christ ministry was the sole remnant of true New Testament Christianity appointed by God to preach the gospel in what he (and many others) believed were 'the last days'. David Berg's exclusivistic doomsday proclamations attracted a modest number of transient hippies whose slavish allegiance to him as 'end-time prophet' and personal father figure led to a journalist dubbing them the Children of God.

Another similar exclusivist group was The Way International founded by Victor Paul Wierwille. A graduate of Princeton Seminary, Wierwille believed that the Christian church had been erroneous in its proclamation of a triune God. He developed the *Power for Abundant Life* training seminar as a means of recruitment touting himself as the "truest Bible teacher since the Apostle Paul." His alliance with early street Christians came when he coaxed Jim Doop and Steve Heefner (members of the original House of Acts community) to head communal outposts under his oversight. The subsequent growth of The Way International revealed that Wierwille benefited greatly from having these first street Christians join his association.

Tony and Susan Alamo also came to prominence during this early period, both of them later claiming their hippie evangelism began in 1965 and that they were the “true spiritual catalysts” of the revival. The husband and wife tandem opened their first church for converted junkies in 1967 in a former dope den. After ostracizing themselves from other evangelical groups, their Alamo Christian Foundation set up operations in Saugas, California in virtual isolation. Their exclusivistic doctrines coupled with disparaging living conditions for their followers made the Alamos a target of local law enforcement.

Although each of these groups would later be targeted by cult researchers, during this early phase very few distinguished the Children of God, The Way International, and the Alamos from other street Christian communities. As the movement began to mature and diversify, these radical extremists would ultimately be marginalized and denounced as heretics.

Movement growth amidst social chaos (1968-1970)

Beginning in 1968 and leading into the Seventies, the frustration of small gains won by anti-war and political protests gave way to more vehement means of social dissent including race riots, open civil disobedience, violence, and political assassinations. In his book *1968 In America*, Charles Kaiser states it was “the moment when all of a nation’s impulses toward violence, idealism, diversity, and disorder peaked to produce the greatest possible hope-and the worst imaginable despair.”¹⁹ Annie Gottlieb maintains that with the same immediacy that gunshots took the life of two ’60s leaders, idealism gave way to hopelessness: “With the assassinations of King and Robert Kennedy, we lost our last hope of combating racism or ending the war through the System, and the System lost our consent. Some simply gave up.”²⁰ Labelling this period as “the bitter years,” Robert Ellwood, Jr., concludes that the “country was tearing itself apart with violence, but responses seemed only to generate more polarization.”²¹ One student activist commented of their inability to provoke social change, “after a certain amount of frustration you decide that at least you can make yourself into a brick and hurl

¹⁹ Charles Kaiser, *1968 In America: Music, Politics, Chaos, Counterculture, and the Shaping of a Generation* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1988), xv.

²⁰ Gottlieb, *Do You Believe in Magic?*, 47.

²¹ Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual Awakening*, 35.

yourself.”²² Campus demonstrations, the riots at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, the Tet offensive in Vietnam broadcast over the nightly news, race riots in 125 cities, and student-led campus coups also contributed to “the most disturbing intervals we have lived through since the Civil War.”²³

In the United States, the year 1969 opened to the promise that the nation was embarking upon what President Nixon called an “era of negotiation,” but came to a crashing halt when the polarization between his administration and antiwar radicals widened. Campus revolts reached a crisis point in the spring when 300 colleges and universities endured sizable demonstrations, strikes, building take-overs, disruption of classes, with some incidents including arsons, bombing, and vandalism.²⁴ The antiwar movement was thrown into a tailspin by President Nixon’s ‘Vietnamization’ program who delivered on promises of troop withdrawal but initiated a program of secret bombing in Cambodia and North Vietnam. The swan song of antiwar sentiment came on October 15 with the calling of a Moratorium where millions took part in nationwide public protest. After this, New Left historian Todd Gitlin concludes, “the leadership didn’t know what to do for an encore.”²⁵

In August, news coverage of the Tate-LaBianca murders propelled California celebrities to make a frenzied escape from the coastline state. The eventual roundup of the Manson family in December would cause international panic against so-called cult groups and their guru-like leaders as parents became anxious that their children could be brainwashed into committing similar atrocities.

Throughout 1970 student protesters staged demonstrations involving over thirty percent of American college and university campuses including the burning or bombing of thirty ROTC buildings. Campus tensions reached a nadir in 1970 in the wake of student killings at two universities. In Ohio, National Guardsman fired into a group of protesting students at Kent State University killing four and wounding nine others. Ten days later, in an incident that went relatively unnoticed, two black students were killed and nine wounded when police fired into a

²² Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 377.

²³ Kaiser, *1968 In America*, xv.

²⁴ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 342-43.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 379.

women's dormitory at Jackson State University in Mississippi. Over seventy-five schools closed down for the rest of the year.²⁶ A hostile mood engulfed the United States as in preparation for the impending cynicism that would spread in the aftermath of the Watergate fiasco.

Canada was also affected by social unrest. The country faced its greatest challenge in October 1970 as French-English tensions in Quebec boiled over. Members of the militant French separatist group *Front de Libération du Québec* (FLQ) kidnapped British Trade Commissioner James R. Cross and later Quebec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte demanding \$500,000 and the release of twenty-three prisoners. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act based on a fear not only of the FLQ, but that French intellectuals were plotting to overthrow the Quebec government. The act suspended civil liberties and granted police unlimited authority to restore stability. The FLQ murdered Laporte shortly after the War Measures Act was proclaimed although Cross was later released. Though the perpetrators were later caught and convicted, the event ripped open already festering wounds between French and English Canada.

Reflections on Canada during this time note both an increasing economic and cultural dependency upon the United States. Official releases (the Watkins Report in 1967 and the Gray Report in 1972) indicated that Americans were receiving over seventy-five percent of Canadian exports. Analysts have long since lamented that Canadian culture is to some degree affected by our proximity to the United States, with over eighty percent of our inhabitants living within one hundred kilometers of the border. Though little, if anything, has been written on Canada during the 1960s, much of what could be classified as Canadian counter-culture developed as mirror reflections of developments in California and New York.

During this period of increased social upheaval evangelistic groups reported huge conversion and recruitment successes. Street evangelism during this time was as simple as finding an empty corner and playing a few upbeat choruses in order to draw a large (and relatively receptive) crowd. Following the evangelical lineage laid down by revivalists George Whitefield and Charles Finney, Jesus People communities were pragmatic in their means of getting their message across. Most groups utilized Christian rock bands while establishing their own underground newspapers filled with testimonials and articles compelling non-believers towards a profession of faith in Jesus Christ. Evangelists found a steady audience

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 410.

of willing listeners spiritually hungry to hear someone espousing absolute truths. Because of the tremendous response in many Jesus People enclaves, this period marks what some conservative evangelicals dubbed a “harvest of souls.”²⁷

The most publicized Jesus People personality was Southern Baptist evangelist Arthur Blessitt, the self-proclaimed minister of the Sunset Strip. In 1968 he opened the His Place nightclub as a 24-hour teenage ministry where the newly converted could gather to feast on peanut-butter sandwiches and kool-aid for the price of their attention to a sermon. His Place held regular ‘toilet services’ where ex-junkies disposed of their drugs symbolizing the ‘flushing away of the old life’. Blessitt gained international attention after preaching at a local strip club. Enamored by the media’s attention on him, the evangelist organized sensationalistic events such as the picketing of pornographic book stores and marches up and down the Sunset Strip.

When neighbouring club owners began to pressure police to remove Blessitt from the area, the His Place coffeehouse came under threat of having its lease terminated. In response, he chained himself to a twelve foot cross announcing that he would fast until he was allowed to reopen the coffeehouse. Though he was subsequently granted another place to open his operation, Blessitt’s wanderlust eventually led him elsewhere.

In 1970 Blessitt announced that he would “blitz the nation for Jesus Christ,” that God had told him to carry his cross (by now fitted with a small wheel) through the country on a seven month, 3,500 mile journey from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C.²⁸ For a brief period Blessitt set up a similar 24 hour coffeehouse type outreach in the heart of New York’s Time Square before his notoriety as a prominent Jesus People leader compelled him overseas. He traveled extensively during the early seventies carrying the cross through numerous countries in Europe and Asia.

The hipster evangelist was also responsible for the movement’s evangelical slang compelling listeners to ‘turn on to Jesus’ and to ‘drop a little Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John’ while comparing spiritual conversion to an ‘eternal rush’.²⁹ Critics maintain that his circus barker techniques were nothing more than spiritual

²⁷ See Chuck Smith, and Tal Brooke, *Harvest* (Old Tappan, NJ: Chosen Books, 1987).

²⁸ “Rally Around the Cross,” *Christianity Today*, 14 (21 August 1970): 1046-47.

²⁹ Arthur Blessitt, *Life’s Greatest Trip* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1970), 26.

sensationalism, the quintessential example of immoderate emotionalism prevalent during times of Christian revival. Defendants maintained that despite his comic-book appeal, Blessitt was sincere in his attempts to help hundreds of teenagers find hope in places which otherwise offered them despair.

Also in 1968, former House of Acts residents Lonnie and Connie Frisbee joined the staff of Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, California. At the time of their arrival, church attendance totaled no more than a hundred. When they would depart four years later the church would have undergone two building projects to accommodate the thousands of new members that called the church their home. Calvary Chapel is cited as one of the modern day church growth phenomenons.

Upon hearing of their activities in San Francisco, Pastor Chuck Smith invited the Frisbees to begin a similar mission in southern California. The couple were recruited to work alongside another converted hippie couple, John and Jackie Higgins. John Higgins had converted in 1966 while reading the Bible in an effort to disprove it. Before coming under Smith's teaching ministry, for over eighteen months Higgins had believed that he was the only one to have understood the Bible properly, having received special insight from God. After joining the small Calvary Chapel congregation, Higgins was asked to function as an elder in a communal house that the church wished to establish as a drug rehabilitation program. On May 12, 1968 Pastor Smith rented a large house in Costa Mesa where both couples served as elders. It would be the first of several communities called The House of Miracles.

By the end of their first week twenty-one people had converted and had moved into the house.³⁰ As time progressed and more conversions occurred other houses were established in nearby Riverside, Santa Ana, and Fontana. The two couples eventually parted, with John and Jackie Higgins continuing to establish communal houses while Lonnie and Connie Frisbee moved on to preaching engagements at Calvary Chapel and itinerant evangelism. Lonnie and Connie eventually moved into a ramshackle motel in Costa Mesa (also calling it the House of Miracles) where they eventually rented each of the vacant apartment units to new converts. Lonnie was placed in charge of the Wednesday night youth services where it quickly became the church's focal event. It was estimated that during 1970 that over 4,000 had been converted and more than 2,000 had been baptized

³⁰ Chuck Smith, and Hugh Steven. *The Reproducers: New Life for Thousands* (Glendale, CA: Regal Books, 1972), 44.

in the Pacific Ocean.³¹ Writing of the church's history Chuck Smith later estimated that over a two year period the church performed well over eight thousand baptisms and were "instrumental in 20,000 conversions to the Christian faith."³²

Meanwhile, John and Jackie Higgins continued to oversee and assert his leadership over the small group of House of Miracles' communities spawning new locations throughout southern California and Arizona. While scouting opportunities in Oregon, John Higgins received a vision foretelling of a "grey-haired pastor" who would "descend from a northern location" and offer Higgins ordination and articles of incorporation for non-profit status. Shortly after this Higgins was approached by Rev. Won Lee Gray who offered him ordination and the articles of incorporation that he had been using for a local coffeehouse outreach. In response to a biblical prophecy in Genesis 49:10 (KJV), they named their first location Shiloh. John Higgins and the rest of the incipient 'Shilonites' took it as a prophetic confirmation that they were following along the right spiritual track.

By the end of 1970 the group had closed each of the House of Miracles' locations in Arizona and California issuing a call for all members to move to Oregon. Once they all assembled in Oregon, the group began to established numerous Shiloh house churches and communities in places as far reaching as Maine, Hawaii, Alaska, and the Virgin Islands. Still loosely affiliated to Calvary Chapel and Chuck Smith, the Shiloh Youth Revival Centers Organization (SYRCO) is cited as one of the fastest growing communal organizations in history. Over a ten year period (between 1968-1978) the SYRCO was estimated as having planted over 178 communal locations in thirty different states (although no more than fifty existed at one time).

One of the most novel outgrowths of the movement was the Christian World Liberation Front (CWLF), a countercultural evangelistic ministry established in February 1969 on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Launched by former statistics professor Dr. Jack Sparks, the CWLF was founded to promote a Christian response to left-wing campus groups. Though originally conceived as an offshoot of Campus Crusade (a fundamentalist evangelistic operation with whom Jack Sparks had worked closely) the leadership decided to amicably sever

³¹ Edward E. Plowman, *The Underground Church: Accounts of Christian Revolutionaries in America* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook Publishing Co., 1971), 44-45.

³² Smith and Brooke, *Harvest*, 9.

their ties when it was felt that the CWLF would best be served to make its own decisions.

The CWLF was aggressive with their evangelistic techniques. Mimicking the ventures of the radicals, they published and distributed an underground newspaper called *Right On!* The group also established a number of communal houses for recruits holding regular church services where members could be disciplined. The group also sponsored a number of creative endeavors geared towards gaining attention and the promotion of the Christian gospel. A bus disguised as the “People’s Committee to Investigate Billy Graham” was a successful ruse to fill the bus with otherwise skeptical radicals duped into attending an evangelistic crusade they would have otherwise avoided. One of the CWLF’s famous artistic imitations was the reproduction of a wanted poster citing Jesus Christ as being sought out by the authorities for “practicing medicine, wine-making, and food distribution with out a license” admonishing all those reading to beware that his message was “particularly dangerous to young people who haven’t been taught to ignore him yet.”³³ The group also sponsored a street theater drama troupe, compiled a well received first-aid manual, and founded an anti-cult research ministry called The Spiritual Counterfeits Project. Known best for their intellectual approach to Christianity, the CWLF’s inclusion within the Jesus People Movement reveals the wide ranging nature of the revival.

Activities in the Pacific Northwest portion were spearheaded by Linda Meissner who received and acted in accordance to a vision of “an army of young Christian believers marching through the land.” Compelled to begin her work in Seattle, by early 1969 Meissner christened her enthusiastic followers the Jesus People Army (JPA). Under her leadership the group opened an initial storefront coffeehouse called The Ark in the Wallingford district before moving the entire operation to an abandoned warehouse across from the Seattle Center. The JPA also established a number of communal homes where new converts lived and another coffeehouse (called The Catacombs) where Meissner estimated that 2,000 teenagers per week attended. The JPA also began an underground newspaper called *Agape* and sponsored The Glorious Liberty rock band to perform at their coffeehouse. In 1970 the JPA decided to extend their influence into other parts of the Pacific Northwest initiating an evangelistic *blitzkrieg* that culminated with separate JPA outposts established in Vancouver, BC (led by Russell Griggs), Spo-

³³ Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It: The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979), 34.

kane, WA (led by Carl Parks), Yakima, WA (led by J.D. Cady), and Everett, WA (led by Bob Kramer). Well loved by her fellow leaders, Meissner was referred to as the “Joan of Arc of the Jesus People’s Army.”³⁴

Although the institutional legacy of Hebrew Christianity traces its roots back to the nineteenth century, Messianic Judaism received a considerable boost in membership and renewed interest during the course of the Jesus People Movement. Of significant importance to Jewish Christians was the Israeli-Arab Six Day War in 1967, interpreted as an assured sign of the impending second coming. To Gentile Christians, the fact that so many Jews were being converted was also deemed a significant piece of the unfolding prophetic puzzle. Among the Jewish converts that made an impact during the revival were Joe and Debbie Finklestein, beginning an evangelistic outreach to wayward Jewish youth in their Philadelphia home they dubbed Fink’s Zoo. Martin Chernoff’s family became influential during this period leading a Messianic Jewish congregation to Cincinnati while his son Joel (along with Rick Coghill) formed a Messianic rock duo called Lamb. The most publicized outgrowth was the Jews for Jesus group founded by the enigmatic Moishe Rosen. Rosen’s confrontational tactics gained both him and the escalating number of Jewish Christians extensive coverage throughout Christian and mainstream publications.

Possibly the most influential Christian voice throughout the 1970s was author Hal Lindsey whose book *The Late Great Planet Earth* sold over 20 million copies. In 1970 Lindsey left Campus Crusade to begin the Jesus Christ Light and Power Company, a youth oriented ministry on the Los Angeles campus of the University of California (UCLA). The book became an overnight best seller igniting a wave of excitement towards the close proximity of the second coming of Christ. With one eye on the Bible and one on the daily news, Lindsey’s writing enchanted Christians into a wave of anticipatory frenzy. Centering upon Israel’s rebirth as a nation in 1948, Lindsey’s arguments reinforced the notion that the world was hurtling towards an apocalyptic end. Provoking concern was his claim that his views represented what was plainly in the Bible, that if someone disagreed with his interpretation they simply didn’t believe the Scriptures. While biblical literalists were charmed by this, Lindsey raised the ire of academics who found his books suffering from anti-intellectualism and historicism. Theologians

³⁴ Ronald M. Enroth, Edward E. Ericson, Jr., and C. Breckenridge Peters. *The Jesus People: Old Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1972), 117.

and historians called his books “biased, manipulative, lacking in integrity, and dangerous” while questioning “the expertise of Lindsey’s witnesses and his citation of seemingly minor historical events as having deep significance in prophetic history.”³⁵ Regardless, next to the Bible, *The Late Great Planet Earth* was the most widely read book of the decade.

Despite the tendency to portray the Jesus People Movement as solely a California phenomenon, there were similar outbreaks of enthusiastic Christianity in Canada. In 1968 Don Rossiter and Gord Morris, students at a Toronto high school, approached their music teacher to form a permanent Christian club. Within the year they were meeting throughout various members homes. They eventually sponsored a weekly praise and worship gathering at St. Paul’s Anglican Church in downtown Toronto where they would attract crowds of over 2,000 young people from all over southern Ontario. Garnered by the success of the meeting, the group formalized as The Church of the Toronto Catacombs. Other communities also dotted the Canadian landscape ranging from the House of Daniel in British Columbia, the House of Peter in Winnipeg, the House of Emmaus in Toronto, to the Shalom Coffeehouse in Sussex, New Brunswick. By the early 1970s there were Jesus People communities throughout all ten provinces.

As 1970 drew to a close, not many realized that these unrelated outposts might be part of a larger awakening or continental revival. Few mainstream media magazines had taken notice of *Christianity Today*’s mention of the new breed of street Christians. In an article entitled “Street Christians: Jesus as the Ultimate Trip,” it was first reported the term ‘Jesus freak’ was used to define members of the Christian World Liberation Front. In a second story that year, *Commonweal* reporter Phil Tracy offered a narrow definition of the growing numbers of Jesus freaks: “they are acid graduate, students of smack, mescaline majors, speed freaks - all having forsaken their individual narcotic nirvanas for the joys of Jesus.”³⁶ As with the term ‘hippie’, the ‘Jesus freak’ tag was first used in mocking derision. Adherents would later adopt the more inclusive ‘Jesus People’ classification as talk of a movement broadened its boundaries to incorporate a more diverse allegiance than simply converted drug addicts.

³⁵ Stephen R. Graham, “Hal Lindsey,” In *Twentieth-Century Shapers of American Popular Religion*, ed., Charles H. Lippy, 247-55 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989), 249-50.

³⁶ Phil Tracy, “The Jesus Freaks - Savagery and Salvation on the Sunset Strip,” *Commonweal*, 93 (October 1970), 123.

Religious story of the year (1971-1972)

Taking note that small collections of Christian hippies had grown alongside of other countercultural developments, the mainstream media started to promote the 'Jesus Movement' as a potential foreshadowing of a coming religious awakening. When *Time* placed "The Jesus Revolution" on its front cover they mused about its long term implications,

There are signs that the movement is something quite a bit larger than a theological Hula-Hoop, something more lasting than a religious Woodstock. It cuts across nearly all the social dividing lines, from crew cut to long hair, right to left, rich to poor. It shows considerable staying power: many who were in its faint beginnings in 1967 are still leading it. It has been powerful enough to divert many young people from serious drug addiction.³⁷

Articles from *Newsweek*, *Life*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *Look* magazines followed closely behind as did a host of coverage from religious groups offering a vast spectrum of denominational perspectives. A number of hastily written books were published to capitalize on the movement's sudden popularity. Personal accounts by Arthur Blessitt and Duane Pederson as well as observations by popular evangelical leaders such as Billy Graham, Dick Eastman, Walker L. Knight, and John Bisagno provided plenty of narrative but very little analysis. Like much faddish media reporting, not much deviated from preoccupation with the same hotspot locations or reiteration of the same themes articulated in the very first articles. Because of its birth in California, most coverage included snippets about Arthur Blessitt, Calvary Chapel, or The Christian World Liberation Front while conveying the movement's evangelical nuances of ecstatic worship, utilization of rock music, Christian communes, countercultural garb, militant extremists, and perhaps comments about speaking in tongues. Where coverage did move away from this preset pattern, however, there was much to applaud. James Nolan's cover story suggestion in *Ramparts*, that the Jesus People ripe for political cooption by the conservative right, was welcomed by Will Herberg who explained that even though the revivalist impulse might make an individual politically passive, the Jesus People were ultimately aiding the cause of conservatism by reversing the downward spiral of moral permissiveness. Religious historian Martin Marty conceded that regardless of how superficial or numerically exaggerated he felt the Jesus freaks, it was in the realm of personal religious experience that their greatest challenge to the more staid branches of Christendom was being made. By year's end, the Jesus People had captured international attention as the reli-

³⁷ "The New Rebel Cry," *Time*, 43.

gious story of the year placing third in *Time's* annual 'story of the year' rankings behind issues on the William Calley trial and the Pentagon Papers.³⁸

The year also revealed a significant interest in the Jesus People Movement as revealed in popular culture. Christian spirituality was promoted by the rock musicals *Jesus Christ Superstar* and *Godspell* while Judy Collins' recording of "Amazing Grace" reached the number one position on the pop music charts. Jesus Music historian Frank Edmondson noted an abundance of 'Jesus songs' on radio stations across North America (such as "Are You Ready" by Pacific Gas & Electric Co. and Canadian band Ocean's "Put Your Hand in the Hand").³⁹ The widespread popularity of the Jesus freaks was also evinced in Norman Greenbaum's sardonic "Spirit in the Sky" dirge lamenting their spiritual escapism and Elton John's quip about "Jesus freaks out in the streets, handing tickets out for God" in his hit single "Tiny Dancer." Woody Allen's character in the movie *Sleeper* glibly mentioned an ex-girlfriend as a "Trotskyite who became a Jesus freak and was arrested for selling pornographic connect-the-dots books." Though this infiltration of pop culture reveals little (if anything) about the revival's lasting impact, by 1971 the Jesus People had gained recognition as an international phenomenon. This intensive attention was marked the first nationwide media coverage of conservative Christianity since the Scopes Monkey Trial setting the stage for interest in born-againism in 1976 (with the election of President Jimmy Carter), the rise of the Religious Right in the 1980s and 1990s.

