

Assemblies of God

HERITAGE



100 Years of the *Pentecostal Evangel*

2013

- C. M. Ward
- Church Planters
- Girl Evangelists
- Fine Arts Festival
- Material Objects
- Pentecostal Missions

Volume 33

Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center

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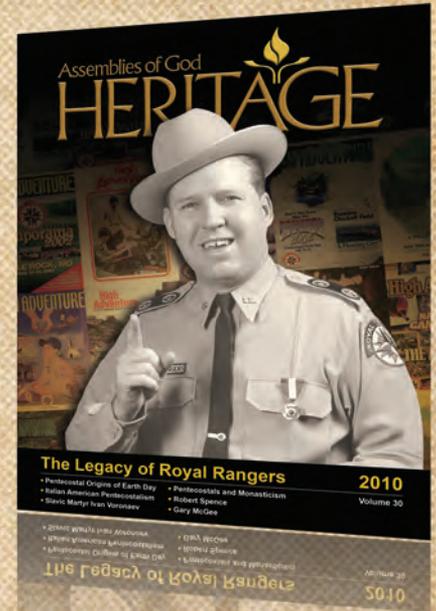


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Front cover: Robert Cunningham sitting at a desk (left) with Lloyd Colbaugh (right), both looking at a proof for the *Pentecostal Evangel* in 1953.



From the Editor: Rediscovering Our Heavenly Citizenship

By Darrin J. Rodgers

The cultural currents of Western nations are shifting. Values incompatible with biblical Christianity — such as the right to an abortion and same-sex “marriage” — are being enshrined in law. These changes can be very disconcerting, particularly for those who view themselves as being in a “Christian nation.”

It may be helpful to remember that early American Pentecostals, who were often at odds with societal norms, critiqued the culture as corrupt and insisted that only individuals, not nations, could be Christian. The West’s increasing hostility to biblical values may have the effect of encouraging Pentecostals to rediscover the wisdom of their founders, who believed that earthly allegiances should pale in comparison to their heavenly citizenship.

Premillennial Pessimism

Is the world getting better or worse? Early Pentecostals, resoundingly, answered this question in the negative. Pentecostalism emerged a little over 100 years ago among evangelicals who embraced, for the most part, a premillennial eschatology that predicted a period of rapid social decay, followed by Christ’s return. These early Pentecostals were also part of the broader Holiness movement, which emphasized the need for a deeper spiritual life.

Early Pentecostals, like other evangelicals, believed that much of the American church had abandoned the authority of Scripture. In their view, this would

lead to the collapse of families, morality, and the broader culture. Historians have described premillennialists as pessimistic. One might also describe their views as realism.

This pessimism by evangelicals about the future of the world stood in stark contrast to the views of most politicians and mainline Protestant church leaders, who believed they could perfect humanity through education and social progress. These progressives tended to equate Christianization with Westernization, replacing the biblical notion of a transformative encounter with God with a “social gospel” that de-emphasized conversion in favor of cultural education. Progressives also replaced traditional notions of the authority of Scripture with the authority of liberal Western culture.

But everything changed in 1914. The outbreak of The Great War, later dubbed World War I, shattered these illusions of social progress. Nearly every nation in Europe became embroiled in conflict. Political and economic turmoil and famine resulted in the death of millions.

Progressives in America were divided on how to cope with this new real-

ity. But for Pentecostals, the war merely confirmed what they already knew. Humanity was deeply stained by sin and only Christ, not culture, could save.

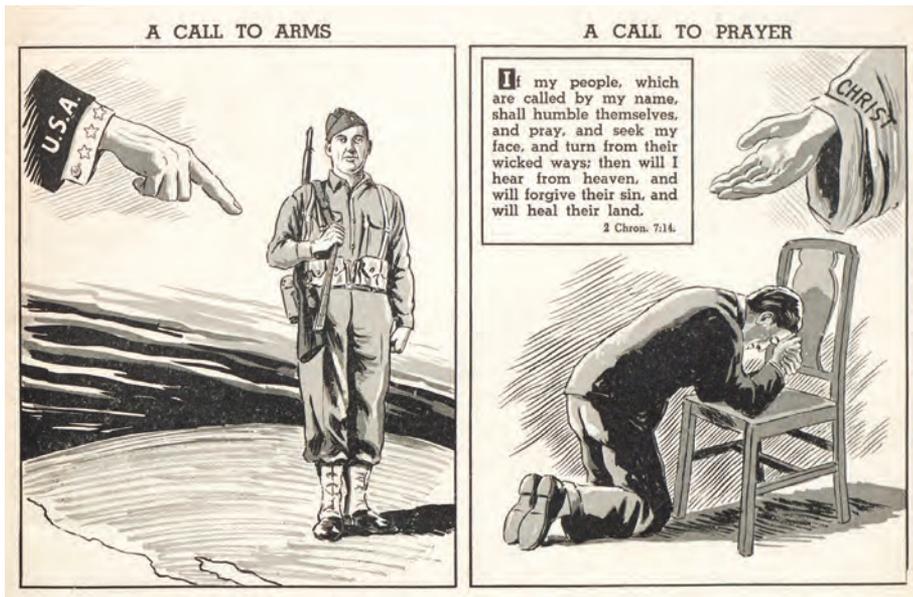
Heavenly Citizenship and the Assemblies of God

The Assemblies of God was organized by about 300 Pentecostal laymen and ministers in April 1914, three months before the start of World War I. The Assemblies of God developed its identity in the midst of the cultural chaos surrounding World War I. During the war the pages of its periodical, the *Weekly Evangel* (now *Pentecostal Evangel*), were filled with warnings against confusing the Christian faith with one’s national identity.

Stanley Frodsham, in a 1915 *Weekly Evangel* article titled “Our Heavenly Citizenship,” wrote that earthly allegiances should pale in comparison to the Christian’s heavenly citizenship:

When one comes into that higher kingdom and becomes a citizen of that “holy nation” (1 Pet. 2:9), the things that pertain to earth should forever lose their hold, even that natural love for the nation where one happened to be born, and loyalty to the new King should swallow up all other loyalties.¹

In a *Weekly Evangel* article titled, “Light on the Present Crisis,” British pastor Leonard Newby responded to this



Cartoon making a distinction between the heavenly and earthly kingdoms, *Pentecostal Evangel*, December 27, 1941.

question: “Is it not an awful thing for one Christian nation to be fighting another Christian nation?”²

Newby disagreed with the assumption that a nation could be Christian. Newby wrote, “There is not, and never has been, such a company of people as a CHRISTIAN NATION, and never will be until the Lord comes.” Rather, he explained, “The people of God who form the mystical body of Jesus Christ are a small company of people scattered among the nations.”³ Pentecostals insisted that only individuals, not nations, could profess Christ.

Pilgrims in a Foreign Land

Early Pentecostals understood that their lives would not always be easy. When their convictions conflicted with norms of the surrounding society, they believed they should be true to their heavenly citizenship. An old gospel song describes Christians as pilgrims in a foreign land:

This world is not my home, I'm just a
passing through
My treasures are laid up somewhere
beyond the blue;
The angels beckon me from heaven's

open door
And I can't feel at home in this world
anymore.⁴

In 1957, Assemblies of God educator J. Bashford Bishop admonished believers to imitate Jeremiah, the Old Testament prophet:

Jeremiah, standing alone in an ungodly nation, faithfully proclaimed God's message and stood for right though it incurred the hatred of the people and brought him years of privation, suffering, and imprisonment! Fear of losing position, power, and popularity, fear of facing unpleasant situations, and fear of incurring public disfavor has caused many to take the way of moral cowardice and spiritual compromise. God is looking today for men, women, and young people who, filled with the Holy Ghost and passionate devotion to Jesus, will be true to God-given convictions and ideals no matter what it may cost them. If God can find such persons, He will use them to bring about a mighty revival and to lead multitudes back

to the highway of holiness!”⁵

Recent Challenges

By the middle of the twentieth century, Pentecostals had achieved a certain social standing unknown by most of the earliest Pentecostal pioneers. Increasing numbers of Pentecostals attended college, owned businesses, and served in positions of leadership in local communities. The Assemblies of God built bridges with other evangelicals when it became a founding member of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1943. By the 1950s and 1960s, Pentecostalism entered even further into the American religious mainstream when Catholics and mainline Protestants began experiencing tongues speech and healing in what became known as the charismatic renewal.

Pentecostals began the twentieth century as a small, marginalized group at odds with the broader society. By the end of the century, large segments within Pentecostalism had adapted to the cultural mores of American society. Success used to be measured in terms of purity, but by the late twentieth century many Pentecostals rejected separation from the world as legalism.

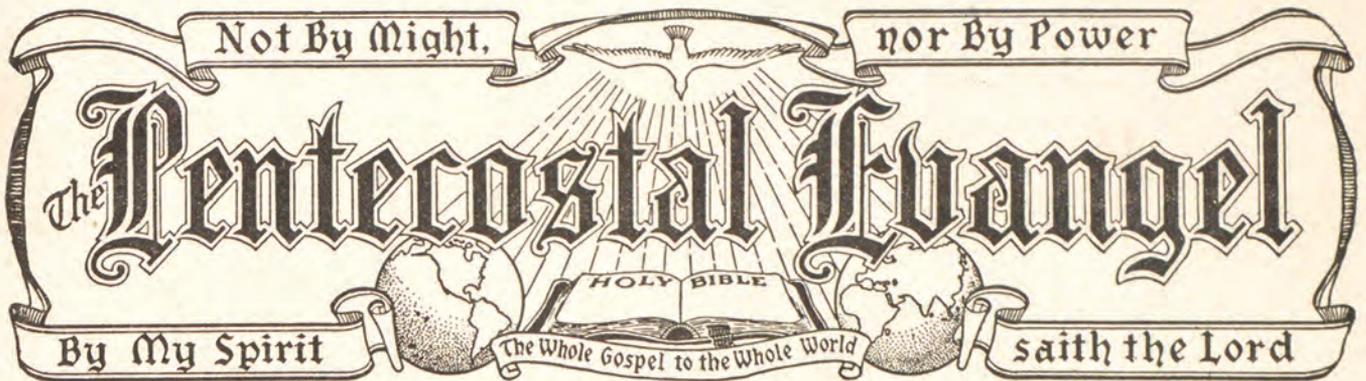
Some Pentecostals adopted a “prosperity gospel” that baptized the materialism and selfishness from the broader culture. Others, while rejecting overt forms of material worldliness, nonetheless became very comfortable in melding their heavenly and earthly citizenships together into a form of Christian nationalism.

Rediscovering Our Heavenly Citizenship

How will Pentecostals respond to the increasing pressures within society to abandon their historic biblical convictions? Will they continue to adapt to the shifting societal norms? Will they attempt to assert a political solution to the nation's spiritual problems? Pentecostals

Continued on page 9

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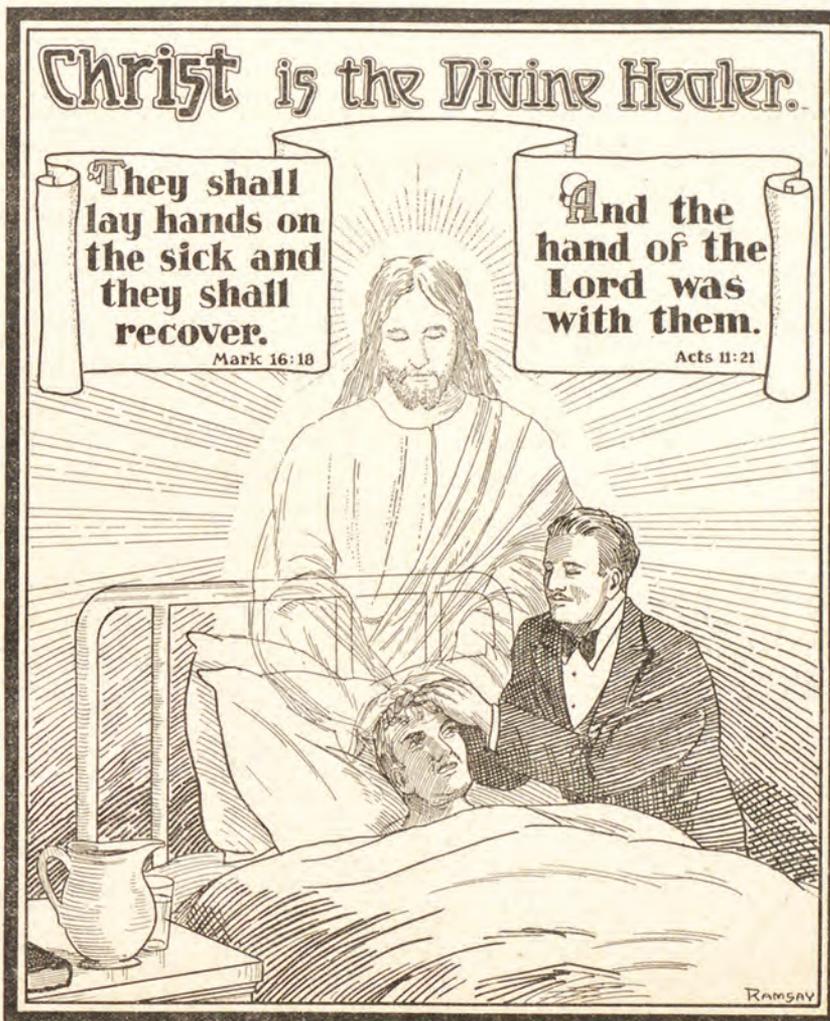
SPRINGFIELD, MO., OCTOBER 24, 1936
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"He Sendeth His Word and Healeth" *Psa. 107:20, Hebrew*

THE Psalmist tells us, "Fools because of their transgression, and because of their iniquities, are afflicted." They become very sick, and draw near to the gates of death. Any help for them? Yes. They cry unto the Lord, and He delivers. He is a great deliverer. "He sendeth his word, and healeth, and delivereth them from their graves." Psalm 107:20, Leeser's Translation. Note the present tense—healeth, delivereth. "Who forgiveth all . . . who healeth all." Psalm 103:3. Anything more? Yes. A thanksgiving service, giving thanks to the Lord for His goodness. Are you afflicted? Cry. He will heal. So praise.

The children of Israel came to Marah. Here they were tested. Count it "all joy" when ye fall into divers testings. No test, no testimony. All things, bitter waters like they had at Marah, and every other kind of trial, work together for good to them that love the Lord. Did they take the attitude recommended by the apostle, "In everything give thanks"? No. They murmured. Murmuring, a discontented heart, a malicious spirit, an angry countenance,



a spirit of envy—all these things bring about a toxic condition. Modern physicians say that all sickness comes from toxic poisons. A nurse told us of a case she saw. An Italian woman in Chicago became furiously angry over a trifle. Later she nursed her baby from the breast. In a short time it was dead. Doctors said the emotion of anger turned the milk in her breast to poison. It killed her child. What we sow, we reap.

Is there a remedy? Yes. Moses found a tree and cast it into the bitter waters of Marah and they became sweet. A wonderful picture of the cross of Christ that turns every bitterness to joy. From that cross the bleeding Lamb of God speaks to you and me, saying, "Look unto me, and be ye saved." Saved from sin. Saved from sickness. Saved from the curse. There is life for a look at the crucified One. That perfect Saviour gives a perfect salvation. When? Right now. He gives a perfect healing. When? Right now. Look unto Him, and accept the salvation He offers.

Right there by those waters, now become sweet, the Lord made a
(Continued on Page 3)

The Centennial of the *Pentecostal Evangel*

By Ken Horn

The *Pentecostal Evangel* celebrates its centennial in 2013.¹ Its pages have carried stories of the people, events, and themes that helped shape the contours of the Assemblies of God and the broader Pentecostal movement. When J. Roswell Flower and Alice Reynolds Flower founded this paper in 1913, they could not have imagined the global reach that their humble effort would ultimately yield. The *Evangel* continues its mission to network believers and is believed to have the largest circulation of any weekly Protestant magazine in the United States. This is the story of that Holy Spirit-anointed periodical.

Beginnings

Joseph James Roswell Flower was born in 1888 in Canada to Methodist parents. The Flowers spent time in Zion City in Illinois but became disillusioned with its founder, faith healer John Alexander Dowie. The family decided to move to Indianapolis, Indiana, where they began attending the Gospel Taber-



J. Roswell and Alice Reynolds Flower founded the *Christian Evangel* (later called the *Pentecostal Evangel*) in Plainfield, Indiana, in 1913.

nacle, a Christian and Missionary Alliance church.

Alice Marie Reynolds was born in 1890 in Indianapolis to a father of Quaker stock and a mother with a Methodist background. Alice's mother experienced a divine healing, which

“The *Pentecostal Evangel* has been a uniting element for the entire fellowship, as well as the consistent voice of its full-gospel beliefs.”

— Carl Brumback

deepened the spiritual experience of the family and led them eventually to become a part of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. On Easter Sunday in 1907, Alice received the baptism in the Holy Spirit after hearing Thomas Hezmalhalch who had participated in the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles.

That same year, the revival at Gospel Tabernacle in Indianapolis resulted in the salvation of the young J. Roswell Flower. Flower received Spirit baptism a year later. In 1911, Alice became Mrs. J. Roswell Flower and the two began their ministry together. By 1913, they were assisting at the Gibeah Bible School in Plainfield, Indiana, where they used some of their own money to start a new “paper” — the *Christian Evangel*.

That was one year before the Great War (World War I) began. The Azusa Street revival, the spiritual awakening that had propelled the fledgling Pentecostal movement onto the world stage, had waned. But its impact had not.

When Pentecost burst on the scene, the news was carried by word of mouth, letters, and print media. Magazines — or “Pentecostal papers,” as they were called — began to spring up to spread the word. The most notable initially was William Seymour's *Apostolic Faith*, generated from Azusa Street, a focal point of the Pentecostal outpouring of the twentieth century.

The Flowers' weekly *Christian Evangel* began in July of 1913, nine months before the Assemblies of God was born.

The *Evangel* was a model of diversity from the start. Early issues featured content by and about women and African-Americans. The first masthead carried the words “The simplicity of the gospel, In the bonds of peace, The unity of the Spirit, Till we all come to the unity of the faith.”²

Another Pentecostal publication, *Word and Witness*, was produced by E. N. Bell. When the Assemblies of God (AG) was formed in 1914, Bell and J. Roswell Flower became the first chairman and secretary of the Fellowship, respectively. The AG then chose to have two official periodicals — Flower’s *Evangel* and Bell’s monthly *Word and Witness*. In an early history of the Assemblies of God, C. C. Burnett explained that early partnership: “Inadequate space and equipment both at Plainfield and at Malvern [Arkansas] necessitated a move to Findlay, Ohio, that summer where Ed-

Name Changes	
<i>Christian Evangel</i>	(July 19, 1913-March 6, 1915)
<i>Weekly Evangel</i>	(March 13, 1915-May 18, 1918)
<i>Christian Evangel</i>	(June 1, 1918-October 4, 1919)
<i>Pentecostal Evangel</i>	(October 18, 1919-June 9, 2002)
<i>Today’s Pentecostal Evangel</i>	(June 16, 2002-July 19, 2009)
<i>Pentecostal Evangel</i>	(July 26, 2009-present)

itors Bell and Flower carried on the publishing of both papers — the *Word and Witness* as a monthly, and the *Christian Evangel* as a weekly. Strange as it may seem, they discouraged anyone from subscribing to both because “The editors of both papers are the same and it will not be profitable to take both.”³

The two publications were rolled into

one at the end of 1915. *Word and Witness* was officially discontinued and in January 1916 the *Christian Evangel* became the sole official publication of the AG, with a beginning circulation of 5,000.⁴

The publication became an essential tool to stabilize, inform, inspire and evangelize. “The *Pentecostal Evangel*, one of the most prominent early Pente-



The first issue of the *Christian Evangel*, July 19, 1913. The masthead includes the phrases: “The simplicity of the gospel, In the bonds of peace” and “The unity of the Spirit, Till we all come to the unity of the faith.” In light of this “unity of the Spirit,” it can be noted that three articles in the first issue were by or about African-American Pentecostals. From the very beginning, the *Pentecostal Evangel* had interracial content.



1920s



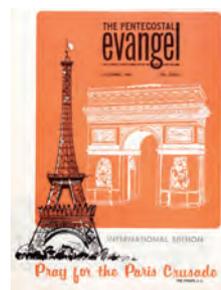
1930s



1940s



1950s



1960s

costal periodicals, networked far-flung believers who often otherwise felt isolated,” says Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center Director Darrin Rodgers. “The *Evangel* built a sense of community and provided a rich source of theological essays, news articles, missionary letters and revival reports.”⁵ Much of the early content was composed of transcribed sermons and from-the-field missionary reports.

Wayne Warner, former director of the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center has said: “The *Evangel* has always been an evangelistic, missionary, family and teaching tool. In the early days the Assemblies of God was trying to establish its doctrine and trying to create a Pentecostal identity. Editors would take a sermon, and most of it would go into the *Evangel*. As early as the 1920s they called it a family and missionary magazine. It’s still doing the same thing.”⁶

But the *Evangel* also contained another significant feature — the earliest known weekly Pentecostal Sunday School curriculum, available from the very first issue of the magazine.⁷ Alice Reynolds Flower was the author. That curriculum filled a need and provided Pentecostal literature suitable for teaching. It demonstrates, along with other features in the magazine, that early Pentecostals did not fit the accusation often thrown their way — that they were unprepared and spontaneous in their communications. From the start of the movement, detailed study marked the leadership of the Assemblies of God. And that was evident in the pages of every *Evangel*. That curriculum is also the



Pressman Glenn Adams looking at a copy of the *Pentecostal Evangel* printed on a Webendorfer Press, circa 1956.

reason that today we have access to several of the earliest *Evangel*s, which exist only as partials because those curriculum pages were torn out, used and saved.

In 1915, when the Fellowship’s headquarters moved to St. Louis, the name of the magazine was changed to the *Weekly Evangel*, emphasizing the regular availability of the magazine. That feature remains to the present day. In a publishing world that today is cutting back in frequency and with many publications ceasing publication or replacing print with digital, the *Evangel* continues on its weekly pace. At this writing 5,177 issues have been printed, and counting.

The name of the magazine changed back to *Christian Evangel* in 1918 when

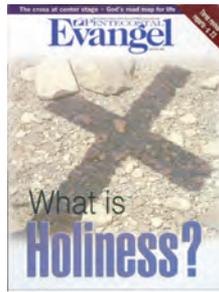
the Assemblies of God moved its offices to Springfield, Missouri. In 1919, the magazine took its current name, the *Pentecostal Evangel*. The October 18, 1919, issue carried the subtitle *A Family and Missionary Paper, the Official Organ of the Assemblies of God*. Prior to that, the word “Pentecostal” appeared in the *Christian Evangel*’s subhead: *The Pentecostal Paper for the Home*. It was officially known as *Today’s Pentecostal Evangel* from June 2002 to July 2009. It has carried the words of Zechariah 4:6, “Not by might nor by power but by My Spirit says the Lord,” from December 31, 1932, to the present day (with few exceptions), emphasizing that Pentecostal distinctive. The front page article on



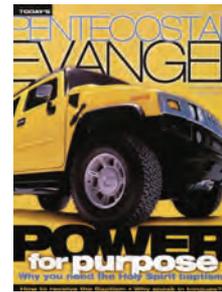
1970s



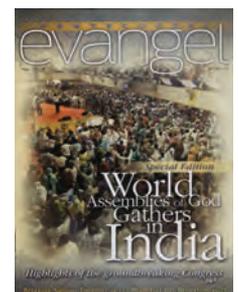
1980s



1990s



2000s



2010s

Places of Publication

Plainfield, Indiana	(July 19, 1913-July 4, 1914)
Findlay, Ohio	(July 11, 1914-January 30, 1915)
St. Louis, Missouri	(February 13, 1915-May 18, 1918)
Springfield, Missouri	(June 1, 1918-present)

that date was “A New Year Emphasis on Pentecostal Standards” by then General Superintendent Ernest S. Williams.

The change in the title to include the word “Pentecostal” was no cavalier decision. It came because of an official action of the 1918 General Council. A resolution of this Council stated: “Resolved, That we again declare our Christian fellowship with every true child of God, and that we stand ready to co-operate with all Christians ...”⁸ As historian Carl Brumback said: “This resolution manifested a spirit of Christian love that extended beyond Pentecostal doctrine, but it also took a firm stand for what was believed to be the clear teaching of the Word of God. As a direct result of this Council, it was decided at the next General Council to change the name of the official organ from the *Christian Evangel* to the *Pentecostal Evangel*; not because the Assemblies of God desired to be less Christian, but rather, because the Assemblies of God desired to be more New Testament Christian.”⁹

Brumback identified the *Pentecostal Evangel* as “the ‘tie that binds’ Assemblies of God hearts all over the world.” He wrote, “The *Pentecostal Evangel* has been a uniting element for the entire fellowship, as well as the consistent voice of its full-gospel beliefs.”¹⁰

Editorial Leadership

In the first issues in 1913 and 1914, J. Roswell Flower was listed as “Editor” and later as “Managing Editor, assisted by the pastors of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Indianapolis and a number of Christian Workers, Evangelists,

Pastors and Missionaries,” until shortly after the formation of the Assemblies of God.¹¹ In July 1914, he became Assistant Managing Editor, under E. N. Bell, the first general chairman of the Assemblies of God, who became Managing Editor.¹² This predated the union of his *Word and Witness* with the *Evangel* which took place a year and a half later. From October 1915 to June 1918, J. W. Welch, who followed Bell as general chairman, then served as editor, at least in name, with Flower serving as “office editor.”

During this early period, the ministry of the *Evangel* was carried on along a “faith line,” relying on the Lord’s financial provision. A May 13, 1916, editorial contained this frank testimony: “Another



Robert Cunningham was editor for 35 years (1949-1984).

great victory has been won for the people of God. The Gospel Publishing House enters the month of May with all current

bills paid. Rejoice with us. This has been accomplished in answer to prayer.”¹³

Chairman Welch was secure in church leadership but not in the publishing realm. He wrote a young British minister, Stanley H. Frodsham, who was pastoring a small church in California at the time and who had submitted some articles. “I read those three articles,” he wrote. “They will be published later. They asked me to be editor of the *Evangel* but I’m a misfit. We’re praying for God’s man for the *Evangel*. Are you that man?”¹⁴

Frodsham apparently was. In 1916, he became assistant to the editor of the *Evangel*. In the same year he was elected general secretary of the AG, a post he held until 1919. Flower announced his retirement from the staff in the September 29, 1917, issue, to “go out into more active service in the field.”¹⁵

Bell’s name regained the top of the masthead from June 1918 through November 1, 1919, after which J. T. Boddy became editor. But a terminal illness meant that Boddy’s assistant (“office”) editor, Frodsham, continued to be the guiding force throughout most of that time. In 1921, Frodsham was formally elected as editor. With the exception of a one-year stint between January 1929 and January 1930 (Harold H. Moss was acting editor during this time), he stayed at that post until 1949. Frodsham’s vision and international connections significantly expanded the scope and reach of the publication.

Robert C. Cunningham served as Frodsham’s assistant editor for several years. Frodsham characterized Cunningham as “a born editor,” so it was no surprise when Frodsham stepped down in 1949 that Cunningham was appointed acting editor. After nearly a year in that role, he formally became the editor. Cunningham adeptly guided the magazine for nearly 35 years and oversaw a period of progress and explosive growth.

Richard Champion, who had served as Cunningham’s managing editor, followed Cunningham as editor in 1984.

Continued on page 10

Lead Editors of the *Pentecostal Evangel*

1. **J. Roswell Flower:** July 1913-June 1914
“Managing Editor assisted by the pastors of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Indianapolis and a number of Christian Workers, Evangelists, Pastors and Missionaries”

2. **E. N. Bell:** July 1914-Oct. 2, 1915
“Managing Editor; J. R. Flower Ass’t. Managing Editor”; later, “Editor-in-Chief” and “Office Editor”

3. **J. W. Welch:** Oct. 16, 1915-May 18, 1918
“Editor-in-Chief ... J. R. Flower Office Editor”

(2. return) **E. N. Bell:** June 1, 1918-Nov. 1, 1919
“Editor”; “Stanley H. Frodsham Office Editor”

4. **J. T. Boddy:** Nov. 15, 1919-July 9, 1921)
“Editor”; “Stanley H. Frodsham Office Editor”

No editor listed July 23-Oct. 1

5. **Stanley H. Frodsham**
Editor: Oct. 15, 1921-Dec. 22, 1928

6. **Harold H. Moss**
Acting Editor: Jan. 5, 1929-Jan. 11, 1930

(5. return) **Stanley H. Frodsham**
Editor: Jan. 18, 1930-Oct. 8, 1949

7. **Robert C. Cunningham**
Acting Editor: Oct. 15, 1949-Sept. 16, 1950
Editor: Sept. 23, 1950-July 29, 1984

8. **Richard G. Champion**
Editor: August 5, 1984-June 26, 1994

9. **John T. Maempa**
Interim Editor: July 3, 1994-March 19, 1995

10. **Hal Donaldson**
Editor: March 26, 1995-August 31, 2008

11. **Ken Horn**
Editor: Sept. 7, 2008-present

*Some associate editors of the *Pentecostal Evangel* have included Alice Reynolds Flower, J. Roswell Flower, Stanley Frodsham, Jonathan Ellsworth Perkins, Charles Elmo Robinson, Myer Pearlman, Robert C. Cunningham, Richard G. Champion, Harris Jansen, John Maempa, Ken Horn, and Scott Harrup.

From The Editor

Continued from page 3

would do well to rediscover the worldview of their spiritual forebears, who viewed their heavenly citizenship as outweighing any earthly allegiances. The following plea, published in the *Weekly Evangel* in 1916, remains true today:

God’s judgments are upon the nations for their sins and wickedness, but, let us pray with the old prophet, “in wrath remember mercy.” God is looking for men and women who will pray, men and women who will stand in the breach with their prayers of intercession, men, who like

Habakkuk, will pray “O Lord revive Thy work.”⁶

This issue of *Assemblies of God Heritage* showcases stories of believers who navigated the tensions between the kingdoms of heaven and earth. Hopefully, these testimonies will encourage readers to likewise carefully consider how they live in relation to the broader society. ✝

Darrin J. Rodgers, M.A., J.D., is director of the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center and editor of *Heritage* magazine.

NOTES

¹Stanley H. Frodsham, “Our Heavenly Citizenship,” *Weekly Evangel*, September 11, 1915, 3.

²Leonard Newby, “Light on the Present Crisis,” *Weekly Evangel*, July 1, 1916, 6.

³Ibid.

⁴Albert E. Brumley, “This World is Not My Home,” 1937.

⁵J. Bashford Bishop, “Jerusalem Destroyed,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, July 21, 1957, 5.

⁶Burt McCafferty, “A Revival Needed,” *Weekly Evangel*, April 29, 1916, 6.