One church that gained notoriety from the media exposure was a tiny Pentecostal church in Redondo Beach called Bethel Tabernacle. In 1971 the ultra-conservative congregation consisting mostly of ex-drug addicts was featured in *Look* magazine's story, "The Jesus Movement is Upon Us." The church's involvement with street Christianity came with the introduction and subsequent friendship of nineteen-year-old Breck Stevens and head pastor Lyle Steenis. After undergoing a conversion experience at a local coffeehouse, Stevens was recruited to head up a youth program functioning as the church's hippie liaison to the counterculture. Bethel Tabernacle underwent a radical transformation as new converts began to multiply. By the time news reporters converged on their tiny assembly, the church was boasting that over 4,000 teenagers had been delivered

³⁸ *Christianity Today*, 16 (4 February 1972), 426.

³⁹ Paul Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music: Where It Came From, What It is, Where It's Going* (Westchester, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1979), 21. Paul Baker is a pseudonym for Frank Edmondson.

of drug addiction having undergone their “thirty-second cure from heroin” which consisted of nothing more than prayers “in Jesus name.” Pastor Steenis estimated that out of the 100,000 kids that had been through the church, there had been over 60,000 conversions.⁴⁰

Another development that arose during this period was the widespread use of Jesus papers as an evangelistic tool. The most popular paper of the era was the California based *The Hollywood Free Paper* (HFP). The brainchild of evangelist Duane Pederson, the newspaper was undertaken to mimic the underground countercultural papers that were freely handed out on street corners. Instead of the usual fare of articles espousing themes of anti-establishment and permissiveness, the HFP was used to communicate themes of salvation in each article or cartoon. Critics maintained that the paper reflected an emotional (some would argue anti-intellectual presentation) of the Christian life: “Jesus Christ is no namby-pamby character. In fact, Christ really socks it to you with some real heavy stuff.”⁴¹ The editor claimed that his newspaper published and distributed over 500,000 copies of their largest circulating issue.

The year 1971 also marked the dissolution of the Jesus People Army in the Pacific Northwest as founder Linda Meissner chose to align herself with the increasingly militant and erratic Children of God (COG). Meissner had become increasingly frustrated that her efforts could not effectively increase the commitment level of her teenage followers. When David Hoyt, a fellow Jesus People leader in Atlanta, announced his “defection from the Jesus Movement” for the radical “one-hundred percent commitment” of the COG, Meissner’s interest was awakened. After a visit to the COG’s training camp in Thurber, Texas, she was suitably impressed and invited their leaders for a return visit to her Seattle outpost. Despite the fact that the media had soured its impression of the COG, once promoting them as the most committed of all Jesus People groups, Meissner took no notice of the negative coverage. With legal opposition mounting against them, the leadership of the COG attempted and successfully maneuvered takeovers of the Seattle, Yakima, and Vancouver branches of the JPA before fleeing to Europe. By the end of the year, the JPA had dissolved amidst a maelstrom of controversy and negative publicity leaving behind autonomous groups in Spokane and a new outreach to the midwest.

⁴⁰ Brian Vachon, *A Time to Be Born* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 46.

⁴¹ Duane Pederson, with Bob Owen, *Jesus People* (Glendale, CA: Regal Books, 1971), 31.

Just prior to the dissolution of the JPA their leadership had commissioned Jim and Sue Palosaari to establish another community in the Midwest. The Palosaaris had been converted in 1969 while attending a Pentecostal tent evangelism crusade, and had later been recruited to work with Linda Meissner in Seattle. For over two years Jim Palosaari functioned as Meissner's right hand man. Arriving in Milwaukee in summer 1971, Palosaari began his evangelistic efforts with seven members. Within a year the group, now calling themselves the Milwaukee Jesus People (MJP), had grown to 150 adherents establishing a coffeehouse (The Jesus Christ Power House), a newspaper (*Street Level*), forming two rock bands (The Sheep and Charity), and initiating the Discipleship Training Center in a 315-room hospital they took over as their headquarters. The MJP sponsored a number of successfully attended revival crusades catching the attention of Christian media.⁴²

In 1972 Palosaari received an offer from the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International to lead an evangelistic team to Scandinavia. With the offer came the decision to split the MJP community into four where three itinerant teams would go their separate ways keeping in contact with a fourth permanent group to remain stationed in Milwaukee. The Palosaaris took twenty-five young members and ventured overseas. After fulfilling their initial ministerial obligations the group, now calling themselves The Jesus Family, continued touring around Europe eventually being recruited by real estate magnate Kenneth Frampton to counter the Children of God's influence in England. Once in England, the group wrote, performed, and recorded the *Lonesome Stone* rock musical as well as initiating the first Greenbelt Music Festival (which has continued into the present as an annual event). The second group was taken by John Herrin, Sr. to evangelize countercultural youth throughout the southern United States. After traveling as far south as Florida, the Jesus People USA came back to the Midwest finally settling in Chicago where they remain one of the last countercultural vestiges of the Jesus People Movement. Pentecostal evangelist Bill Lowry led the third group of sixty teenagers which became the foundation for his Christ is the Answer ministry, while former Youth For Christ worker Frank Bass was given charge over the remaining handful that decided to stay in Milwaukee.

The most publicized Jesus People event of 1972 was the Explo '72 crusade, dubbed an 'evangelical Woodstock' by media pundits. The six-day 'Godstock' was held between June 12 and 17 at the Cotton Bowl in Dallas, Texas and fea-

⁴² "The Heat's On in Duluth," *Christianity Today*, 16 (3 March 1972), 530.

tured a combination of popular Jesus rock musicians (such as Larry Norman, Love Song, Randy Matthews, Danny Lee, and The Children of the Day), well-known Christian celebrities (Johnny Cash, The Statler Brothers, and the recently converted Kris Kristofferson), as well as high-profile evangelical leaders (Campus Crusade founder Bill Bright and evangelist Billy Graham). Explo participants perhaps exaggerated their statements that the crusade “was the most significant Christian event since Pentecost.”⁴³ Regardless of the rhetoric, the Campus Crusade sponsored Explo '72 event stands as a watershed event of the Jesus People Movement, either as the zenith of the revival's evangelistic effect upon larger culture, or, as seen by many countercultural Christians as the moment the Jesus People were co-opted by the Christian establishment. For those wishing to affect the larger culture, it became a point of convergence for otherwise divergent Christian groups (especially middle-class and countercultural) to combine their evangelistic efforts. For countercultural Christians, Explo '72 marked the beginning of the end when the 'established church' sought to tame the spontaneity of what many believed to be a social movement that had captured the essence of New Testament Christianity.

As 1972 drew to a close the Jesus People were pushed off the front pages by the ensuing Watergate scandal and into the obscurity of the 'where are they now' files. Only the Christian media followed the story past this point. When they did, however, it was usually to follow the bizarre excesses of radical fringe elements.

The end of the counterculture (1973-74)

In the wake of President Nixon's assurances to end the war in Vietnam and the intrigue surrounding the Watergate imbroglio escalated the counterculture began to recede. In the process the Jesus People lost their built-in mission field and were forced to refocus their energies. There were signs that the revival began to turn introspective as itinerant evangelism and apocalyptic declarations gave way to theological training as well as concentration on vocational, family, and financial responsibilities. For many the period marked the sobering realization that Jesus might not come back in their lifetime as they had once so earnestly believed. For the first time since their conversion many made long term plans about the future. In parallel to the early Christians, the realization that the second coming might not be as imminent as once thought fostered many groups to institu-

⁴³ Paul Eshelman, with Norman Rohrer, *The Explo Story: A Plan to Change the World* (Glendale, CA: Regal Books, 1972).

tionalize as churches while others disbanded as the emotionalism of the 'Jesus high' no longer held their attention.

Those whose spirituality rested on emotion found it difficult to assimilate into mainline or evangelical churches where intellectual foundations were stronger. Believing that the spontaneity they had previously experienced was the benchmark of New Testament Christianity, many continually sought out similar experiences never satisfied if they did not live up to past ecstatic glories. For these Jesus People, the Book of Acts became a romanticized paradigm constantly calling others to a re-establishment of presumed biblical innocence.

Others were more balanced with their memories viewing previous evangelistic successes in light of a spiritually open counterculture. What social diffidence had been brewing as early as the Quiz Show scandals was exacerbated by the decade's political assassinations before finally becoming an entrenched societal cynicism by the early 1970s. After this, street corner preachers found it much tougher to break through a potential convert's defenses. In retrospect, maturing Jesus People now look back with nostalgia having had their formative Christian years take place during a period of what most would agree was a spiritual revival. But they also remain cognizant that what they experienced hinged on a number of sociological factors.

As early as October 1973, *Eternity* asked sociologist Ronald M. Enroth to find out "Where Have All the Jesus People Gone?" He concluded that despite the extremists, most of the movement's adherents had matured beyond their emotion of their conversions seeking refuge in seminary education, discipleship, and alliance with churches of all denominations. Both Richard Ostling of *Time* and Edward E. Plowman of *Christianity Today* agreed, that the movement was continuing to flourish despite the lack of media coverage on orthodox groups. When the media once again centered on the legacy of the Jesus People it was with the Children of God and the talk of 'cult' groups.

As early as 1969 the North American public had been enraptured by the wild-eyed Charles Manson whose reputation as having brainwashed his followers into committing murder had grown in light of the many new cult-like religious groups that had emerged. Reports that the Children of God had used techniques of mind control to lure away otherwise sober middle class teenagers caused parents to panic. Self-proclaimed cult expert Ted Patrick offered assurances that his tactics of 'deprogramming' could restore a duped teenager back to normalcy. Though his anti-cult efforts had begun against the COG, he expanded to include most of the new alternative religions.

The COG also provided another newsworthy development. By 1973, even though they had been chased from North America, the media reported that Moses David Berg had disseminated teachings promoting the doctrine of 'flirty fishing', a series of internal teachings urging proselytization through sexual prostitution. Berg called his band of female fishers 'hookers for Jesus' proclaiming a 'message of universal love' through a series of divine revelations (called 'Mo-Letters') teeming with pornographic illustrations. Since within the organization Mo-Letters held equal status with the Bible, the doctrines of flirty fishing were spread throughout various COG communities although they were enforced only in certain locations. Due to this new revelation the group became the focus of many apologetic Christian groups who denounced Berg as a false prophet and anti-nomian. Anti-cult groups emerged in response to these 'cults' to write and distribute literature warning of the theological deviations and their techniques of brainwashing and mind control. Christian derivative movements like the COG, the anti-Trinitarian group The Way International, and the Local Church as well as new religious movements such as the Hare Krishnas, Process Church, and other eastern religions were targeted and extensively documented. Despite none of these groups ever numbering more than several thousand, apologetic and anti-cult groups spawned their own publication cottage industries as a stream of literature filled bookshelves. During the 1970s these groups dominated media attention on religion though their influence was far less than their detractors maintained.

By 1974 the Jesus People Movement was not as readily identifiable as it had been only three years previously. The once highly visible ocean side baptismal services attended by hordes of enthusiastic youngsters had been replaced for less extravagant endeavors. Long-haired hippie street preachers finally succumbed to getting their hair cut and were now concentrating on teaching Sunday School in their local churches, preparing for overseas missionary work, or perhaps attending university or seminary to delve more deeply into issues of faith. Those formerly classifying themselves as Jesus People entered a wide spectrum of Protestant and Catholic denominations finding that 'the established church' was not as narrow-minded nor spiritually bereft as they once complained. The exclusivism of an earlier period gave way to a more complex and holistic view of the body of Christ, pushing the remaining countercultural vestiges further towards the margins than they had ever been. As the charismatic moment of the movement came to an end, the institutionalization (the formation of rules, the organizing of church life, the formalization of liturgical worship, etc.) that the Jesus People had once so feared became a necessary part of their Christian maturity. As they struggled to reintegrate themselves back into mainstream North American society, the 'Jesus boppers' (as they were also sometimes called) moved, sometimes unwittingly, into spiritual adolescence.

Areas for further study

No account exists tracing out the legacy of the Jesus People Movement as the subject has been neglected by both mainstream and Christian historians alike. Religious analysis of the era has tended to focus interests away from evangelical themes preferring to center on either liberal/ecumenical trends or the pluralistic diversity brought about by the rise new religious movements. Enthusiastic movements are usually written off as anti-intellectual or culturally innocuous despite often being much more numerically significant than many developments deemed critical. Part of the oversight by evangelical scholars is their inability to yet find solid footing with the charismatic and Pentecostal themes resonant throughout North American Christianity.⁴⁴ Much of this uneasiness is also due to their hesitance (if not moderate contempt) they have for revivalist traditions.⁴⁵

This event also represents the difficulty of historians to categorize and discern between various spiritual events. On the one hand, the Jesus People Movement represents the cyclical nature of revivals, reappearing with frequent regularity every few decade. Within this scheme, the Pentecostals at the turn of the century, the Latter Rain movement, healing revivalists in the 1940s and 1950s, mainline Protestant and Catholic charismatics in the 1960s, and the Jesus People should be differentiated as spiritual revivals affecting the personal spirituality of a broad

⁴⁴ Leonard I. Sweet, "Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves: The New Evangelical History," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 56 (1988), 400. Historian Paul Boyer also notes, "Even historians of American religion have slighted the world of modern evangelicalism and charismatic Protestantism." See Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 16.

⁴⁵ George Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Savior?: In Search of Canadian Evangelicalism in the 1990s* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 223.

spectrum of social classes.⁴⁶ On the other hand, however, while these distinctions can be made there also remain strong continuities presupposing a linear timeline of Pentecostal (or charismatic) activity that might serve as a useful organizing principle as a sustained countercultural revivalist tradition throughout the twentieth century.

Areas of examination should also move beyond the tendency of evangelical reflection to separate spiritual movements from their historical context. Efforts should be made to discern ties between revivalistic impulses and larger social trends. Did the Jesus freaks, as some have suggested, mollify social pressures by turning new converts away from political dissent? If so, does Will Herberg's notion about the potential co-option of the Jesus People into the conservative right have any direct relation to the appearance of the 'born again' movement in the mid-seventies and/or the establishment of the Religious Right in the 1980s? Did the Moral Majority emerge out of nowhere, as it is sometimes suggested by a religiously naive media, or have some of their support been drawn from previous revival movements?

Religious historian Martin Marty once mused that the Jesus People Movement was largely an invention of the media tersely inquiring "how many [Jesus] freaks do you or your uncle know?"⁴⁷ Though estimates taken at the time ranged from three hundred thousand to three million participants, these figures were largely based on anecdotal evidence. Alvin Reid's study of the Jesus People Movement's impact on Southern Baptist Convention may serve as a starting point towards potential enumeration. Attendance increases in other conservative Christian de-

⁴⁶ The problem of differentiating revival movements is best evinced with the term 'third wave', coined by C. Peter Wagner as an attempt to distinguish three discernible waves of Holy Spirit centered activity in the twentieth century; the Pentecostal outpouring (at the beginning of the twentieth century), the charismatic renewal (in the 1960s and 1970s), and the 'third wave movement' (beginning in 1980 with John Wimber and the 'signs and wonders' theology). However, a number of immediate problems arise with this term. First, in its haste to define, it neglects a number of waves that fall outside of his categorization. Second, Wagner picks 1980 as his genesis for the third wave when it remains unclear whether anything important happened during that year outside of California. Although used in popular books, the term seems self-serving and largely unhelpful.

⁴⁷ Martin E. Marty, "Theological Table-Talk: Jesus - The Media and the Message," *Theology Today*, 28 (1971-72), 471.

nomination's or parachurch organizations (such as Campus Crusade, Youth for Christ, Operation Mobilization, The Navigators, etc.) would prove useful.

The revival spawned a number of institutional legacies that need to be tied to the movement to safeguard it from being deemed ephemeral. Both the Calvary Chapel, Vineyard, and Gospel Outreach church movements draw their initial impetus from this period and would greatly benefit from an in-depth studies. The Jews for Jesus and the larger Messianic Jewish movement, the still countercultural Jesus People USA, and the now defunct Shiloh Youth Revival Centers in Oregon might also prove useful areas of exploration. The various stages of the Contemporary Christian Music industry would also benefit from a history written by a non-participant. Steven R. Warner's concise sociological study of the Mendocino Presbyterian Church should provide clues of how to conduct a helpful religious analysis of an individual church that underwent significant transformation during this era.

The revival also has a number of personalities that would serve as interesting biographical (and not hagiographical) studies including Dr. Jack Sparks, quintessential Jesus freak Lonnie Frisbee, Jesus musician Larry Norman, popular author Hal Lindsey (whose glut of writing in the 1970s by now deserves a sound scholarly treatment) and a number of other lesser-known but still highly influential figures.

Much source collection work still needs to be done culling information from existing churches and ministries that were initiated during this period. Coffeehouse records, tracts, newsletters, concert posters, Jesus papers all need to be collected and documented. Oral histories, not only from the recognizable personalities, but from regular participants whose lives were altered by their involvement. It is hoped that this resource will initiate further investigation and stimulate discussion as to how to tackle and better understand this and other revival movements.

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The Birth of Jesus Music

David DiSabatino is a documentary filmmaker working on his first release entitled *Frisbee: The Life and Death of a Hippie Preacher*.

One of the most powerful influences upon the 1960s counterculture was the development of rock and roll music. Rock music was an experiential medium encapsulating both the zealous exuberance and collective dissatisfaction of the young with a backbeat that propelled listeners to action. Even better, in the minds of oppositional teenagers, rock music drove parents crazy.

Taken in context of the Spiritual Sixties, rock musicians became much more than icons of rebellion. Guitar-slinging troubadours became both prophet and priest to a generation of followers who worshiped en masse at festival altars. By intently scrutinizing song lyrics many adoring fans were convinced that these musical avatars had buried the answers to life's mysteries within their record albums.

Much evidence exists revealing this unorthodox alliance of rock music and spirituality. Charles Manson's prosecutor Vincent Bugliosi portrayed the accused as persuading his followers with a combination of biblical prooftexts and song lyrics that Armageddon was drawing nigh. Bugliosi maintained that Manson identified the Beatles as the four angels of Revelation chapter 9 whom he believed were compelling him to instigate Helter Skelter (a race war between blacks and whites). The appearance of this musical gnosticism in the 1960s (the poring over music lyrics in search of secret knowledge) remains an ominous reminder of the pervasive influence music held over the young. To the children of the Spiritual Sixties nothing was more singularly important than their addiction to music.¹

The cultural potency of rock music was not lost on the growing number of street Christians. The synthesis of rock music and Christianity seemed a natural consequence of their spiritual conversions. If The Jefferson Airplane (one of San Francisco's most prominent '60s bands) could openly sing about drugs in their paean "White Rabbit" ("One pill makes you larger, and one pill makes you small"), then a hippie Christian should sing about that which was most important to him

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¹ Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 68.

or her, namely Jesus Christ. Rock music proved a viable medium for the expression of their new found faith.

First used as a medium of self-expression or worship (whether at church meetings or during individual times of transcendent communion) it later became a useful tool of evangelism, expressing faith in a vernacular readily identified by their teenage peers. The sentiments of hippie Christian musicians echoed the thoughts of sixteenth century reformer Martin Luther's query when he wondered "why should the devil have all the best tunes."

The development of Jesus Music provoked controversy right from its inception. Traditional churchgoers made no distinctions between long-haired Christian rocker Larry Norman or countercultural guitar icon Jimi Hendrix. The established church remained convinced that anything born out of rebellion would only beget further rebellion. Hippies extolling the virtues of Jesus in a frenzied tempo seemed to many staid Christians a spiritual compromise, their anti-culture stance evincing what H. Richard Niebuhr described as the "Christ against culture" position. Newly converted musicians responded by offering apologetical defenses for their music, many of them arguing (often to no avail) that rock music's origins evolved from complex roots, most of which were spiritual. It was a battle that would generate much discussion throughout the duration of the Jesus People Movement.

Despite this stiff opposition, Christian minstrels continued to plot their own course, trying to counteract themes of mainstream rock musicians whom they felt destructive with their own religiously charged efforts. Although the recording of gospel rock music in England and contemporary forms of Catholic liturgical music predates it, the development of Jesus Music in North America can be traced to 1969 with the release of three albums; Ron and Bill Moore's *Lo and Behold*, John Fischer's *The Cold Cathedral*, and Larry Norman's landmark *Upon This Rock*. These three albums mark the beginning of a musical genre solely distinguished by its lyrical content. Throughout the duration of the Jesus People Movement, Jesus Music would rarely deviate from its reiteration of a single theme; the experience of God through a personal relationship with Jesus Christ.

It is impossible to establish a sole pioneer of Jesus Music. Even though only three albums were released in 1969, many had been performing their own versions of gospel rock music in church youth groups and coffeehouses well before anyone realized that a 'movement' was taking place. Paul Clark, Fred Caban (of Agape), Larry Norman, Randy Stonehill, Phil Keaggy, Mike Johnson (of The Exkursions), Andrae Crouch, Nancy Henigbaum (Honeytree), Danny Lee, Danny Taylor, Harvest Flight, Wilson McKinley, The Glorious Liberty, Randy Matthews, John Fischer, Ron Moore, and Ron Salsbury (of the JC Power Outlet), and several Maranatha! Music artists (Love Song, Deborah Kerner, Children of the

Day, Selah, Joy, Country Faith, and Blessed Hope) all deserve equal mention as originators of the genre. These artists mark the first wave of Jesus musicians that spanned from 1969 to 1974.

This incipient period was marked by a number of characteristics. Evangelism was foremost on the Jesus musician's mind since there was no commercial infrastructure to support them. Most artists originally felt the production of recorded music albums a secondary concern eclipsed by the primacy of personal intimacy developed with a live audience. Also, in light of the belief that the second coming was imminent, the recording an album seemed an extraneous diversion away from concerns of evangelism.

Jesus Music recordings became prevalent when groups and artists realized that a record album could serve a dual purpose, both as a tool of evangelism and as a commodity to raise much needed funds. During this incipient phase product distribution remained rudimentary, usually centering on self-promotion and endless concert touring. Mail-order companies emerged to handle the handful of low-budget and (most often) poorly recorded efforts. In time, a number of institutions developed around the fledgling scene as it expanded and moved beyond the embryonic stage. As more Jesus rock albums were released, radio programs directed towards reaching the teenage listening audience were initiated. Coffeehouses and nightclubs sprang up across the continent as venues where Christian musicians could regularly perform. In response to mainstream music festivals, such as the Monterey Pop and Woodstock, a number of promoters began to hold similar Jesus Music festivals.

With rare exceptions (the primary example being the sociopolitical themes of Larry Norman) Jesus Music was dominated by themes of experientialism where songs reflected feelings about salvation, the second coming, the rapture, the resurrection, or autobiographical testimonies. Most pioneers speak of this era as one of spontaneity unclouded by the materialism that followed as Jesus Music made an awkward transition into a competitive industry.

Institutionalization came quickly as a network of business enterprises formed around the loose collection of independent musicians. The Contemporary Christian Music industry (CCM) blossomed in 1975 with the establishment of a number of large record companies whose sole aim was to promote and distribute Christian rock albums. Myrrh Records, originally formed in 1971 to promote Randy Matthews, reversed their original pessimism about the future of Jesus rock music and signed up several other artists to bolster their lineup. As the 'contemporary music' subsidiary of parent company Word Records, Myrrh signed Nancy Honeytree, The 2nd Chapter of Acts, British folk rock duo Malcolm & Alwyn, Pat Terry Group, and others to their own label while signing distribution deals to carry records by Larry Norman, Randy Stonehill, Love Song, Phil Keaggy,

Lamb, and Paul Clark. Other labels to begin operations during this time were Greentree (a division of Benson), Chrism (a division of Tempo), and Sparrow Records when former Myrrh executive Billy Ray Hearn decided to launch out on his own.² Spurring the industry's continued growth were the annual Jesus festivals, Jesus rock radio shows, and the establishment of a number of magazines devoted specifically to Christian music. With commercial successes came tremendous diversification not only stylistically (moving beyond the early country, folk, and rock influences, to include heavy metal, ska, punk, thrash, and even reggae streams), but also lyrically as artists began to delve into other issues beyond their experiences of salvation. By the beginning of the 1980s the CCM industry could look back and see expansive growth in distribution, market share, national and international exposure, and even acceptance from most conservative Christian circles.



² Paul Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music: Where It Came From What It Is Where It's Going* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1985), 103-4.

Norsk katolsk-karismatisk fornyelse - intervju med sr. Ingrid Marie Nilsson

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



Den karismatiske fornyelse blant katolikker i Norge har ingen nasjonal leder, og Ingrid Marie Nilsson (f. 1926) kjenner ikke til karismatiske grupper utenfor Oslo. Den tidligste etablerte gruppen hun vet om, ble startet av maristpater Paul Walsh. Tidlig på 70-tallet hadde han en engelsktalende gruppe på Eikeli (Bærum), og både amerikansk ambassade- og NATO-stasjonert personale var representert og deltok regelmessig på møtene. Etter at pater Walsh ble forflyttet fra Norge, overtok maristpater Pat Muckian ledelsen av gruppen. Denne opphørte da han ble forflyttet fra Norge.

Nilsson kjenner også til at den nederlandske Borromeus-søster, Sunniva Dickers, under mer eller mindre samme tidsperiode, hadde en norskspråklig katolsk-karismatisk bønnegruppe. Heller ikke denne eksisterer lenger.

Nilssons interesse for fenomenet karismatikk var blant annet foranlediget av en spesiell tillit til Den Hellige Ånd, som ble vekket under hennes første klosterår i Frankrike. Interessen ble vekket på ny da hun var i et lite søsterfelleskap i Møllevannsvn. 16 i Kristiansand i perioden 1970-76. På denne tiden ble det skrevet mye – både sant og usant - i *Fædrelandsvennen*. Grunnen var at den katolske presten, Kåre Osorio fra Danmark, reiste rundt med Aril Edvardsen og fikk tale på pinsevennenes møter.

I 1974 fikk Nilsson tilbud om 6 ukers sommerferie i USA, og hennes første tanke var: "Da skal jeg prøve å få kjennskap til karismatisk fornyelse!" Hun dro til Hartford, Connecticut, hvor St. Joseph-søstrene i USA har sitt provinsialhus. Hun kjente på forhånd til at noen av hennes medsøstre i Hartford var kommet inn i karismatisk fornyelse. Hun visste også at hennes daværende generalpriorinne, søster Benedicte Ramsing, var involvert i fornyelsen og at hun befant seg akkurat denne sommeren i USA. Hun anbefalte Nilsson å ta kontakt med St. Ann, som hadde en del tillitsverv i fornyelsen, slik at hun kunne hjelpe henne å få innblikk i den karismatiske fornyelsen og hva det hele gikk ut på. I løpet av de seks ukene fikk hun tre ganger anledning til å være med St. Ann til New Britain hvor omlag 100 personer fra forskjellige trossamfunn samlet seg til bønn og lovprisning hver uke. Ledelsen av gruppen var katolsk, også 3-4 katolske prester var med. Hun minnes at de ansvarlige for møtene var inndelt i team med forskjellige oppgaver. Blant annet hadde 2-3 personer ansvar for nye møtebesøkende et kvarters tid i begynnelsen av møtet. Hun husker særlig hvor sterk vekt de la på at disse bønnemøtene aldri måtte erstatte Kirkens gudstjenester, men heller inspirere til større iver for kirke og menighet.

Etter det offisielle møtet kunne de som ønsket det gå i et tilstøtende rom (“prayer room”) for å be om forbønn for seg selv eller andre. Der kunne man også bli bedt over med håndspåleggelse for å motta ‘Åndens dåp’. Før Nilsson våget å ta et slikt skritt, prøvde hun å få innblikk i hva de enkelte søstre i hennes egen kongregasjon mente om fornyelsen. Det viste seg at noen var positive, men de fleste var mindre interesserte. Siden tiden for avreisen nærmet seg, måtte hun ta et valg og søkte i Bibelen og kom på 2 Tim. 1,6: “Tenn på ny den nådegave som er i deg, den du har mottatt ved min håndspåleggelse!” Dette var akkurat den oppfatningen hun var kommet til av virkningen av Åndens dåp, nemlig å tenne nytt liv i det hun hadde fått i dåpens og fermingens sakrament.

Etter det tredje og siste møtet hun hadde anledning til å delta i, skriftet hun hos en av prestene og gikk deretter sammen med ham til ‘prayer room’ hvor omlag 60 personer hadde samlet seg. Da de begynte å be og synge i tunger, var det som om hele rommet ble fylt av bønn og hun fikk tungetalens nådegave. Hele hennes åndelige liv ble fornyet gjennom denne hendelsen. Hun merket en ny iver etter å formidle Guds Ord, og en ny inderlighet i bønningen. Det var som om Gud var kommet henne nærmere, selv om Han, presiserer hun, sikkert hadde vært like nær hele tiden. Noe konkret skjedde som aldri er blitt borte siden.

Da Nilsson kom tilbake til Norge, lengtet hun etter et bønnefellesskap der hun kunne dele sine nye åndsferinger. Hun fikk anledning til å fortelle sine med-søstre på et provinsmøte i Oslo om karismatisk fornyelse og om hva hun selv hadde opplevd. Det samme skjedde på et møte for Søsterrådet, et Råd sammensatt av 2-3 søstre fra de forskjellige Kongregasjoner og hvor hun selv fungerte som sekretær. Interessen var tilstede, men var forbigående. I menigheten i Kristiansand var én dame interessert, og de to kom sammen til bønn én gang i uken. Dessuten fikk hun fellesskapets tillatelse til å delta i karismatiske bønnemøter i Grimm protestantiske kirke.

I 1976 flyttet Nilsson til Fredrikstad, men der var det også bare et par personer som viste interesse. Derfor ble det til at hun sammen med en person fra Metodistkirken regelmessig tok del i bønnemøter i den protestantiske kirken på Jeløy. I 1983 reiste Nilsson til Roma hvor hun tok del i et 1 måneders langt kurs i ‘Ignatian Spirituality’ hos jesuittene i Borgo San Spiritu. Etter det fulgte hun forelesninger på det Pavelige Institutt for ordenssøstre i Regina Mundi. I denne tiden fikk hun anledning til å være med på de ukentlige karismatiske søndag-ettermiddagssamlingene i Gregoriana (jesuittenes universitet og kloster).

Tiden i Roma skulle være en forberedelse til en ny oppgave som forstanderinne for søstrene på St. Josephs Institutt, hvor det i den tiden bodde omlag 18 søstre, og hvor hovedoppgaven var St. Sunniva Skole. I denne tiden traff hun et par damer som ønsket å komme sammen for å be og lese fra Bibelen. Dette ble begynnelsen til den karismatiske bønnegruppen i St. Olavs menighet i Oslo, som frem-

deles samler mennesker til bønn hver onsdag kveld. Gruppen har aldri vært stor, men den har vært til hjelp og inspirasjon for mange i over 20 år. Den er meget internasjonal og har vært et holdepunkt for mennesker som var i Norge i en begrenset tid, for eksempel fra forskjellige ambassader, mennesker som var i Norge for sitt firma, for eksempel et halvt år, eller bare var på ferie.

I de siste år har det vært flest latin-amerikanere. Til dags dato er gruppen 'minst' to-språklig: Engelsk-norsk, spansk-norsk o.s.v. Gjennom denne gruppen har gruppens ledere fått venner over hele verden. Deltakerne og deltakerantallet har variert mye, men over 100 mennesker har vært innom for kortere eller lengre periode.



A Historical Survey of the Concept of Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare

Spiritual Mapping, Territorial Spirits, and Related Praxis

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The concept of “strategic level spiritual warfare” (SLSW) involves collective or corporate strategies of doing spiritual warfare, not merely on the level of demonic deliverance of individuals on earth, but dealing with principalities and powers in the heavenlies. SLSW teaches that there are ruling demonic spirits, often called “territorial spirits,” assigned to geographical areas, such as the “prince of Persia” of Daniel 10. Consequently, the spirits need to be dislodged through war-like strategies of intercession, binding and loosing, direct rebuke or command of spirits, and spiritual mapping. Spiritual mapping is the process of determining the forces and circumstances that hold a territory in spiritual bondage.

Territorial Spirits Concept in the Church Fathers

This interpretation of the “prince of Persia” of Daniel 10 as an example of doing warfare against territorial spirits in some fashion is not a recent innovation, but has a long record in church history. For instance, as early as the 2nd century, Church Father Justin Martyr acknowledged a principality over the city of Damascus that was dislodged by the Incarnation of Christ: “For that expression in Isaiah [8:4], ‘He shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria’ foretold the power of the evil demon that dwelt in Damascus should be overcome by Christ as soon as He was born, and this is proved to have happened.”¹ Justin explained further that this demonic force had authority over all Arabia through the occultic religion of the Magi. The Incarnation of Christ conquered that power by attracting the Magi to worship Him: “For the Magi who were held in bondage for the commission of all evil deeds through the power of that demon, by coming to worship Christ, show that they have revolted from that dominion which held them captive, and this [dominion] the Scripture has showed us to reside in Damascus.”²

¹ Justin Martyr, “Dialogue with Trypho, chapter 78,” *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, eds., Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 1:238.

² *Ibid.*

The third century church father Origen likewise believed in territorial spirits, noting the prince of Persia in Daniel and the prince of Tyre in Ezekiel.³

Renewed Teaching on Territorial Spirits and Spiritual Warfare

During the medieval period there does not seem to be teaching on territorial spirits. However, in the post-Reformation period, such emphasis appears to re-emerge. Territorial revivals have been noted in the Great Awakening of 1738-40 involving Jonathan Edwards and the Great American Revival of 1858. Preceded by fervent prayer, such revivals would appear to involve the overthrow of territorial spirits, binding their influence and loosing the power of the Holy Spirit.⁴ Revival historian Wesley Deuwel identifies such territorial revival phenomena as “zones of holiness” or “a canopy of holy and awesome revival influence—in reality the presence of the Holy Spirit” during the 1858 revival.⁵

Classics scholar G. H. Pember wrote in the 1870s that from Daniel and Ezekiel 14 Satan “divides the world into different provinces according to its nationalities, appointing a powerful angel, assisted by countless subordinates, as viceroy over each kingdom to direct its energies and bend them to his will.”⁶ In 1897, speaking in a missiological context at a China Inland Mission Conference in London, Keswick leader Jessie Penn-Lewis, probably influenced by Pember, taught that there are “principalities who rule over various lands.”⁷ In 1904, S. D. Gordon declared, “Intercession is winning the victory over the chief, and service is taking the field after the chief is driven off.”⁸

³ Origen, *De Principiis*, bk 3, ch. 3, par. 2, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 10:239, 243; bk. 1, ch. 8, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 65.

⁴ K. Neill Foster with Paul L. King, *Binding and Loosing: Exercising Authority over the Dark Powers* (Camp Hill, PA: Christian Publications, 1998), 254-255.

⁵ Wesley Deuwel, *Revival Fire* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1995), 102, 133.

⁶ G. H. Pember, *Earth's Earliest Ages* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1876; reprint, Grand Rapid, MI: Kregel, 1975), 44.

⁷ Jessie Penn-Lewis, *The Warfare with Satan* (Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, 1963), 20. See also Jessie Penn-Lewis, *Prayer and Evangelism* (Dorset, England: Overcomer Literature Trust, [1921]), 34-35.

⁸ S. D. Gordon, cited by Timothy M. Warner, “Dealing with Territorial Demons,” *Engaging the Enemy: How To Fight and Defeat Territorial Spirits* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1991), 53.

Canadian Presbyterian missionary revivalist Jonathan Goforth was aware of conflict with territorial spirits. An article in 1920 described a revival in South China with Jonathan Goforth preaching. Missionaries reported that principalities and powers in the air and the prince of the kingdom of China were hindering, but through much prayer there was a breakthrough on the tenth day with weeping and confession with more than 700 inquiring about salvation.⁹ Robert Jaffray, a Canadian Presbyterian colleague of Goforth who became director of the South China mission of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, wrote in 1927 of territorial spirits, saying, “There is today a Prince of Tibet, of Afghanistan, of Cambodia, of Arabia, of Mohammedanism, of Bolshevism, who are prepared to defend their lands.”¹⁰ A year later while pioneering a new work in Borneo he fell under a deep depression that he recognized was a result of stepping “on the enemy’s territory,” calling that enemy “the Prince of Darkness.”¹¹

Parallel with these developments, in 1916 E. W. Kenyon, considered the father of the modern faith movement, also believed in a concept of territorial spirits. Theologian and historian Douglas Jacobsen notes, “Kenyon believed Satan divided the world into a host of separate ‘kingdoms and states, and communities’ and gave various demons control over those territorial domains. Virtually every community was assigned a territorial demon to oppress and control all forms of life in that region of the planet.”¹²

Further Development of the Concept by John MacMillan

C&MA missionary John MacMillan, perhaps more than any other Christian leader of his day, began to develop more of a concept of territorial influences. Some personality trait weaknesses that are usually considered characteristic of a certain nationality or ethnic group, MacMillan suggested, are “quite as likely to be a working of that undercurrent of Satanic force.”¹³ He posited the atheism of

⁹ Mrs. L. L. Hess, “Preaching and Prayer or Special Services at Wuchow,” *The Alliance Weekly* (AW), April 24, 1920, 56.

¹⁰ R. A. Jaffray, “Our Great Unfinished Task,” AW, July 9, 1927, 456.

¹¹ A. W. Tozer, *Let My People Go!* (Camp Hill, PA: Christian Publications, 1990), 90.

¹² Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003), 329; see E.W. Kenyon, *The Father and His Family*, 11th ed. (n. p.: Kenyon’s Gospel Publishing Co., 1964), 36-37, 71, 196.

¹³ “The Weakness of Power,” AW, Apr. 2, 1938, 211.

Russia and the unexplainable submissiveness of its people as due to an occult power, what he calls a “hellish counterfeit.”¹⁴ For most heathen religions, MacMillan explained, “Every god is confined to definite territorial limits, outside of which his influence does not extend.”¹⁵ MacMillan viewed Daniel 10 as an example of prayer activating God’s interference with “mighty intelligences” manipulating people, governments, and circumstances.¹⁶

MacMillan suggested that unusual physical disorders which may manifest in one environment, but not another may be due to the influence of what some today call territorial spirits.¹⁷ These forms of oppression, he believed, are overcome through what are sometimes today called “truth encounters,” by exercising the authority of the believer, binding the enemy, and confessing the truths of the Word of God.¹⁸

Although MacMillan did not use the current terminology “territorial spirits,” he clearly understood the concept of demonic strongholds over a region. He appealed for intercessors at home “to roll back the powers of the air, and make it possible to bring the Truth to bear on these regions where the devil is blocking the way.”¹⁹ The “principalities” of Ephesians 6:12 he regarded as “satanic princes, angels whose principalities cover the countries of this world.”²⁰

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ “Our Most Stubborn Foe,” *AW*, June 27, 1942, 402.

¹⁶ “Daniel and the Unseen,” *AW*, Feb. 12, 1944, 99.

¹⁷ MacMillan explained, “Cases have been seen, on the foreign field, where a physician’s diagnosis has apparently revealed serious functional disorder, and the patient has been invalidated [sent home on disability leave] home. Yet, when the home physician has examined the worker, no trace has been found of the indicated trouble. The change of environment has seemed to remove all signs of physical weakness. If we consider this to have any connection with the working of the enemy, it would appear as if there was oppression on the field, which did not exist at home, the pressure being removed when the patient reached the homeland.” John A. MacMillan, *Encounter with Darkness* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, 1980), 50-51.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 55-59.

¹⁹ J.A. MacMillan, “Our Mohammedan Problem in the Philippines,” *AW*, June 22, 1929, 404.

²⁰ The Full Gospel Sunday School Quarterly, Aug. 9, 1953, 18.

As a professor at the Missionary Training Institute in Nyack, New York, he would involve his students in “praying geographically,” interceding for specific locations and missionaries around the world.²¹ Though not nearly so sophisticated a strategy as presented today, nonetheless fifty years before the SLSW movement MacMillan taught and practiced a rudimentary form of what today is known as spiritual mapping.²²

Similar to the cautions of some critiquing SLSW movement today, MacMillan cautioned that this type of ministry is not for everyone, but rather “men and women whose lives are yielded to God,” for “true geographic prayer ministry needs close abiding in God.”²³ Those who engage in this kind of ministry need to exercise spiritual discernment. They are to be “watchers,” who have their heart and mind “trained in spiritual observation” and “can discern constant shifting of the lines of combat, which is not obvious to others.” He warned that “it is also a service of peculiar peril to those involved. For the enemy strikes with malignant vigor and keen knowledge at every opportunity.”²⁴ He spoke out of the authority of his own experience, having done battle with such spirits in the Philippines.²⁵

²¹ Paul L. King, *A Believer with Authority* (Camp Hill, PA: Christian Publications, 2001), 153.

²² MacMillan wrote, “There is among the saints of the Most High a chosen group—perhaps larger than we think—whose divinely appointed ministry is that of the prayer closet. There, on their knees with a world map before them, its members individually and methodically pray out the problems of the advance of the kingdom. They precede missionaries into areas where Christ has not been named; they observe them as they attack firmly-placed barriers, breaking down by the high explosive of authoritative prayer the Satanic opposition that continues impedes the forward progress of the gospel. Because the working of the Spirit of God is everywhere, working through some mysterious law, dependent on intercession, these unseen workers are the real pioneers of Christian missions. Unknown to themselves their word in the heavenlies is mighty through God to the overthrowing of principalities and powers. National boundaries are melting down before the faith and fervor of their supplications.” John MacMillan, “Praying Geographically,” *AW*, Sept. 14, 1946, 579; *The Full Gospel Sunday School Quarterly*, Aug. 9, 1953, 18. This is not to say that he would embrace all that is taught and practiced regarding these concepts today.

²³ MacMillan, “Praying Geographically,” 579.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ John A. MacMillan, *The Authority of the Believer* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, 1980), 38.

He had viewed his battle for his wife's life as an "infernally intended" to crush them because they were dislodging the spirits that held the territories of the Philippines in darkness. MacMillan thus promoted the idea of praying against territorial forces, but not directly commanding or rebuking such forces as advocated by SLSW proponents today.