Over the next decade, the magazine would thrive under his leadership. In 1993 the Fellowship was stunned when he was diagnosed with a malignant brain tumor. He passed away the following year. A moving and extensive tribute to Champion was published in the July 3, 1994, edition.¹⁶

In that issue, John Maempa, who took the reins as interim editor, described Champion's final months with the magazine: "Over a period of more than seven months since the diagnosis Dick maintained a regular schedule of office duties — writing, editing, and administrating. His attitude and outlook were always positive. His wit and humor were unflagged."¹⁷ Champion's passion for the magazine demonstrated a conviction that every leader of the *Evangel* has possessed: that the *Evangel* is not just a magazine; it is a ministry of God with a powerful anointing of the Holy Spirit upon it.

At the beginning of 1995, Hal Donaldson came to lead the publication. Donaldson, who was both a minister and experienced journalist, brought fresh innovative leadership that saw the magazine make great strides in cultural connectivity. The beginning of Donaldson's 13 years at the helm coincided with the revival at Brownsville Assembly of God in Pensacola, Florida, and numerous other revivals, which were covered in the magazine. Circulation of the *Evangel* peaked during this time, with Gospel Publishing House printing more than 300,000 copies of some issues.

This era harkened back to the early years of the magazine when revival reports were a prominent feature of the magazine. Many readers scheduled trips and vacations around the locations of revivals, regularly contacting the *Evangel* offices for information about where such awakenings were taking place. An internal motto was coined for the *Evangel* staff: "At the *Pentecostal Evangel*, our goal is not to just report on revival; our goal is to experience revival." This motto reflects the historic and still rel-



Harold H. Moss (right) seated at his desk with Noel Perkin sitting at the desk behind him in 1928. Moss became acting editor of the *Pentecostal Evangel* in 1929.

evant emphasis on ministry in the offices of the publication. Each staff member, whether an editor, graphic designer or clerical worker, is considered a minister and is intimately connected to the fruitfulness of the magazine.¹⁸

The current editor has been in place since 2008 when Donaldson stepped



Stanley Frodsham served as editor of the *Pentecostal Evangel* from 1921-1928 and 1930-1949.

down to devote his full attention to the compassion ministry organization Convoy of Hope, where he is the president

and cofounder.

Revival

Revival — local, national, and international — has always been a major focus of the magazine. The years between the Azusa Street and Brownsville revivals covered countless outpourings of the Holy Spirit.

On June 10, 2001, Donaldson, in an editorial, asked the question "Is revival waning?"¹⁹ It was not the first time such a question had been asked in the pages of the *Evangel*. In 1961, Brumback wrote, "It must be admitted that there is a general lessening of fervor and discipline in the Assemblies of God in America. This frank admission is not a wholly new sentiment, for down through the years in the pages of *The Pentecostal Evangel* and other periodicals correspondents have asked, 'Is Pentecost the revival it was in the beginning?' As early as five years after Azusa, they were looking for 'the good old days'! Nevertheless, it is vital to any revival movement to reassess not too infrequently the state of its spiritual life."²⁰

The *Pentecostal Evangel* has been a regular part of that reassessment, doing its part to rekindle flagging revival fires by exhortation and by reporting where

those fires continued to burn. The August 30, 1924, issue carried the headline “The Coming Revival” and many other editions of the magazine have followed suit up to the present.

Missions

The explosive growth in circulation had another contributing factor — missions. Many revival reports came from missionaries. From the beginning, missions has been a hallmark of *Evangel* coverage. Of the early years, historian Edith Blumhofer commented, “Because of [the *Evangel*], leaders believed, ‘missionary enthusiasm’ was ‘kept at boiling point.’”²¹ Generous giving from readers was the response to the publication of missionary needs. The magazine was even instrumental in bolstering the missions corps. Many missionaries, past and



A girl named Suzanita from the Philippines who received Christ after reading the *Pentecostal Evangel*, 1976.

present, have credited an article in the magazine as having a significant part in their call to the field.

In April of 1998, the Assemblies of God missions magazine, *Mountain Movers*, ceased publication, and a strategic partnership was formed between the *Pentecostal Evangel* and AG World

Missions (AGWM). AGWM Communications staff, led by director Randy Hurst, combined forces with *Pentecostal Evangel* staff for a monthly edition of the magazine known today as the *World Missions Edition*. A new dimension was added to missions coverage with reporters from both departments traveling on-site to many places around the world where God was significantly using AG missionaries. This regular edition boosted circulation for several years. Since 2009, the *World Missions Edition* has been published nine times annually.

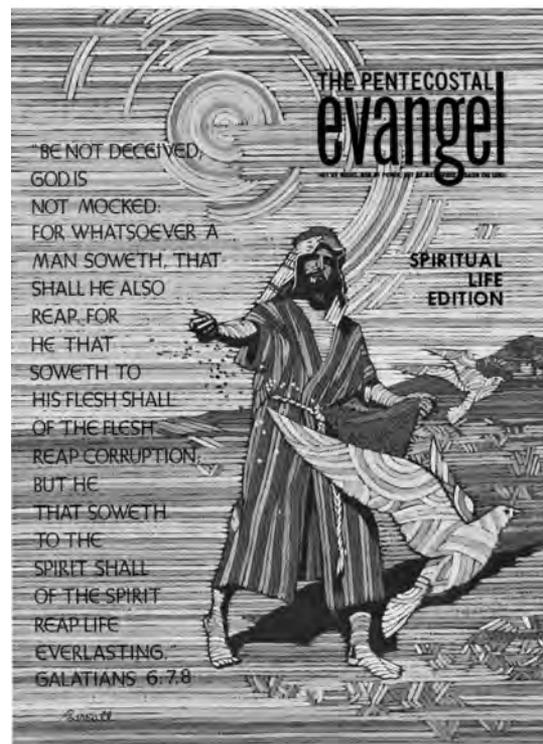
With an Assemblies of God constituency of more than 3 million in the United States and 65 million worldwide, it is clear that revival has flourished internationally even more than on American soil. The May 29, 2011, issue of the magazine was a special edition devoted to the gathering of the World Assemblies of God Fellowship in Chennai, India. The report stated:

None could have imagined that the 300 individuals who gathered in Hot Springs, Ark., in April 1914 would have become 63 million before the Movement hit the century mark. But there is great faith that, should the Lord tarry, 100 million souls will call the Fellowship home 10 years hence.²²

The next triennial World Congress of the World Assemblies of God Fellowship will be held in 2014 in Springfield, Missouri, the home of the *Pentecostal Evangel*, to celebrate the centennial of the Assemblies of God.²³

Other Uses

Since the beginning, the magazine has been found in numerous places other than churches. Early on, leadership urged that it be placed in “depots, jails and public places” as well as in public libraries. Today, the *Evangel* is still found in all kinds of venues — many placed by readers. Its distribution to the military has touched many lives. One young sol-



Cover of a Spiritual Life Edition with artwork by Norman Pearsall.

dier, burning trash in a war zone, saw an *Evangel* just as the flames began to consume it. Remembering it from his youth, he rescued it and beat out the flames. This seared messenger was the means of bringing him back to God.

There is probably no better use of the *Evangel* than in prisons. Key Bearers, a combined ministry of the *Evangel* and Light for the Lost, has supplied nearly 11 million magazines to prisons since its inception in 1996. There have been reports of individual issues being read by as many as 100 inmates. Currently 10,000 to 12,000 copies go into prisons every week.

But placing *Evangel*s in prisons is older than the Key Bearers program. The March 14, 1931, issue reported:

From all parts of the country we have received letters from time to time from young men in jail or in penitentiary, saying the *Evangel* has found its way to them in their imprisonment and has been a great blessing. Cut off as they are from

WORD AND WITNESS

VOLUME 10

MALVERN, ARKANSAS, APRIL 20, 1914.

Number 4

"Preach the WORD."—2 Tim. 4:2.

"Earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the Saints."—Jude 3.

"Ye also shall bear WITNESS."—John 15:27.

Hot Springs Assembly; God's Glory Present.

The general assembly called some five months ago to meet at Hot Springs met on Thursday, April 2. Many blessed brethren from a distance as well as those near by were in attendance. Pastor Edman was on hand from Buffalo, N. Y. Brother Pitcher of Iliakmore, who has a blessed Pentecostal work in that city and around about, was also there. Brother Leonard of Findley, Ohio, from the Gospel Bible school was present. John Sin Clair was on hand to represent Chicago. Brother Richey of Zion City, Ill., was also present. Brother Rickard came from Evansville, Ind. Editor Flowers was present from Plainfield, Ind., and Brother Armstrong of Indianapolis was also present. Bros. Todd of Memphis, Howarth of Dallas, Jamieson of Portland, Ore., Erickson of Stone Church in Chicago and many others nearby whose names are too numerous to mention, blessed men of God, were present with great expectations from the Lord. Several foreign countries and about 20 states were represented.

presence of God to bring out as one in purpose, principles and unity what men supposed to be two diverse crowds. In fact the hearts of the brethren were one in coming up, but not having any previous opportunity to get together and understand each other, all hands were working with each other to see that a new sect was not organized, but, praise God, when they came together to know and understand, it was found that all were perfectly agreed on the same thing. As a result all approved and unanimously adopted the following resolutions as a sort of Magna Charta, a declaration of religion freedom, a pledge against sectarianism and ossion, and an owning of Christ as our Lord and Head, an expression of our faith in the "one body, the one Spirit, the one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism and the one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all and in you all," Eph. 4:4-6 Here is the resolution:

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.
 WHEREAS; God, our Heavenly Father, sent His only begotten Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, into the world, who purchased and redeemed fallen man, with His own precious blood, and called out a people of whom He saved a people of whom He built and established His church upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets;

to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace until we all come into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, into a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ, and to walk accordingly as recorded in Eph. 4:1-32.
 RESOLVED: SECOND, That we recognize all the above said assemblies of various names, and when speaking of them refer to them by the general scriptural name "Assemblies of God," and recommend that they all recognize themselves by the same name, that is, "Assembly of God," and adopt it as soon as possible for the purpose of CONVENIENCE, UNITY and FELLOWSHIP, and to be more scriptural and legal in transacting business, owning property, and executing missionary work in home and foreign lands.
GREAT JOY AND UNITY.
 The above assembly and resolution was adopted amid great joy and unity. After this safeguard was agreed on by all, the fears of everybody departed. Praise God. Then the hearts of all the saints flowed together in a most blessed and marvelous fellowship. The North, South, East and West were henceforth one—one in love, one in trusting each other and one in purpose to glorify God in the earth. About 120 ministers registered as delegates in the council from about 20 states, and several foreign countries sent letters of greeting, good wishes and approval of the objects of the meeting. But despite all this the multitude was of one heart and one soul. Oh, praise be unto our God and unto His Christ forever.
MISSIONARY PRESBYTERY
 A Missionary Presbytery

was organized, in getting passports, supporting missionaries without import duties, which business now has to be done by our missionaries in the name of such denominations as are kind enough to do this business for them, in legally securing ground on which to build mission stations, and in many ways wherein our missionaries are now embarrassed, harassed, and dependent (to our shame) on the denominations. So when the missionaries were heard from and the facts and necessities known it was agreed without a dissenting voice to charter and put this business of the General Council on a legal and lawful basis.
THE GLORY CAME DOWN.
 Nothing was ever more manifestly approved of God. See the steps of unity and approval. First, the body of brethren assembled to consider the matter joyfully and carefully men- tioned it to the council. Second, the General Council itself as a whole without one dissenting voice unanimously approved it. Third, then as all stood before God in consent, the power and the glory of God came down, praises, thanks and shouts went up as the sound of many waters unto God. When things were quiet enough to hear, a message in the Spirit came and the interpretation followed, and the approving voice said, "I have guided in all this, and my approval rests upon it." Fourth, Bro. Mason, a real prophet of God, also in the power of the Spirit blessed the council in his action for God. So I repeat, I have never seen anything more manifestly approved of God. Whatever the future may have in store for us none is doubted but that God

tell of miraculous healings and give the Word of God on Divine Healing, will give other important teaching from the Word and in many respects be a *Red Letter Edition*, as it were, worthy to order now and distribute throughout the year.
A GREAT WEEKLY PAPER.
 There is a cry from everywhere voiced at the convention for a fresh up-to-date in news and in power for God *Weekly Pentecostal Paper*. If all will begin NOW and do YOUR BEST, we can have such by the middle or last of June. Everybody "step up first." We are now behind and need help. Then all take subscriptions and send in. If all will take hold and double our present subscription list, we can make it a *Weekly*, and then you will get two papers for the same money you now pay for one. In other words, as soon as the weekly starts, you will get 26 papers in six months for 50 cents, where you now get for the same money only 12 papers in 12 months, and the news will be much fresher and more sweet. For \$1 you would get 52 papers during the year.
BEGIN NOW! If you will mention WEEKLY W. & W. pay up-to-date, and send us 50c more, as soon as the weekly starts, we will send you 26 copies, one each week, instead of 12 copies as now. If you are a new subscriber as soon as it starts, you will get two papers where you get one. If you will pay up, mention the WEEKLY W. & W., send us \$1 ahead, then as soon as we start weekly we will send the rate of 52 papers a year till expired. If anything happens so we cannot start the weekly at once, then for the dollar, we will

NOTICE TO PREACHERS.
 New credentials are being issued to Pentecostal or Apostolic Faith or Churches of God in Christ preachers. This was agreed on at the Hot Springs Convention or Council. All the new ones will be issued in the common or general name of ASSEMBLIES OF GOD. For convenience East and West those in the West and South will send your present credentials to H. A. Goss, Hot Springs, Ark., for renewal. Tell him what kind of work you are doing, whether pastor, evangelist or missionary, and give your home post office. Those North and East will apply in same way to Eld. T. K. Leonard, the Gospel School, Findlay, Ohio. Do this at once so your name will be in the published minutes.—Editor.

ASLEEP IN JESUS.
 Sister Dempsey fell asleep in Jesus at Hartford, Ark., March 31, 1914. Some years ago when I brought this glorious gospel of healing and Pentecost to Hartford she was among the first to accept it. As an invalid she came to the altar for healing, and when I laid hands on her in the name of Jesus, praying for her, God healed her, and she began shouting and praising God. Then she said, "Oh I want the baptism." Again we prayed, laying hands on her; the Spirit in power fell and she began speaking in tongues. She continued a power in the church with signs and wonders following until about four months ago. As I passed her house she was sitting on the porch with the glory of God shining in her face, but that night she did not appear in her usual place at

An issue of *Word and Witness* reporting on the first General Council. This monthly publication merged with the *Evangel* at the end of 1915.

the pleasures of the world, many of these men are open to the gospel.

Only yesterday we had a letter from Brother [D. P.] Holloway of Crichton, Ala., saying that a member of his congregation gave some old *Evangelists* to a friend who had a son in prison. The friend sent them on to her son and received a letter from him saying that he had read them and had handed them out to other prisoners, and that 110 had read them, only one refusing.

About two weeks ago an ex-convict dropped into the Editorial Department. He told us that he had been guilty of almost every crime, but that while serving his last term in jail God saved him.

For the past two years he has been a prison evangelist and has seen many young men saved. He

finished his story by asking us to send a dozen *Evangelists* each week to the jail from which he had been released, that the boys there might have them.

Is there a jail or a penitentiary in your city?²⁴

Today it is far more than "from time to time." For all the 17 years of the Key Bearers program, the *Evangel* staff has averaged receiving four salvation letters from inmates every weekday. Once, an Assemblies of God prison chaplain visited the special housing unit (where inmates are incarcerated alone). A big, heavily tattooed biker who had rebuffed all previous attempts, agreed to take some religious literature from him, including a *Pentecostal Evangel*. A short time later he started yelling and kicking the door of his cell. The chaplain rushed

back and asked, "What's wrong?" The inmate held the magazine up to the window. "Do you see what this says? 'God is our Father.' Let me tell you about the father that I know." He tore off his T-shirt revealing a badly scarred back. He said, "This is the only father I ever knew." He crumpled the magazine up and threw it into a corner of his cell. The chaplain felt helpless. On later visits the inmate would have nothing to do with him. The crumpled magazine lay on the floor of his cell. Then one day, the long hours of boredom finally caused him to pick up the magazine ... and begin to read.

This inmate read about the perfect Father. Then, on the chaplain's next visit, he opened up to him. When their discussion ended, he shoved his big, beefy hands through the hatch to the chaplain and prayed the sinner's prayer. "Heavenly Father," the chaplain began. The

inmate repeated it, but there was also an echo up and down the cellblock. They continued. “I’m a sinner.” Up and down the cellblock the words echoed, “I’m a sinner.” Other men had been listening from their cells and wanted to receive Christ as well. Jesus saved several that day, who professed faith to the chaplain when he walked back past their cells.²⁵

Every week the *Evangel* staff gathers to pray for those who responded to the ABCs of Salvation the previous week and to lay hands on the magazine for the upcoming week, praying that God will anoint it for His purposes. One salvation response coupon received was from Beijing, China. The date of the magazine was more than five years prior.

Twice the staff has received salvation coupons from magazines 12 years old. The *Pentecostal Evangel* office receives an average of seven salvation coupons daily, and each one receives follow-up discipleship literature and a contact from a local church where possible.

The staff of the *Pentecostal Evangel* has seen first hand the truth of Isaiah 55:11:

So shall My word be that goes forth from My mouth; It shall not return to Me void, But it shall accomplish what I please, And it shall prosper *in the thing* for which I sent it. (NKJV)

Who knows if a magazine that today has been forgotten may reemerge at just the right time to touch a soul for Christ. It could be there now, lingering at the bottom of a stack of reading material as the stack grows. Years later, someone may reach the bottom of that stack and find that old magazine, and receive Christ. It has happened before. How many such silent evangelists are lingering now, waiting for that God-given opportunity to save a soul from an eternity without Christ?

In 1995 the *Evangel* added a Spanish-language edition (*Evangelio Pentecostal*). The *Evangel*’s coverage has

also been expanded with a website with issues dating back to 1999 (visit pe.ag.org). The Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center has scanned and archived online issues from 1913 to 2003. Blogs, an e-mail daily devotional, recordings for the blind, videos on AGTV, and social media such as Facebook and Twitter have augmented and expanded the *Evangel*’s reach in this technological era. The *Evangel* has also had material reprinted

semblies of God.”²⁶ And that’s where it continues to stand today.

Recording Our Past

The early editions defended the genuineness of the Pentecostal experience with some long apologetic articles, such as a series on the history of the Pentecostal revival by Bennett F. Lawrence, an executive presbyter of the AG, in early 1916. But they did not ignore the fact



***Pentecostal Evangel* editorial staff, 1975. (L-r): Helen Stauffer, Dick Champion, Robert Cunningham, Juleen Turnage, Kathy Wrinkle, and Almeda Elliott.**

in hundreds of publications, both print and online. Unofficial “*Pentecostal Evangels*” with material translated from English into many other languages have circulated internationally for decades.

Through the years the magazine has changed as needed to more effectively communicate to a culturally changing readership. But in the midst of these changes it has always remained true to its mission, communicating the gospel, teaching the Word of God, sharing testimonies of those whose lives have been dramatically transformed, and prophetically speaking to the issues of the day. Back in 1919, E. N. Bell said, “[The *Evangel*] belongs to God and the As-

sembly of God.”²⁷ that wildfire could emerge from unbiblical fanaticism and the cult of personality. “There be many,” W. F. Carothers wrote, “... who do not hesitate to rush out with the first impression that strikes them — making shipwreck for themselves and often for many others. ‘Fools rush in where angels fear to tread.’”²⁷

Lawrence’s series was lengthy and quite thorough for the day. The 13-part series, “Apostolic Faith Restored: A History of the Present Latter Rain Outpouring of the Holy Spirit known as the Apostolic or Pentecostal Movement,” is still valuable reading today. It provides a historical perspective in proximity to the actual events. These articles were actu-

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

CONDUCTED BY E. N. BELL

1058. Will the Bride be taken from among the Gentiles or from among the Jews?

As I understand the scriptures she will be taken from both.

1059. Is the 144,000 spoken of in Rev. 7:35 the same as those in Rev. 14? Are they the body of Jesus?

Yes, I think they are the same. But they are not the body of Christ. The body of Christ includes all that belong to the real spiritual church. These are only a special company.

1060. Please explain Luke 21:24 and Rom. 11:25, what is meant by thefulness of the Gentiles?

The times of the Gentiles began with the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the times of the Gentiles will last until Jerusalem is again restored to the full authority of the Jews. When the fullness of the Gentiles is come in, this will take place. The capture of Jerusalem by the English from the Turks is, in my judgment, not a fulfillment of this passage, for it is still, in a large sense, under the dominion of the Gentiles.

1061. Is it scriptural to speak of the human nature of Jesus Christ as being carnal?

The word carnal strictly means fleshly, and if used in this sense, without any implication of sin, it might be lawful so to speak of Christ. But in most places the word carnal in the scriptures implies sinfulness, or a lack of spirituality, and in neither of these senses would it be scriptural to apply it to Jesus. He was without sin in every respect.

1062. What is the duty of a disci-

ple is right to take it in the Baptist Church?

There are two ways out of the difficulty. One is that your assembly could meet and agree in the appointment of some one of your number to administer the Supper in the regular way. The other is, that you are free to take it in any church where your conscience tells you that you can take it with profit and to the glory of the Lord.

1064. Are a man and woman lawfully married if married by a woman preacher.

Yes, if the law gives her this right it is perfectly all right. The General Council does not encourage women preachers to perform any authoritative or official acts; but if they meet the requirements of the law it is perfectly legal. Even in the church women may do things in real emergencies which are not ordinarily permitted.

1065. Is there any scripture that says people will be saved without the gospel?

I do not remember any such scripture. 1066. Does speaking in tongues comprise two different things—speaking a real language foreign to the person, and speaking something understood by the Lord only?

It is confined primarily to speaking other languages which we are caused to speak by the power of the Spirit, and which we have never learned. But Paul, in 1 Cor. 13 refers to speaking with the tongues of angels, and it is barely possible that He may cause us to speak in languages or by signs understood only by the Lord. Of course these could be interpreted by the Spirit of God just the

and that the souls of both are conscious in the interval between death and resurrection, although there are some places where it is written that the dead know not anything. Please explain.

Where the scriptures say the dead know not anything, the context shows that this refers to their knowledge of the affairs going ahead on the earth. It means they know not anything about what their loved ones are doing behind them and such like. The scriptures never say that their spirits are not conscious. What is happening to themselves is very real to them.

The dead bodies in their graves know not anything; but their spirits are not in the grave, but in sheol or hades, if bad, and in paradise, if good. Sheol of the O. T. and hades of the N. T. are identical and are often translated "hell", and in all such places hell simply means the under world, the covered place, not the final place for the damned. But "hell fire", "the hell of fire", "the lake of fire", etc., refer to the final abode of the wicked after the final judgment. Neither the saved nor the lost have yet entered into their full reward, full inheritance. This will come to both only after resurrection, when soul and body will be united forever. But even now in hades or in paradise both have some foretastes of their final end.

The scriptures clearly teach that sorrow comes to the wicked in sheol (hell). (See 2 Sam. 22:6; Ps. 18:5; Ps. 116:3); and that they are conscious there (see Isa. 14:9-17; Eccl. 2:21, and Lu. 16:23).

1070. Please explain Rev. 14:10-11. Are they tormented with real fire?

Yes, it is real fire; but it may not be material fire. I don't suppose there is any coal or wood in hell to keep a material fire going; but the fire of hell in the spiritual world will be to the lost just what material fire would be in torment to men on earth.

OUR PRAYER.

That there may be more love, deeper humility, increased faith and perfect

ally a serialization of the first history of the Pentecostal movement in book form, published the same year.²⁸

The magazine has continued to reinforce the movement's history throughout the years with various articles. For example, Cordas C. Burnett offered a three-part retrospective on the formation of the Fellowship with a series titled, "Forty Years Ago," concluding in the April 11, 1954, issue.

Evaluating Our Past

The *Evangel* has preserved valuable word pictures of what today would be called "Old Time Pentecost." For example, P. S. Jones in the May 18, 1946, issue said:

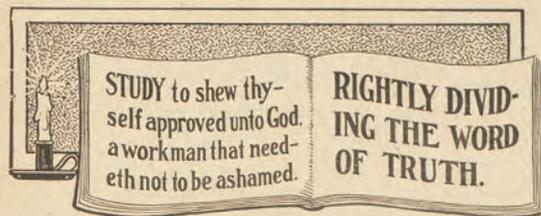
If there is one distinctive feature in Pentecostal church worship, it is the prominence given to the prayer room. Most forms of church service end when the benediction is pronounced, but in Pentecostal assemblies another service in the prayer room usually begins at that point. What we have to say here is not intended to detract from the acknowledged importance of the opening service of song, prayer, testimony, and the ministry of the Word; but we wish to emphasize that, to a very large degree, the blessing on that service is dependent upon the spiritual power which proceeds from the prayer room.²⁹

We must admit to change, and descriptions like this permit us to evaluate whether that change has all been to the good.

Tracing Our Doctrine

While some would portray early Pentecostals as uneducated and shallow, that could hardly be said of much of the *Evangel's* early content. While rich in accounts of experiences with Holy Spirit power, studious, in-depth biblical articles were also common. For example, in

"Questions and Answers" by E. N. Bell was an important column during the 1910s and 1920s.



SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON

October 8, 1916.

PAUL BEFORE FELIX.

Lesson Text.—Acts 24:1-27.

Golden Text.—"Herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offense toward God, and toward men." Acts 24:16.

Leading Thought.—The blessing of a clean conscience.

1. Paul Accused by Tertullus. Vs. 1-9. We left Paul entering Caesarea bound; now we see him arraigned before Felix, the Roman governor. Paul's Jewish persecutors had wasted no time in sending their representatives down to Caesarea and had hired, as special aid in accomplishing their end, the orator Tertullus. He was to be their spokesman, and now after fulsome words of flattery for Felix, proceeds to bring three false accusations against Paul. 1. Paul was an offender against the Roman government, 2. He was

his time during the past twelve days. I trust there are none who read these words who would hesitate to recollect just how they have spent the past twelve days of their life. But there are some Christians, I fear, who need Paul's admonition to "redeem the time, because the days are evil." Paul needed no smooth-tongued orator to plead his cause. He was fulfilling the command of Jesus, who had directed His disciples when delivered up before public courts, "Settle it therefore in your hearts not to meditate before what ye shall answer, for I will give you a mouth and wisdom which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist." Such eloquence ought not even to be compared to the worldly-wise oratory of the supposed prudent. One by one he denies their charges. He acknowledged himself as belonging to the despised sect of the Nazarenes; but he denies that by so doing he had forsaken the Jewish religion or God. He believed the law and the prophets; and believed the truth of the resurrection to that extent that "herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offense toward God and toward men." The very

His Son cleanseth us from all sin." "The heart must be sprinkled from an evil conscience continually, for only so can fellowship be maintained with Him who is light and in whom is no darkness at all." Keep short accounts with God in the matter of transgression; constantly appropriate the blood which cleanseth and thus may you cultivate the unforgotten conscience. 1 Jno. 2:1, 2. Such a life brings the joy which no man can take away. Paul fully acquaints the governor with the cause of his coming to Jerusalem at this time, and the reason for his being found in the temple at all. How foolish to surmise that anyone who would come all that distance to worship God, would deliberately profane God's temple. Having so forcefully declared his innocence of all the charges preferred, Paul challenges his accusers to make it known the cause of their hatred. He leaves them thus in a bad light before Felix.

3. Felix Before Paul. Vs. 22-27. Such a defense could not fail to make its impression upon Felix, however much a sinner he might be. He defers the matter of Paul's judgment, in the meantime granting Paul his liberty and the constant fellowship and ministry of his acquaintances in Caesarea. After certain days Paul was sent for to be heard again concerning his faith in Christ. Paul was way beyond selfish motive in seeking to gain liberty for himself, as "he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come." He probably realized he was speaking to a lost man and woman, and God backed home his earnest words so that "Felix trembled," and like many another since has done, said, "Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will

The weekly Sunday school lesson was a vital contribution of the *Pentecostal Evangel* from the beginning.

1917, while still the *Weekly Evangel*, the magazine carried the lengthy multi-part series “Pictures of Pentecost in the Old Testament” by Alice E. Luce, that later was published as a book by Gospel Publishing House.³⁰

Luce, a British-born Anglican missionary, became the most prominent missiologist in the Assemblies of God in its early decades. Luce’s writings demonstrate early evidence that AG missions leaders endeavored to build indigenous churches — an idea in direct contrast to most mainline missions efforts. Luce affirmed that Paul preached Christ, not culture. Missiology in the magazine throughout its history has continued to demonstrate this important distinctive focus, right up to the present day.

The pages of the magazine have never shied away from addressing controversial topics. In its early stages, the magazine had a role in the theological formation of the movement, addressing the three most important doctrinal debates in the AG’s formative stages — Initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit (tongues), the Finished Work of Calvary (sanctification), and anti-trinitarianism (Oneness or “Jesus Only”). Other important doctrinal and cultural issues have been tackled openly since then — creationism, abortion, gay rights, and more. One can even peer back in time and glimpse firsthand information from some of the incidents that divided the movement as the stories were developing, such as E. N. Bell being rebaptized in the name of Jesus only and then afterward regretting this decision.

One can even trace changes in the movement’s stance on cultural issues. For example, the pages of the *Pentecostal Evangel* illustrate the shift from pacifism to patriotic support of the military between the two World Wars. Bell became the first to tackle controversial theological questions regularly in the magazine in his “Questions and Answers” column. A variety of leaders and theologians in other eras, such as E. S. Williams and Stanley Horton, continued

this helpful feature throughout most of the century.

Conclusion

The mission of the *Pentecostal Evangel* has remained unchanged since it was founded in 1913. As the official magazine of the Assemblies of God since 1914, it continues to give “proper emphasis to Pentecostal distinctives for the purpose of strengthening the Fellowship.”³¹ With the Lord’s help, the magazine will continue to fulfill this function until His return. And it will continue to be published “not by [human] might nor by [human] power but by [God’s] Spirit.” ☩



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NOTES

¹For additional information on the impact of the *Pentecostal Evangel* from its beginning on July 19, 1913 to the present, see the June 9, 2013, issue which features the 11 editors of the *Evangel* over the last 100 years. Also see the July 14, 2013, issue which includes articles highlighting the *Pentecostal Evangel*’s centennial.

²*Christian Evangel*, July 19, 1913, 1.

³C. C. Burnett, “Forty Years Ago, Part 3,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 11, 1954, 5, 10.

⁴“Fifty Years Ago,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, July 21, 1963, 21.

⁵Ken Horn, “The Pentecostal Evangel: 5,000 Issues and Counting,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, March 7, 2010, 14-15.

⁶*Ibid.*, 15.

⁷“International Sunday School Lesson,” *Christian Evangel*, July 19, 1913, 7.

⁸General Council Minutes, 1918, 10.

⁹Carl Brumback, *Suddenly ... From Heaven: A History of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield,

MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), 225.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 319.

¹¹*Christian Evangel*, March 28, 1914, 4; May 9, 1914, 4.