Late 20th Century Development of Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare

In 1955 Gordon Lindsay, founder of Christ for the Nations Institute, taught on the basis of Daniel 10, "The real ruler of a Gentile nation is not a king or a human potentate, but rather a prince of the kingdom of darkness. This powerful spirit prince has a legion of lesser spirits under him, who carry out his orders, and by them, Satan maintains his kingdom and accomplishes his purpose of seducing and deceiving men."²⁶ He acknowledges, "Spiritual powers in high places are dislodged only by spiritual warfare."²⁷ For Lindsay, such spiritual warfare consists of persistent, persevering prayer such as Daniel's, which "aided in releasing the spiritual power [reinforcements by the Archangel Michael] that in the end defeated the powers of darkness."²⁸ He gives the example of Charles Finney wrestling and agonizing in prayer before the great 1857-57 revival broke out.²⁹

Although he did not teach directly on SLSW, Frank Peretti's fictional books *This Present Darkness* and *Piercing the Darkness* have probably had more impact than anything else in raising the awareness and popularizing the concept of warfare in the heavenlies. Additionally, according to Keith Bailey, "Timothy M. Warner is credited with being the first missiologist to use the term 'territorial spirits.'"³⁰

John Dawson's book *Taking Our Cities for God* signaled a new level of strategy in dealing with territorial spirits. Yet, as a seemingly prophetic harbinger of the future SLSW movement, he also cautioned:

²⁶ Gordon Lindsay, *The Secret of Prayer That Moves Mountains* (Dallas, TX: Voice of Healing Publishing Co., 1955), 88.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 90.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 90-92.

³⁰ Keith M. Bailey, *Strange Gods: Responding to the Rise of Spirit Worship in America* (Camp Hill, PA: Christian Publications, 1998), 229.

Very little is revealed about specific territorial spirits in the Bible, and that's no accident. . . . [The reality of territorial spirits] should not be taken as a mandate for the development of spiritual maps in which we seek knowledge for the sake of knowledge. If we gain knowledge of the name and nature of an evil spirit and publish it broadly, the enemy will only attempt to glorify himself.³¹

Prayer walking, the practice of walking around a geographic area interceding for the area and people of the area, though practiced broadly outside of the SLSW movement, has become an integral part of strategic level spiritual warfare.³² "Marches for Jesus" became popular, beginning in London in 1987, and organized in 142 American and European cities on May 23, 1992.³³ Foster and King support the idea of prayer walking as biblical, but also give cautions concerning misuse of the concept.³⁴ It should be noted that many churches and ministries engage in prayerwalking without embracing the theology and practices of SLSW. Hawthorne and Kendrick, leaders in the prayerwalking movement, point out, "Exorcism routines that are suitable for dealing with demonized individuals are not necessarily appropriate when dealing with neighborhoods or territories."³⁵ On the other hand, many of the SLSW proponents practice binding and loosing of territorial spirits in a corporate setting. Ed Silvoso of Harvest Evangelism, and the brother-in-law of evangelist Luis Palau, has engaged in prayer walking, breaking down strongholds, and SLSW, especially in his native country of Argentina.³⁶

C. Peter Wagner, one of the chief promoters of SLSW, cites C&MA Navajo Indian pastor Herman Williams becoming sick and going off the reservation for treatment. When he arrived at the doctor, the pain was gone, and the doctor could find nothing wrong. When he returned to the reservation the pain returned and he discerned that there was a problem with territorial spirits.³⁷ Cindy Jacobs,

³¹ John Dawson, *Taking Our Cities for God* (Lake Mary, FL: Creation House, 1989), 156.

³² Steve Hawthorne and Graham Kendrick, *Prayer-walking: Praying on Site with Insight* (Lake Mary, FL: Creation House, 1993).

³³ *Ibid.*, 198.

³⁴ Foster and King, 276-278.

³⁵ Hawthorne and Kendrick, 141.

³⁶ Hawthorne and Kendrick, 120.

³⁷ C Peter Wagner, "The Key To Victory Is Binding the 'Strong Man,'" *Ministries Today*, Nov. / Dec. 1986, 84; see also George Otis, Jr., *The Twilight Labyrinth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Chosen Books, 1997), 194-195.

founder of the General of Intercession ministry, advertises their mission as “achieving societal reformation through intercession and the prophetic.”³⁸ She has produced a series of teaching videos entitled *Societal Reformation and Transformation Video Series*, as well as numerous books, including *Warfare Prayer: Laying Siege to a City through Intercession* and *Possessing the Gates of the Enemy*.³⁹

The ministries of Jacobs, Wagner, Chuck Pierce, and others intersect the prophetic movement with the spiritual warfare movement. This is not to say that everyone in the SLSW movement agrees or identifies with each one, nor that everyone in the spiritual warfare movement is involved in the prophetic movement.

Though not active proponents of the SLSW movement per se, many members of the modern prophetic movement, such as Paul Cain and Rick Joyner, practice corporate spiritual warfare and utilize some of the SLSW principles. Likewise, the New Apostolic Movement also intersects and intertwines with SLSW movement, though not all are involved with both movements. End time Handmaidens leader Gwen Shaw utilizes some principles of the SLSW movement, but is not a leader in the movement. She is somewhat controversial, claimed by some to engage in New Age theology.

George Otis, Jr., explained spiritual mapping as “nothing more ethereal than creating a spiritual profile of a community carefully based on research.”⁴⁰ Otis elaborates on and documents what he calls principalities as “governmental co-conspirators,” “regional deities,” and “territorial dynasties,” as well as “territorial counterattacks” in his 1997 book *The Twilight Labyrinth*.⁴¹ He writes of “collective possession and cultural exorcism” in which “whole communities have entered into collective pacts with the spirit world.”⁴² Otis organized the A.D. 2000 United Prayer Track for evangelism and collective spiritual warfare. He has produced “Transformation” videos, which provide documentaries of cities and regions transformed through spiritual warfare. Otis has formed the Sentinel Group,

³⁸ See the Generals of Intercession website at <http://generalsorg.zoovy.com/>

³⁹ Cindy Jacobs, *Warfare Prayer: Laying Siege to a City through Intercession*; Cindy Jacobs, *Possessing the Gates of the Enemy* (Tarrytown, NY: Chosen Books, 1991).

⁴⁰ George Otis, Jr., as cited by Art Moore, “Spiritual Mapping Gains Credibility among Leaders,” *Christianity Today*, January 12, 1998, 53.

⁴¹ Otis, *The Twilight Labyrinth*, 181-229, 236-238.

⁴² *Ibid.* 274-277.

which promotes itself as “a Christian research and information agency dedicated to helping the Church pray knowledgeably for end-time global evangelization and enabling communities to discover the pathway to genuine revival and societal transformation.”⁴³ Other research sources refute the extent of transformation claimed by the videos.⁴⁴

Some teach a concept of territorial generational curses, meaning that a demonic curse can blanket a specific geographical area or nation because of unresolved sins committed by people of earlier generations. Some may in direct commanding prayer break generational curses, while others use a more indirect approach such as corporate repentance, asking specific people or people groups for forgiveness in behalf of former generations’ sins towards that particular people group. This is known as variously as identificational repentance or confession. John Dawson appears to be one of the earliest promoters of this concept, particularly through his book *Healing America’s Wounds*.⁴⁵ Some cite historical examples of identificational repentance in the *Book of Common Prayer*, *Elizabethan Prayer Book*, the Episcopalian *Book of Occasional Services*, and the Lutheran *Stuttgart Confession of Guilt*.⁴⁶

Another teaching that intersects with SLSW and the apostolic and prophetic movements is the “Joel’s Army” concept, based on Joel 2:2-3, which teaches that God is raising up an end-time army of believers to exercise spiritual authority on the earth and bring end-time “latter rain” revival. Some, though not all, who teach a Joel’s Army idea embrace Dominion theology, the belief that the church will take dominion of the earth (often aligned with post-millennial eschatology). Others are Restorationists, who emphasize end-time restoration of early church characteristics and power that have been lost to the church. Among the proponents of the Joel’s army teaching are prophetic leaders like Rick Joyner, Jack

⁴³ See The Sentinel Group website at: <http://www.sentinelgroup.org/>

⁴⁴ See the website: <http://www.geocities.com/smithtj.geo/transformations1.html>

⁴⁵ John Dawson, *Healing America’s Wounds* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1994).

⁴⁶ Gary S. Greig, “The Biblical Foundations of Identificational Repentance as One Prayer Pattern Useful to Advance God’s Kingdom and Evangelism,” April 2001, published online at <http://www.cwgministries.org/books/Biblical-Foundation-for-Identificational-Repentance.pdf>. Greig’s paper is a scholarly treatment supporting identificational repentance.

Deere, Latter Rain leader Paul Cain, Francis Frangipane, Bob Beckett, and many others.⁴⁷

Criticisms of Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare

C&MA scholar Keith Bailey questions the exegesis and interpretation of Daniel 10 and other passages of Scripture and biblical concepts such as *stoicheia* in relation to territorial spirits, saying that “Daniel did not do battle with the prince of Persia. It was the angel who fought this wicked power. It was a battle in the heavenlies with angels and demons.”⁴⁸ He views ruling spirits as being assigned to political ruling entities rather than geographical locations.

Clinton Arnold concurs that territorial spirits do exist, but opposes the SLSW movement, citing that Scripture illustrates that believers can cast out individual spirits, but there is no scriptural support for commanding territorial spirits: “The Bible nowhere narrates, describes or instructs us on how, or even whether, we are to engage these high-ranking territorial spirits . . . a strategy for taking on territorial spirits is absent.”⁴⁹

Foster and King agree with Arnold, concluding, “Spiritual mapping, if it takes a form which focuses on the occult or territoriality of the various dark powers, is likely to carry its practitioners into peril. But spiritual mapping which is more akin to the old-fashioned field study, including some description of the demon powers of false religions, is the kind of spiritual mapping which could be acceptable.”⁵⁰

Michael Reid, in his book *Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare: A Modern Mythology?* holds a similar position with Arnold, King, and Foster regarding SLSW, but disagrees on matters of possible demonization of Christians. Reid comments of Wimber, “Although Wimber believed in ‘custodian’ territorial spirits, he rejected the concept of aggressive warfare against the spirits, concluding that it is God who determines the strategy, engages the enemy, and wins the victory. He be-

⁴⁷ See Rick Joyner, *The Harvest*; Jack Deere, “Joel’s Army,” *It Sounds Like the Mother of All Battles*, Barbara Aho, “The Elijah Revolution: Joel’s Army Coming of Age,” accessed online at <http://watch.pair.com/elijah.html>

⁴⁸ Bailey, 231.

⁴⁹ Clinton Arnold, *3 Crucial Questions about Spiritual Warfare* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1997), 161.

⁵⁰ Foster and King, 263.

lieved that Christians must oppose Satan but they do not confront the ruling spirits, only the low-level demons.”⁵¹

Chuck Lowe, in his book *Territorial Spirits and World Evangelization?*, presents one of the most broadly touted critiques of the SLSW movement.⁵² He concludes that there are no such things as territorial spirits, though possibly custodial tutelary spirits, and observes no “shred of support” for the practice of warfare prayer in Scripture.⁵³ He also questions the hermeneutic of some in the movement that if it is not in the Bible it is permissible.

Writing in the *Journal of Asian Mission*, Malaysian minister Yee Tham Wan has presented a critique of the broader spiritual warfare movement, including in his appraisal a wide array of those who are not identified with SLSW such as Warren Wiersbe, David Bryant and Evelyn Christianson.⁵⁴ He asserts that the success of the general spiritual warfare movement is due to populist, pragmatic and triumphalistic approaches and techniques, not to theological or biblical soundness.⁵⁵ Citing Robert Guelich,⁵⁶ he claims that “Paul writes very little about Satan and demons or evil spirits,” and thus spiritual warfare is a limited concept in the Bible.⁵⁷ Wan does not, however, engage the comprehensive work by Gregory Boyd tracing the spiritual warfare motif throughout the Bible entitled *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict*.⁵⁸ Nor does he take into consideration New Testa-

⁵¹ Michael S. B. Reid, *Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare: A Modern Mythology?* (Fairfax, VA: Xulon Press, 2002), 103.

⁵² Chuck Lowe, *Territorial Spirits and World Evangelization?* (Sevenoaks, Kent, UK: OMF, 1998, 2001)

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 20, 144.

⁵⁴ Yee Tham Wan, “A Critique of the Spiritual Warfare Movement,” *Journal of Asian Mission* 4:2 (2002).

⁵⁵ Wan, 180-186

⁵⁶ Robert A. Guelich, “Jesus, Paul and Peretti,” *Pneuma* 13:1 (Spring 1991), 42, 45.

⁵⁷ Wan, 184.

⁵⁸ Gregory A. Boyd, *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997). Boyd only briefly addresses Guelich’s claims directly, but throughout his book counters the idea that spiritual warfare is merely a metaphor that is a minor theme in Scripture. (See pp. 280, 310n66, 392n35.)

ment scholar Clinton Arnold's extensive studies on the powers of darkness in Paul's writings.⁵⁹

Kenneth Hagin, in his book *The Triumphant Church*, acknowledges that demons can "dominate" or "gang up in certain parts of the world or in certain countries," but believes that people who think they are pulling down strongholds over cities or regions are misguided and such actions are not warranted by Scripture.⁶⁰ He asserts that Daniel "prayed to God, not against the devil," yet he believes that Christians can bind the devil in his operations.⁶¹

John Paul Jackson, a leader in the prophetic movement that often engages in strategic level spiritual warfare, nonetheless teaches in his book *Needless Casualties of War* that believers are authorized to do spiritual warfare only in the terrestrial, or earthly, realm, not in the second heaven, which he considers "the command post of Satan and his diabolical spiritual dignitaries which include principalities, powers, rulers of darkness, and spiritual hosts of wickedness."⁶² He illustrates many instances of demonic attack on those who have attempted to do warfare on their own with territorial spirits beyond their sphere of authority: tragedies, illness, miscarriage, depression and death.⁶³

While there are some who disagree totally with the concept of territorial spirits (such as Bailey, Reid, Lowe), others acknowledge their reality, but disagree with the direct encounter approach. Veteran missionary Ed Murphy, for instance,

⁵⁹ Clinton E. Arnold, *Powers of Darkness: Principalities and Powers in Paul's Letters* (Downers Gove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992); Clinton E. Arnold, *Ephesians, Power and Magic: The Concept of Power in Ephesians in Light of Its Historical Setting* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Clinton E. Arnold, *The Colossian Syncretism: The Interface Between Christianity and Folk Belief at Colosse* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1996).

⁶⁰ Kenneth E. Hagin, *The Triumphant Church: Dominion Over All the Powers of Darkness* (Tulsa, OK: Kenneth Hagin Ministries, 1993), 201-222.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 239, 242.

⁶² John Paul Jackson, *Needless Casualties of War* (Fort Worth, TX: Streams Publications, 1999), 55. For Jackson's discussion of this limitation on spiritual warfare see Jackson, 55-72.

⁶³ Jackson, 11-42.

similar to Arnold, advocates asking God to subdue territorial spirits, rather than commanding them.⁶⁴

Others, like Otis, argue for the need of collective strategic level spiritual warfare: “The spiritual dynamics [of collective pacts with the spirit world] are no longer individualized. Collective action has forced the issue to a higher level. Deliverance strategies must now take into consideration a wide range of sociopolitical expression, each of which may be linked (sometimes quite explicitly) to demonic shadow rulers.”⁶⁵ At the same time, he cautions against “reckless claims and baseless expectations”, noting that a spiritual warfare rally in San Francisco on Halloween in 1990 (perhaps speaking of Larry Lea) did not “reverse the curse” as claimed.⁶⁶ He counsels:

Asking God to banish demonic powers from an entire community is to suggest that He set aside the logical consequences of a people’s misplaced choices. It is to assume that our role as “King’s kids” gives us the authority to nullify residents’ free will or the devil’s ability to respond to explicit human overtures. . . . In reality, I have yet to come across a single case study in which this approach has been applied successfully.

It is simply not realistic to expect that we can facilitate the wholesale elimination of demonic powers prior to the Second Coming.⁶⁷

He advocates engaging in strategic level intercession that involves primarily prayer, and direct confrontation with territorial principalities and power only when clear direction and authority have been given by God to do so in a particular situation: “This authority is not for us to use at our own initiative or discretion. It is ambassadorial authority, which means it is to be exercised only at the bidding of the Sovereign.” He indicates that in scriptural passages in the Psalms that deal with warfare, in only about one percent of the time, does the psalmist speak directly to the enemy.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Ed Murphy, *The Handbook for Spiritual Warfare* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1992, 1996), 536.

⁶⁵ Otis, *The Twilight Labyrinth*, 275-276.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 278-279. This is probably the same event led by Larry Lea. Some have seen in Larry Lea’s unsuccessful attempt to dislodge spirits over San Francisco the eventual demise of his ministry as he came under spiritual attack with moral and financial accusations and a nervous breakdown.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 279.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 282.

Some question identificational repentance, claiming it is neither biblical nor necessary.⁶⁹ However, while widely practiced in the SLSW movement, identificational confession is also often practiced by many who would not want to identify with SLSW.

Conclusion

Due to the multitude of writings and people in the spiritual warfare movement and the brevity of this essay, many significant writings and leaders of the SLSW movement have been omitted of this survey. It is impossible in a brief overview to touch on all of the significant people, writings, and concepts, but we have endeavored to address the most important ones here.

Most serious students of spiritual warfare throughout church history recognize that territorial spirits do exist in some fashion, but there is great disagreement regarding the appropriate role of Christians in directly countering spirits at that level through spiritual warfare. Likewise, spiritual warfare praxis encompasses a wide range of practices, not used or advocated by all, including spiritual mapping, direct warfare prayer, prayerwalking, generational repentance, and so on. The soundest counsel seems to be that which is thoroughly biblically-based, and has the track record of church history. It is the assessment of many theologians and ministers that much of the current emphasis on SLSW has gone into the realm of speculative theology and praxis. There are signs that leaders of the SLSW movement are beginning to back off their claims, and beginning to return

⁶⁹ Frank Green, "Identificational Repentance—Is It Necessary? Is It Biblical?", Manchester, England: September 1999, C.Net Theological Forum, accessed online at <http://www.eauk.org/contentmanager/content/acute/green.pdf>

to a biblically-based theology and praxis of spiritual warfare, but the controversies continue.⁷⁰



⁷⁰ Lowe observes, “Even now the first hints are emerging that SLSW is on its way out. At least the latest book has shifted the focus of its accolades to what was previously an attendant activity, identificational repentance.” Lowe, 150. He is referring to the following book: C Peter Wagner, *Praying with Power: How to Pray Effectively and Hear Clearly from God* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1997).

F.F. Bosworth

A Profile in Divine Healing Ministry

Roscoe Barnes III, M.A.R., B.S., is a well known author, copywriter, journalist and ghostwriter.



Fred Francis Bosworth (1877-1958) was a Pentecostal pioneer, famous healing evangelist, musician and author who took the United States and Canada by storm in the 1920s and 1930s. With his brother, Burton B. Bosworth, often working with him, he reportedly led more than a million people to Christ through his ministry.¹ He was considered by scholars and ministers alike to be one of the most successful healing evangelists of the 20th century. He received more than 225,000 written testimonies of healing and his book, *Christ the Healer*, is a classic that has been in print since 1924.²

Though he spent most of his life as a member of the Christian & Missionary Alliance, he was well respected among Pentecostals and holiness groups. In fact, F.F. Bosworth was the preacher who brought Pentecost – and the first Assemblies of God church -- to Dallas, Texas. The church he founded, Dallas First Assembly of God Church, is thriving to this day.³

The impact of Bosworth's teachings continues to be felt in all parts of the world. Many of today's mega Charismatic/Pentecostal churches and other ministries, including those of T. L. Osborn, Kenneth Copeland, Fred Price, Benny Hinn and the late Kenneth E. Hagin, have been greatly influenced by his work. Osborn, one of the most successful missionary evangelists of the 20th century, has said: "Old F.F. Bosworth used to share a lot secrets with us."⁴ Vast numbers of Word of

¹ Gordon P. Gardiner, *Out of Zion Into All the World* (Shippensburg, PA: Companion Press, 1990), 7.

² F.F. Bosworth, *Christ the Healer*, 9th Edition (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Fleming H. Revell, 2002), 16.

³ Carrie Frances Wagliardo Loftis, ed., *First Assembly of God Dallas: A History of First Assembly of God - Dallas, Texas, 1912-1992* (Dallas, TX: First Assembly of God, 1992), 7-10.

⁴ David Edwin Harrell Jr., *All Things are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), 15.

Faith churches read Bosworth's teachings with great excitement. His book is a required text at Rhema Bible Training Center in Tulsa, Okla.⁵

Prominent leaders have often showered Bosworth with praise because of his message, his ministry and the surrendered, faith-filled life that he led. Gordon Lindsay of Christ For The Nations worked with Bosworth during the preacher's senior years. He described him as being a real gentleman and having a "sweet and godly spirit."⁶ Bosworth, he wrote, was "one of the nation's greatest authorities on the ministry of Divine Healing."⁷ T.L. Osborn agrees. "He has conducted some of the largest and most successful healing campaigns in America's history," he said.⁸ William Branham, whose ministry played a pivotal role in the life of Osborn, said that nobody knew more about Divine Healing than Bosworth.⁹

To church leaders in South Africa, Bosworth was an "Apostle of faith," and "a 20th century pioneer of the ministry of the miraculous."¹⁰ Said one writer: "Again and again, under his ministry, we saw deaf spirits cast out and eardrums recreated. No case of sickness daunted the enthusiastic faith of this veteran warrior. He labored unceasingly and we certainly learned to love him."¹¹ Observing through the eyes of scholarship, P.G. Chappell stated that Bosworth was perhaps the most successful healing Pentecostal evangelist to come out of Zion, Ill.¹²

⁵ Brian Parkman, Rhema graduate, in an email to Roscoe Barnes III, Sept. 25, 2004.