¹²*Christian Evangel*, July 11, 1914, 2.

¹³J. Roswell Flower, “Little Talks With the Office Editor, *Weekly Evangel*, May 13, 1916, 2.

¹⁴Faith Campbell, *Stanley Frodsham: Prophet With a Pen* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1974), 53; William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 132-133.

¹⁵“Bro. Flower Retires from the Evangel Staff,” *Weekly Evangel*, September 29, 1917, 7.

¹⁶“Richard G. Champion—A Man of Vision,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, July 3, 1994, 6. This issue also contained a reprint of one of Champion’s articles, excerpts from his editor’s column, a photo gallery, and tributes from the *Evangel* staff and others.

¹⁷John Maempa, “Rejoice!” *Pentecostal Evangel*, July 3, 1994, 3.

¹⁸Horn, “*The Pentecostal Evangel*,” 17.

¹⁹Hal Donaldson, “Is Revival Waning?” *Pentecostal Evangel*, June 10, 2001, 4.

²⁰Brumback, 349-350.

²¹Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism*, Vol. 1 (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), 283.

²²Ken Horn, “A Taste of Heaven,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, May 29, 2011, 4-7.

²³The next World Assemblies of God Congress and the 100th anniversary celebration will be held in Springfield, Missouri, August 7-10, 2014.

²⁴“Pentecostal Evangel in Jails and Prisons,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, March 14, 1931, 3.

²⁵“Evangel Goes to Prisons,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 25, 1999, 9.

²⁶E. N. Bell, “Big Evangel Campaign,” *Christian Evangel*, September 20, 1919, 3.

²⁷W. F. Carothers, “Grapes and Pomegranates,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, January 15, 1916, 9.

²⁸B. F. Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (St. Louis, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1916).

²⁹P. S. Jones, “A Unique Pentecostal Feature,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, May 18, 1946, 1.

³⁰Alice E. Luce, *Pictures of Pentecost in the Old Testament* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, [1920]).

³¹*The General Council of the Assemblies of God Operations Manual*, revised April 2013, 27.



C. M. Ward on the air with the *Revivaltime* Choir in the background, 1958.

C. M. Ward: The Voice of *Revivaltime*, 1953-1978

By Benjamin A. Wagner

For many listeners to the *Revivaltime* radio broadcast, C. M. Ward (1909-1996) personified the Assemblies of God during his 25-year tenure as host of the program. When Ward retired his microphone in 1978, *Revivaltime* was one of the denomination's most widely-recognized national ministries. While *Revivaltime* was not the first effort by the Assemblies of God to use media to promote its message — the *Pentecostal Evangel* had been serving this role since 1914 — the radio broadcast helped the denomination to develop a distinct identity.

In the decades following World War II, the Assemblies of God began moving from relative cultural isolation toward cultural engagement.¹ *Revivaltime* played a significant role in this shift. This article examines Ward's style and how the broadcast helped to both shape the testimony of the Assemblies of God and to communicate that message to the broader world.

Like other conservative Christian groups of this era, the Assemblies of God believed radio might be the providential means by which widespread revival would occur.² At the committee meeting that birthed the radio program in 1950, Wesley Steelberg, the first speaker of *Revivaltime* captured the hopes of Pentecostals: "Our prayer and desire is that we may produce and present a broadcast which will be brimful of the spirit and power of Pentecost. We want it to be a soul-saving agency ... and we pray it will, indeed, promote a time of revival."³

By December of 1953, the program was being broadcast on the ABC radio network, heard on over three hundred stations and was receiving from 12,000 to 15,000 letters each month from listeners around the world.⁴ C. M. Ward, the speaker from 1953 until 1978, was widely recognized as one of the most effective religious communicators of his day. This recognition led to him being inducted into the National Religious Broadcasters "Hall of Fame," thus joining the ranks of such radio preaching legends as Charles E. Fuller and Walter A. Maier.⁵ Through the use of radio, the Assemblies of God had achieved an unprecedented hearing.

Mass Appeal

A major element of the mass appeal of *Revivaltime* was the rhetorical style of C. M. Ward. Ward, who read four or five

newspapers a day, wrote his sermons in newspaper style — short sentences, simple and direct language.⁶ Combining this simple style with a vivid imagination and drawing on a vast reservoir of stories and facts gained from his broad reading, his sermons were full of powerful imagery, illustrations, and "human interest" stories.⁷

It was his style that appealed to a cross-section of society. Letters came from children asking for prayer for their family



C. M. Ward seated at his desk at the *Revivaltime* office, circa 1950s.

and elderly audience members thankful for an "old-fashioned revival broadcast." Responses came from people down on their luck, as well as from prominent figures such as President Lyndon B. Johnson, Queen Juliana of Holland, and W. C. Handy, the famous composer of the St. Louis Blues.⁸

Ward also had a keen sense of what topics appealed to his radio audience. His choice of many topics shows that he was

willing, at times, to sacrifice doctrinal substance if he believed the topic would resonate with his audience. For example, one year Ward preached a series of sermons specifically directed toward senior citizens. He recalled denominational executives were hesitant to broadcast the sermons because of their lack of theological content. However, the sermons were reprinted in several magazines and one particular sermon, Ward estimated, was the most popular of the year.

He tellingly admitted in these sermons that he “moved more than I usually do on the sentimental side. But it touched the cords [chords] of so many and had a

Perhaps the most effective element of *Revivaltime*’s mass appeal was Ward’s ability to directly address individual audience members. The medium was well suited to this style. According to media theorist Marshall McLuhan, radio possesses a “person-to-person directness that is private and intimate.”¹¹ McLuhan likens the effects of the medium to that of a conversation spoken in the dark — here words acquire rich textures as listeners “fill in all the senses” in an imaginative process of engaging the auditory image.¹²

Ward was aware of the power of radio to produce this virtual intimacy. In an

conversational style to foster a sense of relationship between the audience and himself.

Ward’s emphasis on connecting with the individual listener was a point of pride for the program. In 1957, the denomination’s radio committee reported that the radio industry placed *Revivaltime* in the same class with Billy Graham’s *Hour of Decision*. They noted that someone distinguished the two broadcasts in this way: “Billy Graham is a voice calling a nation in mass to return to God; C. M. Ward is calling the individual. Graham has the general appeal, while Ward has the specific appeal to the individuals [sic] heart.”¹⁴

This appeal to the individual was dramatically enacted as Ward invited audience members at the end of every sermon to kneel beside their radio and respond to his message in prayer. Such an “invitation” evoked an old-fashioned revival meeting’s “altar call,” — a ritual highlighting the individualism and voluntarism that has been a hallmark of popular evangelical piety. As the choir sang “There’s Room at the Cross for You,” the audience was urged to come down “the long, long altar” and kneel beside their radio. This moment was seen as the “heart and core” of the *Revivaltime* broadcast.

Ward remarked, “the radio-altar is minutes of meaningfulness. Folk in increasing numbers are passing at it to take a long, hard look at themselves and their ultimate reflection in eternity. God comes to us in this moment of choice.”¹⁵ The “radio altar” allowed listeners to engage in a visible ritual marking their reception of Ward’s message and the spirituality he represented.¹⁶ And it illustrates the ability of the medium to invade the arena of the private, presenting Ward as a personal, friendly figure in an increasingly technological, impersonal culture.

In addition to Ward’s communication style, another facet of the radio program’s broad attraction was its professional quality choir, directed by Cyril McLellan and which consisted of stu-



***Revivaltime* is presented the annual award of merit at the International Christian Broadcasters Convention, January 1964. (L-r): E. R. Bertermann (cochairman of ICB); Bartlett Peterson (executive director of AG Radio Department); T. F. Zimmerman (general superintendent); C. M. Ward (*Revivaltime* speaker); and D. V. Hurst (secretary of AG Radio Department).**

great mail response.”⁹ Every year around Major League baseball’s opening day, he preached a sermon in which he would discuss baseball. And every year baseball players, owners, and umpires would request his sermon.¹⁰ While references to popular culture and the use of sentimentality did not normally overshadow the theological and spiritual message, Ward utilized these rhetorical devices to capture the interest of his audience and generate audience response.

interview he commented that the radio preacher “has to be gifted with a voice, not only clarity like the old classic announcers, but there must be an intimacy in it. Whether the listener is five thousand miles away, he’s listening in South Africa, or whether he’s listening in Joplin, Missouri, there must be in that voice something that says, ‘I care for you.’”¹³ Addressing audience members as “Mister,” “Miss,” “neighbor,” or “friend,” Ward often spoke in a neighborly and

dents at Central Bible Institute in Springfield, Missouri. Its promoters boasted that the *Revivaltime* choir was one of the most popular recording groups for their label, Word Records. By 1975, the choir had produced 17 consecutive records for Word. Across the country religious radio stations, like Moody Bible Institute's WMBI, which had initially refused to play the records, were playing the choir's songs daily.¹⁷

Each program began with the song, "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name," sung by the *Revivaltime* choir, and was followed by the reading of the biblical text and the sermon. Each program concluded with the invitation to the "long, long altar" (a euphemism for the radio altar existing across the airwaves) as the choir sang Ira Stanphill's "There's Room at the Cross for You."

The evangelistic appeal to the individual to accept Christ, the conversational style and choice of topics, as well as the use of music, however, were not entirely unique to *Revivaltime*. Many of these same elements could have been heard on Charles Fuller's *Old Fashioned Revival Hour* or Billy Graham's *Hour of Decision*. But Ward also offered his audience a distinctive mode of spirituality that drew upon the Assemblies of God's particular Pentecostal and holiness roots. This spirituality, like other popular religious expressions in American life, stressed an immediacy of the supernatural that could transform the ordinary lives of ordinary people.¹⁸

Modeling Charismatic Gifts

Ward not only spoke about Pentecostal spirituality, he provided a model of it by demonstrating charismatic "gifts" over the airwaves. One of the most distinct features of the broadcast was Ward's occasional exercise of what Pentecostal Christians call "a word of knowledge." These are taken as divine revelations or personal assurances transmitted to spiritually gifted persons in order to minister to the specific needs of individuals.



Cover of *Revivaltime* album, "Let Everybody Sing."

Many listeners wrote to Ward claiming that a particular "word" had been for them. A woman from Florida, worried if her daughter's approaching marriage was "God's will" testified, "I listened eagerly as the Holy Spirit ministered through you in a word of wisdom ... You spoke of a mother in the radio audience who was concerned about her child's choice of a marriage partner — telling her to place confidence in the choice and to embrace the fiancé." She concluded, "My heart was flooded with a peace and joy and calm that I cannot describe....I knew those were God's directions for me."¹⁹ A Canadian woman reported having suffered from hay fever for around 10 years. But "a year ago one Sunday morning broadcast, you spoke to someone who had hay fever. You said God was going to heal them. I was touched by God's healing power. The pain left and I have never had it any more."²⁰ A pas-

tor from Missouri, described as a "denominational clergyman," wrote that he "broke down in tears as the Lord spoke to his heart" through a word of discernment directed to a pastor.²¹

People gave credit to the *Revivaltime* broadcast for lost objects found, addictions broken, and obtaining gainful employment. They believed Ward was supernaturally used by God to speak to their personal needs — some of them mundane, some of them extraordinary, but all of them opportunities for God's intervention in their lives.

Ward's appeal to the supernatural as well as his intimate communication style heightened expectations and bolstered faith for a personal miracle. Faith could be rendered visible; spirituality became less abstract and more immediate. One Brooklyn listener spoke for many when she said, "I feel as if Brother Ward is talking directly to me. I sense the spirit



C. M. Ward, circa 1960s.

of discernment in him. The Holy Spirit is almost tangible while he speaks. One can almost reach out and touch God's presence."²²

Ward explicitly evoked the "experimental" or "camp meeting religion" of the Methodists like Asbury and McKendree, and later urban revivalists such as Finney and Moody, advocating a democratic, individualistic spirituality. He believed that this brand of Christianity alone could reawaken the "dead and unresponsive professors of creed and doctrine."²³ Urging listeners to seek physical healing,²⁴ to be filled with the Spirit,²⁵ and to give up vices like drinking, card playing, dancing, and "theater going,"²⁶

Ward believed true religious experience would bear fruit in a life set apart from the ways of secular society.

However, Ward's spirituality did not always present a sharp contrast between the secular and the sacred. He embraced many elements of cultural change, especially if the gospel could be discerned in and connected to it. The true preacher, he said, "must know his own age and respect it. He must believe in it. He must not apologize for jet, television, penicillin, kidney transplant, travel to the moon. He must be quick to detect motions of the Spirit of God in the movements of society. He must have gifts operative of discernment and interpretation."²⁷

In the midst of the charismatic renewal, Ward lauded the use of guitars and drums during worship and celebrated that "Catholics are praising a *living Christ*" (his emphasis). It was the vitality of this renewal movement, Ward believed, which would foster greater individual freedom and, in so doing, help withstand the threat of communism.²⁸ In short, Ward impressed upon his hearers a winsome Pentecostal spirituality that could supply the nation, as well as individuals, with the spiritual resources to overcome modernity's ills.

This spiritual vision fostered a desire in some non-Pentecostal listeners to experience the "full gospel." A Presbyterian minister was especially encouraged by a sermon that discussed the relationship between Scripture and science. At the end of his letter, he requested prayer that he might "know the full power of God's Holy Spirit."²⁹ A Lutheran wrote, "It is like having God talk to me when I listen to *Revivaltime*." He reported that someone he knew had been healed when a "Spirit-filled soul prayed for a year" and noted that it was this "Spirit-filled quality" which attracted him like a "magnet" to *Revivaltime*. Another Lutheran was so provoked by Ward's sermons that he had trouble sleeping. It wasn't until he experienced "the Baptism in the Holy Spirit" that he could "get a good night's sleep — know that God's will is being done."³⁰



An early *Revivaltime* sign.

If Ward's discussion of prominent elements of Pentecostal spirituality proved attractive to many listeners, such discussions also had their boundaries. His sermons had to go through an approval process, and denominational leaders were sensitive to rhetoric that might suggest that the Assemblies of God was outside the pale of mainstream evangelicalism. In 1955 Ward wanted to preach a sermon entitled "Cured of Cancer," drawing on a long Pentecostal tradition of belief in divine healing. However, he was discouraged from doing so by the denomination's leader, Ralph Riggs. It is worth reading Riggs' explanation at length:

Your great audience consists of many hundreds of thousands of those interested in the full gospel and the way in which you preach it. Unfortunately, at the present time, there are so many healing racketeers on the air who have incurred general public disfavor, there will be grave danger of our being classified with them if we put such a strong emphasis upon healing. We draw back from the danger which will be involved of losing so very many of our radio audience and suffering a real setback in the progress which the Lord has given us to date. We therefore request, Brother Ward, that you substitute for this sermon a strong two-fisted evangelistic appeal.³¹

This letter acknowledges the attraction of the "full gospel" message, but also demonstrates denominational sensitivity to cultural contexts in which certain elements of that message were in disrepute.

In 1974 a similar letter was sent to Ward regarding a series of messages dealing with biblical prophecy, a subject about which Ward wrote often, and a favorite arena of speculation by many other Pentecostals and dispensationalist Christians. The denomination's leader

wrote, "... in dealing with prophetic subjects, for the purposes of the broadcast itself, we are well advised not to involve the broadcast message with prophecy in an extensive way, but use the lead-in of prophecy to come quickly to an evangelistic appeal."³²

The focus of decision makers seemed fairly consistent — better to stick to a broad evangelistic message than to get sidetracked with peripheral matters or be

Ward impressed upon his hearers a winsome Pentecostal spirituality that could supply the nation, as well as individuals, with the spiritual resources to overcome modernity's ills.

associated with fringe ideas. This did not mean underplaying distinctive Pentecostal themes, but leaders clearly desired to avoid controversy and to maintain an image that would be found appealing to the general public and help the denomination identify with mainstream evangelicalism. This leads us to consider just how fully integrated the radio broadcast was with denominational identity.

"The Revivaltime Church"

While historians have recognized the use of radio by conservatives to promote a homogenous evangelical identity, they have not attended to the role media played in building particular denominations. *Revivaltime* producers reminded themselves and others that saving souls was the *raison d'être* of the broadcast. An Assemblies of God historian quoted one *Revivaltime* staff member who stressed: "The purpose of 'Revivaltime' has been consistently evangelism, not denominational promotion. Any benefit

accruing to the denomination has been strictly a by-product."³³

However, as the program grew in popularity, leaders in the radio department recognized that the broadcast could be utilized to bolster attendance and support of the denomination's local churches. Not content to simply hope that local churches might benefit from association with *Revivaltime*, these leaders developed marketing tools to link local Assemblies of God churches to the popular radio program. Denominational leaders, local pastors, and lay people set out to ensure that audience members who had been struck by the "full gospel" message could easily find local Assemblies of God churches which "preach the same full gospel and sing the same kind of songs."³⁴

Early in the program's history leaders saw opportunities to link local churches to the broadcast. The 1957 "Report of the Radio Committee to the General Council" observed, "without equivocation we can state that *Revivaltime* is everywhere making the name Assemblies of God well known." The report went on to remark that in some instances, evangelists and home missions workers arrive at a new locale and happily find that already "good seed has been sown" by the broadcast.

However, in order to connect the local minister with this effective ministry, the committee recommended further action. For instance, it suggested that "in order to secure the fullest benefit from their association with *Revivaltime*" all churches belonging to the denomination use the name "Assemblies of God" rather than an "obscuring local title." In addition, representatives of *Revivaltime* should attend local rallies, camp meetings, and other events so local pastors and leaders would be familiar with the purpose of the program. It was also urged that more local churches financially support *Revivaltime*. The popularity that *Revivaltime* had garnered for the Assemblies of God suggested that such support could greatly benefit any local



C. M. Ward and the *Revivaltime* Choir, circa 1958. Cyril McLellan, choir director, is standing behind Ward.

church.³⁵

In the early 1960s, at the end of a *Revivaltime* broadcast, C. M. Ward told his listeners, “The pastor of your nearby Assembly of God church extends a hearty invitation to visit his service.”³⁶ Ward’s invitation was only the beginning link in a chain connecting his fervent but friendly preaching and the radio broadcast’s professional gospel singing to the local Assembly of God church. Churches that pledged consistent support to the radio program were sent “Revivaltime Church” signs to display on their grounds. And Ward urged his listeners to “look for the church displaying the Revivaltime sign!”³⁷

Reports of the positive results of this type of advertising were relayed to local ministers through a newsletter published by the Assemblies of God Radio Department. In one such newsletter, an enthusiastic constituent reported that *Revivaltime* is “helping to advertise our church, and we are all proud to have it on the air.”³⁸ The newsletter, featuring positive results and testimonies, encouraged local pastors to get involved in supporting the broadcast.

To be sure, the radio broadcast was never seen as simply a promotional tool

for pastors. Bringing others the liberating message of the full gospel was the driving force behind much of the energy and hope animating those involved with the broadcast. The most visible display of this was the annual *Revivaltime* World Prayer Meeting. Pentecostals, with their stress on supernatural intervention to solve problems, have always valued prayer meetings as opportunities to join with one another in intercessory prayer. *Revivaltime*’s World Prayer Meetings afforded the Assemblies of God an opportunity for collective intercessory prayer on a grand scale and served to link churches across the nation together in a vast spiritual effort.

The first *Revivaltime* World Prayer Meeting took place in 1955. Ward led approximately 200 people in prayer for over 5,400 requests sent in by listeners. Local churches across the country called on women and men’s groups to pray for the requests during a live *Revivaltime* broadcast. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s prayer requests and intercessors grew into the tens of thousands.³⁹

The effort to connect the broadcast with the local church tapped into an earlier Pentecostal trait — the grassroots, lay oriented energy of the movement.

Pastors were called upon to market the program to the local community radio stations, while parishioners were asked to form prayer groups for the requests that poured in. Yet the effort also demonstrates a departure from early models of Pentecostal ministry. Except for prayer and financial support, there was little room for lay involvement in this professional level production.

More importantly, the ministry of *Revivaltime*, and to some extent the denomination’s image, came to center on C. M. Ward. Ward was probably better known by Assemblies of God members than the denomination’s national elected officials. In one sense, Ward had gained his position of prominence in the way that previous Pentecostal leaders had — he was a gifted communicator who displayed spiritual gifts. But the widespread influence of his media ministry had already garnered him a great deal of authority throughout the denomination and denominational leaders knew that influence could potentially overshadow their authority.

The Perils of Image Making

While Assemblies of God officials

saw the promise of linking their denomination to *Revivaltime* and its popular speaker, C. M. Ward, they were also aware of its perils. In a letter sent to Ward asking for his consideration for the position of speaker, General Superintendent Ralph Riggs wrote, “The interest of every church and our Movement as a whole are involved in this broadcast. This might mean something of a restriction and keeping of yourself within a certain compass narrower in its limits and freedom than what you now enjoy.”⁴⁰

Ward, as Riggs had anticipated, was like many Pentecostals, uncomfortable with structure and authority. Predictably, although he was *Revivaltime* speaker for 25 years, he did not always put the needs of the denomination at the forefront of his concern. As he put it, “I have a mind of my own. I don’t like to play religious

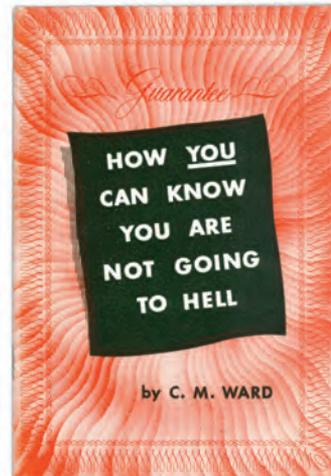
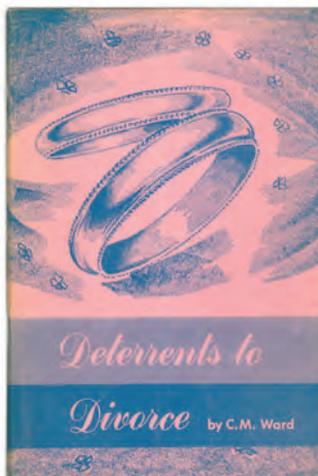
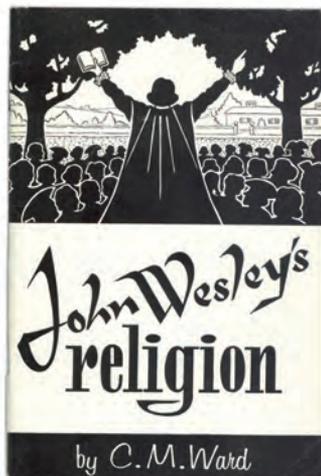
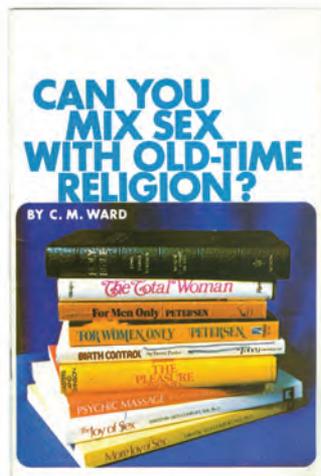
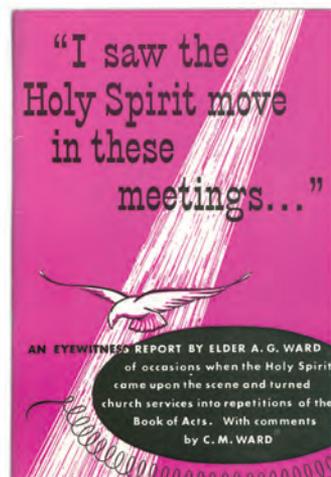
games. I am not a politician.”⁴¹

Although the relationship between Ward and the denomination’s authorities was one of mutual respect, at times tensions inevitably came to the surface. These surfaced most clearly near the end of Ward’s tenure, in the middle 1970s. Details of the controversy surrounding him remain somewhat vague. However, the underlying issues between Ward and the denominational leaders can be discerned.⁴²

In the early 1970s, officials became concerned that Ward was not spending enough time and energy on the broadcast. He had been elected president of Bethany Bible College (later Bethany University) in California in 1973 and was no longer living in Springfield, Missouri, where *Revivaltime* originated. The leaders apparently had accommodated

Ward by lessening his responsibilities,⁴³ but thought his involvement was beginning to wane to a greater extent than they anticipated.

In February 1974, Ward sent a letter to the denomination’s radio department in response to such concerns.⁴⁴ He argued that he was as “heavily involved in *Revivaltime*” as he had ever been in the past twenty years. Furthermore, he stressed that “the ministry is not automatic ... someone must *conceive* and *create*” (his emphasis). Ward listed the number of demands placed upon him. In addition to preparation needed for speaking, there were prayer requests, interviews, and various public relation events to attend. As a result of all this activity, Ward explained, a bit wearily, that the image of *Revivaltime* had been “fixed” to him. He summed up the thrust



Revivaltime News and other C. M. Ward publications

of his point, "I am as much Mr. Revivaltime as I have ever been."⁴⁵

This letter is interesting because it indicates the extent to which Ward was self-conscious about the process of cultural production involved in the *Revivaltime* program. But that process took its toll. The reference to himself as "Mr. Revivaltime" and the use of the word "fixed" to describe the image that the radio program had garnered him, sug-



Dan Betzer speaking on the *Revivaltime* broadcast, circa 1980s.

gests a negative psychological impact. Ward, it seems, increasingly felt a loss of autonomy as the broadcast's primary figurehead. The denomination's executives, he believed, were not aware of the energy and toil necessary to sustain this level of production. These feelings distanced him somewhat from denominational leadership.

Ward, never at a loss for words, felt the freedom to speak his mind whether in small groups or in front of large audiences. He often used his forceful personality and sense of humor to vocalize

frustrations. To this day, Ward's off-the-cuff jokes and comments, biting and well-told, are legendary in Assemblies of God circles.

As Ward moved toward retirement, leaders in the radio department reflected on the problems and possibilities that would result from the change. The producers knew that the broadcast's successful format and Ward's style had made it, as one official put it, "the major image builder of the Assemblies of God." The urgent question became how to maintain a level of continuity with the old program and yet be responsive to current tastes.

Ward retired from the broadcast at the end of 1978, and an Ohio pastor named Dan Betzer was selected to be his successor. The decision was made to change the music format to reflect a more contemporary image. However, it was decided that the core of the program, especially its evangelistic image, should remain. While other denominations were lessening their evangelistic stance, one report recommended that "the Assemblies of God would not want to make such an extreme change that would leave the impression that evangelism is no longer a priority to us."⁴⁶ The transition required careful negotiation between maintaining an image and current audience support and reconfiguring that image to keep pace with cultural trends.

Conclusion

The story of *Revivaltime* illustrates the processes at work in the Pentecostal movement's ascent during the post-war period and in the use of mass media and popular culture to promote the distinctive spirituality of the Assemblies of God. At the heart of the enterprise was an ability to convey a highly personal spirituality in a manner that entertained and resonated with the audience. *Revivaltime* helped to give the Assemblies of God a national identity, attempting to provide a consistent identity for local churches and communicating this identity to the broader world.

This identity, however, increasingly became connected to the *Revivaltime* speaker, C. M. Ward. The clash between Ward and denominational authorities illustrates how the use of mass media inevitably creates a degree of cultural authority for personalities which often can pose difficulties for institutional forms of authority. The *Revivaltime* program under C. M. Ward also illustrates how the use of mass media to build religious identity involves the use of potentially problematic market-driven criteria, such as audience appeal.

In spite of these issues, *Revivaltime* was a huge success. For a quarter of a century, Ward preached weekly to a vast audience. Thousands came to Christ, attracted to the message of the gospel through his crisp and clear sermons. Never once in his thirteen hundred broadcasts did he ever repeat a sermon; neither did a guest speaker ever preach in his place. Historian Gary McGee remarked, "No one took Pentecostal evangelism more successfully to the airwaves than C. M. Ward."⁴⁷ ✠

THIS IS A REVISED VERSION OF AN ARTICLE, ENTITLED "FULL GOSPEL RADIO: REVIVALTIME AND THE PENTECOSTAL USES OF MASS MEDIA, 1950-1979," THAT APPEARED IN *FIDES ET HISTORIA*, THE JOURNAL OF THE CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND HISTORY, IN 2003.



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NOTES

¹Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism* Volume 2--Since 1941 (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), 13-49.

²Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford, 1997), 124-140; Quentin J. Schultz, "Evangelical Radio and the Rise of the Electronic Church, 1921-1948," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 32 (1988): 289-306.

³"History Highlights of the Assemblies of God Radio-TV Department, 1945-1987," FPHC.

⁴For the number of radio stations, see "Report of the Radio Committee" in Radio Committee file, FPHC. For the number of letters received, see "Five Years with Revivaltime" in Radio Committee file, FPHC.

⁵I was informed of Ward's induction into the NRB's Hall of Fame by Karl Stoll, Vice-President of Communications for the National Religious Broadcasters. Telephone interview, April 27, 2001. Ward was inducted into the NRB in 1993. He had previously received an Award of Merit (1964) and Distinguished Service Award (1979) according to the list of such awards found in Ben Armstrong, *The Electronic Church* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1979), 185-186.

⁶I learned about Ward's newspaper reading habits from Leland Shultz, telephone interview, March 23, 2001. Shultz worked alongside C. M. Ward for twenty-five years as the announcer for the *Revivaltime* broadcast.

⁷Leland Shultz remarked to me that Ward was a vociferous reader. Telephone interview, March 23, 2001. Ward's "autobiography," which is actually only a series of recorded interviews, indicates that he possessed a basic familiarity with American history, particularly political history. His sermons are sprinkled with references to diverse topics such as the American revivalist tradition, past and current scientific discoveries, and current political and cultural events. See C. M. Ward with Douglas Wead, *The C. M. Ward Story* (Harrison, AR: New Leaf Press, 1976), 155-172.

⁸At the 700th broadcast of the *Revivaltime* program, which occurred on May 14, 1967, Ward reported receiving letters from Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson; Queen Juliana of Holland; Mr. Welch, the attorney who prosecuted Senator McCarthy; and composer W. C. Handy during his tenure as radio speaker. See "700 Transcript" file, FPHC and "Broadcast '700,'" *Pentecostal Evangel*, June 25, 1967, 21.

⁹*The C. M. Ward Story*, 113-14.

¹⁰This according to Leland Shultz, telephone interview, March 23, 2001.

¹¹Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), 302.

¹²*Ibid.*, 303.

¹³*The C. M. Ward Story*, 205.

¹⁴"Report of the Radio Committee, 1957," FPHC.

¹⁵*Transmitter*, March 1966.

¹⁶Gregor Goethals has observed how evangelical use of mass media, especially television, serves to promote a pseudo-ritualism in American culture. "Religious Communication and Popular Piety," *Journal of Communication* 35 (1985): 149-157.

¹⁷"Special Report Concerning Radio Ministry to Executive Presbyters, March 24-26, 1975," Radio Committee file, FPHC.

¹⁸Charles H. Lippy has noted an emphasis on the supernatural as existing outside of institutional boundaries as a common characteristic of American "popular religiosity." *Being Religious, American Style: A History of Popular Religiosity in the United States* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994), 10-11.

¹⁹"For Use in Your District Bulletin," *Transmitter*, October 1974.

²⁰"For Use in Your District Bulletin," *Transmitter*, April 1, 1975.

²¹"For Use in Your District Bulletin," *Transmitter*, January 1975.

²²"Please Use in Your District Bulletin," *Transmitter*, August 1970.

²³Sermon titled "Landmarks," in C. M. Ward, *Most Requested Radio Sermons of 1956* (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1956), 26. Also, "'Camp Meeting' Religion," *Revivaltime Radio Sermons*, July 10, 1960.

²⁴For healing sermons see: "Take up Thy Bed and Walk," in C. M. Ward, *Most Requested Radio Sermons of 1956*, 61-68; and "How to Get Your Healing," *Revivaltime Radio Sermons*, February 8, 1976.

²⁵Ward preached a three-part series titled "How to Receive" in 1975 which focused on the holiness themes of consecration and sanctification as well as being filled with the Holy Spirit. *Revivaltime Radio Sermons*, June 15, 1975; June 22, 1975; and June 29, 1975.

²⁶C. M. Ward, "How to Receive-Part II," *Revivaltime Radio Sermons*, June 22, 1975.

²⁷C. M. Ward, "Old and New," *Revivaltime Radio Sermons*, April 11, 1976.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Letter dated November 18, 1969 in C. M. Ward *Revivaltime* Speaker file, FPHC.

³⁰"For Use in Your District Bulletin," *Transmitter*, February 1973.

³¹Ralph M. Riggs, letter to C. M. Ward, August 19, 1955 in C. M. Ward *Revivaltime* Speaker file, FPHC.

³²Thomas F. Zimmerman, letter to C. M. Ward, December 31, 1974 in C. M. Ward *Revivaltime* Speaker file, FPHC.

³³Leland Shultz, quoted in William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 256.

³⁴*Transmitter*, June 1967.

³⁵"Report of the Radio Committee, General Council, 1957," in Radio Committee files, FPHC.

³⁶"Revivaltime Broadcast, 1962," in ABC Network Program file, FPHC.

³⁷"Spot News Back of the Revivaltime Mike," *Transmitter*, September 1963.

³⁸*Transmitter*, October 1964.

³⁹*Revivaltime* World Prayer Meeting file, FPHC.

⁴⁰Ralph M. Riggs, letter to C. M. Ward, October 3, 1953, in C. M. Ward *Revivaltime* Speaker file, FPHC.

⁴¹*The C. M. Ward Story*, 205-206.

⁴²See the entry for Ward in the *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), where it was noted that he was "always controversial." The reason given for this controversy is "the publication of his autobiography in 1976" where he criticized denominational leaders for "their lack of freshness."

⁴³A 1977 meeting between Ward and officials indicates that a "new arrangement" had been implemented. "Resume of the Committee Appointed by the Executive Presbyters to Meet with C. M. Ward." C. M. Ward *Revivaltime* Speaker file, FPHC.

⁴⁴C. M. Ward, letter to Lee Shultz, February 4, 1974 in C. M. Ward *Revivaltime* Speaker file, FPHC.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶"Special Report Concerning Radio Ministry to Executive Presbyters, March 24-26, 1975," FPHC.

⁴⁷Gary B. McGee, *People of the Spirit: The Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 2004), 433.



Workmen building a home missions church in Texas in the late 1940s or 1950s. Identified are: Jimmy W. McClellan (5th from the left); A. C. Bates, district missions secretary (3rd from right); and John Smith (in front of A. C. Bates; 4th from right).

Missionary Church Planters and Developers: An Entrepreneurial Heritage

By Joshua R. Ziefle

For almost a century, the Assemblies of God has been a leader in church planting. Early Pentecostals were visionaries and entrepreneurs, buoyed by a vision to save the world and anchored by a deep commitment to Christ and God's Word. Evangelists and pastors in the early 20th century traversed America, holding gospel services in tents, brush arbors, storefront buildings, rented churches and homes. These rugged pioneers gathered converts, organized churches and impacted entire communities. The same spirit that emboldened these early church planters lives on in the church planters of the 21st century.

Throughout its history, the Assemblies of God has developed ministries that aid church planters. The structure of national ministries that support church planting efforts has evolved over the years. Today, two national ministries fulfill different aspects of this vital need: Missionary Church Planters and Developers (which assists Assemblies of God U.S. missionaries engaging in church planting); and the Church Multiplication Network (which helps equip, fund and network church planters; it was under the direction of U.S. Missions until 2008). This article explores the role of U.S. Missions in church planting, from the earliest years of the Fellowship through the current ministry of Missionary Church Planters and Developers (MCPD).¹

The Missionary Church Planters and Developers national office supports the work of those church planters and church developers that are appointed U.S. missionaries. The office's stated mission is "to send missionaries to plant and strengthen churches across America."² Traditionally, U.S. Mis-

sions and the 64 Assemblies of God districts have cooperated in many aspects of church planting. Currently, the MCPD national office partners with districts by identifying, supporting and resourcing U.S. missionaries in an effort to see the gospel spread in challenging fields of ministry.

Pentecostalism's Missionary Impulse

Although today's Missionary Church Planters and Developers national office has helped to bring together many of the domestic missionary passions of church planters into one place, missions and church planting have been an integral part of the Assemblies of God from the very beginning. After experiencing the joy of personal salvation and the deep empowerment of

the Holy Spirit, early Pentecostals felt deeply the missionary burden for souls and began to share the full gospel with anyone who would listen. At times this happened through personal interaction, while at other times evangelism came by means of religious services or tent revivals. Regardless of the method, the goal was to spread the truth of Jesus Christ and the emboldening power of the Holy Spirit throughout the world. In the midst of the message of Pentecost being received, souls were saved and churches were founded.

Speaking of this early generation, historian William Menzies notes they had "a great sense of ministry to the unsaved" and that "evangelism and missionary passion were important in the hierarchy of values ... from the beginning."³ Another scholar — Grant Wacker — further illustrates their ethos: "In their hearts Pentecostals knew that the Lord had chosen them and them alone to lead a vast movement

Early Pentecostals were visionaries and entrepreneurs, buoyed by a vision to save the world and anchored by a deep commitment to Christ and God's Word. The same spirit that emboldened these early church planters lives on in the church planters of the 21st century.



The Gospel Tabernacle (Assemblies of God), Central Lake, Michigan, 1957.

of global spiritual conquest. . . . No storefront meeting place seemed too small or too impoverished to send out missionaries to all parts of the continent, even to all parts of the world.”⁴ Pentecostals, it seems, were on the move.

While the deep missionary emphasis of early Pentecostalism accurately depicts the spirit of its early adherents, an overwhelming amount of historic attention is often given to world missions. The Azusa Street revival (1906-1909) in Los Angeles, California, for instance, is often seen as a kind of “American Jerusalem”⁵ from which newly empowered believers then traveled to the four corners of the globe in all their missionary zeal. Though this legacy makes sense in some important ways, it also obscures how the emergence of Pentecostalism at Azusa and elsewhere in the United States contributed to church planting and growth somewhat closer to home.

In this light the organization of the Assemblies of God in 1914 is not only a testimony to the domestic growth of Pentecostalism post-Azusa, but it is also a confirmation to the missionary ethos of Spirit-filled believers. With an organizational framework in place to both manage the work and provide guidance and support, those who desired to see the message of Pentecost spread had a pow-

erful ally in the new Fellowship.

Early Assemblies of God Church Planting

Most early Assemblies of God church planting efforts in America resulted from hardy pioneers who launched out before the development of national ministries to support their work. These early home church planters simply responded to needs and ministered sacrificially.

Three stories from the early decades of the Assemblies of God help to illustrate the lifestyle and passion of church planters from that foundational era. The first is the story of Edward Franklin Sanders, who ministered in Missouri in

the 1920s and 1930s. As remembered by his son, Sanders “would inquire whether any Pentecostal families were meeting in small groups. These could usually be found by bombarding the area with street corner meetings.”⁶ If some of those gathered became baptized in the Holy Spirit, then “a search was on for an abandoned church or commercial hall to rent for a home base.”⁷ Whatever location presented itself was the new home for the congregation, and the work continued.

Church planter Jimmy McClellan from Texas provides a second story. Following his conversion in 1916, McClellan felt called to preach the gospel. Before long he found himself in a boom oil field town called Goose Creek (a former town that became part of modern Baytown, Texas), where he began to hold a revival. Recounting the story of securing a building to meet in, McClellan retells a very familiar story of divine provision:

Many people came to the services seeking God for salvation, for the Baptism, and for healing. There were many outstanding healings. One little boy who had fallen out of a tree and broken both bones in one arm was brought to the service for prayer. God healed him instantly . . . Sister Reed, who was a prominent worker in the Baptist Church, was healed of a very serious throat condition and



A car with a trailer and sign advertising revival meetings with Evangelist James R. Hummel at Tyrone, Pennsylvania in February 1934.



Pastor E. S. Williams (sitting in front center) and a group of workers evangelizing in downtown Philadelphia, circa 1920.

received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. This stirred many of her friends who came seeking the Baptism.⁸

As a result of this revival meeting, a new church was planted in the community.

Women have also been a constituent part of Assemblies of God church planting. In the 1940s, for instance, Mildred Mara's husband was away in the U.S.



Mildred Mara

Army. During this time she preached in the streets of both Los Angeles and San Francisco, California. Following the war she started a church in Fresno. Later, with the assistance of Ethel Musick, who was her husband's aunt, she planted churches in Pinedale and San Joaquin, California:

I bought a small tent and we set it

up in Pinedale and were thrilled to see children being saved. Then as more people attended, we hooked a second tent to mine and the revival continued for several months ... Once when we were too poor to buy gas, I sold my coat. But a church was established here nearly 50 years ago, and this is where my husband and I attend today.⁹

With Sister Musick's help, I started a second church in San Joaquin, California. We rented a large skating rink and later, with the Southern California District's help, we were able to buy the building. Starting with only 4 people, we soon filled the building.¹⁰

Stories like those of Edward Franklin Sanders, Jimmy McClellan and Mildred Mara are but a tiny representation of the pioneering spirit of Pentecostal church planting in the first decades of the Assemblies of God fellowship. Yet even through this small sample, it is clear that passion, dedication and purpose — united in service of a common cause — marked the lives and work of these key church planters.

Development of Structures to Aid Church Planting

Although there was no formal Missionary Church Planters and Developers office in 1914, the burgeoning work of church planting went forward all the

same. For the first few decades of the Assemblies of God, the administrative structure was small enough that home missions activity was officially super-



Minna Seaholm (1894-1944), an Assemblies of God church planter and evangelist, also served as a roving chaplain to military bases and Civilian Conservation Corps camps during World War II.

vised under the larger Foreign Missions Department (now Assemblies of God World Missions). By 1937, however, the Executive Presbytery began to focus more specifically upon the work at home in the United States:

The Executive Presbytery should be empowered to devise plans for opening up new work in neglected strategic points ... and to consider ... appointing such field workers as

in their wisdom would be deemed necessary.¹¹

This led to the 1937 General Council establishing the Educational and Home Missions Department¹² (later renamed

the Church Extension Division and the Home Missions Division (later changed to Special Ministries).¹⁵

The Church Extension portion was charged to cooperate with the various districts in their efforts to increase the

it mostly took place, young American families of the postwar era flocked to churches in numbers not seen since.¹⁹ Though many times this is understood to be more of a mainline church phenomenon, the religious optimism of the time seems to have pervaded the Assemblies of God as well.

As early as 1949 a bold, six-year expansion plan was considered, the goal of which was to increase the number of Assemblies of God churches from 6,000 to 10,000 by 1955.²⁰ Though falling short of the goal, more than 2,000 new churches were planted during these years.²¹

Around the same time this plan was coming to a close, a new program entitled “Mission U.S.A.” began. As advertised in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, “The purpose of Mission U.S.A. is to establish Assemblies of God churches in 1,000 unreached American cities and communities in 1955.”²² Tipping its hat to the legacy of church planters in the Assemblies of God, the article notes, “Pioneer workers are going forth today. Hundreds of them will open new Assemblies of God churches to help reach the 1,000 church goal of Mission U.S.A.”²³

With the accession of Robert L. Brandt in 1958 as Home Missions Secretary, new ideas emerged that fired the passions of those working with Church Extension. In March 1960 the *Pentecostal Evangel* published the numbers of



Samuel J. and Leenetta Scott standing in front of First Assembly of God, Ponca City, Oklahoma, circa 1936. The Scotts planted a number of churches in Oklahoma.

Division of Home Missions, then Assemblies of God Home Missions, and finally Assemblies of God U.S. Missions),¹³ thereby linking the importance of Bible school training with the process of church planting and development. This new department had broad responsibilities, only one of which concerned church planting.

Denominational leaders recognized the opportunities available at the time and pledged to act: “The fields everywhere are ripe for harvest, but the laborers are few. If we fail to speed up our program of home field evangelization the loss will be appalling. Our Lord’s ‘Go ye’ applies no less to the fields lying at our doors than to distant parts of the earth.”¹⁴

In 1943 future General Superintendent Ralph Riggs became the head of the Educational and Home Missions Department. In 1945 the work was split into

number of Assemblies of God churches throughout the land. These efforts were helped by the formation of two services provided by Church Extension: the Church Extension Revolving Fund, founded in 1946 to help churches and districts that needed necessary start-up costs¹⁶; and the 1956 strategy to provide inexpensive blueprints and architectural plans for new churches through the auspices of the Church Building and Planning Commission.¹⁷ Both of these programs revealed the maturing administrative potential of the Assemblies of God as well as the enterprising spirit of those church planters the Movement was helping to equip.

Historians have long noted the emergence of a so-called revival in religious interest in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁸ Dubbed the “Eisenhower revival” because of the presidential administration during which time



Jimmy McClellan planted a church in Goose Creek (now Baytown), Texas.



Fred and Ethel Lohmann (left) with another woman in front of tent on the site of Loafer's Glory Apostolic Church prior to building the church. Photo taken near Liberty Hill, Texas, in 1909.

new AG churches from 1955 to 1959. Averaging nearly 300 per year during that time, it proclaimed the goal for 1960 to be 366 churches.²⁴ Along the same lines, a new project called “Break-through” was announced in 1961. According to Brandt, the new initiative took its cue from the following realities: “(1) America, spiritually speaking, is lost; (2) the Church has not kept pace with the population increase; and (3) time is running out.” A goal of 8,000 new Assemblies of God churches within a decade was suggested, and the course was set.²⁵ A coordinating program called “Sites for Souls” was established in 1962 to help secure funds to purchase land for new churches.²⁶

As the 1960s continued and the larger Eisenhower revival weakened and eventually faded, the Assemblies of God began to note slowing growth in the midst of great societal and cultural change. The Church Extension and Special Ministries went through a review in 1965 after the news of the smallest number of new churches the AG had ever opened (86) was announced.²⁷ Church planting efforts continued, however, as did programs involving grants, loans, church building plans and the like. Urban missions, under the auspices of Church Extension in 1967, garnered greater attention as well.²⁸ Brandt, who resigned as National Home Missions Secretary in 1965, was followed by Curtis Ringness (1966-1972).²⁹

In 1973 Church Extension was re-

named New Church Evangelism with its continued primary function of “establishing of new churches in cooperation with the various districts.”³⁰ Leadership of New Church Evangelism passed to the following men: John Ohlin (1974-1978); Clarence Lambert (1979-1986); and



Church planter Walter J. Higgins and his family at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, 1936.

Robert Pirtle (1986-1991). Work continued apace, and the number of churches in the Assemblies of God reached 9,562 in 1979.³¹

The burgeoning 1980s were targeted as a “Decade of Church Growth,” and as such New Church Evangelism was given top priority. A goal of 300 new churches per year was set, and by the end of the

decade this goal was not only met but surpassed.³² By 1989, the Assemblies of God reported 11,192 churches with 2,137,890 adherents.³³

In the 1990s, Home Missions participated in the “Decade of Harvest” — an international strategic plan to share the gospel prior to the advent of the new millennium.³⁴ As part of this emphasis, Charles Hackett, Home Missions executive director, initiated Invasion 39, a call to plant churches in the 39 American cities with a population of 1 million or more. This call yielded new church planters and urban missionaries. Hackett also brought in a New England church planter, Harvey Meppelink, to head the New Church Evangelism Department (1992-1996). Meppelink improved the visibility of both the closing and opening of churches and encouraged district

superintendents to champion the cause of church planting.³⁵

U.S. Missions aid to church planting was greatly energized at the turn of the 21st century. To better reflect the mission of the department, approval was given at the 1999 General Council to rename the New Church Evangelism Department to Church Planting.³⁶ Paul

COMING

Sermon Subjects

What Is Your Temperature?
Pressing Thru the Multitudes.
God's Sign Board.
The Four Anchors.
The Scarlet Thread.
This Is That. Heaven.
Jonah's Altar.



Sermon Subjects

Divine Healing.
When God Laughs.
Short Beds and Narrow Covers.
The Lily of The Valleys.
Gopher Wood.
Will Jesus Return to Earth Again?
A Bible Fool. Where Is The Fire?

EVANGELIST BLANCHE E. BRITTAIN

Assisted by MISS MILDRED WESTERLUND
at the Piano.

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DRAYTON, N. D.**

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BEGINNING SUNDAY,
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A Three Weeks Spiritual Feast.

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Every Night 8 o'clock except Monday.

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Divine Healing Service each Wednesday Night.

You Are Invited

Blanche Brittain (1890-1952) was among the early Pentecostal church planters who laid the foundation for the Assemblies of God. This poster advertised Brittain's revival meetings in Drayton, North Dakota in 1930. Drayton had a population of 502 in 1930, and the crowds at her meetings regularly reached 200 to 250 people. One night an estimated 500 people attended. Visitors came from all over the countryside. Revival meetings like this were significant social events in small communities. The Fleece AG in rural Drayton was organized in 1932. Brittain overcame great obstacles — including the departure of her unbelieving husband and prejudice against female ministers — to follow God's call in the ministry. Former General Superintendent G. Raymond Carlson said that Brittain, who started dozens of churches, was "synonymous with the Assemblies of God in North Dakota," his home state.

Drost, himself a church planter, headed the department from 1999 to 2005. Drost brought new ideas and energy to the office. Most notably, he introduced church planting BootCamp to Assemblies of God districts.³⁷ BootCamp helped planters to formulate strategic plans and also trained church planter assessors and coaches to aid new churches to grow and to become self-sustaining. Drost was followed by Steve Pike, a U.S. missionary church planter. Pike had a vision to more actively recruit church planters. He also took steps to establish a perpetual matching funds program to fund new church plants and to encourage best practices for church planters. Pike later more fully implemented these new ideas through the formation of the Church Multiplication Network in 2008.³⁸

The Church Planting Department was renamed Church Planting and Development in 2007.³⁹ This name change recognized the growing number of missionaries who were not church planters, but who instead helped existing congregations. Church revitalization, discipleship training and coordination of district church planting programs were among the first types of development ministries that emerged within the department. But with a defined home in U.S. Missions, development ministries quickly grew to include specialists in fields such as ministry to children, single mothers, baby boomers and rural residents. Although they minister in diverse areas, each development missionary advances the establishment and healthy growth of the local church.

The Church Planting and Development Department experienced major reorganization in 2008, resulting in its two historic responsibilities being assigned to two different divisions of the Assemblies of God national office. The responsibility of encouraging and resourcing general church planting among the Fellowship was placed directly under the Office of the General Superintendent. Steve Pike left U.S. Missions to become the leader of this new department, the



L. Wayne Pitts was an evangelist and church planter in Texas, Virginia, Florida, and other places.

Church Multiplication Network (CMN). CMN cooperates with districts in aggressively encouraging church planting by equipping, funding and networking church planters.⁴⁰ Church Planting and Development remained as a department within U.S. Missions and retained the responsibility of identifying, supporting and resourcing church planting and development missionaries appointed by U.S. Missions.

To reflect this organizational change, the department was renamed Missionary Church Planters and Developers in 2009,⁴¹ and U.S. missionary Darlene Robison was appointed as director. Missionary Church Planters and Developers and the Church Multiplication Network have compatible missions, yet serve different functions and operate in a complementary and mutually beneficial fashion.

Contemporary Church Planters and Developers

In 2012, the Missionary Church Planters and Developers office supported the work of 139 U.S. missionaries and spouses. Included in this number

are many new generation church planters, such as: Jay Covert, Illinois; Randy Knechtel, North Carolina; Eric and Leila Ojala, Colorado; Isaac Olivarez, Colorado; David Nicholson, Utah; and Jeff Saferite, Virginia. These missionary church planters are ministering among diverse people groups such as Mormons, immigrants and Spanish speakers, and in diverse areas including inner cities and highly secular, post-modern communities.⁴²

The Assemblies of God also is blessed with a number of veteran missionary church planters who have each planted multiple churches. Among these is Otto Wegner, who for many years has been urgently sounding the call for reaching the major cities of America. Reflecting the heart of all missionaries in urban areas, Wegner says, "If we are committed to announcing the good news of the kingdom of God, we ought to be present proclaiming the gospel where the most people live. If we believe that it takes the grace of God to save people, then the people in whom God's grace is present need to be in the city. And, by extension, if we expect the Lord to return, we are running out of time."⁴³ MCPD missionaries who share this passion are currently serving in Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay area, Denver, Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Louis, East St. Louis, Chicago, New Orleans, Atlanta, Savannah, Charleston, Philadelphia, Newark, Jersey City and New York City.

Reginald and Rose Stone and Jim and Betty Hall demonstrate the important contributions of veteran missionary church developers who train disciples. The Stones have established Spanish-language Bible institutes along the East Coast, and the Halls have developed one-on-one discipleship training programs and Urban Bible Training Centers. These ministries have equipped hundreds of soul winners, church leaders and church planters.

Another group of missionary developers help churches and pastors to increase their capacity for effective



Various publications of the Home Missions/U.S. Missions Department which feature church planting.

ministry. Several missionaries work directly with districts, assisting with district church planting and church health programs. Rural Compassion, founded in 2003 by Steve and Rebecca Donaldson, represents this group.⁴⁴ The ministry focuses on one of the most underserved and overlooked populations in America — the rural poor. Rural Compassion missionaries help rural churches to become the center of the community and to meet local needs. Rural Compassion regularly hosts training events for rural pastors and invests in their lives.

Children’s missionaries — currently located in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Minnesota, Missouri, California and Washington — also are finding new opportunities for ministry. They are multiplying themselves across America — training workers, mentoring leaders and inspiring others to love the unreached children of this nation. Bill and Cheryl Gray, who consistently invest in the lives of at-risk children and youth in Mobile, Alabama, exemplify the joy of all these missionaries who see a potentially lost generation become both Christians and productive citizens.⁴⁵

In many ways these contemporary missionaries help to illustrate the continued spirit of church planting within the Assemblies of God. Both missionary planters and missionary developers share in the fulfillment of the Great Commission with a passion for equipping others

to do the same.

The Significance of Church Planting and Development

The ongoing role of Missionary Church Planters and Developers flows directly from the historic purpose of the founding of the Assemblies of God. The founders who gathered in Hot Springs, Arkansas, in 1914 were passionate about proclaiming the gospel across the world. They understood that the baptism in the Holy Spirit had empowered them to effectively proclaim the message with miraculous signs following, but they also recognized the need to organize themselves in order to accomplish the mission. Just as the first century church of Antioch sent out Paul and Barnabas on their missionary journeys, this fledgling group of modern Pentecostals banded together to send out those who were called to missionary service.

God is calling and equipping believers to serve as missionaries within the United States. The Spirit has helped them see and want to reach overlooked communities, unreached subcultures, devastated inner cities and masses of people in major cities without an understanding of the gospel. These missionaries are willing to serve in places that others have deserted. They are compelled to love those who are sometimes hostile to their presence and their message. They

are moved by compassion in the face of great human need. They are creative in the midst of a changing culture.

The Missionary Church Planters and Developers Department serves these missionaries by affirming their call, providing support and accountability, and giving them a platform from which to partner with districts, local churches and individuals. The department serves the Assemblies of God fellowship by giving individuals and churches a credible way to spread the gospel among people they cannot reach and by keeping fresh the vision of reaching the lost in America.

MCPD missionaries impact the future of our Fellowship by bringing in passionate converts with rich racial and cultural diversity and by discipling new leaders. Whether planting new churches or strengthening those that already exist, the missionaries of this department serve as significant partners with the Assemblies of God in fulfilling the Great Commission. Otto Wegner speaks for all these missionaries when he says, “I can’t imagine trying to accomplish what each of us has done without the platform or the structure of enlisting people and resources. It just would be impossible.”⁴⁶

Ultimately, church planting and development is not the work of man, woman or administrative genius. It is the work of God. Therefore, as U.S. missionaries respond to the call of God on their lives, they are able to participate in

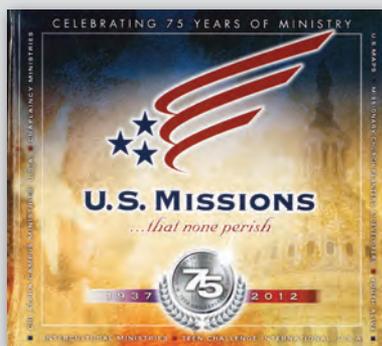
the ways God is on the move throughout the United States.

The U.S. missionaries and spouses currently engaged with the national office of Missionary Church Planters and Developers are excited about the task before them. They are living out their ethos “to see transformative Christian fellowships arise in communities that have lost hope or have depended on false hope” and bringing “their specialized knowledge and abilities to churches across the country.” All the while, they are seeking “to engage people from all walks of life to consider the claims of Christ.”⁴⁷ Theirs is a mission and a calling close to the heart of not only the Assemblies of God, but the calling of Christ to His people throughout the centuries. ✝

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The AGUSM 75th anniversary book (hardcover, 128 pages) may be ordered from gospelpublishing.com for \$25.00 plus shipping.

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¹Darrin Rodgers and Darlene Robison provided research and editorial assistance with this article.

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³William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 58.

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⁵Frank Bartleman, “Way of Faith” (August 1, 1906) reported in Bartleman, *Azusa Street* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1980), 63.

⁶D. Leroy Sanders, “Missouri Church Half Way to Heaven,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 16:2, 3 (Summer-Fall 1996): 8.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Jimmy McClellan, “A Church is Born in Goose Creek, Texas,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 16:2, 3 (Summer-Fall 1996): 9-10.

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¹¹Lyon, 26.

¹²*General Council Minutes*, 1937, 36.

¹³It became the Home Missions Department in 1945 (*General Council Minutes*, 1945, 33). Along with a general restructuring of Assemblies of God ministries, the Home Missions Department was renamed the Division of Home Missions in 1973 (*General Council Minutes*, 1973, 106). In 2001 the Division of Home Missions was renamed Assemblies of God Home Missions (*General Council Minutes*, 2001, 13). A further name change was approved in 2003 to become Assemblies of God U.S. Missions (*General Council Minutes*, 2003, 64).

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁵Ruth A. Lyon, compiler, *A History of Home Missions of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Division of Home Missions, 1992), 42.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 30-31.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁸Robert T. Handy, *A Christian American: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 186ff.

¹⁹James C. Carper and Thomas C. Hunt, *The Praeger Handbook of Religion and Education in the United States* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2009), 99.

²⁰*General Council Minutes*, 1949, 20-22.

²¹Lyon, 50.

²²“Mission U.S.A. to be Launched Nation-wide Monday, February 7 in Simultaneous Rallies,”

Pentecostal Evangel, January 2, 1955, 10.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴Gayle F. Lewis, “The Pioneer Pastor Builds For Tomorrow,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, March 6, 1960, 15.

²⁵R. L. Brandt, “‘Breakthrough’ Project No. 1 — Norwalk, Conn. — Launched at Portland,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 29, 1961, 5.

²⁶R. L. Brandt, “Sites for Souls,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 29, 1962, 19.

²⁷Lyon., 93.

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³⁰*General Council Minutes*, 1973, 107.

³¹The Association of Religion Data Archives, “Assemblies of God, General Council of the,” http://www.thearda.com/Denoms/D_1021.asp (accessed April 11, 2012).

³²Lyon, 175, 177. 3,226 churches were added during the 1980s, reflecting an average of 323 per year.

³³The Association of Religion Data Archives, “Assemblies of God, General Council of the,” http://www.thearda.com/Denoms/D_1021.asp (accessed April 11, 2012).

³⁴Lyon, 225; One of the goals of the Decade of Harvest was to plant 5,000 new churches in 10 years. *General Council Minutes*, 1987, 21.

³⁵Harvey Meppelink, telephone interview by Darlene Robison, May 2012.

³⁶*General Council Minutes*, 1999, 158.

³⁷“Church Planting: the Future Looks Bright!,” *AG.org News & Information*, December 17, 2003.

³⁸“Church Multiplication Network,” <http://churchmultiplication.net/> (accessed May 20, 2012).

³⁹*General Council Minutes*, 2007, 51.

⁴⁰“CMN Relationship,” <http://plantersanddevelopers.ag.org/cmnr-relationship/> (accessed May 20, 2012).

⁴¹*General Council Minutes*, 2009, 74.

⁴²Church Multiplication Network, *25 Groundbreaking Stories of Those Who Go* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 2011).

⁴³Otto Wegner, telephone interview by Darlene Robison, April 2012.

⁴⁴Rural Compassion, “Who We Are,” <http://ruralcompassion.squarespace.com/who-we-are/> (accessed May 20, 2012).

⁴⁵AGTV, “Bill and Cheryl Gray Spotlight,” <http://agtv.ag.org/mcpd-bill-cheryl-gray> (accessed May 20, 2012).

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Evangelist Uldine Utley at age 11 in 1923.

“Out of the Mouths of Babes”: Pentecostalism and Girl Evangelists in the Flapper Era

By Thomas A. Robinson

The 1920s are remembered for many things: prohibition and speak-easys, voting rights for women, legislation to protect and educate children, a much more public atheism, a Tennessee courtroom drama over evolution and Darwin, the continuing religious battles between Fundamentalists and Modernists, and a new breed of women — the risqué and frivolous flappers. It was a decade marked by a sharp clash of cultures, or as some have described it — a revolution of manners and morals.¹

One phenomenon, now long forgotten, experienced its golden age in the 1920s. That was the girl evangelist. Hundreds, if not thousands, of girls, some as young as three, and some crisscrossing the North American continent many times, took to the revivalist platform and preached nightly, sometimes to crowds of thousands, and conducted long crusades, averaging three weeks in length, in revival after revival, month after month, and year after year. The better known of these girls were popular speakers at national camp meetings, sharing the platform with the leading male evangelists of the day.² These young girls were working the adult revivalist circuit. Their sermons were generally drawn from the same stock that all revivalists used. This was not baby-talk to an audience of children. It was revivalist preaching to adult audiences who were expecting a full-fledged revival crusade.