⁶ Gordon Lindsay, *God's 20th Century Barnabas* (Dallas, TX: Christ For the Nations Inc., 1982), 151.

⁷ Gordon Lindsay, "Conversations with Evangelist F.F. Bosworth," *The Voice of Healing*, April 1948, 4. Voice of God Recording, Jeffersonville, IN.

⁸ T.L. Osborn, *Healing the Sick and Casting Out Devils* (Tulsa, OK: Evangelist T.L. Osborn, 1950), 83.

⁹ William Branham, "...Old Doctor F.F. Bosworth. I believe he knows more about Scriptural basis of Divine Healing than any man I know of in my life," *Faith Charlotte*, N.C., 56-0427-14, quoted in "Divine Healing," [article on-line]; available from http://www.prisonministries.net/Web%20pages/divine_healing.htm.

¹⁰ Julius Stadskev, *William Branham: A Prophet Visits South Africa* (Jeffersonville, IN: William Branham Evangelistic Association, 1952), 130, 136.

¹¹ Stadskev, 130

¹² P.G. Chappell, "Healing Movements," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee and Patrick H. Alexander (Grand Rapids, MI: Regency Reference Library, 1988), 368.

His media coverage

At the peak of his ministry, a time when his meetings shattered attendance records and made history in many cities, both the secular and religious media took notice. Frequently, they featured reports about the throngs of people who came for healing and spiritual help. Over and over they published reports about marvelous healings and miracles. They also covered Bosworth's debates on the topic of Divine Healing. "Years ago as a boy [I remember] that news of the great Bosworth healing campaigns reached the daily newspapers even in the far west," recalled Gordon Lindsay in *The Voice of Healing*. "In those days enormous crowds gathered to hear the Bosworth party."¹³ Similar comments were made by Oral Roberts.¹⁴

David J. du Plessis, who was known as "Mr. Pentecost," once reported on the extraordinary meeting that Bosworth held in 1928 in the Chicago Gospel Tabernacle. "Fred Bosworth received a lot of publicity in the *Chicago Daily News* and other metropolitan newspapers when a large number of students who were attending a school for the deaf were miraculously healed, their healings causing the school to close."¹⁵

Describing him as a "well-known evangelist" along with his brother, *The Alliance Life* reported "there were many unusual instances of divine healing" in the Bosworth meetings.¹⁶ In Durban, South Africa, when Bosworth was 75, a local paper gave this dramatic story:

¹³ Lindsay, "Rev. and Mrs. F.F. Bosworth Work With Branham Party," *Voice of Healing*, May 1948, 1. Voice of God Recording, Jeffersonville, IN; Flower Pentecostal Research Center, Springfield, MO.

¹⁴ Oral Roberts, "F.F. Bosworth Rejoices Over Roberts' Meeting In Miami, Florida," *Healing Waters*, February 1949, 4.

¹⁵ David J. du Plessis, "News Briefs – A Faithful Pioneer Passes," *World-Wide Revival*, April 1958.

¹⁶ *Alliance Life*, 23 January 1958, 15.

Mr. E.C. Dennis, 45, of 365a Flower Road, Clairwood, stood on the platform at Greyville, blocking his left ear. He had not heard with his right ear since he was seven. Another Evangelist, the Rev. F.F. Bosworth, whispered into his right ear, and Mr. Dennis repeated combinations of numbers over a microphone. The crowd, mostly Natives and Indians, cheered as they heard him say: "I am healed."¹⁷

That particular episode was not uncommon in Bosworth's meetings. Between 1907 and 1958, he carefully documented thousands of healing testimonies. They poured into his office from people of all ages and with all types of sicknesses and diseases. Not infrequently medical professionals provided written verification of the healing claims.

His work as a pioneer

For most of his 81 years, Bosworth dared to do the impossible. He bucked trends and sometimes shattered the status quo. Like the Apostle Paul, he was all things to all people no matter where he ministered.

Bosworth was a frontier evangelist who helped to spread the Pentecostal message to such places as Texas and Indiana, among other areas. His love for all people compelled him to cross racial lines and preach the Gospel without compromise to African Americans and people of other races and cultures. Dubbed the "Dean of the Divine Healing Ministry,"¹⁸ Bosworth was a fearless debater and relentless crusader for the healing message. Without hesitation, he took on challenges, answered critics, published rebuttals and went the extra mile to defend the doctrine of "Healing in the Atonement."¹⁹ He also took on Classical Pentecostals on the issue of "tongues" as the initial evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit.²⁰ In his youth and in his senior years, he answered calls to articulate what he believed and he did it graciously and in love.

¹⁷ "Cripples Rise From Wheelchairs And Walk," *The Natal Mercury*, Durban, 23 November 1951, in William Branham: *A Prophet Visits South Africa*, Julius Stadsklev, (Jeffersonville, IN: William Branham Evangelistic Association, 1952), 125.

¹⁸ Stadsklev, 70, 82.

¹⁹ Gordon Lindsay with William Branham, *William Branham: A Man Sent from God* (Jeffersonville, IN: William Branham Evangelistic Association, 1950), 149-156; Louis Hofferbert, "Baptist Cleric to Challenge 'Miracle Man,'" *The Houston Press*, 24 January 1950, Flower Pentecostal Research Center, Springfield, MO.

²⁰ F.F. Bosworth's letter of resignation, 24 July 1918, Dallas, TX, Flower Pentecostal Research Center, Springfield, MO; Eunice M. Perkins, *Joybringer Bosworth: His Life Story* (Dayton, OH: John J. Scruby, Distributor, 1921), 53-89.

Bosworth was also a trailblazer in his respect and recognition for women in the ministry. His journey in life included women on all fronts. For instance, a woman was used of God to point him to salvation as a teenager.²¹ When he was dying of TB, a woman was used of God to pray for his healing. When he held revival meetings, he invited women ministers to participate.²² He also relied on women for his work in church planting, as well as his great city-wide healing campaigns.²³ His wife, Florence, was a licensed evangelist.

Despite his many achievements, however, Bosworth was only a man. A humble man who never claimed any special talent or gifts of healing.²⁴ He knew failure. He knew loss and pain. But through it all, he learned to trust in Jesus. He discovered the beauty of God's grace and the power of God's Spirit. Because of this, he was able to faithfully spend a life time preaching, teaching, writing, counseling, mentoring and telling others about Jesus Christ, the Healer.

His childhood and discovery of music

Bosworth was born on Jan. 17, 1877 on a farm near Utica, Neb., to Burton and Amelia Bosworth. His father was a veteran of the Civil War, where he served in

²¹ Perkins, 24, 29; F.F. Bosworth, *Bosworth's Life Story: The Life Story of Evangelist F.F. Bosworth, as Told by Himself in the Alliance Tabernacle, Toronto* (Toronto, Ont.: Alliance Book Room, no date), 3. Flower Pentecostal Research Center, Springfield, MO.

²² Perkins, 28; Bosworth, 6; Robert V. Bosworth, "The Ultimate Triumph," in *Christ the Healer*, F.F. Bosworth (Grand Rapids, MI: Fleming H. Revell, 2002) 243, 244.

²³ Maria Woodworth-Etter, *A Diary of Signs and Wonders: A Classic* (Tulsa, OK: Harrison House, 1916), 154, 159-175; Wayne E. Warner, *The Woman Evangelist: The Life and Times of Charismatic Evangelist Maria B. Woodworth-Etter* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1986), 164-167, 185-191, Flower Pentecostal Research Center, Springfield, MO; F.F. Bosworth, "Confirming the Word by Signs Following," *The Latter Rain Evangel*, December 1908, reprint in *Bread of Life*, June 1980, 7, 8; C.M. Robeck Jr., "Sisson, Elizabeth," Burgess, McGee and Alexander, 788, 789; Carrie Frances Wagliardo Loftis, ed., *First Assembly of God Dallas: A History of First Assembly of God - Dallas, Texas, 1912-1992* (Dallas, TX: First Assembly of God, 1992), 7-10. Mattie E. Perry, *Christ and Answered Prayer: Autobiography of Mattie E. Perry*, 3rd Edition (Cincinnati, OH: published by the author, 1939), 230, 237.

²⁴ Voice, "Rev. F.F. Bosworth Speaks," May 1948, 5. Flower Pentecostal Research Center, Springfield, MO.

unit C, 75th Infantry of the Union Army.²⁵ As a child, Bosworth attended a reunion of Civil War veterans with his father in Keaney, Neb., and fell in love with the music he heard the brass bands playing. He spent a week listening to the bands and developed a special interest in the cornet. A short time after this experience, he met a man who offered to sell a cornet. Bosworth, showing his marketing prowess at an early age, offered the man a cow and a calf for the cornet and closed the deal. The man gave him a few lessons along with an instruction book and Bosworth went away happy.²⁶ His interest in music would follow him the rest of his life.

His conversion and miraculous healing

At the age of 16, he took on a job that required traveling all over Nebraska. While in Omaha, he visited a friend, an older woman by the name of Maude Green. She invited him to revival meetings held at the First Methodist Church and urged him to go forward to trust Christ as his Savior. Bosworth followed her advice and became born again. He eventually resigned from his job because of the questionable way in which he'd done business. This was followed by a series of jobs that included work as an engineer in a windmill factory and later a clerk in a grocery store. He also became a cook in a restaurant and later worked in a meat market.²⁷

Around 1891, after his family had moved to University Place, Neb., Bosworth became ill while helping a doctor who was treating a man for a gunshot wound. Bosworth's illness became severe and resulted in painful coughing that would not stop. It was later diagnosed as TB. At this time he was still living in Nebraska, but his parents had moved to Fitzgerald, Ga. Convinced he would die of TB, he decided to take a train to Georgia and say farewell to his family.²⁸

In Fitzgerald, he visited a Methodist church where Evangelist Mattie Perry was holding meetings. When Perry learned of Bosworth's condition, she told him that it was not God's will for him to die at such an early age. She then prayed for him and he was healed. Many years later, in November 1920 in Pittsburgh, Pa., Perry

²⁵ Web site: <http://www.usgennet.org/usa/ne/county/holt/1893/illb2.html>

²⁶ Perkins, 15-20.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 24, 25; Bosworth, *Bosworth's Life Story*, 2, 3.

²⁸ Perkins, 27, 30.

would postpone one of her own meetings so she could volunteer her help to Bosworth.²⁹

His marriage and move to Zion

During his time in Fitzgerald, Bosworth worked as a barber, city clerk and postmaster. In fact, he ran for re-election as city clerk but was defeated in 1900.³⁰ Even so, his knack for selling and campaigning would later serve him well as a promoter of evangelistic healing campaigns. At the age of 23, he met an 18-year-old girl, Estella Hyde, the daughter of a Chicago pioneer family. They married on November 8, 1900 and celebrated their honeymoon in Savannah, Ga.³¹

At some point during the early 1900s, the Bosworth family read *The Leaves of Healing* by Alexander Dowie of Zion City, Ill., who had created a Christian community just outside of Chicago. The Bosworths felt inspired to leave Georgia and move to the new town. Almost immediately after their arrival, Dowie hired Bosworth as a band leader. In 1903, the band became so popular it drew capacity crowds at 10 successive concerts in Madison Square Garden, New York.³²

His baptism in the Holy Spirit

On Sept. 20, 1906, Pentecostal pioneer Charles Parham, visited Zion to pray and preach about the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Meetings were held at various places there, including the home of Bosworth.³³ Meanwhile, Bosworth developed an intense hunger for more of God. He recalled:

²⁹ Robert V. Bosworth, "The Ultimate Triumph", *Christ the Healer*, 243, 244; Perry, 230.

³⁰ *The Fitzgerald Enterprise*, Fitzgerald, Ga., issues: Nov. 7, 1900, 3; and Dec. 19, 1900, 1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1900 issue, 4; Nov. 14, 1900 issue, 6.

³² Perkins, 35-38; *Chicago Daily News*, January 1958, obituary section.

³³ Gardiner, x, xi, 5.

I knew the Lord would not baptize me with the Holy Ghost until I was ready. These words kept ringing in my ears, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you.' Then I promised the Lord I would obey Him if I starved to death. I said I would go out and do some personal work for four or five days before asking to be baptized with the Holy Ghost to show that I meant it. I went to my musical friends and did personal work among them.³⁴

On Oct. 18, he attended a small meeting where he sat and listened as Sister Jessie Brown taught about praising God in faith for what "we believed we were to receive," when the Spirit fell on him. He suddenly jumped out of his seat and burst out in tongues and sat down.³⁵ Once again a woman had been used of God to play an important role in Bosworth's life.

Bosworth immediately exhibited a new boldness for sharing the gospel and he soon felt called to the ministry. Before his baptism in the Spirit, he was fond of saying he was afraid that God would call him to preach. After his baptism, he said he was afraid God would not call him to preach.³⁶ By 1907 and 1908, Bosworth traveled as an evangelist. He reported great revival meetings in Indiana where balls of fire literally appeared before people who received the baptism in the Spirit.³⁷

His revival meetings in Dallas

In 1909 Bosworth moved to Dallas, Texas, with the goal of planting a church in the power of the Spirit. While there he experienced numerous trials that required daily prayers for food. In August 1911, he suffered a brutal beating for preaching to a group of African Americans in Hearne, Texas.³⁸ Shortly after this persecution, he saw a tremendous revival in his Dallas church.

In the spring of 1912, Bosworth's church became the site of one of the biggest revivals to occur in Texas. Almost daily, for 10 years, the church held prayer meetings and evangelistic services that resulted in thousands of people being

³⁴ Bosworth, *Bosworth's Life Story*, 7.

³⁵ Gardiner, 5-7, 334.

³⁶ Bosworth, *Bosworth's Life Story*, 7, 8.

³⁷ Gardiner, 12, 13; Bosworth, "Confirming the Word by Signs Following," *The Latter Rain Evangel*, December 1908; *The Bread of Life*, June 1980.

³⁸ Bosworth, *Bosworth's Life Story*, 12, 13; Bosworth's letter to his mother and family, August 21, 1911, Dallas, Texas. Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, Springfield, Mo.

miraculously healed, saved and filled with the Spirit.³⁹ For six months in July in 1912, Maria Woodworth-Etter conducted services that were nothing short of historic. Up to 5,000 people attended the meetings and even more on Sundays. Bosworth, a tireless promoter of the services, flooded the media with press releases.⁴⁰

His resignation from the Assemblies of God

Near the end of the decade, after nearly 10 years of revival meetings, Bosworth was accused of heresy. The accusation was launched by a fellow Pentecostal in the Dallas area. A letter about the accusation was sent to Bosworth's church and triggered concern by the members. Bosworth contemplated what was happening and made a serious study of Scripture which culminated in his public stand against tongues as the initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. He believed that tongues, while good, was only one of the signs of a person being baptized in the Spirit.⁴¹

Bosworth resigned from the church he had founded, along with his assistant minister, Rev. Elias G. Birdsall, and joined the Christian & Missionary Alliance. Many of the congregation went with them as they began planting another church in the Dallas area.⁴²

On July 24, 1918, Bosworth turned in his ordination papers.⁴³ Later that year he was invited to present his views on evidential tongues to the Assemblies of God General Council meeting of 1918. He sat on a panel to discuss the issue and he also presented a resolution, much like Luther posting his 95 Theses. Despite his passionate presentation, however, the Assemblies of God struck down Bosworth's views and insisted that anyone holding credentials with the denomination must believe and teach that tongues is the initial evidence of the Spirit baptism.⁴⁴

Against the backdrop of one of the greatest revivals in that area, plus the end of World War I, Bosworth lost the love of his life. His wife, Estella, contracted in-

³⁹ Bosworth, letter to his brother, B.B. Bosworth, September 1912, Dallas, Texas.

⁴⁰ Woodworth-Etter, 155, 159-175.

⁴¹ Lester Sumrall, *Pioneers of Faith* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Harrison House, 1995) 42, 43.

⁴² Loftis, 7-10.

⁴³ Bosworth's Letter of Resignation, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, Springfield, Mo.

⁴⁴ Sumrall, 43.

fluenza and TB and died. A grand funeral was held at which many people came to Christ.⁴⁵

His growing outreach

The 1920s would prove to be a time of enormous growth for Bosworth's ministry. It started with a meeting he held in 1920 at a church in Lima, Ohio, where the pastor asked him to preach on divine healing. Initially, Bosworth had doubts as the meeting started slow and everything seemed discouraging. But Bosworth prayed.

I said to the Lord, "But suppose I preach healing and the people don't get healed?" And the Lord said, "If people didn't get saved you wouldn't stop preaching the Gospel." I studied the question and prayed about it, and at last I saw that it was God's will to heal as well as to save people.⁴⁶

Miracles of healing started happening from the first night and the meetings became the start of a "series of wonderful revivals."⁴⁷ In 1921 Bosworth held a successful campaign in Detroit, Mich., where P.C. Nelson was inspired to begin his own healing ministry. A year later, he met Florence Valentine, a post-graduate student at Nyack Bible School in New York, and they married in October 1922.⁴⁸

Perhaps one of the most significant moments, and indeed a major milestone, was undoubtedly his 1924 meeting in Ottawa, Canada. There he had the largest crowd ever to gather under one roof in that region. During the seven weeks in which the meeting was held, about 6,000 people sought healing and about 12,000 professed faith in Christ.⁴⁹ That same year, Bosworth compiled a few of his sermons and published them as *Christ the Healer*. In 1927, he launched *Exploits of Faith* magazine and promoted a revised edition of his biography. Before the decade was over, Bosworth was enjoying the growing success of the National Radio Revival broadcast.

⁴⁵ Bosworth, letter to his daughter, Vivien B. Schnepmueller, Nov. 20, 1919, Dallas, Texas; "Sister Bosworth with the Lord" and "Sister Bosworth's Funeral," *The Pentecostal Evangel*, Nov. 29, 1919, 10. Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, Springfield, Mo.; Perkins, 106-108.

⁴⁶ Bosworth, *Bosworth's Life Story*, 11; Perkins, 114-120.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Perkins, *Fred Francis Bosworth: His Life Story (The Joybringer)* 2nd Edition, (River Forest, Ill.: F.F. Bosworth, 1927), 189-190.

⁴⁹ Du Plessis, 10; Lindsay, *The Voice of Healing*, May 1948, 1.

His work as mentor and advisor to later evangelists

In 1947, Bosworth turned 70 and was feeling his ministry was over.⁵⁰ But a year later he met William Branham and began a new phase in his life. Branham had just burst onto the scene with a remarkable gift of healing. Thanks to the management of Gordon Lindsay, he would soon become known as the undisputed leader of the post-World War II revival.⁵¹ At the invitation of Branham and Lindsay, Bosworth joined the Branham Party as a mentor and advisor who would also teach and pray for the sick at the Branham meetings. Before long, Bosworth found himself mentoring T.L. Osborn and other young evangelists. He also was an encouragement to Oral Roberts.⁵²

During the latter part of 1950, Bosworth traveled to South Africa where he held meetings with Branham and Ern Baxter.⁵³ This experience would have a profound impact on Bosworth's ministry and his views on the ministry of divine healing. First, he discovered that people outside the United States had a hunger for God that was unlike anything he had ever witnessed. Second, he found that God would provide miraculous healings at the start of his meetings as a demonstration of His power in response to simple faith. Third, he learned that mass healings will frequently – and more easily -- occur in response to mass faith. Fourth, he discovered that casting out demons happens automatically, and without hours of prayer, in a mass audience possessing mass faith.⁵⁴

Bosworth was so moved by what he witnessed in South Africa that he devoted the rest of his life to ministry overseas. He often wept as he talked about the needs of the masses of people who had never heard the full gospel message.

⁵⁰ Bosworth, Robert V., 245; Sumrall, 44.

⁵¹ Harrell, 35, 36, 162; Don Stewart, *Only Believe* (Shippensburg, Pa.: Destiny Image, 1999), 35, 36, 42-45; Freda Lindsay, *My Diary Secrets* (Dallas, Texas: Christ For the Nations Inc., 1979), 87.

⁵² Gordon Lindsay, *God's 20th Century Barnabas* (Dallas, Texas: Christ For the Nations Inc., 1982), 150, 151; Lindsay, *A Man Sent From God*, 109, 110; Roberts, *Healing Waters*, 4.

⁵³ Stadskev, 117-126; Robert V. Bosworth, 245.

⁵⁴ F.F. Bosworth, "Mass Faith, Mass Healings," "Christian Confession," and "Redemptive Blessings," preached in July 1954 in Chicago, recordings, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, Springfield, Mo.

Though in his later 70s, he began to travel to other parts of Africa, Germany and Japan, among other places. He sometimes taught two to four times a day.

His death

In 1958, after five decades of ministry, Bosworth finished his last meeting in Japan. He returned to his home in Miami, Fla., and announced that God had shown him that he had finished his course and would soon be called home. Now 81 years of age, he retired to his bed. His son, R.V. Bosworth, wrote that his father had prayed to honor God by dying without sickness:

About three weeks after he took to his bed, we were around the bed talking, laughing, singing. Suddenly Dad looked up; he never saw us again. He saw what was invisible to us. He began to greet people and hug people – he was enraptured. Every once in a while he would break off and look around saying, “Oh, it is so beautiful.”⁵⁵

This he did for a number of hours, his son wrote, adding that he then smiled and placed his head back and slept. He suddenly stopped breathing and passed into the next life without struggle. This all happened on Thursday, Jan. 23, 1958. Three weeks later on Feb. 17, 1958, Bosworth’s brother, B.B. Bosworth, died in Fort Lauderdale, Fla.



⁵⁵ Bosworth, Robert V., 246, 247.

Lance Lambert - a brief introduction

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



Lance Lambert (1931-) is known among many as an international speaker and author. After finding out about his Jewish ancestry on his mother's side, Lambert's teachings received a definite emphasis on the role of Israel in God's plan for mankind. Many of Lambert's teaching tapes, books and pamphlets are dedicated to this particular topic. He visited Israel regularly from 1967 on and became an Israeli citizen thirteen years later.