Of course, it was clear that girl evangelists were different, and everybody knew that. Although the girls were revivalists, they were revivalists of a different kind. For one thing, they were female, and although women had made considerable progress on the religious stage, the path had been rough, and in most places still unpaved. Further, the girls were children.

A surprising number of these girls were younger than ten when they started, and most had started by the eighth grade, which alarmed many of the reformers of the day, who were pressing for compulsory education and the outlawing of child labor, arguing that children should not be doing adult jobs or carrying adult responsibilities.³

Generally such girls were kindly received, even in the larger secular society, though some of their critics dismissed them as freaks.⁴ Even among staunch Fundamentalists who generally did not care for women ministers, girl preachers were often adored and even featured on national religious stages, for the girls generally were allies on issues important to fundamentalism, such as a dismissal of evolution, a defense of the divinity of Christ, and the inspiration of Scripture.

And so what if they were somewhat of an oddity? That would not have mattered much in the 1920s — a decade fascinated with the odd, the quirky, and the novel. Child stars of Hollywood made the headlines. Child prodigies filled concert halls. Indeed, there were even child atheists and evolutionists, lecturing to adult audiences, and shaking their fists at God with the same vigor that little girl evangelists shook their fists at the devil.⁵ A bit of oddity could draw a crowd, and most in revivalism recognized the value of some level of curiosity for attracting an audience.

A number of factors helped to make the 1920s and 1930s into the golden age of girl preachers. More than anything else, what brought the girl evangelists to public attention was that they appeared to the press and public as an ideal countertype to the new image of the feminine that marked the age — the flapper. Indeed, it was the newspapers and newswire services

The revivalist stage was somewhat an equal opportunity employer.

that first saw a connection (and a contrast) between the flappers and the girl evangelists, pairing them off as the modern girl against the traditional girl. This press attention soon took the girl evangelist phenomenon well beyond the revivalist tent — to the attention not just of secular society by its literary elite, with the girl evangelist phenomenon quickly being adopted into the world of fiction and drama as a literary archetype.⁶

But an equally important factor in the girl evangelist phenomenon was Pentecostalism, new on the scene and ready to



A poster advertising a meeting with girl evangelist Delores Dudley at the Minneapolis Gospel Tabernacle.

reinvigorate the declining revivalist tradition and to challenge all the fashions of the day, whether secular or religious. It was in that environment that the girl evangelist phenomenon found its most fertile soil.

Of the hundreds of girl evangelists in the 1920s and the 1930s, we have been able to identify about 170 by name, and of these we have been able to determine

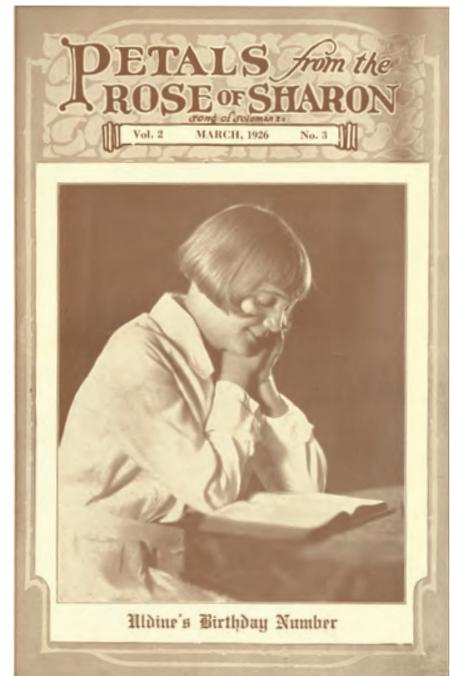
the denominational affiliation of about 70 percent. Of these, two-thirds were associated with Pentecostal traditions. How do we make sense of these connections? Pentecostalism was relatively young on the religious scene, and it was not the only revivalist tradition around. Why do we find so many girl evangelists connected to Pentecostalism?

For one thing, Pentecostalism had what it believed to be a scriptural warrant — indeed a commandment — to proclaim the gospel by all means possible. In particular, the baptism in the Holy Spirit, with glossolalia as a proof, not only empowered one, but compelled one to preach in whatever way possible. Any further certification was not needed, for what God had commissioned none should dispute.

More importantly, the passage in the Bible that related glossolalia to the outpouring of God's spirit declared that in the last days this outpouring would be experienced even by daughters and handmaidens, as the King James Version puts it, which in a pinch could be made to apply to young girls, whether that was the intention of the text or not.⁷ The girl evangelists frequently pointed to that passage to validate their ministry, and men in leadership who defended the girls pointed to the passage too. That secured the revivalist stage for many women and girls.

Further, Pentecostalism had a ready stage for revivalist preachers. Just when many churches were rolling up their revivalist platform and looking for less controversial (and perhaps more effective) ways to evangelize, Pentecostalism gave revivalism renewed life. It would not have been uncommon for a Pentecostal church to have revival services at least once a year, and in some churches, revival crusades were nearly continuous, with simply a change of featured players every few weeks.

Available platforms were ready for anyone who could prove their revivalist worth — which was, more often than not, judged in terms of how many con-



Front cover of an issue of *Petals From the Rose of Sharon* published by Uldine Utley. The FPHC website has digitized copies of this publication available for researchers.

verts (or trail hitters, as mockers called them) an evangelist could claim by the end of a crusade. If a little girl could out-perform an adult evangelist (as some clearly did), they were the ones likely to get return engagements and new invitations. The revivalist stage was somewhat an equal opportunity employer. Women could succeed on that stage and gain a recognition equal to that of the leading



10-year-old evangelist Charlene Pugh holding a Bible.



Evangelist Goldie Schmidt, circa 1925.

THE GREAT REVIVAL
Full Gospel Interdenominational
 Starting July 31st, Sunday 3 P. M.
HEAR GOLDIE SCHMIDT
The Child Evangelist

Sunday afternoon, 3 p. m. and 7:30 p. m. Every night except Monday. Come and hear this child evangelist, how God has called and anointed her to preach the gospel. Special music and singing soloist. Lois Mays, Faith Daska, Dr. Knox, tenor; Mr. M. Haynes, baritone. Evangelist Mae E. Frey coming August 14. Evangelist Jack Frost coming. Evangelist Watson Argue coming.

All seats free.



SCIOTS' HALL
 2073 Allston Way, Berkeley

male revivalist. Even girls might find a welcome on that stage.

The hottest attention-grabbing Pentecostal woman evangelist was Aimee Semple McPherson,⁸ whose blazing success had quickly made her a household name. She had come to Los Angeles in 1918, where Pentecostalism had started (and fizzled) in the decade before, and there she planted the Pentecostal flag again, this time not in a ramshackle building on Azusa Street where founder William Seymour was, in fact, still preaching,⁹ but, less than three miles away, by the beautiful Echo Park, where by 1923 she had opened her new church building, Angelus Temple, one of the grand buildings of Los Angeles, featuring the largest dome in the United States at the time.¹⁰ I am not sure whether the 125-foot tall Temple was visible from the old Azusa Street mission or not, but certainly McPherson's presence and work was an inescapable fixture of the religious skyline, and, I assume, in the mind of anyone living in Los Angeles

who once had connections to the Azusa Street mission.

McPherson had shown what could be done, and many girls must have been en-

THE CHILD PREACHER
Uldine Maybelle Utley
 DO NOT FAIL TO HEAR HER
 at the
**Great International
 Pentecostal Camp Meeting**
 San Pablo at Ashby Ave., Berkeley, Cal.



She will only be with us a few nights more. You should hear her tell the sweet message of salvation. Many are responding to the invitation, being saved, baptized with the Holy Spirit and sick bodies healed.

COME AND SEE

Services as follows--
 Sundays and week days alike--
 10:30 a. m., 2:30, 7:30 p. m.

EVANG. SMITH WIGGLESWORTH

A Berkeley, California poster advertising revival meetings with Uldine Utley and Smith Wigglesworth.

couraged by that example. But McPherson went a step beyond merely providing an example. She started a school to train children. These schools ran for six weeks during the summer and were attended by hundreds each year. This was in addition to McPherson's regular Bible school, L.I.F.E.,¹¹ which itself drew hundreds of students, many of them young girls still in their teens.

Whether McPherson first intended such summer instruction to aid children in witnessing to other children rather than to adult audiences is not clear,¹² but what is clear is that churches in McPherson's Foursquare Gospel movement opened their arms to child evangelists, as did McPherson herself, even on the grand stage of Angelus Temple. In 1923, the first summer for the new Angelus Temple, the children's school attracted 400 students.¹³

Among them was Uldine Utley, a recent convert under McPherson. Uldine had just turned eleven. Within months her name would be spread from coast to

coast as the most dramatic novelty on the revivalist stage, thanks to the newswire services,¹⁴ and within the year she would be one of the featured speakers, along with Smith Wigglesworth, at the “Great International Pentecostal Camp Meet-



Evangelist Hattie Hammond, circa 1927.

ing” at Berkeley, California in 1924.

Utley was only one of many who could claim McPherson’s influence. A number of the girl evangelists were connected to the Foursquare church. And McPherson’s influence was felt on Pentecostals who were not affiliated with the Foursquare Gospel Church, and, indeed, on individuals who were not Pentecostal at all. Several of the girls who began preaching in Assemblies of God churches had been converted under McPherson or had studied at her school.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the *Pentecostal Evangel* advertised revivals and reported news of many girl evangelists: Helen Campbell, Haleine Smith, Delores Dudley, Mary Louise Paige, Betty Howard, Charlene Pugh, Beatrice Wells, and others.¹⁵ These girls were not on the fringe within the Assemblies of God. For example, in the “Forthcoming Meetings” section of the September 27,

1930, issue of the *Pentecostal Evangel*, four of the fourteen meeting announcements feature a girl evangelist. Indeed, the term “Girl Evangelist” was often used in the the *Evangel* almost as a technical title for these girls.

But the golden age of girl evangelists was not to last for much more than a decade. In part, it declined as the flapper era declined, for in some ways both girl evangelists and flappers grew in the same soil, each representing opposite extremes of the cultural revolution of the 1920s. But that was not the only factor in the decline of this phenomenon. Various critics emerged — from the unsympathetic anti-revivalist liberal religious press and the new and public atheist organizations to the concerned advocates of childhood reform. Yet it was to be Pentecostal’s own increasing reservations about girl evangelists, more than anything else, that brought the golden age of girl evangelists to an end.

There had always been fringe criticism within Pentecostalism of women preachers and even of girl preachers. The most notable and nasty remarks came from Frank Bartleman, famous now within Pentecostalism for his histo-



Mary Louise Paige, child evangelist of Uhrichville, Ohio, featured on a poster, circa 1930s.



Girl evangelist Violet Van Gundy, circa 1930.

ry of the Azusa Street revival.¹⁶ Probably in the same year that he wrote his classic history (1925), Bartleman penned a small, anger-filled booklet, which he titled “Flapper Evangelism: Fashion’s Fools Headed for Hell.”¹⁷

In it, he condemned modern styles and, in a sweeping way, dismissed all women in general. But he was particularly abusive towards women evangelists, taking a swipe at “prodigy” evangelism for good measure, by which he almost certainly meant girl evangelists. Bartleman’s comments may have a touch of jealousy in them, or perhaps he was simply baffled that a flamboyant woman and a mere child had gained the spotlight in the heart of Pentecostalism, while Bartleman himself, one of the original Pentecostal preachers and its most zealous promoter, was left in the shadows.

Most Pentecostals in the 1920s, however, were not like Bartleman. Child evangelists, and in the 1920s and 1930s, especially girl evangelists, were welcome on the Pentecostal stage, and it was within that tradition that the girl evangelists flourished. But welcomes given can become welcomes withdrawn.

We see concerns beginning to be expressed by the end of the 1920s about the

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Edna Jean Green Horn (1909-1984)

By Sarah D. Cox

Edna Jean Green Horn was a child evangelist, church planter, denominational state evangelist, and an ordained Assemblies of God minister for over fifty years. Born in the city of Grand Rapids, Michigan, on October 23, 1909, she grew up in the Holiness church pastored by her parents, both graduates of Salvation Army colleges.¹ It was in that Holiness church that Edna started preaching at twelve years of age. Her father accompanied her as she preached in tent meetings and churches, where she went without regard to denomination.²

An unquenchable thirst for the presence of God led Edna to experience the baptism in the Holy Spirit in 1925 at a revival meeting led by her cousin, Zella Green, in Thayer, Missouri.³ The experience led Edna into full-time Pentecostal ministry before she graduated from high school. Reflecting on the experience many years later, Edna said that the work of God's harvest field pressed heavily upon her.⁴ Reports of miracles followed her ministry.

By the time she was eighteen years old, Edna had her own tent and became the district evangelist for the Assemblies of God in Michigan. Flyers advertising her meetings usually fea-



Edna Jean Green as a child evangelist, circa 1925.

tured a picture showing off long, dark ringlet curls that hung well past her lovely face, revealing a gentle demeanor and authentic kindness.⁵ She soon met the Michigan District Christ's Ambassadors President — Lewis Horn — the man whom she would marry. Seven months before marriage, Edna and Lewis wrote articles that appeared side by side in the March 1930 special Michigan issue of *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly*.⁶ They married on November 30, 1930.⁷ Edna Jean was ordained by the Assemblies of God on May 3, 1934, and kept her credentials until her death over 50 years later.

Edna was a female pioneer in Pentecostal radio ministry. In 1928, she started preaching on the radio in Detroit. Another female Pentecostal evangelist, Aimee Semple McPherson, had begun ministering over the airwaves just four years earlier. Edna Jean began her own program, "The Woman's Radio Pulpit," in 1930. In 1943, she became a charter member of the National Religious Broadcasters (NRB) — the only female to hold

this distinction. Edna's radio program, later renamed "Church by the Side of the Road Broadcast," was on the air for 54 years.⁸

She invited her radio congregation to know Christ and to find a deeper, more fully-surrendered devotion to God.⁹ Her husband and her two musically-gifted children, Carol and Marshall, helped with the weekly broadcast.¹⁰ At the 1980 NRB convention, Edna received the Milestone Award, honoring fifty years of continuous broadcast service.¹¹ In 1983, she received an Angel Award from Religion in Media for her program.¹²

According to Edna's annual ministerial reports, she regularly preached over 300 times per year in church services and on the radio.¹³ From her days as a girl evangelist until her death on October 9, 1984, Edna Jean Green Horn actively ministered and remained a faithful servant of Christ.¹⁴



Sarah Cox serves as Assistant to the Director of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church Archives & Research Center in Bethany, Oklahoma. She is writing a book about the life of Edna Jean Horn and will receive an M.A. in Practical Theology from Oral Roberts University in December 2013.

NOTES

¹Marshall Horn, interview by Sarah Cox, Tulsa, Oklahoma, January 11, 2013.

²Karen Robinson, *An Interview with Edna Jean Green Horn*, cassette (Tulsa, OK: Holy Spirit Research Center, Oral Roberts University, 1982). Edna started preaching in her parents' church at the age of 12.

³Ibid. See also, Betty Jo Kenney, "Ozark Revival Roots," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 11:2 (Summer 1991): 7-8, which tells about Zella and Lillian Green holding revival services at Thayer and Couch, Missouri.

⁴Edna Jean Horn, *Vessels*, reel-to-reel sound recording (Tulsa, OK: Holy Spirit Research Center, Oral Roberts University, no date).

⁵The Holy Spirit Research Center at Oral Roberts University has a number of flyers documenting Edna Jean Green Horn's evangelistic ministry.

⁶Lewis H. Horn, "Bible Standards for Ambassadors," *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly*, March 1930, 4; Edna Jean Green, "A Glimpse Within the Walls," *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly*, March 1930, 5.

⁷Karen Robinson, *An Interview with Edna Jean Green Horn*, cassette (Tulsa, OK: Holy Spirit Research Center, Oral Roberts University, 1982).

⁸Joseph W. Martin, "Edna Jean Horn: Radio Pioneer," *Charisma Magazine*, December 28, 1999, <http://www.charismamag.com/site-archives/24-uncategorised/9380-edna-jean-horn> (accessed March 21, 2012).

⁹Ibid.; Edna Jean Horn, *Vessels*, sound recording.

¹⁰Marshall Horn interview by Sarah Cox.

¹¹Ben Armstrong et. al., "Broadcasters," *Religious Broadcasting*, January 1985, 48.

¹²Marshall Horn interview by Sarah Cox.

¹³Edna Jean Horn, ministerial file. Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center.

¹⁴Ibid.



An Uldine Utley city-wide revival meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York City, in 1927.

use of girl evangelists. Some raised questions about whether there was any misuse of the child. Some raised questions about whether the interest in the girls by some in their audiences was altogether wholesome. And some raised questions about whether the use of the girls was more of an advertising gimmick. What had been favored was increasingly being frowned upon, or at least more carefully examined.

We find evidence of this in a pointed article by Robert McAlister in the *Pentecostal Testimony* of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and in an article of the editor of the *Pentecostal Evangel*.¹⁸ The first article raised questions that, if not already part of the discussion, would have been at least pushed forward. McAlister, as one of the founders of Pentecostalism in Canada, was a too important voice on the Pentecostal scene for his concerns not to have had some influence, and it may well be that McAlister's concerns were held by others within his circle. McAlister writes:

The matter of unduly shoving children to the front is a mischievous error. It's a subject in itself; suffice it to say that we have recently come in contact with cases where certain young people were boosted and paraded by misrepresenting statements, as though they were the Joan of Arc of the Modern Christian world. They certainly had no capacity of making good the reputation that was given them. It was done for one purpose only, for advertisement. It involved wrong principles.¹⁹

The second article comes at the end of the 1930s, but the comments deal with trends that started several years earlier.

... the writer for one, is thankful to God, that the Christian church of late years has been taking a wholesome trend away from the "fad" of child evangelists. A while

back this had become quite a craze and it is to be feared that innocent children were sometimes forced into artificial and unnatural activities because some unwise adult did not use godly discretion. They have attempted to attract the unsaved to Christ, not by the power of the gospel, but by the bizarre, the phenomenal. It is a sad day when the Church has to depend upon "crowd curiosity" to fill its churches rather than upon "old fashioned conviction." That God can and has anointed little girls to preach the gospel, the writer well knows. He has witnessed a fifteen year old child move cynical gospel-hardened New York City audiences to tears and conviction. He has seen God use her to bring hundreds of souls to Christ. But she undoubtedly was the exception to the rule, although there are others.... In these lax times there is a temptation which faces the

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Uldine Mabelle Utley (1912-1995)

By Thomas A. Robinson

Born in Oklahoma in 1912, but with memories only of a cold, desolate Colorado prairie (where she had lived since she was three), Uldine moved with her family to California when she was nine. There the blond-hair, blue-eyed girl dreamed of becoming a Hollywood star — until Aimee Semple McPherson, the best known woman preacher in America, came to town. McPherson was one of the very first Pentecostals (converted only a year after the Azusa Street revival started).

Responding to McPherson's altar call, Uldine's life changed course. Uldine was convinced that her mission was "to be a David and fight Goliath, the devil."¹ Her speaking talents were soon recognized, and by age eleven she was preaching at the largest venues on the west coast. The newswire services found her at least a curiosity, and spread news about her (along with her photo) from coast to coast. She was soon being heralded as "the Joan of Arc of the modern religious world," "the Terror of the Tabernacles," "the Garbo of the Pulpit," and "the Girl Billy Sunday." With many invitations coming in from the east coast, the family moved, finally making New York City Uldine's headquarters.

Although most of Uldine's early staff were Pentecostal, she advertised her crusades as interdenominational, filling the largest venues in the largest cities. Even Fundamentalists, who often were not sympathetic to Pentecostalism or to women preachers, found in Uldine an attractive ally, for she defended vigorously traditional views of the virgin birth and the inspiration of the Bible against the claims of the Modernists. A leading fundamentalist, Baptist pastor John Roach Straton, promoted her as featured speaker of a massive citywide revival campaign when she was just fourteen years old. The highlight of the campaign was a service in Madison Square Garden, which attracted a crowd of 14,000. By this time, Uldine was as well known in the secular press as she was in the religious press, getting coverage in *TIME*² and other popular magazines of the period.

At age twelve, she began publishing a monthly magazine of eighteen pages, which carried her poems, revival reports, and the occasional article by other ministers, in addition to transcripts of her sermons. Her revival campaigns were usually three weeks in length, which she carried out for almost fifteen years almost without a break, while maintaining her school studies with a private tutor in the early years. Her organization often had a team of seven or more, and some of the leading musicians and managers on the revivalist circuit joined her staff.

By 1930, Uldine shifted more to the Methodist Episcopal Church, perhaps somewhat because of McPherson's earlier kidnapping scandal and the recent death of Rev. Straton. The 1930s added a number of pressures to young Uldine. She had just turned eighteen. She moved to Chicago, thus gaining some

independence from her parents who had somewhat controlled her career until then. Uldine was also becoming a young woman, and sometimes her poems reveal the tension between the expectations on a revivalist and the desires of a maturing woman. As well, the Great Depression had made money much tighter,



Girl evangelist Uldine Utley in 1923.

and new attitudes toward evangelism reduced support for the city-wide mass crusades of the leading revivalist preachers.

Nonetheless, Uldine carried on an intense schedule of meetings, even while studying for ordination as a Methodist deacon. In 1933 and 1934, she preached two multi-month crusades for the crowds that had come to the Chicago's World's Fair, and in the last year of her career, she preached 473 times, including radio sermons — a typical load for her.

Under this weight, Uldine collapsed, exhausted, in late 1936. She recovered enough to preach a few more meetings. After a brief and failed marriage, Uldine's physical collapse became more clearly a mental collapse, and she faded from public memory. But thousands remembered, for it was in Uldine's crusades that their lives had decisively changed, and for many it was there that they had received their own call to the pulpit.

NOTES

¹Uldine Utley, *Why I Am a Preacher: A Plain Answer to an Oft Repeated Question* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1931), 25.

²Uldine Utley: *Why I Am a Preacher*, compiled by T. J. Lavigne (Kissimmee, FL: Cloud of Witnesses Publishing, 2007), 5-6.

OLD FASHIONED REVIVAL
 Hear the 13 year old Child Evangelist
 Who has been preaching in the U. S. A. and Canada since she was 9 years of age.
BEATRICE WELLS
 OF FAIRVIEW, WEST VIRGINIA
Beginning Sunday, June 2nd, 1940
 EACH NIGHT AT 7:45 (Except Saturday) SUNDAY 11 A. M.
 SPECIAL MUSIC AND SINGING - PRAYER FOR THE SICK



EVERYONE **WELCOME**

BETHEL TABERNACLE
 35th STREET AND OLD YORK ROAD
 Baltimore, Maryland
 Rev. Enoch C. Wood, Jr., Pastor Phone, Ches. 4841

A poster advertising services with 13-year-old Beatrice Wells in 1940.

church to push “girl evangelists” to the fore because they can attract a crowd which otherwise would not come. And it is to be feared that it is not the “mother” quality which attracts some elements in the audience.²⁰

It is always difficult to judge the impact of a comment such as this, though a few things suggest we are dealing with an increasingly cautious attitude towards girl evangelists at least among the Assemblies of God, and probably more widely. First, the comment appears

in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, which was probably the most influential Pentecostal magazine of the time. Second, it is clear from the article that for a number of years prior to the comment, concerns were being expressed about girl evangelists. Third, the author is able to speak of the phenomenon as a “fad,” suggesting the phenomenon was viewed as temporary and perhaps even insubstantial in regard to the long term. At least, there is no sense of trying to salvage the phenomenon. Finally, after the article in the *Pentecostal Evangel* was published, mention of girl evangelists disappeared

almost overnight from the pages of the magazine.²¹ That suggests some official kind of reining in of the phenomenon, at least in the Assemblies of God.

The phenomenon faded and the girls grew to be women. Some ceased preaching, choosing a more normal life. Others never broke their preaching stride. With the line somewhat blurred between a girl and a woman, though, it was never quite certain when a woman had ceased to be a girl evangelist and had become a woman preacher. Often women continued to use their “girl evangelist” label well into adulthood, as Kathryn Kuhlman was still doing at age twenty-seven.²²

Of those who continued preaching, some married a preacher and became a significant part of a preaching team. Others remained unmarried, often teaming with another woman to become an equally compelling revivalist team. Those who didn’t continue preaching generally dropped out of the public eye. Those who continued preaching are now usually remembered for their success as women preachers, with their time as girl evangelists either forgotten or as a faint memory.²³ But in the 1920s and 1930s, it was on young girl preachers that the spotlight shone. ✝



Thomas A. Robinson, PhD, grew up in a Pentecostal home in New Brunswick, Canada. For the last 27 years, he has taught courses in early Christianity and in Pentecostal history at the University of Lethbridge, where he is Professor of Religious Studies. He “stumbled across” the phenomenon of girl evangelists while examining newspaper databases for information about early Pentecostalism.

For additional reading about the fascinating ministry of girl evangelists in the 1920s, order *Out of the Mouths of Babes: Girl Evangelists in the Flapper Era* (New York: Oxford University

Press, 2012), by Thomas A. Robinson and Lanette D. Ruff. Available from amazon.com. See also Robinson's website: www.girlvangelists.org.

NOTES

¹A version of this paper was presented at the 40th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies in Memphis, TN, in 2011. Several recent books provide a good review of this period, such as David E. Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1939: Decades of Promise and Pain* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004). Various books from the 1920s and 1930s offer a first-hand account of life in the period, such as Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1931; reprint, John Wiley & Sons, 1997).

²It was to the subject of girl evangelists that I, along with Lanette Ruff, a sociologist, recently turned our attention. The result was a book released under the title *Out of the Mouths of Babes: Girl Evangelists in the Flapper Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³Judith Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child: Governing America's Young in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 150.

⁴John Roach Straton, a leading fundamentalist preacher of the day and a key mentor of young Uldine Utley expected her to be a freak when he first heard of her. See *Does the Bible Forbid Women to Preach and Pray in Public?* (New York: Religious Literature Department, Calvary Baptist Church, [1926?]), 11.

⁵See Wendy McElroy, *Queen Silver: The Godless Girl* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000), for a biography of the best known of the child atheists of the period. Cecil B. DeMille's last silent movie, "The Godless Girl" (1929), was loosely based on Queen Silver.

⁶Lanette Ruff and I have covered this matter in considerable detail in our book. We were quite surprised at how quickly the literary community picked up on the girl evangelist phenomenon and seemed to assume that their secular audience would have no difficulty in identifying with the character.

⁷"But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel; And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy:" (Acts 2:16-18). This became a convenient text for those who wished to defend child preachers, along with a couple of other prime passages,

such as "A little child will lead them" (Isaiah 11:6) and "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength" (Psalm 8:2), quoted in Matthew 21:16.

⁸A number of biographies of McPherson have appeared in recent years. The most recent is Matthew Avery Sutton, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). PBS also featured McPherson in one of its "American Experience" episodes in 2007.

⁹William Seymour pastored the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission until his death on September 28, 1922. McPherson came to Los Angeles in 1918, intent to settle there and build a church. The church, Angelus Temple which some have called the first megachurch, was dedicated on January 1, 1923. In the September 1922 edition of McPherson's *Bridal Call* magazine, a photo of the nearly-completed Angelus Temple appears (p. 21). The Bonnie Brae Street house, where Seymour held meetings before the Azusa Street building was obtained, was only a mile from Angelus Temple.

¹⁰Angelus Temple was a relatively tall building (a fact somewhat disguised by its length and dome top, which does not help to accentuate its height). For a series of photos of Angelus temple over the years, with changes (such as addition of the cross and the installation and later removal of radio towers, along with some commentary), see <http://www.vaughns-1-pagers.com/religion/angelus-temple/>.

¹¹L.I.F.E. (Lighthouse for International Foursquare Evangelism) was established in 1923 as Echo Park Evangelistic and Missionary Training Institute. It changed its name to L.I.F.E. in 1926, when it moved to its own facilities next to Angelus Temple. *Bridal Call Foursquare* 11:4 (September 1927) was a special edition for the school. Page 35 describes the three streams of training at the school, along with a list of the faculty. On pages 16-17 of *Bridal Call Foursquare* 8:8 (January 1925), a photo of the graduating class appears. Over 75 percent of the two hundred or so students are women.

¹²In some descriptions of the Children's Bible School, the children seem to be training to witness to other children; in other descriptions, children are addressed as though they were frontline preachers, as much as any other evangelist, as in "Sister McPherson's Personal Message to the Summer Vacation Bible School of Nineteen-Hundred Twenty-Six," *Bridal Call Foursquare* 11:4 (September 1927): 26. This school was different from the Angelus Temple Sunday School, which numbered 4,000. See "Angelus Temple: Church of the Throngs," *Bridal Call Foursquare* 13:1 (June 1929): 21. The number of Vacation Bible School students seemed to remain around 400, for in 1928 we learn of that number again.

¹³Uldine Utley, "God's Way with Uldine Maybelle Utley," *Petals from the Rose of Sharon* 1:5 (June 1925): 10.

¹⁴I am currently writing a biography of Uldine Utley. T. J. Lavigne, a Pentecostal minister, has collected an impressive array of memorabilia on child preachers and has published some of that material, along with commentary, in *Uldine Utley: Why I Am a Preacher* (Kissimmee, FL: Cloud of Witnesses Publishing, 2007). A few academic articles have also appeared.

¹⁵Other names of girl evangelists mentioned in the *Pentecostal Evangel* are Estelle Barnett, Edith Bray, Mary Jane Carpenter, Mildred Connell, Ruth Gerber, Edith Hantz, Marie Holden, Dorothy Houlton, Clara Johnson, Helen McCann, Myrtle Reynolds, Peggy Richards, Myrtle Snair, Hannah Mae Steinle, and Cathryn Thorn. *Heritage* magazine has had a few articles over the years on specific girl evangelists. See Edith Blumhofer, "'Exalt His Name Together,' The Fascinating Ministry of R. D. E. and Goldie Smith," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 13:2 (Summer 1993): 9-11, 32-33; Wayne Warner, "Beatrice Wells, 'America's Girl Evangelist,'" *Assemblies of God Heritage* 16:4 (Winter 1996-97): 16-17; Wayne Warner, "A Child in the Pulpit," *Assemblies of God Heritage* 16:1 (Spring 1996): 3, 16-17. Warner subtitled his article: "A Common Sight 50 and 60 Years Ago."

¹⁶Frank Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles: As It Was in the Beginning* (Los Angeles: the author, 1925).

¹⁷Frank Bartleman, "Flapper Evangelism: Fashion's Fools Headed for Hell," by the author, n.d. Although the date most often proposed for Bartleman's undated "Flapper Evangelism" booklet is 1920, a 1925 date seems more likely, making the booklet a direct attack on McPherson (who opened Angelus Temple in 1923) and on Uldine Utley (who started preaching in 1923, and in 1924 was a featured speaker at a large California camp meeting).

¹⁸For a more detailed discussion of this matter, see Robinson and Ruff, *Out of the Mouths of Babes*, 136-138.

¹⁹R. E. McAlister, "A Sceptre of Righteousness," *Pentecostal Testimony*, November 1929, 7.