However, Lambert should also be noted for his ecclesiological views, which place him in the tradition of Watchman Nee and T. Austin-Sparks. Despite this stream's impact on several influential neo-Pentecostal groups and individuals, it is hardly touched upon in the *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. In this work, Lambert himself has been totally ignored. However, Lambert does deserve scholarly attention. Hopefully this little article may serve as a catalyst for further studies of the man and the history of the Christian Fellowship in Halford House which he established on Halford Road, London in the early 1950s.

Lambert was converted to Christ as a 12 year old and soon felt called to missionary work.¹ After having served with the RAF from 1950-52 in Egypt, he returned to England. Lambert's plan was to study theology. The China Inland Mission had already accepted him as a missionary candidate to mainland China. After the

¹ "Bible Teaching Cassettes by Lance Lambert," pamphlet. (Kent: Anchor Recordings Ltd, n.d.).

communist take-over, however, the borders were immediately closed to European missionaries.²

Lambert's background was Baptist. After his return from Egypt, he soon showed up at his local church again. "When I got back to the church of which I was a member - a great evangelical center - I was strangely unhappy," he says.³

He finally concluded that his negative feelings towards his home church were somewhat related to the fact that he missed the sense of spiritual fellowship which he had enjoyed during his military service:

In Egypt we had come into an experience of the church without knowing it - in the way we met, the fellowship we had together, the way we worked together and lived together.⁴

The contrast to the local Baptist church in Richmond (London)⁵ became unbearable. Even a spontaneous, informal conversation with the church's members concerning one's devotional life and fellowship with God seemed unthinkable:

I mean to talk - for the pastor to talk in the pulpit about the Lord was right, to address the Lord in a prayer meeting was right, and to talk about the Lord when the pastor comes to tea is right. But to talk about the Lord - together - is extremely odd.⁶

Together with several of the young people in the church, Lambert was drawn to people from other church contexts that represented his own age group. These Christian gatherings provided a context for informal fellowship, Bible study, and

² Lance Lambert, "History of Halford House," tape 1 in a series of 2, Christian Fellowship in Richmond. Consider also Lance Lambert, *The Gospel of the Kingdom* (Richmond, Virginia: Christian Tape Ministry, 1999), 88: "When I was first saved, I believed that the Lord was calling me to China, and therefore, my studies were in that light. I was accepted by a certain mission and put on their books. I remember that in my studies at the university, I had to study about Mongolia and then Tibet and then Korea and then the Manchu people; and I became more and more burdened. I remember, one day, I went to my room and I said to the Lord, 'Lord, I wish I had ten lives because I would give one to Tibet and one to Mongolia and one to the Manchu people and one to Korea and one to this.' Then my health failed, and China went Communist; and I could not understand."

³ Lambert, *ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The church location in Richmond, London must not be confused with Richmond, Virginia in the U.S. which is the location of Christian Tape Ministries, the latter being the publisher of several of Lambert's books.

⁶ *Ibid.*

prayer. Several young people experienced Christian conversion through this. After a while it felt natural for Lambert to break with the local Baptist church, although he characterized many of the remaining members as “devoted and sincere.” The people themselves were not the main reason for the schism:

But the system itself would not permit the Lord Jesus to have the place God had given Him. Even when the pastor loved the Lord with all his heart, he was bound by this committee, by that committee, by this council or that council, this group or that group.⁷

Lambert’s departure was not motivated by theological differences. On the contrary, the immediate cause seemed functionally motivated:

When we went out, I can say before God, not one of us knew what to do. We had never made any plans - we had never even in our wildest moments thought of creating a church. And therefore, when the time came, we just did not know what to do. [...] We were as green as green could be.⁸

In November 1952, Lambert and the circle surrounding him chose to seek God for specific ‘guidance’. In accordance with their previous Baptist leanings, they soon reached a common consensus to appoint deacons and elders. Although these appointments were preceded by intensive prayer, two years later it was concluded that they had all erred:

What we felt now, was that [...] those who were elders, *were* elders. You didn't really have to appoint them, they emerged. It says in the Book of Proverbs that a man's gift shall make room for him. We began to understand that if a man *is* an elder, it becomes apparent that he is an elder and sooner or later everyone recognizes it. It's a natural thing. How could we get rid of what we'd got? That was our biggest problem?⁹

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* Even if Lambert in hindsight characterizes himself as ‘green’, he was still not quite without stimulus from more experienced Christian leaders. Already back in 1950, he had been introduced to T. Austin-Sparks book *The Battle of Life*, and the very next year he participated in a conference where Austin-Sparks was the main speaker. Lambert refers to Austin-Sparks in a letter to the author, dated July 27 1996: “I consider T. Austin-Sparks one of the genuine prophetic voices of his generation, almost one would say like a ‘voice in the wilderness.’ Today many of the truths he taught are common knowledge, although I fear, not truly understood. I had a deep relationship to him, even though he was by temperament a difficult man. He always said that the fellowship at Halford House, Richmond, Surrey, was the true fruit of his ministry and when he came to die, it was in Richmond that he died.”

⁹ *Ibid.*

After some time of ‘wilderness walking’, where the newly established youth church had to hold their meetings in rented locations, they accidentally stumbled across a 300 year old ramshackle house (eventually being named Halford House) located on Halford Road, London. The house had neither water supply nor electricity. Substantial repair work was needed. Nonetheless, they felt God’s leading. The church offered £ 450 and it was accepted. During the next couple of years, “God began to provide not only the things that were necessary to us, but He began to provide all kinds of furniture in the period and style of the house.”¹⁰

At first, the church was subject to severe criticism from other believers. How could the luxurious ornaments of the location be defended from a Christian view of the individual believer’s responsibility of stewardship? Lambert was also troubled, but finally reached the conclusion that Halford House was destined from God to be a *sign*.¹¹ Lambert was convinced that the dry fig tree in Mark 11 and also some of the New Testament miracles of healing served as signs. But what specifically was Halford House a symbolic expression *for*? Lambert finally concluded that the building was destined to express the *Church of God*.¹² Even the chronological sequence which the reparation of the house on Halford Road required seemed prophetically destined. Here Lambert saw an analogy to God’s progressive revelation to the ‘Body of Christ’:

He started with the foundation and the roof. Those two things went together. The light and the water came in together. Those four things - as if they were the fundamental essential things in the recovery of the church. And then He started on the actual furnishing of room after room so that it should become a home and a place for rest and a place where we could relax.¹³

The fact that Lambert interprets the restoration of the church building as a prophetic sign of the true restoration of the ‘Body of Christ’ – the latter being a metaphor for the Church of God – is also reflected in the following quotation:

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Lambert’s at random determination of modern ‘prophetic signs’ is in no way exclusively connected to the church building on Halford Road. At one time he even referred to the suicidal state of a specific charismatic minister as being a ‘prophetic sign’. (Johannes Facius, *God can do it without me* [Chichester: Sovereign World Limited, 1990], 73.)

¹² The basis for Lambert’s spontaneous ‘insight’ was probably his interpretation of the Old Testament books Ezra and Nehemiah. He saw both books as prophetic writings which, in a unique manner, pointed forward to the progressive restoration of the church of God after alleged Medieval decay.

¹³ Lance Lambert, “History of Halford House,” tape 2 in a series of 2.

God is not interested in merely an edifice. God is interested in a home. [...] But He wants to furnish it so it becomes [...] a place of fellowship... a place that's home, a place of rest, a place of intimate activity. [...] I sometimes have wondered whether in the end when this House [Halford House] is finished, the Lord will return.¹⁴

Several Norwegian people have visited Halford House and claim to have received personal edification through this contact.



¹⁴ *Ibid.*

My pilgrimage in mission

Walter J. Hollenweger, Ph.D., was Professor of Mission at the University of Birmingham. He currently resides in Switzerland.



I was born in 1927 in Antwerp, Belgium. My father was a steward on a British ocean liner and the British hired their crews in Belgium. However, when the great slump in 1929 broke out, foreigners lost their jobs first and my parents had to return to Switzerland, where my father was unemployed. This was a time of great misery in my family.

From Bank Clerk to Evangelist

I decided not to be as poor as my father. Instead I wanted to get comfortably rich. I began an apprenticeship at a private bank in Zürich, also working at the Zürich Stock Exchange. This was important because it allowed me to read the *Financial Times* and other economic and financial literature. Gradually I began to understand the mechanisms of international finance and trade.

As it was usual at the time, I was sent to the Sunday School at the Swiss Reformed Church. But there was utter chaos at this Sunday School with 300 children shouting and making noise so that I didn't understand a thing. I protested at home and recall saying to my mother: "If I have to go to Sunday School instead of playing football then I want at least to learn something." So my mother transferred me to a Pentecostal Sunday School where there was discipline. An elderly lady taught biblical stories and I enjoyed this very much. In due course I became youth leader in the Pentecostal Church and conductor of the Youth Choir.

Although I listened regularly to reports of missionaries on furlough, I never felt a call for Overseas Mission. God spoke to me in another way. He let me know that it was not my calling to work at the Stock Exchange in order to make rich people richer. On the contrary, he wanted me in his service as a Pentecostal pastor. This I did not appreciate at all, because I knew that Pentecostal pastors could not become rich – at least not at that time. So I wrestled with God for two years until I suddenly experienced what the New Testament and Pentecostals call 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit'. It was a kind of fiery experience similar to the one which Blaise Pascal describes in his famous memorial found after his death, sewn in his jacket. The details of this deep and shaking experience seem to be of interest mainly to the Pentecostal sector of Christendom. However, the result for me was that I gave up my resistance to the call to the ministry. Together with my future wife I went to the International Bible Training Institute in England in 1948/49. After my return to Switzerland I was offered a tremendous banking

career which I declined. Shortly after this I was ordained as a pastor of the Swiss Pentecostal Mission.

We experienced a considerable revival in Zürich. The congregation doubled in a short time and many people were healed. I asked those who were healed to give their testimonies. The Zürich police got knowledge of this and regularly sent detectives to our meetings. I suggested, to those who had testimonies to share, that they give their address and telephone number to the police, who could then follow up on the details and the truth of their testimony. The police actually did this several times and found the testimonies to be true.

I invited new converts to Bible courses in private homes so that they got to know the older members of the congregation. Most of these new participants had no knowledge of the Bible. Not having a Bible, they had to buy one. From a practical pastoral perspective, I found that I had to start from the very beginning and explain to them what the big numbers (the chapters) and the small numbers (the verses) meant. But eventually they spoke unashamedly and confidently about their newly acquired Bible knowledge in the office or the factory, provoking the question: “Where did you learn all this?” “In the Bible course.” Their colleagues then asked whether they could also come to the Bible course.

In spite of this considerable success I was not convinced of my own Biblical competence, in particular since I had no mastery of the Biblical languages. In using the official translation of the Reformed Church of Zürich (the so-called Zürich translation which also influenced the King James translators), I was struck by the critical notes employed by this Bible. For instance there was a confusing note on Matthew 1:16 stating that according to some Syriac manuscripts Jesus was the son of Joseph, or, that the story of the adulterous woman in John 8 and the long ending of the Gospel of Mark were absent in the oldest manuscripts. At that time I had no access to scholarly commentaries which might shed light on such textual matters. Also my teachers from England and my colleagues in the pastorate didn't have a clue how to deal with such information.

I therefore asked a Presbyterian pastor with a university education what he thought about these notes. He answered: “Don't believe this. These notes have been written by unbelieving professors of theology.” That this could be a conspiracy or a deception was unsettling. I had to ask myself: “Even if these notes were written by unbelieving professors, does this disqualify them? The real question is, is it true or isn't it?” So I decided to find out for myself.

I prayed and fasted several weeks together with my wife. We came to the conclusion that I should pass the Swiss Matriculation Examination with Greek, Latin, French, German, Mathematics and many other topics, that I then should study theology at the University of Zürich and that my wife was to take up her former profession as private secretary to an industrialist. My former teacher,

Donald Gee, and an American friend, David J. DuPlessis,¹ for whom I had interpreted many times, encouraged me in this. However, both warned me, saying in effect: “Don’t go to America to a so-called Christian University. Instead, take up your studies in your own country. Otherwise you will never be taken seriously.” Taking their advice, I continued as a part-time Pentecostal pastor. On Sundays I held meetings, in the evenings I taught Bible courses, and during the day I studied at the University.

Pastor and Missionary Executive

As a pastor of the Swiss Pentecostal Mission (1950-58) I was *ex-officio* a member of its mission committee. This committee was responsible for sending and overseeing missionaries. Already then I realized that in most cases the indigenous evangelists, who worked under the missionaries, had a markedly better education. At any rate they were better equipped for missionary and educational work than the Swiss missionaries who in general had only an elementary education.

I remember one particularly telling story of a well-meaning but uninformed mission policy. In Switzerland the majority of people do not go to High School. Instead they learn a trade (baker, printer, car-mechanic, electrician, computer specialist, mason, carpenter, bank clerk, etcetera). During their apprenticeship they go two days per week to school where they not only learn the theoretical basis of their trade, but also German, French or English languages and other topics. This system has been a blessing for Switzerland and is the backbone of its quality industry.

So the Pentecostal mission committee thought: “What is good for Switzerland is also good for Lesotho.” They collected money in order to build a school for apprentices in Lesotho (formerly Basutoland). They contracted with Swissair and flew the whole infrastructure down to Africa. When they arrived, the African Christians were not amused, expressing their sentiments along the lines of: “You never asked us; and anyhow, who are the students and who are the teachers at this school? How will the running costs be met? Since these difficult questions remain unanswered, we suggest that you fly all of this back to where it came from.” The Swiss committee was disappointed (and angry). “Here, we see

¹ Walter Hollenweger, “Two Extraordinary Pentecostal Ecumenists. The Letters of Donald Gee and David J. Du Plessis.” *Ecumenical Review* 52/3, July 2000, 391-402; for Gee’s ecumenical letter of 19 June 1960, cf. Lois Gott, “Donald Gee: The Apostle of Balance,” in *Essays on Apostolic Themes: Studies in Honor of Howard M. Ervin* (ed. P. Elbert; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1985), 173-83 (178).

again,” they thought, “how unthoughtful and ungrateful these Africans are.” It did not dawn on them that in the Kingdom of God, money is not enough. We also need understanding and patience.

As a pastor I did not follow the Pentecostal party line which meant telling young female converts that a Christian woman had to have long hair (1 Cor 11:6), that all jewelry, even wooden necklaces were displeasing before the Lord.² I also questioned the widespread conviction that everything in the Bible was written *for us*. If it was written for us, why was it not written in German? And why was it addressed to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, to Theophilus, to Timothy or to the seven churches in Asia Minor? It seemed to me that those who want to apply the Word of God seriously have to answer these questions.

Furthermore, I questioned some rather outrageous interpretations, for instance that the Jews are the only legitimate heirs to Palestine. According to the Biblical legend not only Jews but also Arabs (the descendants of Ishmael) are heirs to Palestine. The promise of the ‘Holy Land’ was addressed to Abraham, father of Jews *and* Arabs. This created tensions. Sometimes I told my congregation what I had learned at the University, although I always kept a critical distance on many of the theories to which I was exposed.

However, my University professors liked my critical interventions and encouraged me to criticize their own teaching. This was totally new to me. The new converts in the Pentecostal church liked my new approach to the Bible; the older members did not. On the contrary, they prayed publicly that I should fail the examinations, which were now at hand, something that the Lord, in his wisdom, prevented.

These painful experiences, and other open doors everywhere, suggested to me that my spiritual home perhaps no longer did lie within the small Swiss Pentecostal Mission. But this was a shock to me. As usual in such situations there were many harsh words on both sides. It was simply inconceivable for my Pentecostal friends that somebody who had tasted “the highest pinnacle of Christian life” (their self-understanding) would be prepared to drink from the “troubled fountains of ‘unbelieving’ and ‘liberal’ theologians.” In fact, they had not read a single line of these theologians whom they condemned. Therefore, all kinds of confabulations were used in order to ‘explain’ this anomaly.

² This story is told in detail in my “The Challenge of Reconciliation.” *Journal of European Pentecostal Theological Association* 19 (1999), 5-16.

Pioneer researcher on Pentecostalism

Pentecostals in Switzerland were, at that time, members of the Swiss Reformed Church as a matter of course. So there was no problem for me to prepare for the ministry in that Church. Accordingly, in 1961 I was ordained *Verbi Divini Minister*, a Swiss Reformed minister of the divine Word. At the same time I was also appointed Research Assistant at the University of Zürich. My later doctoral father, Fritz Blanke, a pioneer in Anabaptist history, told me: “If you do not write a dissertation on Pentecostalism, I shall probably never get a doctoral researcher qualified to pursue this work.” My reply was that this would not be easy, since with English, German and French we get only the opinions of the American, British, French, German and Swiss missionaries and this is not sufficiently informative. Perhaps even more interesting would be convictions from the Third World, say, for example, those of Russian and Romanian Pentecostals, where most of documentation is neither in German nor in English. “No problem,” said professor Blanke, “most of these other languages are taught at our university.” And so I learned each semester two languages (of course not fluently, but sufficiently in order to read Pentecostal literature) – all in all about 20 languages.

A whole new world opened up before me. What I discovered was not the Pentecostalism I knew from Switzerland, also not the Pentecostalism I was acquainted with at the British Bible school. I discovered a bewildering pluralistic worldwide ecumenical movement. On almost all points of doctrine and ethics there existed variations which differed from what I had learned.

In particular it became obvious to the serious researcher that the type of Pentecostalism which is presented to the Western public through the media domination of American Pentecostalism is – within the worldwide Pentecostal community – a very small minority, comparable to the minority of the Vatican within Roman Catholicism. Further, this is not the only parallel between Roman Catholicism and Pentecostalism.³

Unfortunately however, this fact is something which Philip Jenkins has not understood.⁴ He uses the category of ‘conservative’ (versus ‘liberal’) for describing this worldwide revival. But this revival cannot be described in such simplistic

³ For further details, cf. my *Pentecostalism. Origin and Development Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 143-180.

⁴ Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). The example from Burkina Faso is taken from my *Pentecostalism*, 267.

political terms, terms adopted wholesale in America by Evangelical theocrats and a few white Pentecostals to justify their misleading and theocratic versions of 'moral values' and crusaderism which have nothing to do with the Gospel, but instead with political power. Perhaps this has also misled Jenkins in his global observations.

On the contrary, however, this Third World Pentecostalism has its own dignity. Are Latin American women 'conservative' because Western feminism does not make sense to them? Are they 'conservative' because they want husbands who give up drinking and wasting money in the pubs, because they want husbands who do not sleep around, give up their macho-pestering and become reliable husbands and fathers? Are the Assemblies of God in Burkina Faso or the Celestial Church in Nigeria 'conservative' because they baptize Moslem converts together with their four wives?⁵ Are those Pentecostals 'conservative' who listen in their dreams to their ancestors? They tell them that many children guarantees a happy old age. Therefore they find sterile homosexuality repulsive. This has nothing whatever to do with an interpretation of Paul.

Jenkins takes David Barrett's statistics in his *World Christian Encyclopedia* and fills them with a Pentecostalism à la John Ashcroft. If he had read the relevant literature (not only in English) and visited the churches on the field he would have come to another conclusion. He would have learned that the world does not tick everywhere according to American watches. Of course these Pentecostals use evangelical language. They don't know any other. But that does not hinder some of them to be ministers in a left-wing government in Brazil (like Bendita da Silva, minister in Lula's cabinet) or to align with certain well-taken criticisms of Western churches and missions, found in the writings of Karl Marx.⁶

This does of course not make Marxists out of such Pentecostals. But it allowed the majority of South African Pentecostals to vote for the African National Congress in spite of allegations from Western missionaries that the ANC was communist-infiltrated. It is questionable anyway whether a rationalistic fundamentalism of the Western type makes sense in an illiterate or semi-literate culture. Sometimes I wonder whether it makes sense in a Western TV-society.

⁵ In the past missionaries had requested that Moslem converts divorce three of their four wives which meant either starvation or prostitution for the divorced women, cf. *Pentecostalism*, 267.

⁶ Details can be found in *Pentecostalism*, 214-16.

Third World Pentecostals are trusting the Bible in everything, including in financial matters, without becoming a copy of Western rationalism. I find it revolting that after having exploited the Third World economically, some politicians now misuse its spiritual revival in order to justify a Western theological party line.

My dissertation research was published in a ten-volume *Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung*.⁷ It contains all Pentecostal denominations worldwide, known to me at the time, together with their declarations of faith in the original languages and in German translation plus all the other necessary information and analysis. At this time one of the most outspoken critics of German Pentecostalism (once himself involved in the Pentecostal revival) and a staunch defender of the ill-fated 'Berlin Declaration' (in which Pentecostalism in 1909 was essentially declared to be demon-inspired) asked me to forswear in public all Pentecostal connections. "How can I?," I asked him, adding that "In spite of all its shortcomings, I became a Christian through Pentecostalism. One does not forswear one's mother." I have remained in contact with Pentecostalism all my life. In Birmingham I founded together with others an institute at the University in order to train black Pentecostal working pastors⁸ and trained many Pentecostal educators through my doctoral programmes. Occasionally I taught in their Bible schools and preached in their churches. I even received the 'Life Time Achievement Award' from the Society of Pentecostal Studies in recognition of my scholarly contribution.⁹

In 2003 I gave my international library on Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like churches and my vast archive to the Free University of Amsterdam. They founded a Hollenweger Center for the interdisciplinary, intercultural and ecumenical study of Pentecostal and charismatic movements. The Free University now offers an international post-graduate programme and an online service on Pentecostalism.

When in 1965 I was called to the WCC (1965-71), I realized that mission in the mainline churches was often not, in the first instance, real evangelistic work. This fact occasioned the protest of Peter Beyerhaus (Tübingen) and Donald McGavran (Pasadena) and others. They criticized the Mission Division of the WCC because they had forgotten the urgent command of Christ – so they said –

⁷ *Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung*, 10 vols., 1965-67, available from Yale Divinity School, New Haven, CT.

⁸ "Interaction Between Black and White" in *Pentecostalism*, 106-116.

⁹ 1999 at Evangel University, Springfield, MO.

to proclaim the Gospel to all nations and therefore were responsible for the eternal damnation of millions. I realized that most churches – including many Evangelical churches – no longer believed that mission was, in the first instance, a soul-saving business. They still used the ideology of ‘saving souls’ in their propaganda, but most of their activity was educational and general development work.

As a WCC executive I assisted in many U.S. and European meetings of mission societies. In one of these meetings in the U.S. the respective representatives presented themselves by saying: “I represent the XY mission. We have a programme of one (or ten or thirty) millions.” Then they described their educational and development programmes. I asked them: “What do you expect your programme to achieve in the Third World?” The answer was significant for its honesty: “We know that our institutions are ‘White Elephants.’ We do not expect them to alter the situation in Brazil or South Africa or India or elsewhere. But, since the people give us these important amounts, what else should we do with them?”

Professor of Mission at a Secular University

When I was appointed the first and only professor of mission at a British University (1971-89), I was even more confronted with the inherent discrepancies in Western Mission. I was often asked where I had been a missionary. The questioners expected me to speak about India or China or Africa. But I answered truthfully: “In the past in Switzerland. And now in Birmingham, Britain.”

Indeed Europe – and perhaps also the U.S. – is in need of a modern type of missionary. More about that later. First let me report on my experiences with future missionaries from Britain. Being appointed at the Selly Oak Colleges and the University of Birmingham simultaneously, one of my tasks was to lecture to future missionaries to overseas countries. Most of them were well-meaning young people with a rather weak educational background – especially in view of their language capacities – but with a very high conviction of being ‘called’ for missionary work. Many of them wanted to teach Christian theology overseas but they did not know much about the diversity of Christian theology, not to speak of the history of Christian theology. They believed with all their heart that their conversion experience and their British understanding (or sometimes misunderstanding) of the New Testament was a sufficient basis for missionary work.

They ignored the varieties of Christian theologies in the New Testament, in the course of history, and in the present ecumenical movement. That is why they took their own convictions for ‘the truth’ – a catastrophic misunderstanding when confronted with the situation overseas.

Together with these future missionaries I had to teach an increasing number of doctoral students from all over the World.¹⁰ Practically all of these Third World students were better educated than most of the missionary candidates. The problem with these Third World students was, however, that they were always in financial difficulties. One of them told me one day: "I have spent my last ten pounds. Now I must go back to South Africa." I told all the students and future missionaries and all my friends to pray for that black doctoral student. The result was rather meager. I got some money, but not enough. When the time came for him to pay his university fee I went to the registrar's office and said: "Please, do not send this black doctoral student away from the university. Give us another two weeks. We are praying for him so that he gets the necessary money."

Now, Birmingham University is not a Christian Bible school. It is a secular university, staffed mostly with agnostics. That was even true for some teachers in theology. Yet, the registrar smiled and said: "Of course, we grant you the two weeks." In the mean time I phoned the Methodist Missionary office in London and told them about the plight of the black student, who was a Methodist pastor. The answer was an absolute and firm *no*. I insisted: "Wouldn't it be more profitable to train South African blacks to the highest possible level than to send ill-prepared well-meaning British young people to South Africa?" But I should not have said this as it engendered an unsympathetic response: "Our Methodist pastors can also not afford to earn a doctoral degree at the university." I didn't give up: "This student is of exceptional quality. He will some time become an important professor at one of the South African universities or perhaps a cabinet minister in the post-apartheid South Africa. It is in your interest to give him the best possible education." It was in vain. The Methodist Missionary Board probably did not believe in a post-apartheid South Africa. In any case they doubted that a Zulu could become a university professor. How wrong they were.¹¹

I feared that I had to give up. But then God intervened. I got a letter from a medical doctor who was at the Methodist Board Meeting where my request was discussed and turned down. The medical doctor wrote that he was ashamed of his church. Then he wrote out a cheque for the amount which was needed. I

¹⁰ An incomplete list of my post-graduate students can be found in Jan A. B. Jongeneel *et al* (eds.), *Pentecost, Mission and Ecumenism. Essays in Intercultural Theology* (Frankfurt/New York: Peter Lang, 1992).

¹¹ Bongani Mazibuko, *Education in Mission – Mission in Education* (Frankfurt/New York: Peter Lang, 1987). Also cf. Roswith Gerloff (ed.), *Mission Is Crossing Frontiers: Essays in Honour of the late Bongani Mazibuko* (Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Cluster Publications, 2003).

went to the registrar of the university, paid the money and said: “Mr. Bongani Mazibuko stays at the university. Here is the money.” Looking at the astonished faces, I added: “I told you we were going to pray for Mazibuko.” Indeed, Bongani Mazibuko finished his dissertation and became dean of the Department of Missiology at the University of Durham, South Africa.

That model of mission became the leading missionary model for me. Dozens of well-trained theologians teach now in their native countries. Sometimes they or their children visit me in Krattigen, Switzerland, where I have retired.

I was and still am astonished that Third World Christians are willing and eager to learn something about Christianity and the Bible from a white European. I asked many of them: “Why do you come to me to study theology?” All of them had only one answer: “It is because of that man Jesus of Nazareth.” This Jesus, this historical man, has a tremendous attraction for Christians and non-Christians. Not our christologies, not our theories about him, but this Jesus ‘according to the flesh’ (against St. Paul, 2 Cor 5:16). All these Christians did not want to be Christians on their own. They wanted to be part of the ecumenical family, the ecumenical tradition of this Jesus

A New Understanding of Mission

If mission is about *church growth* (which I believe it is), then the indigenous evangelists, pastors and theologians can do the job better and cheaper than any of us Westerners – an insight which slowly but surely is dawning on some mission societies. But if that were true, what then is the function of mission societies? If we look at the statistics of David Barrett and others the situation is clear. In many places of the world the departure of missionaries has given the indigenous churches an important evangelistic impetus. In other parts of the world, the so-called independent churches have outnumbered or are going to outnumber the Western classical missionary churches.

It is said that mission is about *theological education*, since many of these independent Third World churches are theologically rough and underdeveloped. Therefore we have to send them theological teachers. Well, how do we know that *our* theological scholarship is better than theirs? This is very difficult to establish since Western theology is not of one piece. Certainly Third World churches could learn something from Western theology if we send them our best theological teachers, i.e., people who have done their home work and know that

Western Christianity is a perfect example of a syncretistic Christianity,¹² namely a syncretism between Christianity and capitalism, a syncretism between advertising and the Gospel. So why should *our* brand of syncretism be better than the one of an Indian Guru church or of the South African Zionists? If we understand that our task is to teach *and* to learn, that theological education is a mutual learning process, that therefore our missionaries and our theological teachers learn as much from their students as they from them, then this emphasis on theological education would be a very promising missionary approach. For my part, I have learned more from my students than from anybody else; especially I have learned to keep quiet on issues where I am not competent.

One important aspect of that learning process would be to integrate into our ministry in missions a therapeutic aspect. Following the New Testament, it has always astonished me how important the human body was for Jesus. We misuse such healing texts as sermon texts instead of taking them as examples for our liturgy. Perhaps sometime we begin to take serious the research of the World Health Organization, namely its appeal not to reject Korean, African or Latin American therapeutical traditions, but combining them with our own analytical medical tradition.¹³ Everybody knows that our Western health service is in a terrible academic and financial plight. *Talking* about partnership with overseas churches is not enough. Partnership means that some of the Christian and non-Christian therapists of the Third World (formerly called 'witch doctors') may help us. That is the impression I get when talking with medical Western researchers and with the administrators of the WHO, with some doctors in our hospitals and with people from the medical commission of the WCC. Mission societies and former societies could play an important role in the overcoming of an ultra-rigid Western medical and pharmaceutical colonialism.

Mission is sometimes understood as a form of *development aid*, that is, that we must help the starving people in Bangladesh or Nigeria. I consider this to be a misunderstanding. The problem is not, in the first instance, to be tackled in Bangladesh or India or Nigeria, but at the places where decisions on life and death for the majority of human beings are taken, namely Frankfurt, Zürich, London, and New York. Aid is only the second best, although in some places it might be necessary. Africa is littered with tractors that are slowly rusting away.

¹² "Plea For a Theologically Responsible Syncretism" in *Pentecostalism*, 132-40.

¹³ Kofi Appiak-Kubi, *Man Cures, God Heals, Religion and Medical Practices Among the Akans of Ghana* (Totoway, N.J.: Allanheld, Osmond Publications, 1981). See more on this in *Pentecostalism*. 237-245.

What is necessary, however, is the abolition of trade-obstacles, in particular in the agricultural sector. We speak proudly about globalization when it is to our advantage. But when the Third World countries produce cheaper and better steel, cheaper and better food, cheaper and better cars, then we close our frontiers or subsidize our products massively. This system is evil, even if those that manage it are 'good Christians.'

What shall we do? Let us return to the Bible and see what Christ did. He invited himself to Zachaeus, the evil exploiter and capitalist. We do not know what he told him but we know the result of the encounter. The chief executive officer of the Roman administration gave away half of his fortune. Where he wronged somebody, he made restitution fourfold.

I am pleading for a *Zachaeus* mission. I am looking for people who evangelize the Zachaeusses of our time. As is well-known in Missiology, the best missionaries to Bantus are the Bantus, to the Dalit are the Dalit. Therefore the best missionaries to those people who administrate our trade system are the modern Zachaeusses. A Zachaeus missionary is best coming from the world of the bankers, the leading managers and CEOs. If these people realize the deadly consequences of their trade and are saved by the grace of God, they are the best-placed missionaries to this mission field. It is said that the 200 richest people of the world possess as much as two billion poorest ones. Of these 200 rich people, most are Christians and many are born again committed Christians. If only 50 of these 200 rich people are saved from their present misunderstandings, our trade system will be different tomorrow. Furthermore, many of these rich are afraid. They are bored and aimless. That is why they go to a Buddhist monastery in the Bernese Oberland to learn to be silent for a week. They say they need these 'spiritual exercises' in order to do their deadly work afterwards with more power. What a charade! Wouldn't a proper Zachaeus mission be an interesting mission programme for one of our mission societies?

How did I discover this Zachaeus mission? Of course, by studying the New Testament. But this was not enough. When I was lecturing at Fuller Theological Seminary in the late nineties of the last century, I met a man who was chief broker of the stock exchange of Toronto. Since I had started my professional career at the stock exchange, I was interested to hear from this man, why he was studying theology. He told me that he was earning a fabulous income. On Saturdays he was playing American football with his colleagues. Afterwards they were drinking almost until they became unconscious. Sunday was used for sobering up and on Monday he went back to work. When his marriage broke up, he realized that this kind of life was aimless and worthless. He met a Christian who showed him an alternative life style. Now, the question was what should he do with his life? He decided to study theology and become a pastor.

Although this was not a bad thing in itself, I thought to myself upon the potential waste of talents and missionary opportunities. This man knew the problems, the sufferings and the in-and-outs of the mission field of finances. If he could win a number of financial players to become committed Christians (just as the financier Zachaeus), he would not only make many a soul happy, he would also solve many problems of our missionary and development agencies. For this type of mission, the mission fields are not the starving thousands of Bangladesh or Nigeria, but the global players of Zürich, New York, London and Paris. The mission fields are the places where alliances are forged between the world of finance and corrupt local elites. If only a fourth of the 200 richest people get really converted and realize that they cannot serve God *and* Mammon, we would experience miracles.

Finally, if mission has to do with our *ecumenical calling*, we can begin tomorrow before our doorsteps. The Lord has sent us hundreds of missionaries *from* the Third World. They are the direct or indirect product of our mission. Now, they come back to us in the form of immigrants and refugees. They belong into our synods, universities and mission societies. They help us in understanding our ecumenical calling. They might also vitalize our worn-out Christianity. For this to happen, however, we have to seek contact with this new brand of Christianity. This process is, I believe, particularly important for Europe.¹⁴

Back to the Roots: Evangelist Through Theological Plays

In 1989 I returned to Switzerland. I was commissioned to write the Jubilee Play for the 700th Anniversary of Switzerland. Already in Birmingham I had begun to write plays for my students because many of the black students went asleep during my lectures.¹⁵ This was understandable because they had worked the whole day as bus drivers or railway men and women. They came to the university in evenings and at weekends. I told them: "If you sleep during my lectures you will not pass your examination." – "Well," they answered, "in the way you teach us we cannot understand you." – "How must I teach you so that you can understand?" asked I. "Only what we have sung, danced and played, we have understood," was their answer. Together with the drama/music/and dance department I

¹⁴ A complete issue of the *International Review of Mission* (89/354, July 2000) was dedicated to this topic.

¹⁵ Walter Hollenweger, "Theology and the Future of the Church" in *Companion Encyclopedia of Theology* (ed. Peter Byrne and Leslie Houlden; London/New York: Routledge, 1995), 1017-1035.

began to experiment with plays, music and dance *for theological university education*.

It produced astonishing results. It was noticed at the University that they wrote better examinations. The white students also wanted to become part of these innovative educational programmes. I continued to explore this line. For example, I wrote a *Bonhoeffer-Requiem*,¹⁶ whose première took place in the Deutschlandhalle in Berlin with 10,000 spectators – at the very place where Goebbels and Hitler had held their inflammatory meetings.

Whether my music and my plays have any artistic values is for others to decide. My ambition is to involve people in a process of theological and missionary thinking who have given up on the church. Instead of inviting them to an evangelistic meeting I involve non-Christians in a theological play. Instead of inviting them to listen to an evangelist or pastor I invite them to re-live the life of Pilate or Peter or Dietrich Bonhoeffer or his fiancée Maria von Wedemeyer. Through this active evangelism the unchurched will evangelize themselves on the basis of biblical and theological texts. They will never forget having played Pilate, Maria von Wedemeyer or even Jesus. Some of them become Christians.

During the rehearsals of the *Bonhoeffer Requiem* at the Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, a fascist youth group from Anaheim tried to bomb a black church. They presented their swastika on television and said unashamedly and uncensored by the moderator: “We shall drive all Negroes, Jews, Hispanics, Asians and their friends back into the sea. We warn you. You better go before we force you. We no longer accept the down-breeding and browning of America.” Consequently, in my production, the soldiers who arrested the Jews and drove them into the concentration camps wore American helmets.

I am convinced that at least in Europe the mission of the past, where a pastor or an evangelist continually told his audience that they were sinners and that they needed conversion, is over. They know that they are sinners. They know this only too well. What they do not know, however, is the power of prayer, the beauty of life not dominated by money and prestige. A public speech by a professional speaker does not have enough conviction to show the attraction of Christian service. People must be *immersed* into a biblical story, which lets them *experience* in their bones the biblical promise. All the better if some of the other players are committed Christians. So they will learn from them that it is worth-

¹⁶ Available in English and German from Verlag Metanoia, CH 8963 Kindhausen, P.O. Box 15, Switzerland. On the relationship between drama and liturgy with respect to theology, see my *Das Kirchenjahr inszenieren* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002).

while to give up all in order to follow the man from Galilee. A well-paid evangelist or pastor, who presents his prepared rhetoric wherever he finds an audience, has a credibility problem. "That's his job," people will say. In other words, only the life-testimony of ordinary Christians can make turn our ever-proclaiming churches into convincing missionary congregations.



Förnyelseväckelsens uppgång och fall

Joel Halldorf, fil.kand, är frilansskribent och lärare i kyrkohistoria vid lärjungaskola Biosfär.



Under 1951 brann åter väckelsens eld inom den svenska pingströrelsen. 40-talet hade varit ett decennium av intriger och maktkamp – vilka kulminerade med Lidmanstriden 1948 – men nu tycktes ökenvandringen vara till ända. En fiskarpojke från Rörö, den 23-årige Algot Niklasson, framstod som Guds särskilda redskap för denna väckelse som skakade kyrkor och kapell i hela landet. Men när man inom pingströrelsen några år senare gav ut det omfattande historieverket *Svenska pingstväckelsen 50 år* nämndes varken förnyelseväckelsen eller namnet Algot Niklasson. Förnyelseväckelsen hade blivit något man helst inte talade om. Här följer berättelsen om en väckelserörelsens uppgång och fall.

Bakgrund: Lidmanstrid och Freemanbesök

Lewi Pethrus' berömda Amerikaresa 1941 orsakades enligt egen utsago av de tilltagande spänningar som fanns mellan honom och hans pastorskollega i Filadelfia Stockholm, Sven Lidman. Ledningen var delad i två falanger, och Pethrus var osäker om den sida han företrädde verkligen var den starkaste. Han valde därför att fly istället för att illa fäkta. Men väl i Amerika ändrade han sig och återvände, fylld av kämparglöd och initiativkraft.

Enligt Sven Lidman var det en "bestört äldste- och diakonkår" som mottog beskedet om LP:s återvändande.¹ Till de besviknas skara hörde pastor Elis Lindskog. Lindskog hade 1937 blivit föreståndare för Östermalms Fria Församling (ÖFF) i Stockholm. I slutet av 1940 hade församlingen, efter påtryckningar från bl.a. Pethrus, gått samman med Filadelfia. Uppgåendet gick allt annat än friktionsfritt, och med LP tillbaka ökade spänningarna ytterligare. Vid ett äldstemöte 1944 lät Lindskog meddela att han inte kunde samarbeta med Pethrus och därför ämnade återbilda sin församling. Han vände sig till äldstekåren och frågade hur många som ville följa honom, varpå ett tjugotal bröder reste sig. Bland dem Sven Lidman. Pethrus vände sig då till Lidman och vädjade om försoning. Lidman gick med på att stanna på villkor att ÖFF fick tillbaka sin gamla lokal, det attraktiva Fenixpalatset.² Så skedde, och dagen efter återbildades för-

¹ Lidman, *Resan till domen*, s. 96.

² Ahnlund, *Ett sånt liv*, s. 413.

samlingen; drygt 200 medlemmar begärde utträde ur Filadelfia och gick med i Östermalmsförsamlingen.

Efter återbildandet sattes ÖFF i karantän. Man frystes ut ur pingstgemenskapen, och en pingstpastor som hade kontakt med församlingen riskerade att gå samma öde till mötes. När Lidman efter konflikten med Pethrus 1948 uteslöts ur Filadelfia mottogs han istället i ÖFF, vilket försämrade relationerna församlingarna emellan än mer.

Det var en sargad pingströrelse som tog klivet in i 50-talet. Men från Amerika blåste nu friska vindar. Framgångsrika helandeevangelister reste runt i landet och samlade enorma folkskaror. Pethrus såg behovet av att få del av denna förnyelse, och i januari 1950 kom den karismatiske predikanten William Freeman till Sverige för några veckors kampanjande.

Upptakten: Karlskoga, augusti 1950

I augusti 1950 rubricerade *Aftonbladet* en artikel "Fiskarpojke slår ut Freeman – Rullstol till salu efter pingstmöten på Hönö." Bakgrunden var en tältmöteskampanj på Hönö där en man som utan resultat sökt helande på ett Freeman-möte nu blev helbrädda. Huvudtalare på Hönö-kampanjen var den då 22-årige Algot Niklasson, bördig från grannön Rörö i Göteborgs skärgård.

Med under kampanjen var också Karlskogapastorn Ragnar Ljungquist. Ljungquist hade åkt ut i skärgården på semester, men lockades till mötena och upplevde där "mäktiga möten, där man bad för långtande och sjuka."³ Han inbjöd Niklasson att komma för en mötesserie i Karlskoga i slutet av augusti.

Niklasson anlände till Karlskoga den 25 augusti, och snart upplevde församlingen att väckelsen hade kommit: "Vi började gråta, då Herren kom nära. Vad vi grät i dessa möten! [...] Dessa tårebad blev ett av tecknen på förkrosselse."⁴ Karlskogakampanjen framstår som punkten för förnyelseväckelsens konstitution. Här förenades Ljungquist och Niklasson, och utifrån det bagage dessa bar med sig och de erfarenheter kampanjen innebar formades förnyelseväckelsens spiritualitet och teologiska profil.

Niklasson hade under våren 1950 varit i Helsingfors som evangelist. Här närvarade han vid den amerikanske helandeevangelisten William Branham's mötesserie. Exakt i vilken grad Niklasson tog intryck av de amerikanska förkunnarna är

³ Ljungquist, *Väckelse – mitt liv*, s. 66.

⁴ Ljungquist, *ibid.*, s. 68.

svårt att avgöra. Klart är dock att också Niklassons möteskampanjer hade betydande inslag av karismatiska manifestationer (bl.a. profetia och helande), ofta enligt de mönster som amerikanerna representerade. Han delade också en stark förväntan på Jesu snara återkomst med de amerikanska väckelseevangelisterna. Men trots dessa likheter så fanns det avgörande skillnader mellan förnyelseväckelsen och samtida amerikanska väckelser. Den kanske främsta var det starka förkrosselsetemat som präglade förnyelseväckelsen; den kom också att gå under namnet "Tårarnas väckelse". Niklasson talade ofta om helöverlåtelse och behovet att den kristne dog bort ifrån sig själv. I relation till detta står det särdrag som mer än något annat karakteriserade väckelsen: den offentliga syndabekännelsen.

Upplevelsen av mötet med en helig Gud tycks för många ha inneburit att deras egen syndfullhet blev påtaglig. Trots att man var 'frälst' upplevde man syndanöd. Vägen ut ur denna förtvivlan blev den offentliga syndabekännelsen, där tillkortakommanden och överträdelser lyftes upp i ljuset. Denna bekännelse medförde ofta en känsla av befrielse, från självanklagelser men också från människofruktan – den som själv har avslöjat allt kan uppleva ett oberoende gentemot andras omdömen. Genom den förödmjukelse den innebar beskrevs den också som en korsfästelse av jaget, alltså relaterat till döden från självet. Den offentliga syndabekännelsen var den konstituerande och gemenskapsskapande erfarenheten för dem som "kom in i väckelsen", som man sade.