²⁰"The Sunday School Lesson," *Pentecostal Evangel*, March 5, 1938, 8.

²¹From 1923 to March 1938, when this article appears, girl evangelists are mentioned fifty-five times. From 1938 to 1949, when the term disappears completely, girl evangelists are mentioned only six times, and only twice after 1940. Boy evangelists are mentioned thirty-six times from 1923 to 1938, then seven times from 1938-1940, after which the term disappears, and child evangelists are mentioned fifteen times for the period 1926-1938, and four times from 1938-1941.

²²"Girl Evangelist to Answer Questions on Religious Problems," *Greeley Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1934, 2.

²³See chapter 15, "Exiting the Stage," of Robinson and Ruff, *Out of the Mouths of Babes*, for a more thorough treatment of this matter.



(Top-bottom): Barry Turner, Mark Turner, and Ken Prettyman playing instruments during Talent Search held at Springfield, Missouri, August 20, 1964.

Fine Arts Festival: Fifty Years of the Arts in Ministry

By Jesse Segrist

The Assemblies of God Fine Arts Festival — one of the largest talent search programs for Christian youth in America — will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary at the 2013 General Council in Orlando, Florida. Plans for the national Teen Talent Search, as it was originally known, were first publicized in 1963, and the first national competition was held in 1964.¹ Fine Arts Festival expanded from a humble competition with just four categories to, in recent years, a massive series of annual events, including over 65,000 participants from across the nation who may enter as many as 61 categories offered in eight main divisions: Art, Communication, Dance, Drama, Exhibition, Instrumental, Vocal, and Writing.² For fifty years, Fine Arts Festival has been helping to develop ministry gifts in Assemblies of God youth. While the program has become a formative institution for countless youth, its origins have been largely forgotten.

Teen Talent Search was organized at the national level under the umbrella of the Assemblies of God youth department, then known as Christ's Ambassadors. Various district Christ's Ambassadors (C.A.) departments already had their own teen search programs, which were slowly gaining in popularity. In 1963, the national Teen Talent Search was started at the request of Owen Carr and the other national C.A. leaders. It was renamed Teen Talent in about 1979.³ The program grew significantly in 1986, when national youth leaders decided to combine three national competitions —

Teen Talent, Assemblies of God Music Festival, and Bible Quiz — under the name Fine Arts Festival.⁴ While Bible Quiz began to separate from the Fine Arts Festival in the early 1990s, holding its national competitions on a different date, Fine Arts Festival has continued to grow and has become the second largest national Assemblies of God conference. Only the general council — the biennial business meeting and conference of the AG — draws more people.

Early District Competitions

The earliest known district talent search competition occurred in the Northern California-Nevada District in 1955, under the leadership of District Christ's Ambassadors President (D-CAP) Walt Boring.⁵ This competition had four categories — vocal solo, vocal ensemble, instrumental solo, and instrumental ensemble. Boring stated that his daughter Linda's involvement with Youth for Christ inspired him to start the program.⁶ Youth for Christ had been holding local, regional, and national Teen Talent and Bible Quiz competitions since about 1949 when Youth for Christ leader Jack Hamilton started a high school "Bible Club" in Kansas City.⁷

Boring viewed the Teen Talent competition as an opportunity to identify talented youth and encourage them to use their gifts for God. He suggested that his district C.A. leaders adapt the Teen Talent concept, in order to "give these kids a big-time place to display their God-given gifts and get some well-deserved

attention." Boring's idea prevailed, and a "Teen Age Talent Search" competition was added to the annual district youth convention schedule.⁸

Few details are known about this first district Teen Talent competition. According to Steve Asmuth, former youth pastor at Calvary Temple in Stockton,



Walt Boring, D-CAP of the Northern California-Nevada District, organized the first known district talent search in 1955.

California, it was an all-day event, held at the Stockton Civic Auditorium, on Friday, November 27, 1955, during the Northern California-Nevada District youth convention.⁹ The program continued at the district level and Asmuth was asked to oversee it in 1957. He continued in this responsibility until 1960, when he succeeded Walt Boring as D-CAP of the Northern California-Nevada District.

The Southern California District



Southern California District Talent Search first place winners in 1960. (L-r): Nedra Martin, Betty Lien, Sue Ford, Sharon Rector, Joan Boule, Cathy McCuistion, Cathy Sistig, with Douglas Tarpley and Reynold Tarpley sitting in front.

followed suit and also adopted the program — changing the name to Teen Talent Search. The program was so popular that three LPs, featuring the winners of the competitions, were recorded. The first record, produced in 1961, was titled “Songs of Youth” and featured the musical highlights of the 1960 and 1961 Teen Talent Searches.¹⁰ Another from this same set was simply titled “Christ’s Ambassadors” and featured the winners of the 1960 Southern California Teen Talent Search.¹¹ During this time period the competition began to spread out to other districts around the country and began to gain great popularity. It soon garnered the attention of the Christ’s Ambassadors national leaders, who were searching for ways to revitalize the Assemblies of God youth program.¹²

One of the Christ’s Ambassadors national leaders who understood the potential of the Teen Talent program was

Owen Carr. Carr, as D-CAP in Kansas, implemented the program in his district. He saw merit in moving this competition to the national level in the Assemblies of God.¹³ Ralph Harris, first director of the National C.A. Department, recalled that district leaders requested formulation of a standard for the Bible Quiz competition among the districts. At the same time, requests began pouring in to develop a national Talent Search competition.¹⁴

The Beginning of National Teen Talent Competitions

Owen Carr, who became a Speed the Light field promoter in 1961, spent much of his time promoting the Teen Talent Search program. Finally, in 1962, when Carr was promoted to the National C.A. President, he was able to begin working with the other national leaders to bring the program onto the national

stage. This would help fulfill Walt Boring’s original goal of creating a national Teen Talent Search in the Assemblies of God. As Boring stated, “Kids of great talent should be recognized at more than the district level.”¹⁵

In the early 1960s, during the years leading up to the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Assemblies of God, some church leaders began to express concern over the continued spiritual vitality of the fellowship. This concern seemed to stem in part from the fellowship’s slowing growth rate and from pressure to accommodate to the structures and values of the surrounding society. In addition, many other revival movements set a troubling precedent — they started out strong and then seemed to fall back into worldliness or compromise — a fate that Assemblies of God leaders wanted to avoid.

In order to build enthusiasm for

a national Talent Search, the National Christ's Ambassadors Committee (NCAC) decided to promote more district competitions among the various districts and then begin holding yearly youth conventions. Even at this early stage in 1961, the C.A. committee was counting on "tremendous enthusiasm" surrounding the Teen Talent program in order to start a national level competition.¹⁶ The Christ's Ambassadors Committee report to the 1961 General Council included the following statement: "Worthy of special note is the launching of the National C.A. Bible Quiz, "Action in Acts," and the plans being made for the National Talent Contest."¹⁷

Eddie Anderson, national music editor for the AG, envisioned the national Teen Talent program would be not just a competition, but a training ground for future music ministers. He stated that he was "interested in anything that would

keep young people interested in the areas of music," as there was a purportedly high demand for music ministers at the time.¹⁸ Anderson proposed holding a couple years of district and regional level competitions before holding an official national competition in order to gauge interest and participation. The committee reasoned that if they waited for the enthusiasm for a national event to grow from the grassroots that it might be several years before anything developed. They resolved to start the national Teen Talent competition sooner rather than later. The C.A. leadership committee decided, in August of 1961, to have regional competitions by Easter of 1963, and a fully-fledged national Talent Search competition in 1964.¹⁹

The National C.A. Department began to advertise the national Talent Search in 1963 with brief mentions of the program in the *Pentecostal Evangel*.²⁰ In the few

years prior to the first national competition, the *Christ's Ambassadors Herald* (the Assemblies of God monthly youth magazine) listed winners and results from various district Talent Searches across the nation.²¹ Church leaders, during the 1961 General Council, promoted the idea of starting a national Bible Quiz and Teen Talent competition.²² In December 1962, the executive presbytery of the Assemblies of God approved the dates for the 1964 National Youth Conference.²³ In 1963 C.A. leaders received permission by the executive presbytery to start national competitions for Bible Quiz in 1963 and for Teen Talent in 1964.²⁴ The Assemblies of God was on track to start a program which would influence the lives of tens of thousands of youth during the next fifty years.

In the years surrounding the 1964 anniversary celebration, church leaders placed a high priority on investing in

Teen Talent/Fine Arts Festival Locations

1963¹ San Jose, CA
 1964² Springfield, MO
 1965* Des Moines, IA
 1966 Springfield, MO
 1967* Long Beach, CA
 1968 Springfield, MO
 1969* Dallas, TX
 1970 Springfield, MO
 1971* Kansas City, MO
 1972 Minneapolis, MN
 1973* Miami Beach, FL
 1974 Springfield, MO
 1975* Denver, CO
 1976 Springfield, MO
 1977* Oklahoma City, OK
 1978 Kansas City, MO
 1979* Baltimore, MD
 1980 Oklahoma City, OK
 1981* St. Louis, MO
 1982³ Springfield, MO
 1983* Anaheim, CA
 1984⁴ Springfield, MO

1985* San Antonio, TX
 1986 Springfield, MO
 1987* Oklahoma City, OK
 1988 Springfield, MO
 1989* Indianapolis, IN
 1990 Springfield, MO
 1991* Portland, OR
 1992⁵ Fort Worth, TX
 1993* Minneapolis, MN
 1994 Springfield, MO
 1995* St. Louis, MO
 1996 Springfield, MO
 1997* Indianapolis, IN
 1998 Springfield, MO
 1999* Orlando, FL
 2000⁶ Indianapolis, IN
 2001* Kansas City, MO
 2002 Albuquerque, NM
 2003* Washington, DC
 2004 Austin, TX
 2005* Denver, CO
 2006 Orlando, FL

2007* Indianapolis, IN
 2008 Charlotte, NC
 2009* Orlando, FL
 2010 Detroit, MI
 2011* Phoenix, AZ
 2012 Louisville, KY
 2013* Orlando, FL

*Held in conjunction with the biennial General Council.

¹Held in conjunction with the Northern California-Nevada District C.A. Convention.

²Held in conjunction with the National Youth Conference, Advanced Christian Training School, and the National Music Conference.

³Held just prior to the Conference on the Holy Spirit.

⁴Held just prior to the 2nd Conference on the Holy Spirit.

⁵Held in conjunction with the National Sunday School Convention.

⁶Held in conjunction with the 2000 Celebration.

Three Assembly Groups to Meet

Church Talks Attract 1500

Three Assemblies of God conventions, with guests expected from throughout the U.S., will attract more than 1,500 visitors to Springfield Monday through Friday of this week.

Meeting simultaneously will be a national music conference, Sunday school leadership school, and a national youth conference. Programs of the three gatherings were planned to accommodate combined attendance of different church interest groups.

During the week of classes and workshops, inspirational rallies will be held for youth, music education sessions for music directors and choir leaders, and classes for persons interested in advanced Christian education.

The Rev. E. Elsworth Krostad, pastor of First Assembly of God, Dallas, Tex., will be featured guest for the 11th Annual Advanced Christian Training School sponsored by the Assemblies of God Sunday School department on the campus of Central Bible Institute.

Speaker for the National Music Conference convening at the Assemblies of God headquarters building will be the Rev. G. W. Harcastle, Jr., pastor of Evangel Temple, Kansas City, Mo. He will bring inspirational messages and conduct special music sessions with ministers.

The Rev. Kenneth Schmidt, pastor of First Assembly of God, Grand Junction, Colo., will be evening speaker for the National Youth Conference meeting on the campus of Evangel College. Sponsored by the Christ's Ambassadors department, approximately 700 youth leaders and officers are expected to attend.

Bible quiz and musical talent competition will highlight ses-

New York.

The convention will be kept "humming" throughout the remainder of the week, meeting a schedule of lectures, work shops, breakfasts, luncheons, rehearsals, banquets, and performances. A Wednesday highlight will be the evening music festival presenting composers and their compositions.

Guests clinicians will be featured in the music sessions in addition to special musical groups. James Boersma, staff arranger for Rodeheaver Hall-Mack Company, Winona Lake, Ind., will be in charge of choral

See CHURCH, Page D-2



The Rev. E. Elsworth Krostad

This news clip reports on three conventions which took place simultaneously in Springfield, Missouri in 1964. The first national Teen Talent Search presentations were included as part of the National Youth Conference. The other two conferences were the Advanced Christian Training School and the National Music Conference.

the youth of the movement. A primary goal of a national Teen Talent Search and Bible Quiz program was the revitalization of the next generation of leaders within the Assemblies of God.²⁵ Many, especially those in the C.A. Department, argued that more youth-focused events should be established. In particular, they wanted to bring back the massive youth conventions that the Assemblies of God had sponsored in the 1940s.

Leaders decided to hold a national youth convention in 1964 — the first

one in almost twenty years — that would include both a national Bible Quiz and Teen Talent Search. The stated purpose of the convention was quite bold:

strike at the heart of our youth with a challenge to perpetuate Pentecost by a personal experience — to challenge them to a life of dedication, a life of self-sacrifice, and seeing the work of God carried forward with Pentecostal fervor. The National C.A. Department would like to take its place of spiritual leadership of this army of 100,000 young people.²⁶

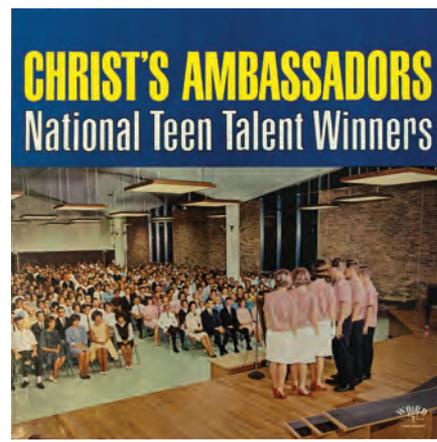
On the weekend of August 17-21, 1964, youth from across the nation gathered for the National Youth Conference.²⁷ Held in Springfield, Missouri, it included the first national Teen Talent competition as a constituent part of an exciting weekend. Although Teen Talent had been organized at the national level the prior year, this was the first time a national competition had been held.

There were four categories of competition: vocal solo, vocal ensemble, instrumental solo, and instrumental ensemble. The winners of the first national Teen Talent competition in the Assemblies of God were Chuck Sanders (vocal solo); The Calvary Chordettes (vocal ensemble consisting of: Linda Smith, Aletha Foster, Diane Hoover, and Bev Foster); Stanley Helmle (instrumental solo); and The Ambassador's Trio (instrumental ensemble consisting of: Barry and Mark Turner and Ken Prettyman).²⁸

The 1964 National Youth Conference also hosted the second annual national Bible Quiz competition. While plans for national competitions for both Bible Quiz and Teen Talent had been made concurrently, Bible Quiz was able to start one year earlier than Teen Talent because Bible Quiz was already fairly well known throughout the nation. Teen Talent was given more time to spread awareness of the program and to plan preliminary competitions for the church,

district, and regional levels at which contestants had to perform prior to advancing to the national level.²⁹ This is in stark contrast to the way the Fine Arts Festival is held today, which provides for anyone who receives a top score at the district level to have an invitation to attend the national competition.

The 1964 National Youth Conference was the beginning of the national youth conferences as we know them today. In addition to Bible Quiz and Teen Talent, the 1964 conference hosted Advanced Christian Training School, a program



LP record albums featuring Teen Talent winners in the 1960s.

operated by the National Sunday School Department.³⁰ C.A. leaders had already decided, in 1961, on the timing, location, and general details of future conferences and competitions. There was talk about holding national Teen Talent competitions every other year. However, C.A. leaders decided to hold the youth conference and the national competition finals annually — in odd years concurrent

with the biennial General Council; and in Springfield, Missouri, in even years when General Council was not held. This pattern held up until the late 1990s for the Teen Talent/Fine Arts Festival,



(L-r): Cindy Richards, Vicky Horner, and Becky Richards from the Great Lakes Region sang as a trio for the 1966 Talent Search.

when the Fine Arts Festival and National Youth Convention began to be held in a new city every year.³¹

While the Fine Arts program has undergone numerous changes during its 50-year history, it is interesting to note that many decisions made at its inception had an immense effect on the program's development. In 1961, many questions existed regarding the prospective Teen Talent program. What kind of programs would be allowed under the Teen Talent umbrella? Under which department should Teen Talent be placed? Many believed it should fall under the purview of the Assemblies of God music department, with the aim of encouraging youth to become more involved in music ministry. Another idea tossed around involved having a five-day-long competition, with varied musical events and workshops in between the contests. A proposed music tour for the finalists,

along with an LP of the competition winners, did see fruition for the first year of the competition.³² At one point it was even proposed to have the winners of the first national Talent Search be heard over the *Revivaltime* broadcast or be presented on a local television station, with the possibility of performing on a proposed Assemblies of God Television broadcast.³³

Teen Talent organizers were concerned about the type of music that could be entered in the competition. C.A. leader Dick Champion stated it was the purpose of the Teen Talent search to “encourage music that will glorify Christ rather than a display of talent.”³⁴ Leaders decided that non-Christian music, including certain classical music pieces, should only be allowed if they included spiritual content, such as mixing the songs with hymns. In the event that a contestant did play a musical number judged not spiritual, the judges’ form included a category titled “appropriateness.”³⁵ To aid in the identification of appropriate music, the C.A. Department assembled a “Suggested Music List” that was distributed to the D-CAPs upon request.³⁶

A significant change to the Teen Talent competition came in 1985, when the vocal category was separated into male and female divisions.³⁷ This change was adopted because of a gender imbalance



Gonzalo Gutierrez of Mid Valley Assembly of God, Weslaco, Texas, created this three-dimensional visual art, receiving a national award of merit in 2011.

— the large number of female vocalists participating in the vocal solo competition created a statistical disadvantage to male vocalists who chose to compete. This gender imbalance had been noted as early as 1977, when leaders began keeping track of numbers of male and female performers in order to determine whether they should encourage more male vocalists to join the competition.³⁸

The competitive nature of Teen Talent became a cause for concern. Ongoing discussion took place regarding whether Teen Talent should be less competitive and more focused on encouraging all



Approximately 10,000 people attended the celebration service at the 2007 National Fine Arts Festival.



Stephen Tavani, Manassas Assembly of God, Bristow, Virginia, Award of Merit recipient in the Instrumental Solo (String) Division for 2007.

participants, whether or not they win. In a 1978 letter, Teen Talent leader Terry Carter explained, “We are beginning from the national level to place greater emphasis on participation and less emphasis on winning.” He added, “I hope we can help our young people see that if they are doing this they are successful, whether they win in competition or not.”³⁹ The Teen Talent rule book stated, “There is nothing wrong with wanting to win! But evaluate your motives. Make sure your purpose for winning is to exalt Christ rather than self.”⁴⁰ More important than the competitiveness is the message that can be shared through the arts. Reese LeRoy, a 1982 national Teen Talent participant, shares: “Teen Talent has taught me there is a lot more to ministering than just getting up there and singing a song. You’ve got to get across a message. Teen Talent has helped us all to gain experience in ministry and to learn how to minister the very best we can.”⁴¹

National Fine Arts Festivals

The most significant change came in 1986, when the Teen Talent competition was combined with Bible Quiz and the Assemblies of God music festival under a new name — Fine Arts Festival. The Fine Arts Festival name initially was used solely as a reference to the overarching festival playing host to all three of these events. The next year Fine Arts



Award of Merit winners for Vocal Ensemble from Full Gospel Tabernacle, Orchard Park, New York, in 1990.

Festival added painting, drama, creative writing, and photography as competitive categories to the program, recognizing a broader variety of talents that students could use to both communicate the gospel and encourage the church.⁴² This broadening of the competition was first suggested years earlier. In 1978 the Teen Talent Committee had considered drama, art, and writing categories for inclusion in the 1980 national Teen Talent finals.⁴³ Since 1986, the Fine Arts Festival has continued to expand and is now a festival with over 50 categories, ranging from music and preaching to photography and drama. The Fine Arts Festival and Bible Quiz both grew and, in the mid-1990s, they returned to their original practice of holding separate events on different dates.

The Fine Arts Festival has encouraged local churches to broaden the scope of their ministry. JoAnne Wade, who participated in Fine Arts Festival in 1994, related her experience: “I went to nationals as part of a drama ensemble. I wasn’t involved in drama in my high school — it was all through my church.”⁴⁴ Fine Arts has encouraged local churches to embrace the arts by providing a Christian program to engage youth in creative activities that might otherwise only be offered outside the church. The program has been adapted by Assemblies of God missionaries and is now in use in numerous countries around the world. Rod

Whitlock, National Youth Ministries Student Discipleship Director says, “For more than 50 years, Fine Arts has provided an incredible platform for students to grow in their ministry gifts. Today God is also opening doors for us to take the arts internationally, for the sole purpose of reaching people with the gospel through the arts.”⁴⁵

Kappa Tau, a new division of Fine Arts Festival for young adults from ages 18 to 23, was launched in 2008. Prior to Kappa Tau, people in this age category were not able to participate in the Fine Arts Festival.⁴⁶ In 2009, Fine Arts Festival adopted a purpose statement that affirmed the program’s historic mission as “a discipleship tool ... designed to help students discover, develop, and deploy their ministry gifts.” The statement was clarified in 2011, explaining that “providing a competition venue is not the primary mission of the Fine Arts Festival,” despite the existence of “competitive elements.” Fine Arts Festival has broadened its scope in recent years for the specific purpose of developing ministry gifts in young people, not simply to provide a venue for competition. Among the many new categories are three-dimensional visual art and instrumental folk solos.⁴⁷

The Fine Arts Festival has provided training and opportunities to young people who have made a mark in Christian circles. Fine Arts Festival alumni include

the following recording artists: Francesca Battestelli, Kim Boyce, Natalie Grant, Sara Groves, Matt Hammitt (Sanctus Real), The Jonas Brothers, Evie Karlsson Tornquist, Marty Magehee (4Him), Kristy Starling, Matthew West, and the members of Christian rap group Group 1 Crew. Organist Mark Thallander, evangelist Robert Madu, and 2013 American Idol finalist Angie Miller were also contestants in Fine Arts Festival.⁴⁸

Over 7,800 students are expected to participate in the 2013 National Fine Arts Festival, held in conjunction with the 2013 General Council in Orlando, Florida. Over 65,000 students will have presented in the various local and district events. Special fiftieth anniversary events will be held during the 2013 Fine Arts Festival. This year's participants are carrying on a fifty-year tradition within the Assemblies of God of rewarding young people for excellence in the arts for the purpose of developing ministry gifts.

Fred Vogler, Kansas District Superintendent, penned this encouragement to the Assemblies of God in 1931 to support its youth: "We will never go wrong in investing money in our consecrated youth. One thing that characterizes this movement is that God is pouring out His Spirit on our sons and daughters. There is no other movement in existence today that has the young people we have."⁴⁹ In this spirit, Fine Arts Festival continues to prepare the next generation for ministry in the Assemblies of God. ✠



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NOTES

¹⁴"National Youth Conference," *Christ's Ambassadors Herald*, December 1963, 28.

²⁴"What is Fine Arts?" <http://finearts.ag.org/> (accessed June 17, 2013).

³*Pentecostal Evangel* articles generally referred to the program as Teen Talent Search until 1978, and as Teen Talent starting in 1979.

⁴⁴"Youth Gain More Than Awards During This Year's First Fine Arts Festival," *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 19, 1986, 29.

⁵Steve Asmuth, "Fine Arts, 'Teen Talent'—A History," July 24, 2009. Typed manuscript.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁴"History of Youth for Christ and Campus Life." <http://cws.yfc.net/yfcusa/private/assets/History%20of%20Youth%20for%20Christ%20and%20Campus%20Life.doc> (accessed June 17, 2013).

⁸Asmuth, "Fine Arts History."

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹"Christ's Ambassadors" [Southern California District Council Christ's Ambassadors] (Reseda, CA : Alma Records, [1961?]). LP album.

¹²C.A. Day Committee Notes, June 1, 1961, 1.

¹³Jesse Segrist telephone interview with Owen Carr, May 23, 2012.

¹⁴Ralph W. Harris, "History of the National C.A. Department," [197?]. Typed manuscript.

¹⁵Asmuth, "Fine Arts History."

¹⁶C.A. Day Committee Minutes, August 9, 1961.

¹⁷*General Council Minutes*, 1961, 74.

¹⁸C.A. Day Committee Minutes, July 25, 1961.

¹⁹C.A. Day Committee Minutes, August 2, 1961.

²⁰"National Youth Conference Announced for Springfield, Mo.," *Pentecostal Evangel*, November 10, 1963, 10.

²¹The earliest mention of Teen Talent in the *C.A. Herald* was in 1961, noting various district competitions held in 1960. "Talent Winners," *C.A. Herald*, March 1961, 16-18. See also "Northern California-Nevada Convention," *C.A. Herald*, May 1963, 30.

²²"Report of the Christ's Ambassadors Committee," *General Council Minutes*, 1961, 74.

²³C.A. Day Committee Minutes, December 6, 1962.

²⁴Notes For Our D-CAP's, October 1962; *Cap-*

sule, August 1963.

²⁵C.A. Day Committee Minutes, [196?]; "National Youth Conference," *C.A. Herald*, December 1963, 28.

²⁶C.A. Day Committee Minutes, [196? (pre 1963)].

²⁷"Regional Winners Compete," 21.

²⁸*Ibid.*; "Teen Talent Search Winners," *C.A. Herald*, November 1964, 20-21.

²⁹"Regional Winners Compete in National Quiz and Musical Talent Tests," *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 11, 1964, 21.

³⁰"National Youth Conference," *Christ's Ambassadors Herald*, December 1963, 28.

³¹C.A. Day Committee Minutes, July 25, 1961.

³²*Ibid.*

³³C.A. Day Committee Minutes, August 29, 1962.

³⁴C.A. Day Committee Minutes, September 14, 1962.

³⁵Teen Talent judge's form, 1962.

³⁶*CAP-sule*, January 1964, 12-13.

³⁷Jesse Segrist, "Teen Talent/Fine Arts Locations," June 2012.

³⁸Bible Quiz/Teen Talent Committee Minutes, September 1977.

³⁹Terry Carter letter to S. Robert Maddox, April 21, 1978.

⁴⁰"Your Attitude" in *Teen Talent Official Rules and Helps for Participants* (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Youth Department, 1982), 10.

⁴¹Steve Leatherwood, "His Love At Work," *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 17, 1983, 18-19.

⁴²"Youth Gain More Than Awards," 29.

⁴³Bible Quiz/Teen Talent Committee Minutes, December 1978.

⁴⁴Jeanette D. Gardner, "The Impact Continues," *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 17, 1994, 14.

⁴⁵Rod Whitlock, e-mail to Jack Trewern, July 1, 2013.

⁴⁶"Kappa Tau," <http://finearts.ag.org/kappatau/> (accessed June 21, 2013).

⁴⁷"Art Division Rules" and "Exhibition Division Rules" in *2013 Rulebook Fine Arts Festival* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 2013), 17, 25 (<http://agwebservices.org/Content/RSSResources/2013%20NFAF%20Rulebook%20for%20Web.pdf>).

⁴⁸Doug Clay, Jim Wellborn, Terry Carter, and Rod Whitlock identified these alumni of Fine Arts Festival.

⁴⁹Fred Vogler, "A Splendid Program," *Pentecostal Evangel*, March 28, 1931, 9.

A Christ's Ambassadors banner from the
Northeast Section of the North Dakota District.



Objects and the Shaping of Assemblies of God Identity

By Travis Cooper

If you were a teenager in the Assemblies of God in the 1960s, you probably remember Christ's Ambassadors banners and BGMC barrels. The material objects you used as part of your faith tradition were probably more tangible and meaningful than abstractions or far-away institutions.

Protestant histories often focus on the people, ideas, and structures that shaped their church's identity. However, the lived religious expressions — how Christians lived out their faith at the local level, including the use of material objects in their devotion — have been largely ignored by historians. This article briefly draws attention to some of the material objects that provided Assemblies of God members across the United States with shared memories and a sense of common identity.

“Lived religion” cannot be studied apart from material objects. Picture, for a moment, a woman worshipping in a church: How is she dressed and how does her religion prescribe or prohibit the ways she should (or should not) worship? Joining with the congregants around her, the woman sings exuberantly. Pay close attention to her material environment: Does she read the chorus texts off a projector screen, or does she hold a hymn-

book reverently in her hands?

Now turn from the woman to survey her physical environment: What type of building houses the congregants, and does it architecturally express theological transcendence, immanence, or a blending of both? Do icons or symbols adorn the pew ends? Do the building's windows boast stained glass, and if so, which scriptural stories are illuminated by natural light? Perhaps the room is unadorned or decorated simply. Often, even simple churches have a cross as a focal point, a visual reiteration of the congregation's devotion to the theology of a crucified and risen Christ.

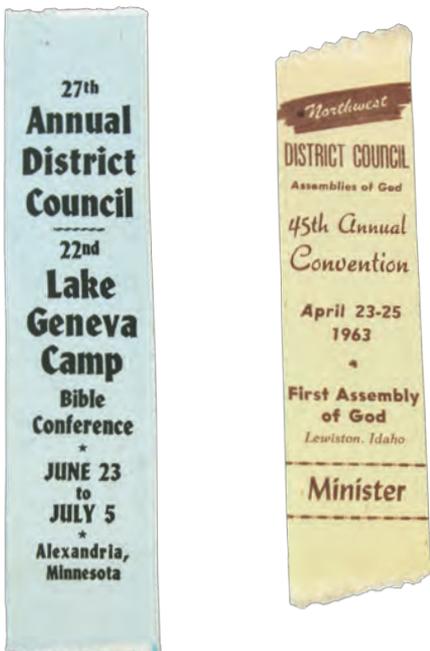
Scholars have recently begun to address these questions, examining the role of material objects in Christian devotion, including: worship services; rules concerning clothing and dress;¹ the production of religious arts; uses of hymnbooks or handbooks in musical expressions; the role of visual images in the written or textual life of a community; the ways material objects both shape and are shaped by theological beliefs; and the intentional ordering of physical spaces to suit the desires of a particular religious body. It seems that scholars have only late-



Tambourines were a popular instrument of worship in early Pentecostal churches. This one, used by Evangelist Anna B. Lock (1890-1952), is on display at the FPHC Museum.



The Bible, one might argue, is the central material object in Pentecostal devotion. Assemblies of God members were encouraged to bring their Bibles to church and to engage in personal Bible study at home. This leatherbound Bible, belonging to theologian Myer Pearlman (1898-1943), is on display at the FPHC Museum.



Attendees at district and national conferences were often given ribbons to wear. The featured ribbons were from Lake Geneva Camp Bible Conference, 1948, and Northwest District Council, 1963.

ly turned their attentions to this fascinating interplay between belief and material practice.² The history of the Assemblies of God, demonstrated briefly below, has a rich material life.