Den 13 september förde Karlskogaförsamlingen in en annons i tidningen *Dagen* där det med stora bokstäver stod "VÄCKELSEN, KARLSKOGA". Annonsen visar att man inte bara såg det som skedde som en "bra konferens", utan som ett extraordinärt genombrott. Men redaktionen på *Dagen* verkar inte ha delat denna syn, för under hela september kom inte en enda rapport från Karlskoga. Anmärkningsvärt, då tidningen annars mer än gärna fyllde sina spalter med optimistiska rapporter från olika pingstförsamlingar. Under större delen av hösten kännetecknades *Dagens* rapportering av en viss avvaktan inför förnyelseväckelsen. Väckelsens genombrott i Jönköping, en betydande församling inom pingströrelsen, uppmärksammades i några notiser. Örebro, som bl.a. genom förlaget Evangeliipress och tidningen *Hemmets Vän* (båda knutna till Florentius Hällzon) kännetecknades av en moderat opposition mot Stockholms och LP:s dominans inom pingströrelsen, gav som jämförelse väckelsen och dess företrädare betydligt större uppmärksamhet och utrymme.

Genombrottet: Predikantveckan, december 1950

Olof Djurfeldt (f 1931; under 1974-96 chefredaktör för *Dagen*) menar att det under hösten 1950 fanns en undran över hur Pethrus skulle ställa sig till förnyelseväckelsen. Skulle han öppna dörren, eller skulle han avvisa den?

Vid predikantveckan i december hoppades man få svaret. Men den som läste sin *Dagen* uppmärksamt kunde redan veckan innan se vartåt det lutade. Från den 28 november och fram till predikantveckans start tisdagen den 5 december syntes dagligen rapporter om väckelsens utbrott runt om i landet. Den 1 december publicerades dessutom en längre intervju med Algot Niklasson under rubriken "Tårarnas väckelse ska skaka Norden." Inför den församlade predikantkåren gav Pethrus riktlinjer och vägledning i fråga om attityderna till förnyelseväckelsen: "En väckelse kan endast mottagas eller förkastas. Den som vill plocka bort ur en väckelse det han ej önskar ha, den får aldrig uppleva väckelsen."⁵

Det Pethrus framförallt talade om var den offentliga syndabekännelsen, förnyelseväckelsens främsta signum, men också dess mest kontroversiella särdrag. Redan i oktober hade man under Blekingeveckan talat om att "Man ska ha dörren öppen för bekännelsen, dock inte för vid."⁶ Många pingstpastorer var tveksamma till fenomenet, men med typisk pentekostal pragmatism accepterade man det i ljuset av de välsignelser väckelsen erbjöd. Pastor Tage Sjöberg yttrade sig i samma anda: "Man är rädd för att denna väckelse ska slå över, men jag säger som John Wesley: 'Herre, giv oss en väckelse utan fanatism, om du kan, och om du inte kan, så giv oss en ändå.'⁷

På onsdagen ledde Niklasson det stora och välbesökta väckelsemötet, och dagen efter var avsatt till bön och fasta. Under denna dag letade sig Linköpingspastorn Rikard Rydén fram till talarstolen och bekände inför sina kollegor att han hade varit behärskad av en 'kritisk ande' gentemot sina bröder. Efter Rydéns bekännelse följde flera, och ett stort antal pingstpastorer "kom med i väckelsen."

Predikantveckan 1950 innebar förnyelseväckelsens genombrott i pingströrelsen. Pastorerna som reste tillbaka hem från Stockholm bar med sig outplånliga intryck och i många fall en positiv attityd gentemot väckelsen. Väl hemma förmedlade de den till sina församlingar, och under januari och februari månad var *Dagen* fylld av rapporter om genombrott runt om i landet.

⁵ *Dagen* 6/12-1950, "En väckelse kan endast mottagas eller förkastas."

⁶ *Dagen* 6/10-1950, "Syndabekännelse måste hållas inom Bibelns ram."

⁷ *Dagen* 7/12-1950, "Vittnesbörd och glödande appeller på predikantmötet i Filadelfiakyrkan."

Minskad intensitet och växande kritik: Vår, sommar, höst 1951.

Vintermånaderna i början av 1951 utgjorde förnyelseväckelsens kulmination. Men allteftersom entusiasmen sjönk undan hördes de kritiska rösterna allt tydligare. Förnyelseväckelsen hade dock en fortsatt stark närvaro i landet, och inte minst de platser som Niklasson besökte tog till sig budskapet. Men det började blåsa motvind, och en gammal varböld skulle få avgörande betydelse.

Förnyelseväckelsen präglades av en stark enhetssträvan, en ekumenisk vision enligt vilken väckelsens eld skulle nå över alla samfundsgränser. Den interna splittringen inom pingströrelsen, isoleringen av Östermalms Fria Församling, upplevdes mot denna bakgrund som synnerligen smärtsam av både Niklasson och Ljungquist. När Niklasson och Georg Johansson hade en kampanj i Stockholm i februari 1951 arrangerades denna gemensamt av Filadelfia och Södermalmsförsamlingen. Initialt hade dock Niklasson och Johansson krävt att också ÖFF skulle vara med som arrangör, ett krav som man efter diskussioner dock backat från.

Den 5 april skrev en upprörd Allan Törnberg ett brev till sin medarbetare Lewi Pethrus, som just då befann sig i USA. Orsaken till hans upprördhet var LP:s äldste son, Oliver, som just fått flyttningsbetyg från Filadelfia till en amerikansk Assemblies of God-församling:

Vi hade ju mycket härliga avskedsmöten för Oliver, som Du minns, och allt verkade vara frid och harmoni, då helt plötsligt en morgon står en annons i *Dagen* om, att han skall tala i Fenix [ÖFF:s församlingslokal, min anm.] tisdagen den 20 mars tillsammans med Ragnar Ljungquist [...] I detta möte ber Oliver både Sven Lidman och församlingen om förlåtelse, och en uppgörelse och försoning kommer till stånd [...] Att Oliver personligen gör upp med Lidman, om han känner behov därav, kan ju ingen säga något om. Men att han låter sig annonseras och ha gemenskap med den församling som tagit emot Sven Lidman, efter allt vad denne har gjort både Dig och pingstväckelsen är ju ändå en annan sak. Det har väckt stor harm – inte bara här utan i hela landet, och för mig är det en gåta, att Oliver kunnat låna sig åt något sådant.

ÖFF var satt i karantän, och Oliver hade överträtt gränsen. Men inte bara Oliver, utan också Ragnar Ljungquist var inblandad. Ja, Törnberg menade att det var Ljungquist som övertalat Oliver att ta detta steg; han benämnde Ljungquists agerande som "undermineringsarbete". Försoning kunde endast komma till stånd genom ödmjukelse, därom var nog Ljungquist och Törnberg överens. Men medan Filadelfia önskade att ÖFF tog detta steg och bad om förlåtelse för sina överträdelser, verkade Ljungquist för att sådana initiativ skulle komma från Filadelfia. Hans engagemang i saken fick som konsekvens att han i början av april mottog en kallelse att komma som föreståndare till ÖFF. Ljungquist tvekade

länge om svaret, men tackade slutligen ja och tillträdde under hösten 1951. Under sommaren samtalade Ljungquist med Pethrus om saken, och fick veta att han skulle tvingas dela Östermalmsförsamlingens isolering om han accepterade kallelsen.

Niklasson inkluderades inte i den kritik som Törnberg och andra riktade mot Ljungquist, utan åtnjöt fortsatt stort förtroende från pingströrelsen centralt. Under sommaren syntes han som talare vid en rad stora konferenser, och resultaten utblev inte. Men kritiska röster hördes allt starkare. Den 9 april publicerade *Dagen* en längre artikel av pastor Kristian Nielsén med rubriken "Varningsrop i väckelse-tid." Tidigare har ett fåtal kritiska insändare skymtat, men denna artikel var mer än en insändare, och framstår som i högre grad redaktionellt sanktionerad. Nielsén återkom med ett flertal artiklar under året och kritiserade flera centrala drag i förnyelseväckelsen, bl.a. syndabekännelsen, domsförkunnelsen, metoden som användes vid förbönen för de sjuka samt strävan efter enhet mellan kristna.

Det fanns alltid ett visst mått av kritik mot förnyelseväckelsen, men när väckelsen var som starkast var denna kritik som svagast. När väckelsens framgångar tycktes avta fick dock kritiken större utrymme och genomslag. Under våren och sommaren 1951 balanserades dock de kritiska insändarna av positiva rapporter från Niklassons verksamhet. Men när Niklasson i oktober begav sig ut på en längre missionsresa minskade denna positiva bevakning. Och nu kom kritiken inte enbart från enskilda insändarskribenter, utan väckelsen tycks ha diskuterats vid nästan varje regionell pastorskonferens under hösten

Brytningen: Predikantveckan, december 1951

Dagen före predikantveckans inledning anmärkte Erik Carlén, ledamot i *Dagens* styrelse, i en artikel: "Den väckelse vi upplevde förra vintern var märklig och den kanske var början till en verklig folkväckelse. Jag har dock en känsla av att denna väckelse stannat av..."⁸ Carlén beklagade också det partisinne som han menade följt i väckelsen spår, där de som upplevt sig välsignade lättsinnigt fördömt andra och sagt: "De är inte med i väckelsen."

När man nu samlades till predikantvecka gjorde man det återigen med ett behov av att orientera sig i förhållande till förnyelseväckelsen. Men förutsättningarna var annorlunda än året innan. Den första entusiasmen hade ebbat ut, och förnyelseväckelsen tycktes ha bränt sitt bästa krut. En efter en gick pingströrelsens tunga pastorer upp och riktade sin kritik mot fenomen associerade med Niklasson och

⁸ *Dagen* 10/12-1951, "Väckelse."

förnyelseväckelsen. Törnberg vände sig mot "andligt frosseri", dvs. att fokuseringen på personlig helgelse och sensationella helanden varit större än nöden för syndares frälsning. Willis Säwe, pastor i Malmö, anmärkte på vad han såg som en oorganiserad Europamission med oerfarna missionärer som reste utan församlingsförankring och som dessutom brast i redovisningen av ekonomin. Säwes uttalanden framstår ofrånkomligen som förstucken kritik mot Niklassons missionsresa under hösten.

Den unge Algot Niklasson upplevde kritiken mot honom och den väckelse han representerade som massiv. På torsdagen deklarerade han att han inte ämnade delta i bojkotten av Östermalmsförsamlingen och hans vän Ragnar Ljungquist, utan att han skulle predika där redan samma kväll. Hans vänner, inklusive Georg Johansson, försökte tala honom till rätta, men utan resultat. Även Lewi Pethrus tog honom avsidet och försökte att vänligt men bestämt avråda honom från att ta detta steg, men Niklasson stod på sig. På kvällen den 13 december stod Algot Niklasson i Fenixpalatsets predikstol, och därmed stängdes dörrarna för honom i den svenska pingströrelsen. Niklasson hade sällat sig till de oberörbara och fick inte längre några kallelser till pingstförsamlingar. Han omnämndes inte mer i *Dagen*, och när pingströrelsen 1957 sammanfattade sin dittillsvarande 50-åriga historia hade han raderats ur historien.

Kommentarer till förnyelseväckelsens uppgång och fall

Avsikten med denna artikel är inte att normativt utvärdera förnyelseväckelsen eller den kritik som riktades mot den. Det kan emellertid konstateras att ingenting tyder på att förnyelseväckelsen ändrat karaktär mellan predikantveckan 1950, då den accepterades, och predikantveckan 1951, då den förkastades.

Kritiken mot förnyelseväckelsen visar på en stark pragmatism i den svenska pingströrelsen där det goda resultatet ibland är viktigare än den rätta läran. Särskilt tydligt är detta hos Lewi Pethrus. I relation till förnyelseväckelsen hävdade han både under predikantveckan 1950 och 1951 att det var nödvändigt att köpa åkern för att få del av skatten. Med andra ord: med en väckelse (skatten) fick man ta en del som kanske inte var lika skönt (åkern), men det är ändå värt att ta det onda med det goda för att få del av de välsignelser som väckelsen bringar. I ett brev till Ragnar Ljungquist daterat 12 februari 1951 skrev LP:

Mycket som händer under en sådan tid [väckelsetider, min anm.] är i högsta grad prosaiskt, vardagligt, ofta oskönt och stundom fatalt. Men en andlig väckelse har alltid en mänsklig sida. Den är som människorna och människolivet.

Oviljan att förändliga skeenden och förmågan att se det fullkomliga i det ofullkomliga framstår som en av LP:s starka sidor. Men det är klart att denna pragmatism i ett historisk ljus, och kanske också för de drabbade, framstår som djupt inkonsekvent, ja i det närmsta relativistisk. Och hur skulle den unge Algot Nik-

lasson få ihop den ekvationen att hans förkunnelse var accepterad 1950 men fördömd 1951?

Frukten var av betydelse för hur väckelsen bedömdes, och under 1951 hade konflikter börjat skönjas i dess spår. Redan under våren 1951 dök det upp en diskussion om huruvida väckelsen var ny eller gammal. Diskussionen kan synas märklig, men är kopplad till en problematik som åtföljt otaliga väckelseskeenden i historien.

Skövdepastorn Harry Lindmark hade redan i november 1950 skrivit ett brev till Pethrus där han beklagade sig över en tendens relaterad till detta dilemma:

Syndabekännelserna äro kulmen av välsignelse för många, och det finns församlingar, där man anser att det inte är något med ett möte, om det inte förekommer offentliga "syndabekännelser". [...] Predikanterna som varit där [i Karlskoga, min anm.] blir konstigt överspända, eller vad jag ska använda för uttryck. Jag träffade en häromdagen, och han sade till mig, att nu var han med i väckelse. Då jag svarade, att det trodde jag att han varit förut, så fick jag till svar, att nu var det något annat.

Pingströrelsen förstod sig själv som en väckelserörelse där medlemmarna tillhörde Guds avantgarde på jorden: de som nått längst och fått klarast insikt i mysterierna. Många av dem som kommit med i pingströrelsen kunde vittna om omvälvande Gudsmöten och förvandlade liv. Men så kom nu en ny väckelse, förnyelseväckelsen. Och de som "kom med i" den vittnade som den pastor Lindmark talat med: visst, jag har varit med i pingstväckelsen förut, men detta är något annat! När de gav uttryck för sin entusiasm över den förvandling de upplevt underkände de samtidigt – medvetet eller omedvetet – pingstväckelsen och de erfarenheter deras vänner inom rörelsen gjort där.

Härav diskussionen om förnyelseväckelsen var ny eller gammal: var det detsamma som pingstväckelsen kommit med 40 år tidigare, eller var detta något helt nytt, ett steg till? Var pingstvännerna per automatik "med i väckelsen" genom vad de tidigare upplevt, eller krävdes det att de klev fram och bekände sina synder för att de skulle få del av välsignelsen? Det namn väckelsen gavs – förnyelseväckelsen – är talande: enligt detta var väckelsen inte något helt nytt, men en förnyelse av det som tidigare kommit. Men som vi sett såg alla inte saken så.

Enligt somliga av förnyelseväckelsens kritiker följde i väckelsens spår många krystade bekännelser, drivna inte av nöden utan av viljan att få komma med i väckelsen. När gränsen mellan salig och osalig drogs mellan de som bekänt och de som inte gjort det, var detta ett sätt att komma till rätta med ett uppenbart mindervärdeskomplex i förhållandet till de "väckelsetända". Ett annat sätt var att rätt och slätt avfärda väckelsen. Diskussionerna tyder på att det på vissa håll bildats andliga A- och B-lag i församlingarna, och att gemenskapen mellan dessa grupper försvårats.

Detta utgör ett återkommande dilemma i väckelse-traditioner: hur talar man om och uttrycker sin egen förvandling utan att diskvalificera dem som inte har samma erfarenheter? Och hur undviker man att någras personliga erfarenheter blir en mall som samtligas erfarenheter ska formas efter? I karismatiska rörelser har problemet ytterligare dimensioner. Här åtföljs väckelsen ofta av någon form av yttre manifestation, i fallet med förnyelseväckelsen som vi sett den offentliga bekännelsen. När pingstväckelsen bröt fram var det tungotalet som hade denna roll. Denna ursprungligen spontana yttring blir snart normerande: den som inte talar i tungor, bekänner, lovsjunger med lyfta händer, skrattar, faller etc., är inte "andlig" i jämförelse med dem som visar upp dessa kännetecken. På denna väg riskerar väckelser inom rörelser och kyrkor att splittra de sammanhang där de växer fram, genom att ömsesidigt förakt mellan "ljumma" och "överandliga" omöjliggör gemenskap. Detta är ett dilemma som den karismatiska traditionen har att lösa. Inte minst pga. det faktum att varje väckelse också riskerar innebära ett författigande av det andliga livet, hos både utbrytare och ursprungssammanhang. Bland utbrytarna kommer man inte sällan att mycket starkt – kanske alltför starkt – betona just den aspekt som kommit att bli det egna särmärket. I de fall då särmärket var en del av gudstjänstlivet före schismen blir det inte sällan i det ursprungliga sammanhanget omöjligt att använda då det är alltför förknippat med "fanatikerna". Därmed berövas dessa en aspekt av det andliga livet. Man kan fråga sig om vi idag ser denna utveckling i fråga om helande och bön för sjuka. Fenomenet har en framträdande roll i delar av den karismatiska kristenheten, medan andra – även bland sk. "väckelsekristna" – känner olust och tveksamhet inför det i ljuset av vad de uppfattar som osunda överdrifter och tveksamheter.

En intressant parallell till den protestantiska utvecklingen finns i den katolska karismatiska förnyelsen, där man bl.a. genom trohet mot den ordinarie mässaens traditionella form har kunnat bevara ett stort mått av enhet karismatiken till trots. Den har fått komma till uttryck i högre grad vid arrangemang vars syfte är att komplettera – inte ersätta – mässan.

Lewi Pethrus' analys

1947 startade i Kanada en väckelse som kom att få namnet The New Order of the Latter Rain, eller Latter Rain-väckelsen. Denna väckelse var besläktad men inte identisk med helandeväckelsen. Från centralt håll ville de stora amerikanska pingstsamfundet stänga dörren för väckelsen, vilket ledde till att den i viss mån splittrade dessa. En av dem som tog till sig väckelsen var den svensk-amerikanske Chicagopastorn Joseph Mattsson-Bozé. När Lewi Pethrus kom till Amerika förväntade många sig att den mycket jordnära LP skulle fördöma Latter Rain, men istället uppmanade han ledarna och pastorerna att öppna upp för

väckelsen. Sin vana trogen påpekade han att man måste "buy the whole field to get the treasure."⁹ Pethrus fick litet gehör för sina tankar, men i ett brev till Arvid Ohnell vid Assemblies of God i Springfield daterat 15 april 1952 vidhöll han att detta hade varit den lämpligare strategin, och förklarade samtidigt sin syn på utvecklingen rörande förnyelseväckelsen:

Den väckelse, som kom över oss i Sverige på hösten 1950, som säkert var en återverkan av helbrägdagörelse- och Latter Rain-väckelsen i Amerika, gav oss en underbar välsignelse. Men hemligheten därtill tror jag var att vi öppnade för den. Den var så stark, att det var helt enkelt omöjligt att sätta sig emot den, inte ens mot det, som man ansåg vara felaktigt. Den gick fram som en storm. Det förekom saker och ting, som många gjorde anmärkning på och ville, att vi skulle angripa. Men jag har alltid haft det så, att finnes det aldrig så litet av Gud i en rörelse, så skall man vara tacksam för det. Det som inte är av Gud faller snart till marken. Gör man däremot motstånd, så splittrar man. Vi öppnade församlingarna på vid gavel, tog emot de bröder som var mest gripna. De uttalade profetior, som var överdrivna, och flera av dem hade alltför stora tankar om sina egna ämbeten. Men de fick frihet att säga, vad de hade på hjärtat, och Gud använde detta att skapa längtan hos ärliga själar, och mycken välsignelse åstadkoms. 1951 var ett av de allra rikaste år, som pingstväckelsen i Sverige någonsin upplevt, då det gäller tillslutning av medlemmar, och även andra andliga välsignelser. Hade vi satt oss emot det, som vi ansåg vara felaktigt från början, så hade pingstväckelsen i Sverige varit delad i två delar, och jag är inte säker på om vilken sida den största delen hade stått. Men nu fick vi, på grund av att vi öppnade, välsignelse. Den andliga gemenskapen blev djupare och rikare, än den någonsin varit. Gud gjorde ett stort verk i många bröders hjärtan. Alla fick vi välsignelser därigenom, och ingen som helst splittring har åstadkommit.

Pethrus uppvisar en oerhörd strategisk medvetenhet och en sällsam förmåga att tyda tidens tecken. Pragmatiken segrar: längtan efter väckelsen och inte minst behovet av att bevara rörelsen intakt. Pethrus kliver undan en tid och ger väckelsens företrädare stort utrymme och starkt stöd, för att sedan, när tiden är mogen, å se och kanske orkestrera korrigeringar av väckelsen.

Epilog

Efter utfrysningen från pingströrelsen reste Algot Niklasson som evangelist inom bl.a. Örebromissionen och Helgelseförbundet. Han arbetade sedan en tid som föreståndare för en musikaffär. Idag lever han som pensionär i centrala Göteborg. Den 20 juli 2005 var en intervju med Niklasson införd i tidningen *Världen Idag*.



⁹ Colletti, "Lewi Pethrus: His Influence Upon Swedish-American Pentecostalism," artikel i *Pneuma*, 2:1983.