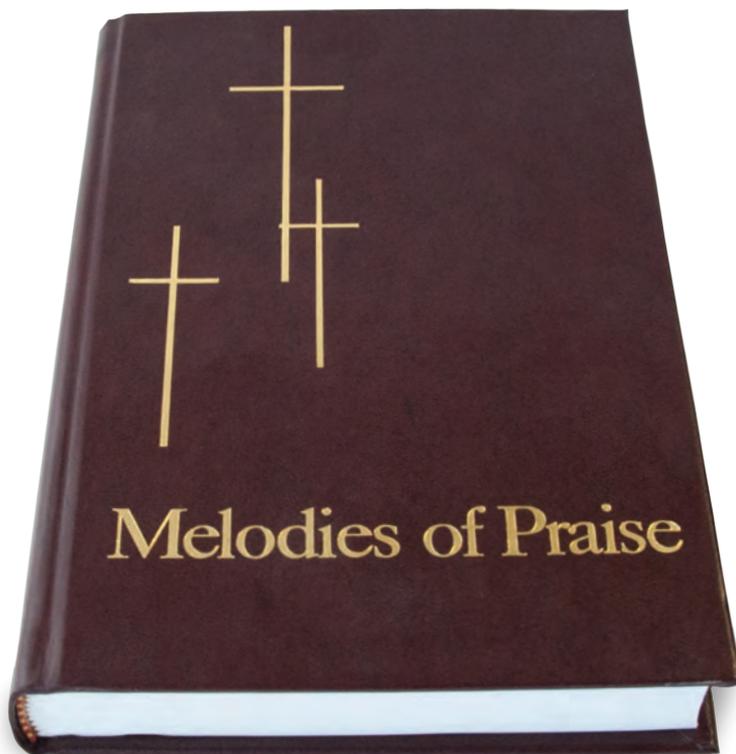
Consider, for instance, the altar, the pulpit, the baptismal tank, and the revival tent. The altar ties the Assemblies of God to its evangelical-revivalist heritage; the pulpit recalls the centrality of preaching within the Protestant tradition; the baptismal tank speaks to the embodied nature of evangelical worship practices; and the revival tent demonstrates the mobile and missional nature of Pentecostal revivalism. Other typically Pentecostal material objects include, to name only a few, the *Revivaltime* sign that adorned thousands of Assemblies of God churches, eschatology charts spread out on stage as visual supplements to end-time Bible teaching, prayer cloths, and family Bibles.

The worship service has its own set of ritual objects. From the pulpit, preachers expound the Bible, itself a visual prop in the drama of the sermon's presentation. The Bible, one might argue, is the central material object of Pentecostal practice. Not only does one see it used from the pulpit, but congregants themselves enter the church doors with leather-bound versions tucked under their arms. Often, Bibles sit next to hymnbooks at the backs of pew or seat rows.

Continued on page 61



The Assemblies of God published this popular box of 400 missionary prayer cards, called the *Missionary Prayer Album*, in 1953. A prayer card for Paul and Linda Finkenbinder, missionaries to El Salvador, is featured.



Songbooks and hymnals, until the past couple of decades, played an indispensable role in Pentecostal worship services. *Melodies of Praise*, published in 1957, has remained a popular hymnal in the Assemblies of God.



Pinewood derby cars have been a fixture in Royal Rangers, the discipleship program for boys, since its early years. General Treasurer Doug Clay made this car, which took the first place trophy at Bethany Assembly of God, Adrian, Michigan, July 1972.



In 1928, the Assemblies of God Foreign Missions Department began the Busy Bee missionary giving plan. Adults and children were encouraged to fill little wooden Busy Bee beehives with coins for special missionary offerings. The program lasted until the late 1940s and was replaced by Boys and Girls Missionary Crusade.



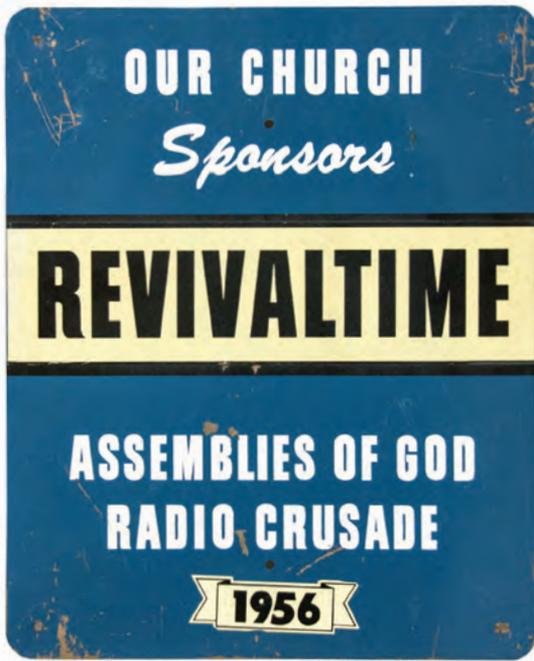
An early wooden barrel bank used to raise funds for the Boys and Girls Missionary Crusade (BGMC). BGMC and the barrel banks were introduced to the Assemblies of God in 1949. The banks were given the name Buddy Barrel in 1961.



Buddy Barrel has been given several facelifts over the years. This yellow plastic version was introduced in 2005.



A dime holder from 1977 for Speed the Light, the student ministry that raises money for missions.



A Revivaltime sign from 1956.



An early Assembly of God church sign.



Evangelists Jimmie and Madge Mayo with musical instruments and a chalk art display in the 1940s.



Badges from Missionettes (now known as National Girls Ministries), a program for girls started in 1956.



An attendance roster was a familiar sight in many churches.

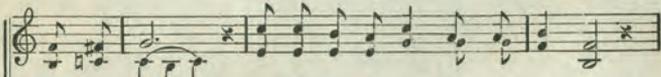
Christ Ambassadors.

Harmony by N. L. Ridderhof

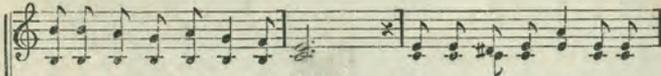
Words and Melody by Mrs. Geo. Wagner



1. We young people march on for Je - sus. We are joined as Christ am-
2. We would help the sick, poor and need - y; Tell a - bout the Sa - viour
3. We'll have many hard - ships in bat - tle, As we fight a - gainst the



bas - sa - dors..... He will lead us, help fight our bat - tles
 as we go..... Putting forth the tal - ents He gave us;
 pow'r of sin..... Sa - tan will be try - ing to win us,



By His pow'r, and not guns and swords. Faith our ar - mor, based on the
 All our strength to bat - tle the foe; ^{no swords.} Work in love and un - ion to -
 But the Spir - it won't let him in. ^{the foe;} If we plead the blood of our
^{not in.}



Bi - ble, By the word of God we're battling on;.... Then the Ho - ly
 gether: Keeping the commandments of our Lord;.. Then we claim the
 Saviour O - ver ev - 'ry - thing we do and say,... Then we will be



Copyright, 1928, by the So. Calif. & Ariz District Council of the Assemblies of God

Christ Ambassadors. Concludea.



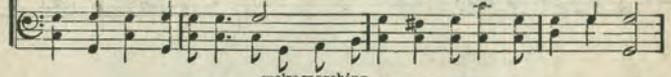
Spir - it bear - eth wit - ness in us: That's why we sing as we march on.
 prom - is - es of God, our Fath - er, Working for Him with one ac - cord.
 o - ver - com - ers, we'll be hap - py. Christ is the on - ly liv - ing way.



CHORUS



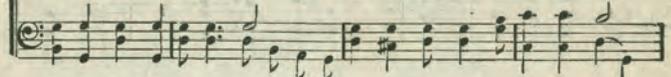
We are Christ ambas - sa - dors; And our col - ors we must un - fur - l.



we're marching



We must wear a spotless robe, Clean and righteous before the world.



we're walking



We must show we're cleansed from sin; And that Je - sus dwells with - in,



Oh glo - ry



Prov - ing du - ly that we're tru - ly Christ am - bas - sa - dors. (am - bas - sa - dors.)



For decades Assemblies of God young people sang the Christ's Ambassadors theme song, which was first published in 1928.



River Rouge Assembly of God
 54 HILL STREET AT ALEXANDER

FOUR FOLD GOSPEL

JESUS

the Savior of the Soul
 the Baptizer in the Holy Ghost
 the Healer of the Body
 the Soon-Coming King

SERVICES—Sunday School 9:45 a. m. Worship 11 a. m.
 Young Peoples C. A. 6 p. m.
 Evangelistic 7:30 p. m.
 Mid-week Wednesday and Friday 8 p. m.

D. G. SCOTT, PASTOR
 28 RUTH ST., ECORSE
 CEDAR 0194-J

Prayer for the Sick at each Service. All Welcome. Bring a Friend

Poster advertising services for River Rouge Assembly of God in Michigan, 1929.



The Christ's Ambassadors pulpit from Bethel Temple, Los Angeles, California. It was the first young people's group in the Assemblies of God to use the C.A. name. The pulpit is on display in the office of General Superintendent George Wood.

Apart from core Pentecostal texts, the Bible and the hymnbook, a range of other objects play important roles. At the end of some services, prayer team leaders ritually daub the foreheads of penitents with anointing oil usually kept in small glass bottles near the pulpit. Musicians pluck at a multitude of instruments: pianos, guitars, and perhaps even most emblematic of Pentecostal expressive worship — tambourines. In some churches, worshipers dance and sway — literally using their bodies as instruments of praise to God. Some even twirl colorful streamers or banners in their worship dances.

The Assemblies of God formed institutions and traditions as it developed throughout the twentieth century and a denominational identity began to emerge. New ministries of the mid-1900s created important material objects that are now part-and-parcel to the Assemblies of God ethos. National ministries — for children's, high school, and college age groups, such as

Christ's Ambassadors (C.A.'s), Royal Rangers, Missionettes (now National Girls Ministries), Fine Arts, Boys and Girls Missionary Challenge (BGMC), Junior and Teen Bible Quiz (now Bible Quiz), and Chi Alpha — dramatically expanded the material culture of the denomination. Flannel graphs were popular in the past and are still part of Radiant Life curriculum.

To many of those who grew up in the Assemblies of God, the friendly expression of the Buddy Barrel might stir feelings of nostalgia. It is not uncommon in the lives of religious peoples for a group's material objects to change and develop, however, and the Buddy Barrel is a great example of this as wood forms ultimately gave way to yellow plastic. Predating even the Buddy Barrel itself was the Busy Bee beehive. Children's ministries included other memorable objects, some still in use today. In Girls Ministries Girls Clubs, girls decorate their vests and sashes with a hodgepodge of merit badges of all shapes, sizes, and colors. Seasonally, boys gather together to race pinewood derby cars, often a joint-project of parents and sons. Youth Group alumni might recall C.A. banners and the C.A. theme song.

These varieties of lived religious expressions within the Assemblies of God — in both practical ministry and worship services — continue to proliferate, demonstrating the profoundly embodied and material aspects of Pentecostal life. ✝

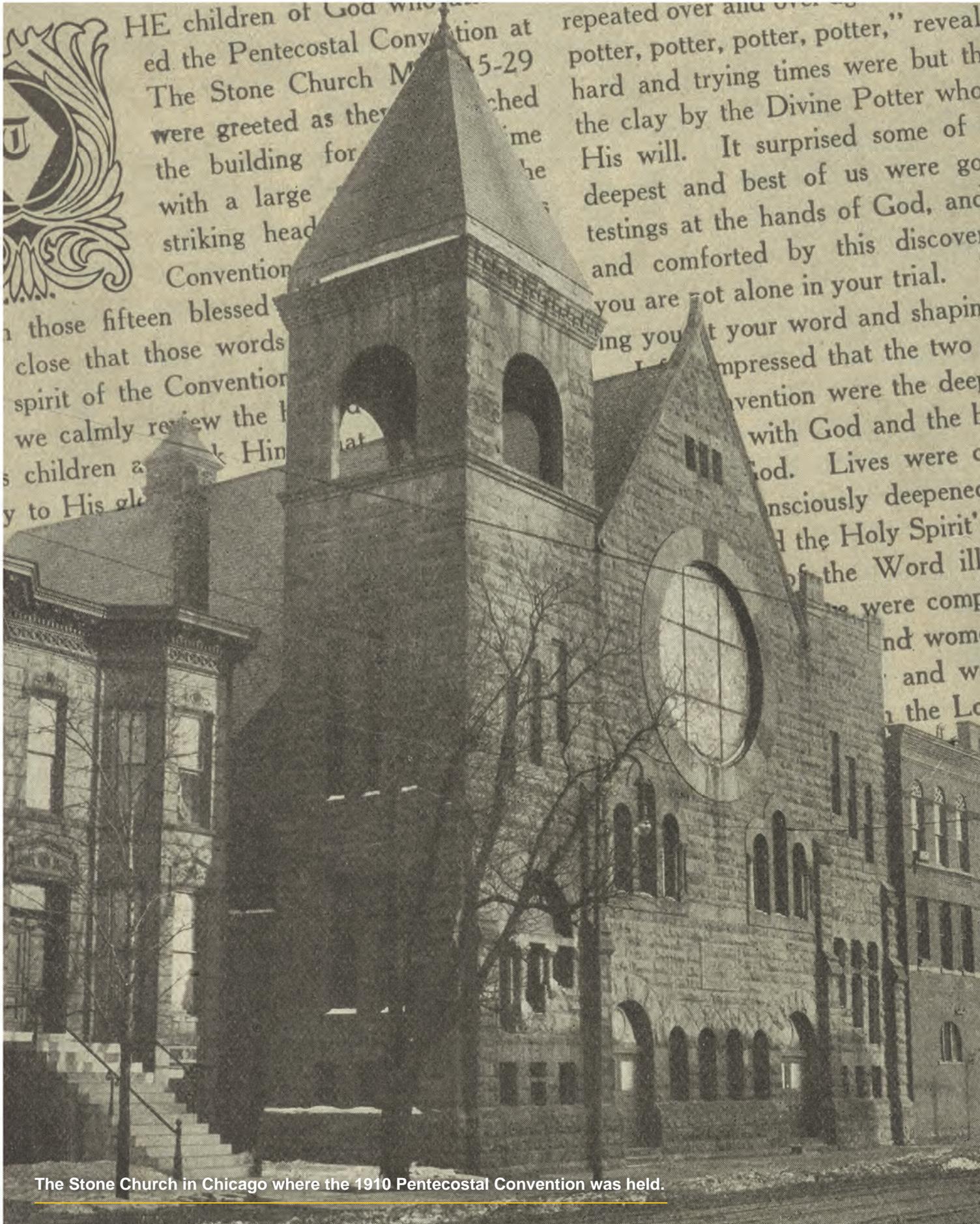


Travis Cooper is a Ph.D. student at Indiana University, where he is studying the ethnography and history of North American evangelicalism. A graduate of Evangel University (B.A.) and Missouri State University (M.A.), Cooper is a North Dakota native and resides in Bloomington, Indiana, with his wife and daughters.

NOTES

¹For one of the most extensive studies of the Assemblies of God and the development of purity codes, to date, see Micah Hildreth, "'Be Not Conformed to This World': A History of Worldliness in the Assemblies of God" (Master's thesis, Missouri State University, 2012). With the Pentecostal movement being an outgrowth of the Holiness movement, a number of *Pentecostal Evangel* articles have covered the topics of dress, modesty, and holiness.

²See especially Meredith B. McGuire, *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Grant Wacker, "Heaven Below: Early Pentecostalism and American Culture" (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Colleen McDannell, *Material Religion: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).



The Stone Church in Chicago where the 1910 Pentecostal Convention was held.

Pentecostal Missions and the Changing Character of Global Christianity

By Heather D. Curtis

The rapid expansion of Christianity across the world in the past 100 years has been fueled in part by the emergence of Pentecostalism and its preference for planting indigenous churches. Mainline denominations generally had adopted a Western colonial model — establishing mission stations as beachheads in foreign lands, led by Western missionaries who placed native workers on their payroll. They sought to achieve Christianization through Westernization, establishing schools and hospitals and seeking to transform the culture through education and modernization. Many early Pentecostals, however, adopted a radical missions strategy — insisting that what was needed was not Westernization, but a personal transformative encounter with God through the power of the Holy Spirit.

These conflicting missions strategies were on display in 1910 at two missionary conferences — the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland, which attracted the prominent mainline missiologists of the day; and the semiannual Pentecostal Convention at the Stone Church, a much smaller gathering of missionaries and church leaders in Chicago.

As American delegates to the World Missionary Conference were preparing to sail for Edinburgh in the spring of 1910, another gathering devoted to the “subject of world-wide missions” was taking place in Chicago, at the Stone Church. From May 15-29, a group of “God’s dear children”¹ assembled daily in Chicago for meetings that pressed “the claims of the world field upon young and old for prayer, for giving, and for giving.”²

This semiannual Pentecostal Convention at the Stone Church was, by compari-

son with the World Missionary Conference about to open at Edinburgh, a humble affair. Participants numbered in at most the hundreds rather than the thousands. Publicity for the event consisted of a few notices posted in the *Latter Rain Evangel*, a periodical produced at the Stone Church, and a “large sign bearing the striking head-line, ‘A Glorious Convention’” hung on the outside of the building.³ Planning was minimal: “the only definite date we have fixed upon is the opening day,” the organizers declared; the duration of the convocation would depend on the “Lord’s leading.”⁴

This reliance on the Holy Spirit was, according to many attendees, the distinguishing feature of the Pentecostal Convention. Convinced that “God was working all through the Convention to bring things to pass for foreign fields,”⁵ participants were confident that the gathering would “mean much for His work all over the world.” “The ends of the earth and the courts of heaven are going to hear from this blessed Convention,” one chronicler proclaimed. “India is going to feel it; China is going to feel it; schools, homes, and other lives touched by these deepened ones are going to feel it.”⁶

A month after the Stone Church Convention drew to a close, delegates assembled June 14-23 at Edinburgh were expressing similar expectations about the outcomes of their well-attended, widely-advertised, meticulously-planned and methodically-orchestrated World Missionary Conference (WMC). In his concluding address, chairman and missionary statesman John R. Mott reiterated the prevailing conviction that “carrying the Gospel to all the non-Christian world” was the urgent

task for which God had been empowering the Western Protestant churches. “The end of the Conference is the beginning of the conquest,” he decreed. “Though there have been no signs and sounds and wonders as of the rushing wind, God has been silently and peacefully doing His work.... It is not His will that the influences set forth by Him shall cease this night. Rather shall they course out through us to the very ends of the earth.”⁷

Participants in both the Pentecostal Convention in Chicago and the WMC of 1910 believed that “Christianity stood on the threshold of a global expansion of millennial dimensions” and that God would continue to work through evangelical messengers to spread the gospel to the nations.⁸ Underlying these shared convictions, however, were subtle differences in emphasis and significant divergences in theological perspective that set these two groups apart. By analyzing these contrasts and their consequences for Protestant missions, this article explores the changing character of global Christianity in the twentieth century.

Scholars of twentieth-century Protestant missions have argued that Edinburgh delegates fundamentally misread “the signs of the future of Christianity,” including the robust expansion of Pentecostal movements that have transformed the shape of Christian faith around the globe since 1910. “One by one all of their assumptions about how the evangelization of the world could be effected crumbled away,” notes historian Andrew Walls.⁹

Christianity was “indeed to be transfigured over the next century,” Brian Stanley contends in his definitive study of the Edinburgh conference, “but not in the

way or through the mechanisms that they imagined.” Instead, Stanley suggests, “the most effective instrument of that transfiguration” was a diverse “miscellany of indigenous pastors, prophets, catechists and evangelists, men and women” who stood outside of the mainstream missions agencies represented at Edinburgh and “professed instead to rely on the simple transforming power of the Spirit and the Word.” The story of the Stone Church Convention offers a starting point for assessing the profound changes that early Pentecostal missionaries helped to initiate.¹⁰

“They Need the Simple Gospel”: Pentecostal Qualms about Christian Civilization

One of the most salient disparities between the architects of the WMC and the leaders of the Stone Church Convention centered on their differing perspectives on Western “civilization.” While the Pentecostals who gathered in Chicago were clear about the contrast between “heathen darkness” and “gospel light,” they seemed less certain than their Edinburgh counterparts that these categories clearly corresponded with the “civilized Christian West” and “the non-Christian world.” Depravity, they believed, was not necessarily determined by geography, nationality, or race; in fact, the “Occidental” could be just as susceptible to sin as the “Oriental.”

Preaching in the Stone Church on March 3, 1910, evangelist Charles F. Hettiaratchy, “a native of Ceylon” who “had a very deep baptism in the Holy Spirit,” challenged potential missionaries who wanted “to go and convert the heathen” to ask: “Have you been used in this country to convert the heathen here?” Heathenism, he contended, was not only abroad but also within.¹¹ The devil was active everywhere Pentecostals believed; therefore, even so-called “Christian” lands and institutions were susceptible to corruption.¹²

In fact, many Pentecostals criticized American culture and questioned the supposed superiority of Western civilization. Unlike Edinburgh delegates who were “certain that Christianity and civilization were divinely ordained to proceed from the West to the world,” Pentecostals worried that Western Christians had abandoned biblical authority and turned away from God.¹³ As a result, Pentecostal



Paul Bettex (1864-1916), early Pentecostal missionary who died in China. Born in Switzerland and the son of a distinguished Christian apologist, Bettex studied at the University of Geneva, various Italian schools, the Sorbonne, and Princeton Theological Seminary. He was a missionary in South America in the 1890s and moved to America in 1903. He attended meetings at the Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles, joined the ranks of the Pentecostals, and in 1910 headed for China. This photo, circa 1900, was taken in Argentina.

missionaries condemned the notion that civilizing was a necessary prerequisite for Christianizing.

In a 1909 address delivered at the Stone Church, for example, veteran missionary Archibald Forder insisted that the Arab people among whom he worked did not “need civilization.” In fact, Forder argued, an increase in trade and the introduction of Western ways would undermine exemplary aspects of Arabian society — particularly the prohibition against destructive “intoxicants” such as alcohol and opium. “I am anxious for only one thing,” Forder proclaimed, “that they get Jesus Christ. As sure as civilization gets in, they will become contaminated with the curses of civilization ... they do not need electric cars, railroads, and all these things we think are necessary.... They need the simple Gospel.”¹⁴

Pentecostals were not the only missionaries who expressed ambivalence about how features of Western civilization would affect indigenous cultures. For decades prior to the 1910 WMC, missionaries from a variety of denominations had protested against the opium trade in China, the liquor traffic in Africa, and the legalization of prostitution in India. Each of these “evils,” they argued, was exacerbated if not caused by Western agents and impeded efforts to Christianize local

societies. In responses to questionnaires sent out by the WMC’s organizers, some missionaries complained that the immoral (and imperial) behavior of European traders and officials constituted “a great barrier to the spread of the Gospel.”

The official report of Edinburgh’s commissioners additionally warned that “the spread of infidel and rationalistic ideas and materialistic views ... traceable to western sources” threatened “the extension of Christ’s Kingdom.” Despite these concerns, most WMC delegates remained convinced that the “pure and hopeful influences of western civilization” would triumph over “antagonistic” pressures so long as the Church mustered “all its powers on behalf of the world without Christ.”¹⁵ “The voice most audible in the public sessions of the conference,” Brian Stanley asserts, “was one of boundless optimism and unsullied confidence in the ideological and financial power of western Christendom.”¹⁶

For both theological and social reasons, Pentecostals simply did not share this sanguine outlook. By the early twentieth century, most radical evangelicals had embraced a premillennial eschatology that predicted Christ’s imminent return after a period of pervasive and rapid decay. In contrast to their counterparts at the WMC, the majority of whom still subscribed to the more optimistic postmillennial view, participants at the Stone Church believed that “the world to-day is wobbling in its orbit, madly plunging towards despair and destruction.”¹⁷ As Pentecostal missionary Albert Norton put it, “The signs are multiplying that the world is out of joint on a scale that it never was before.... What does this portend ... but the greatest national overthrow, ruin and disaster, that the world has ever seen.” Civilization, from this perspective, was a slender reed upon which to rest one’s hopes.¹⁸

“We Are Made One in the Spirit”: Pentecostals and Missionary Science

A second, and related, distinction between delegates at Edinburgh and attendees at the Stone Church Convention was the extent to which each group stressed the centrality of technological developments and scientific methods for the missionary enterprise. As historians have pointed out, premillennial pessimism about the prospects of contemporary society and Western

civilization did not preclude Pentecostals from making full use of modern technologies for missionary purposes.¹⁹ While they interpreted the “increased modes and rapidity of travel, evidenced by railways, steam ships, electrical devices, liquid air, telephone, telegraph, wireless telegraphy ... within the past one hundred years” as “signs of the imminence of our Lord’s return,” participants in the holiness and Pentecostal movements eagerly employed

in the evangelistic enterprise, they were apt to downplay “signs and sounds and wonders,” in favor of “ascertained and sifted facts.”²⁴

Organizers of the Stone Church Convention did just the opposite. Rather than systematically collecting data and presenting their findings in carefully crafted reports on practical policy, they insisted that mighty manifestations of supernatural power were precisely what was needed for

ventions confirmed this conviction. Recalling that the first person to receive “the baptism of the Holy Ghost” during the recent Pentecostal revival in India was an “ignorant little mite named JeeJee” who went on to become one of the movement’s leaders, missionary Minnie Abrams argued that the Holy Spirit empowered individuals for service regardless of their age, social status, intellectual sophistication, or even theological acumen.²⁸ From this

Pentecostals worried that Western Christians had abandoned biblical authority and turned away from God. As a result, Pentecostal missionaries condemned the notion that civilizing was a necessary prerequisite for Christianizing.

these resources as they worked to cultivate a universal Christian fellowship.²⁰

Communication tools were especially instrumental in helping Pentecostals (and other Christians) to nurture a sense of worldwide community that transcended territorial borders, cultural boundaries, and social barriers. Periodicals such as the *Latter Rain Evangel* explicitly sought to forge bonds among like-minded believers across the globe. On the periodical’s second anniversary, the editor rejoiced that the paper had fostered “a blessed fellowship with God’s dear children all over the world.”²¹ By embracing communication and travel technologies in order to create translocal connections, Pentecostals participated in broader patterns characteristic of many social and religious movements in an increasingly international era.²² Gatherings like the Stone Church Convention and the WMC of 1910 both reflected and contributed to the globalization of Christianity during this period.

While participants in these events eagerly employed modern means to spread the gospel and promote Christian unity, Pentecostals were less convinced than their Edinburgh peers that the success of these endeavors depended on the development and “advancement of missionary science.” As Brian Stanley has shown, conveners of the WMC “believed that the time had come for the application of the rigorous methods of modern social science to the challenges and problems which missionaries faced on the field.”²³ Although spokespersons like John Mott acknowledged the role of the Holy Spirit

inaugurating a new era in world evangelization. “It isn’t in my thought to go into the matter of statistics,” declared missionary “stalwart” Levi Lupton at the Stone Church Convention. Instead, he and other speakers put particular emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit to bridge divides and create attachments.²⁵

“This is the intent of Pentecost,” evangelist D. Wesley Myland proclaimed: “that my heart might be bound with men and women in Africa, in Japan, in the fastness of Tibet. That my spirit might be bound with men and women in India and we are made one in working out the purposes of God.”²⁶

William Piper, pastor of the Stone Church, contended that Holy Spirit baptism was not only drawing together believers of different nations, but also uniting Christians across doctrinal and class lines. “In this, His Pentecostal sweep of the earth, ... God is doing a marvelous thing in reaching down into every denomination, and reaching down into the slums where there is no denomination, and baptizing His disciples,” Piper proclaimed. “What else could so effectually break down bigotry than the fact that God is bigger than our denominational difference? Thus there is left little or no room for one set of people to exalt themselves over another.”²⁷ According to Piper, the experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit leveled hierarchies in ways that enabled Pentecostal missionaries to surmount spatial, social and theological separations in pursuit of a global fellowship.

Many speakers at Stone Church con-

ventions confirmed this conviction. Recalling that the first person to receive “the baptism of the Holy Ghost” during the recent Pentecostal revival in India was an “ignorant little mite named JeeJee” who went on to become one of the movement’s leaders, missionary Minnie Abrams argued that the Holy Spirit empowered individuals for service regardless of their age, social status, intellectual sophistication, or even theological acumen.²⁸ From this

perspective, statistical analysis, scientific expertise and technological advancement were secondary (if not irrelevant) to the practice of missions or the creation of a global church. The Stone Church strongly promoted missionary evangelism through reports in its monthly publication, the *Latter Rain Evangel*, as well as through its semiannual conventions. The church also hosted the second General Council in November 1914 and the seventh General Council in 1919. At the second General Council, Lemuel C. Hall²⁹ of Chicago framed a very important resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the Council:

As a Council, we hereby express our gratitude to God for His great blessing upon the movement in the past. We are grateful to Him for the results attending this forward movement and we commit ourselves and the movement to Him for the greatest evangelism that the world has ever seen. We pledge our hearty co-operation, prayers and help to this end.³⁰

In spite of the remarkable advancement of Protestant missions during the preceding “great century” of the expansion of Christianity, this was an ambitious commitment for the Assemblies of God delegates. This 1914 pledge to the “greatest evangelism that the world has ever seen” dovetailed exactly with the missions ideals promoted at the Stone Church Convention four years earlier.

“I Will Pour Out My Spirit on All Flesh”: Pentecostal Missionaries and Indigenous Leadership

Minnie Abrams’s account of the revival in India reveals a third contrast between Pentecostal approaches to missions and the dominant assumptions on display at Edinburgh. As the story of JeeJee suggests, Pentecostals were open to the possibility that the outpouring of the Holy Spirit had initiated a great reversal — not only collapsing hierarchical distinctions between Western missionaries and local believers, but even beginning to re-center Christian leadership in “heathen” lands. While most delegates at the Edinburgh WMC endorsed the “formation, growth and nurture” of self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating national churches as “the central goal of all foreign missionary activity,” they were less confident than their Pentecostal peers that the experience of Holy Spirit baptism qualified native converts to serve as partners in the missionary enterprise, let alone leaders of indigenous churches.³¹

In fact, the issue of relationships among missionaries and national Christians was a major topic of discussion — and a source of consternation — among participants in the WMC. V. S. Azariah, an Anglican clergyman from South India who had helped to establish the indigenous Indian National Missionary Society, highlighted this concern in an address entitled “The Problem of Co-operation Between Foreign and Native Workers” that he delivered at Edinburgh on the evening of June 20th.³²

“The official relationship generally prevalent at present between the missionary and the Indian worker is that between a master and servant,” he declared. “As long as this relationship exists, we must admit that no sense of self-respect and individuality can grow in the Indian church.” Taking the “problem of race relationships” head-on, Azariah asserted that “bridging the gulf between East and West, and the attainment of a greater unity and common ground in Christ” was essential if the Indian church was ever to become self-governing. Although he conceded that both sides were to blame for the unequal situation, Azariah challenged “the foreign missionary” to offer “proofs of a real willingness ... to show that he is in the midst of the people, to be to them, not a lord or a

master, but a brother and a friend.”³³

According to observers, Azariah’s speech went off “like a bomb” in the “electric silence” of Edinburgh’s Assembly Hall. While a few attendees appreciated Azariah’s challenge, others protested and some argued that he ought to be publicly censured. According to conference historian Brian Stanley, “Most of the Christian press either ignored his address or took exception to it.... Hardly anyone in the Western churches in 1910 seemed ready to listen.”³⁴

But if Azariah’s admonitions fell on deaf ears in Edinburgh, his sentiments resonated with partisans of the Pentecostal movement who were making similar proposals. Although few Pentecostals attended the WMC, a number of correspondents — including American Agnes



William Hamner Piper was the founder of the Stone Church and editor of the *Latter Rain Evangel*.

Hill who served as the national secretary for the YWCA in India, and Eveline Alice Luce of the British Church Missionary Society — had participated in the Holy Spirit revivals that swept through many places across the world in 1904 through 1906.

These women had become part of the emerging global Pentecostal network even as they remained connected with their sponsoring missionary agencies. In responses to questionnaires sent out by Edinburgh’s organizers, both Luce and Hill identified social distance and unequal partnerships between Western missionaries and the people with whom they worked as major challenges to spreading the gospel. Luce wrote that the “different economic

circumstances of missionary and people ... is one of the most difficult problems in our missionary work,” in India. “We long to get near the people among whom we work, and we mourn the fact that a great gulf seems to separate us from them as we live in such a different style and with so much more of what to them is luxury.”³⁵ Hill concurred with this assessment. “This difference is a great stumbling block,” she wrote. Both women acknowledged that social and economic disparities often reflected and exacerbated relational rifts between missionaries and local communities. The perception that Indians — even those who embraced Christianity — were inferior to Westerners rankled indigenous believers and frustrated cooperative efforts. “Many in the native church resent the call to work under the missionary,” Hill admitted.³⁶ Luce agreed, blaming a hierarchical and inequitable pay structure for perpetuating interactions that mirrored the dynamics of imperial rule.

Based on their experiences in the India revivals, both Hill and Luce echoed Azariah’s recommendations for bridging “the gulf between missionary and native helper.” In fact, Hill’s recommendations for fostering reciprocal relationships were more radical than Azariah’s proposals. Where he called for an increase in missionary hospitality — encouraging Europeans to shake hands with their Indian workers and to invite them to dinner — Hill exhorted missionaries to adopt a “simpler life,” challenging unmarried workers to cohabit with their “native helpers, taking them all into his bungalow as brothers or in the case of the woman as sisters.”³⁷

Although Luce’s proposals for missionary living arrangements were more modest than Hill’s, Luce agreed that missionaries should strive to live more simply “in small tents” or “rest-houses ... thus getting as near to the daily lives of the people as possible, and living in their presence, as it were, seeking to shew [sic] them that Christ is not merely the Savior of the West, but that He is an Oriental Saviour, and His salvation comes down to the little details of everyday life.” Like Hill, Luce believed that proximity and humility were essential for cultivating mutual affection and for revising presumptions about the superiority of Western Christianity.³⁸

For both Luce and Hill, the most significant factor in spreading the gospel and creating multiracial, intercultural, egali-

tarian friendships among Christians was the Holy Spirit. In keeping with William Piper's conviction that the baptism in the Spirit was essential for vanquishing social and theological chauvinism, Hill contended that "what the whole missionary body yes and the Indian Church and the Church at home need most is a special equipment of power from on High to put things into proper perspective and to make the message *effective* as the Master intended it to be."³⁹

Luce was even more adamant. Describing the revival that had spread through India in recent years, she recounted how the Holy Spirit had surmounted seemingly insuperable divides. "We have seen ... how He takes up the poor and illiterate and does wondrous works through them, how His presence is like a Fire, melting down all barriers, uniting the whole church (native and foreign) and melting them together as *one* in the love of Jesus, and how He sets them on fire with love and zeal for the salvation of souls." Given this evidence, Luce told the organizers of the Edinburgh Conference, it only made sense to conclude that "the answer to all these difficult questions" of missionary endeavor, "the one all-important need" was "a mighty outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the Christian Church in every land."⁴⁰

Despite the testimony of missionaries like Luce, Hill, Azariah and Abrams, leaders of the Edinburgh Conference concluded that relying solely on the transforming power of the Spirit was not wholly sufficient for spreading the gospel. Although Edinburgh's commissioners did acknowledge that "it seems evident that the Indian Church must ultimately be under the guidance and control of Indian Christians," their final report suggested that a such a transfer of power could only take place after proper "development and education of the native church."⁴¹

For Pentecostals eagerly anticipating Christ's imminent return, such a gradual approach seemed impractical. Time was short, the task was urgent, and the Holy Spirit was anointing workers all over the world to spread the message of repentance and salvation. Drawing on biblical passages such as Joel 2:28 and Acts 2:17, which promised that "in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh," participants in the Stone Church Convention claimed that this long-awaited prophecy was being fulfilled in the present

— and they acted accordingly.

"Bridging the Gulf Between East and West"? Pentecostal Missions in Practice

Several months after the conventions in Chicago and Edinburgh concluded, Minnie Abrams returned to India with a group of seven women who shared her belief that the baptism in the Holy Ghost was the indispensable key to the evangelization of the nations and the unity of the Christian church. Forming the "only known Pentecostal women's missionary society" — the Bezaleel Evangelistic Mission — these women strove to embody the ethos and ideals that speakers at the Stone Church convention promoted.

As faith missionaries relying on God rather than an established organization for their financial support, they were also poised to practice close relations with local people that experienced missionaries like Luce, Hill and Azariah were advocating. With little advanced training, no language skills, and limited monetary resources, Abrams's recruits were compelled to live simply in close proximity with the native population, and to partner with the Indian Christians upon whom they were in many ways dependent.⁴²

Moving out into the "regions beyond" where few missionaries had gone before meant that Bezaleel workers were often the only Westerners in their area. Writing back to her Stone Church supporters one year after sailing with Abrams, Blanche Cunningham described the "pioneer work" she and Lillian Doll had undertaken in Basti, North India. "Outside of one or two officials there is no one here but Indian people," she wrote. Nor was there any European-style housing. When they eventually procured facilities abandoned by a British mission, Doll "moved in at once, even before it was fit to live in, and slept on the floor with the rats and moles crawling around."

Cunningham lived in another building "with the Indian girls" who were to be her partners in village evangelism. By forgoing the comforts typical of most missionary compounds, by eating "chapatis" and other Indian food, and by sharing a home with their Indian coworkers, Doll and Cunningham practiced what Edinburgh correspondents such as Luce and Hill preached. As a result, the "gulf" that

separated these Western women from their "native helpers" was narrower, and reciprocal relationships that encouraged mutual esteem developed more readily.⁴³

From their arrival in India, the Bezaleel novices worked closely with Bible women and native preachers. In letters sent back to the Stone Church, missionaries praised their Indian associates, presenting them as fellow workers and exemplary Christian evangelists to the home audience. "Nannu was a carpenter," Abrams wrote of one convert who joined their mission in North India. "He can hardly read and make up his accounts, but does most of my business and is a leader among the others. His wife ... is the 'mother in Israel' at Uska Bazar."⁴⁴ Although they did value basic Christian training and the ability to read the Bible, missionaries like Abrams could overlook a lack of literacy as irrelevant if the Holy Spirit anointed workers such as Nannu to preach the gospel.

Believing that the Pentecostal revival that began in 1905⁴⁵ had inaugurated a new era in Indian Christianity, Abrams exhorted American believers to come alongside the "spirit-filled young people" who were ready to "go out to evangelize their own people." Having "seen the Holy Spirit poured out in marvelous power upon the Indian Christian church," Abrams was certain that the evangelization of India would proceed primarily through native converts in partnership with Western Pentecostals who could serve as helpmeets to their "yokefellows" through both intercessory prayer and physical presence.⁴⁶

Indian Christians touched by the Pentecostal revivals agreed with Abrams's assessment. "India is awakening. God is speaking to our age and to our land in the mighty reviving work of His Spirit ... The spirit of Pentecost is arousing the Church today," declared the founders of the Indian National Missionary Society in December of 1905. Organized by Azariah and other Indian church leaders, this interdenominational association urged Indian Christians to recognize "the solemn obligation alike of ownership and of opportunity, of sacrifice and responsibility."⁴⁷

According to historian Gary McGee, this "appeal to Indian Christians" to evangelize their own nation was an outgrowth of the "greater indigenization of the faith" that resulted from India's Pentecostal awakening. "The Spirit's outpouring," McGee argues, "signaled that the hour for

indigenous leadership had arrived.”⁴⁸

When Minnie Abrams and her American apprentices arrived in Bombay in October of 1910, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating Indian churches of any theological persuasion were still more of a future hope than a present reality. Despite their affirmation of the “three-self” principle, most denominational missionaries postponed the process of transferring power to indigenous leaders for decades after the Edinburgh Conference.

This became the experience of some Pentecostals. Although they were more apt to acknowledge the authority of Spirit-filled evangelists, to see their “native helpers” as equal partners in the task of spreading the gospel, and even to live in intimate proximity with their non-Western associates, Pentecostals sometimes “struggled to turn over the reins of control.” Once the floodwaters of revival receded and Christ had not yet returned, some Pentecostal missionaries followed in the footsteps of their denominational predecessors by establishing mission stations, maintaining a distance from Indian partners, and, as Gary McGee puts it, “retaining tight control over local pastors and evangelists by paying them with funds raised in North America.”⁴⁹

In his recent comprehensive survey of Pentecostal missions, McGee also asserts that Pentecostals were not immune to the “cultural prejudices” and anxieties that came along with their privileged status as Westerners in an imperial setting. “Like most Westerners who lived abroad,” he contends, “Pentecostal missionaries accepted their racial and cultural superiority as a given.”⁵⁰

His observations suggest that the Spirit-filled women and men who resisted the rhetoric of civilization and insisted that “the Gospel of Jesus Christ makes us all one, no matter of what race or color we are,” were somewhat unusual.⁵¹ In fact, leaders of the Stone Church do seem to have been more committed to pursuing what they termed “cosmopolitan” interests and sympathies than some of their Pentecostal peers.⁵² They were also less inclined to engage in doctrinal hair-splitting or heresy-hunting. From the first issue of the *Latter Rain Evangel* in 1908, contributors condemned the rampant theological controversies that were undermining unity in

the Holy Spirit and distracted believers from the primary task of cultivating a universal Christian community.⁵³

As the Pentecostal movement developed more structure through the establishment of denominations such as the Assemblies of God in 1914, however, the

**“The Spirit’s
outpouring signaled
that the hour for
indigenous leadership
had arrived.”**

— Gary B. McGee

doctrinal fluidity and irenic posture to which Stone Church leaders were dedicated in the early years became increasingly difficult to maintain. On the “mission field,” the drive for greater organization and standardization pushed some Pentecostals to adopt “paternalistic practices” that impeded the expansion of indigenous leadership and mutuality.

Within several years, the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God was wrestling with many of the same strategic dilemmas that dominated the agenda at Edinburgh: what methods of evangelism were most effective, whether charitable or humanitarian efforts “paid” or fostered dependency, and how to promote a self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating church.⁵⁴

Conclusion: “The Baptism in the Holy Ghost Should Make Us World-Wide”

Despite the obstacles that increasing organization erected between Pentecostal missionaries and their indigenous associates, many of the subtle tendencies that distinguished participants in the Stone Church Convention from delegates at the Edinburgh WMC of 1910 continued to shape how Spirit-filled Christians envisioned and enacted the creation of a global fellowship in years to come. “The baptism in the Holy Ghost should make us world-wide. It should enlarge us,” Minnie Abrams proclaimed in 1911.⁵⁵ When she and the American women of the Bezaleel

Evangelistic Mission partnered with Indian evangelists and Bible women to spread the gospel in small villages like Basti and Uska Bazar, they acted on a set of assumptions that would become increasingly influential among Christian communities over the course of the twentieth century.

First, Western civilization was not equivalent with the kingdom of God and missionaries had no monopoly on God’s grace. Second, while Christians might use all available means — including the improved methods of travel and communication — to spread the gospel, their success hinged on the Holy Spirit not on a supposed technological or cultural superiority. Third, in these “last days” the love of Christ was eliminating “all distinctions of race or color,” binding people of “all color, caste and nationality” into “one unified, sympathetic body.”⁵⁶

Within this context, the “latter rain” of God’s Holy Spirit was anointing individuals of every age, social background, economic class, and ethnic origin to serve as leaders of the Pentecostal revival. Because God was “no respecter of persons,” missionaries needed to acknowledge the authority of Spirit-filled native workers, working in close proximity and partnership with their fellow evangelists to “convert the heathen” of every nation. During the ensuing century, Pentecostal evangelists of all “kindreds and tongues” adopted this approach, spreading Spirit-filled faith “to the uttermost parts of the earth,” and in so doing transformed both the nature of the Protestant missionary enterprise and the shape of global Christianity.⁵⁷ ❖

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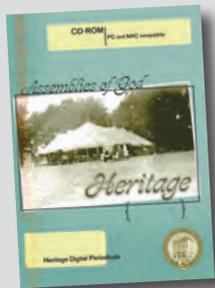
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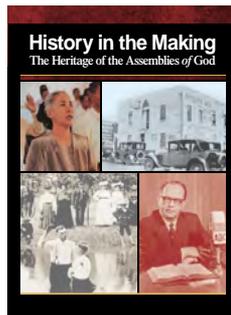
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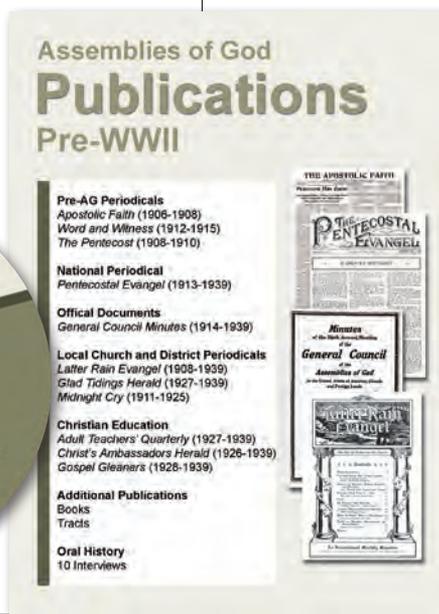
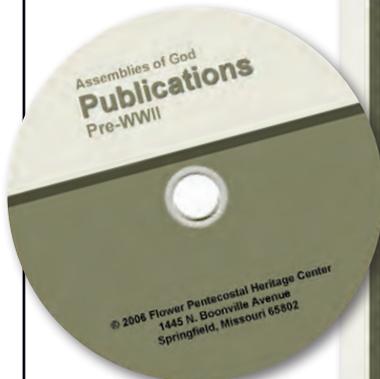
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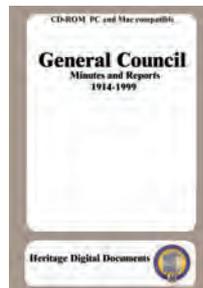
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This DVD contains the periodicals and books of five well-known healing evangelists that made a significant impact on the early Pentecostal movement. They include John Alexander Dowie (1847-1907), Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944), Carrie Judd Montgomery (1858-1946), Charles S. Price (1887-1947), and Maria Woodworth-Etter (1844-1924). With a total count of over 50,000 pages, this DVD offers a wealth of resource material for those interested in healing ministries and the early Pentecostal movement.

Healing (1881-1957) DVD+R **750488** \$ 49.95



Also Available Separately on CD-ROM

Leaves of Healing

LH (1894-1906) 6 CD-ROMs **750441** \$100.00

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GG (1926-1957) 2 CD-ROMs **750436** \$ 30.00

Triumphs of Faith

TF (1881-1946) 2 CD-ROMs **750433** \$ 30.00

Notice: These three periodicals are available for a much lower cost as part of the Healing Evangelists DVD featured above.

Early Periodicals

Confidence

Confidence was an early British Pentecostal periodical edited by A. A. Boddy, an Anglican rector who was baptized in the Spirit in 1907. Sermons and reports given at the conferences and revivals held at Boddy's parish were recorded in the pages of *Confidence*.

C (1908-1926) CD-ROM **750420** \$ 20.00

Word and Work

Samuel G. Otis published *Word and Work* to promote Pentecostal meetings and churches in the New England area, including meetings with Maria Woodworth-Etter, Aimee Semple McPherson, and Smith Wigglesworth. The issues are filled with sermons, articles, and news items pertaining to the early Pentecostal movement.

WW (1899-1940) CD-ROM **750434** \$ 20.00

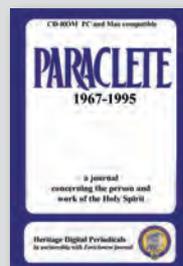
Academic Resource

Society for Pentecostal Studies Papers

These papers were presented at the annual meetings of the Society for Pentecostal Studies from 1982-2004. They consist of cutting edge scholarship on Pentecostalism in areas such as Biblical Studies, History, Missions & Intercultural Studies, Philosophy, Practical Theology/Christian Formation, Religion & Culture, and Theology.

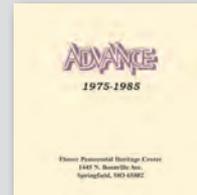
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Theology and Local Church Ministry HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS



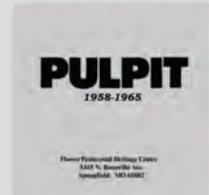
PARACLETE

1



ADVANCE

2



PULPIT

3

1 *Paraclete* (1967-1995) is a journal concerning the person and work of the Holy Spirit that was published by the Assemblies of God. Its pages contain dialogue and discussion of some of the hottest theological issues of the times.

CD-ROM **750435** \$ 20.00

2 *Advance* magazine (1965-95) played an important role in the ongoing education of church leaders. It featured articles on the work of the Holy Spirit, sermon ideas, and how-to articles related to local church ministry.

2 CD-ROMs **750465** \$ 40.00

3 *Pulpit* (1958-65), the predecessor of *Advance*, was the first Assemblies of God periodical created specifically to address practical theology and leadership issues faced by pastors.

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These text-searchable digitized publications are a researcher's dream. Requires Adobe Acrobat Reader 6.0 or higher. Each product on this page consists of a single CD unless otherwise noted.

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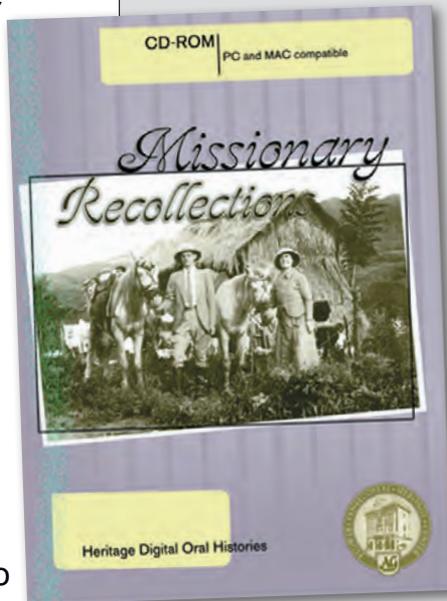
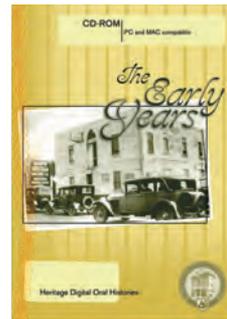
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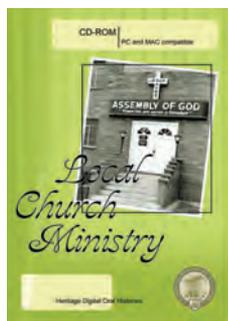
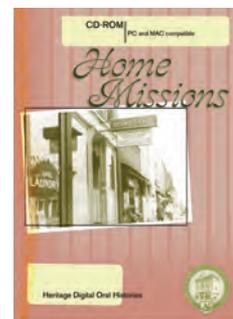
Hugh and Betty Baker, H. C. Ball, Ada Bolton Bard, Eva Bloom, Murray N. Brown, Sr., John H. Burgess, Alfred and Elizabeth Cawston, Charles Greenaway, Melvin L. Hodges, J. Philip Hogan, Maynard L. Ketcham, Howard C. Osgood, Everett L. Phillips, Harriet Williams Schoonmaker, Anna Stafsholt, Esther Harvey, Loren O. Triplett, Jr., Arthur Berg, Louise Jeter Walker, Anna Tomaseck, Valborg Frandsen, Adele Flower Dalton, Grace Walther and Marjorie Brown.

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Pentecostal Missions

Continued from page 68

helpful assistance during my research.



Heather D. Curtis (Th.D., Harvard University) is Assistant Professor of Religion at Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts, where she teaches classes on the

History of Christianity and American Religion. She has written *Faith in the Great Physician: Suffering and Divine Healing in American Culture, 1860-1900* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2007).

NOTES

¹W. H. Cossum, "A Glorious Convention," *Latter Rain Evangel* (LRE) (June 1910): 2.

²*Ibid.*, 3-4.

³*Ibid.*, 2.

⁴A tentative ending date listed in the *Latter Rain Evangel* was May 29th, which would anticipate the meeting lasting for about two weeks, but it was reported that the previous year's convention ended up being extended from 10 days to 25. "Chicago Convention," *LRE* (April 1910): 12-13.

⁵Cossum, "A Glorious Convention," 4.

⁶*Ibid.*, 5.

⁷World Missionary Conference, 1910, *History and Records of the Conference Together with Addresses Delivered at the Evening Meetings* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier; and New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., n.d. [1910]), 247. The definitive history of the World Missionary Conference is Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2009), hereafter *WMC*.

⁸Stanley, *WMC*, 2.

⁹Andrew F. Walls, "From Christendom to World Christianity: Missions and the Demographic Transformation of the Church," *Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 22:3 (2001): 306-330.

¹⁰Stanley, *WMC*, 17.

¹¹Charles F. Hettiaratchy, "But the Greatest of These is Love," *LRE* (May 1910): 9-13. For an astute analysis of early Pentecostal views on civilization, see Jay R. Case, "And Ever the Twain Shall Meet: The Holiness Missionary Movement and the Birth of World Pentecostalism, 1870-1920," *Religion & American Culture* 16:2 (2006): 125-159.

¹²S. H. Auernheimer, "Go, Let Go, Help Go: a Plea for the Millions of India," *LRE* (Apr. 1913), 16; and Mrs. C. W. Doney, "Called to the Mission Field At Five," *LRE* (Sept. 1913): 8-10.

¹³Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, "Saving the World? The Changing Terrain of American Protestant Missions," <http://isae.wheaton.edu/projects/missions> (accessed June 10, 2010).

edu/projects/missions (accessed June 10, 2010).

¹⁴A. Forder, "And Ishmael Will Be a Wild Man: Thrilling Experiences in the Land of Sand and Sun," *LRE* (August 1909): 2-7.

¹⁵World Missionary Conference, 1910, *Report of Commission I: Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier; and New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., n.d. [1910]), 21-25.

¹⁶Stanley, *WMC*, 16.

¹⁷George P. Pardington, *Twenty-Five Wonderful Years, 1889-1914: A Popular Sketch of the Christian and Missionary Alliance* (1914; reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, 1984), 61-64, and 103. See Stanley, *WMC*, 1-3 for a discussion of the eschatological views on display at Edinburgh.

¹⁸Albert Norton, "Does God Still Answer Prayer?" *LRE* (October 1911): 23-24.

¹⁹On this point, see especially Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Case, "Ever the Twain Shall Meet," 136-137.

²⁰"Some of the Signs of the Imminence of Our Lord's Return," *Triumphs of Faith* (October 1900): 246.

²¹"We Are Two Years Old," *LRE* (September 1910): 2-3.

²²As Benedict Anderson and others have persuasively argued the use of new communication technologies was a key factor in the development of both national and transnational affiliations in the modern era; see his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983).

²³Stanley, *WMC*, 4.

²⁴*WMC, History and Records of the Conference*, 247.

²⁵Levi R. Lupton, "'Wilt Thou Go with This Man?' A Strong Plea for Heathen Evangelization," *LRE* (June 1910): 18.

²⁶D. Wesley Myland, "The Fifth Latter Rain Lecture," *LRE* (September 1909): 16.

²⁷William Piper, "The Lord Reigneth! He is Clothed With Majesty," *LRE* (December 1909): 7-11.

²⁸Minnie Abrams, "How the Recent Revival Was Brought About in India," *LRE* (July 1909), 6-13; and Minnie Abrams, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire* (Kedgaon, India: Mukti Mission Press, 1906), v.

²⁹Stone Church pastor William Piper and Lemuel C. Hall both had previously been associated with John Alexander Dowie's Christian Catholic Church, headquartered in Zion City, Illinois, just north of Chicago. Dowie was a prominent advocate of divine healing and was intensely evangelistic, with the result that he established a number of mission stations across the globe. See Gordon P. Gardiner, *Out of Zion Into All the World* (Shippensburg, PA: Companion Press, 1990).

³⁰*Combined Minutes of the General Council*, April-November 1914, 12.

³¹Stanley, *WMC*, 132.

³²This was the title of an address by Rev. V. S. Azariah at the World Missionary Conference.

³³*WMC, History and Records of the Conference*, 306-315.

³⁴Stanley, *WMC*, 126-8.

³⁵"Report to the Commission by Miss Eveline A. Luce," World Missionary Conference (WMC) papers, series 1, box 3, folder 9, Missionary Research Library (MRL) Series 12, the Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Archives) at Union Theological

Seminary (UTS), New York.

³⁶"Report to the Commission by Miss Agnes Gale Hill," WMC papers, series 1, box 3, folder 6, MRL Series 12, UTS, New York.

³⁷"Report by Agnes Gale Hill."

³⁸"Report by Eveline A. Luce."

³⁹"Report by Agnes Gale Hill."

⁴⁰"Report by Eveline A. Luce."

⁴¹*Report of Commission I*, 308.

⁴²On Abrams and the Bezaleel Evangelistic Mission, see Gary B. McGee, *Miracles, Missions and American Pentecostalism* (New York: Orbis Books, 2010), especially pages 133-137.

⁴³Blanche Cunningham, "Through Death to Life: Some of the Trials of Young Missionaries," *LRE* (November 1911): 17-19.

⁴⁴Minnie Abrams, "Prayer Answered in North India," *LRE* (August 1911): 14-16.

⁴⁵The "Indian Pentecost" of 1905-1906 is described in McGee, "Miracles," pages 81-84.

⁴⁶Abrams, "Recent Revival," 7, 12; Minnie Abrams, "The Midnight Darkness of India's Superstition," *LRE* (August 1910): 6-12.

⁴⁷"An Appeal to Indian Christians by the Founders of the National Missionary Society" (1905), in *History of Christianity in India*, ed. M. K. Kuriakose (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1982), 292-93; quoted in McGee, *Miracles*, 84.

⁴⁸McGee, *Miracles*, 85.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 167; and Gary B. McGee, "Missions, Overseas (N. American Pentecostal)" in *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Rev. exp. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 896.

⁵⁰McGee, *Miracles*, 165-167.

⁵¹Auernheimer, "Go, Let Go, Help Go," 15.

⁵²Anna C. Reiff, "Fifteen Days With God: Seasons of Refreshing at the Stone Church Convention," *LRE* (June 1915): 16.

⁵³See, for example, "Manifestations and 'Demonstrations' of the Spirit," *LRE* (October 1908): 16-20; Minnie F. Abrams, "His Visage Was So Marred More Than Any Man: Our Acts of Unkindness Mar the Face of Jesus," *LRE* (June 1909): 10-13; William H. Piper, "The Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace," *LRE* (June 1911): 14-17; and Lydia M. Piper "The Unity of the Spirit," *LRE* (February 1912): 16-19.

⁵⁴For a discussion of how organization within the Assemblies of God affected Pentecostal missions, see McGee, "Missions, Overseas," 896; and *Miracles*, especially chapters 7 and 8. The idea of a self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating church (also known as the indigenous church principle) was promoted by Anglican missionary Roland Allen in his *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (1912) and by Assemblies of God missionaries Alice Luce as early as 1921, and later by Melvin L. Hodges in his book, *The Indigenous Church* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1953).

⁵⁵Minnie Abrams, "The Object of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit," *LRE* (May 1911): 8-11.

⁵⁶Reiff, "Fifteen Days With God," 16; Maude Delaney, "Witnessing for Jesus in the Southland," *LRE* (April 1912): 6; and Piper, "The Lord Reigneth!" 9.

⁵⁷Reiff, "Fifteen Days With God," 16; and Agnes Hill, "Do Foreign Missions Pay?: The Transition of India," *LRE* (Jan. 1913): 7-12.

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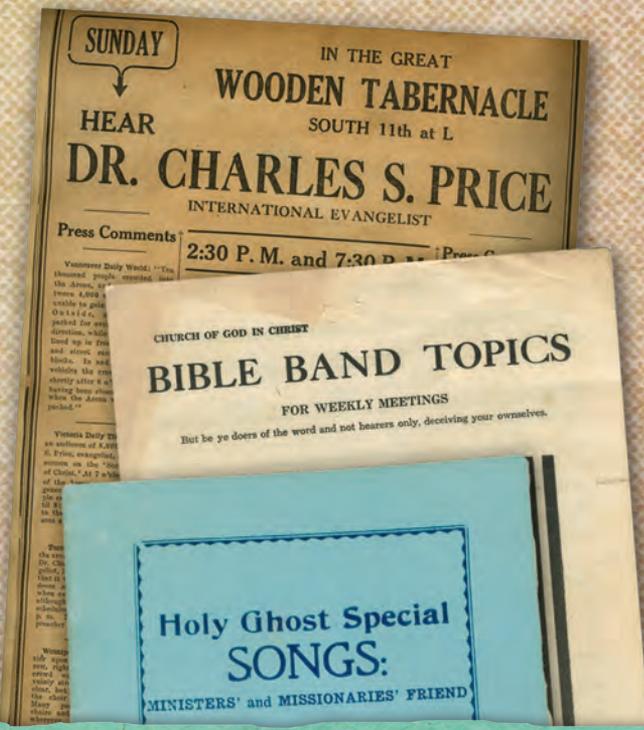
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3) Any academic books (in general, books with numerous footnotes or endnotes, or those published by university presses).



3 Supporting the Wayne Warner Research Fellowship

Wayne Warner, former director of the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center (1980-2005), is a familiar name across the Assemblies of God. Under his leadership, the Center became a leading Christian archives and developed one of the largest and most accessible collections of Pentecostal historical materials in the world. He was the founding editor of *Assemblies of God Heritage* and has authored or compiled eleven books and countless articles.



In October 2006, the leadership of the Assemblies of God established the Wayne Warner Research Fellowship, an endowed program designed to encourage faculty, independent researchers, and students to use and publish from the Center's rich holdings. The program will award research and travel grants to a limited number of researchers each year whose research concerning Assemblies of God history is likely to be published and to benefit our Fellowship.

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Darrin Rodgers

Darrin J. Rodgers, M.A., J.D.
email: drodgers@ag.org

.....
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